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GREEDY "CHARITY" PROFIT MACHINE

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

THE large modern foundations, such as the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller and Russell Sage foundations are among the most significant recent developments. They are in the domain of philanthropy what the trusts are in the field of industry.

The three main stages in modern industrial development are successively represented by the individual employer, the corporation and the trust.

The three corresponding phases of philanthropic development are private alms, charity organizations and "foundations."

Up to the latter part of the past century, charity is entirely unorganized, and consists of promiscuous and indiscriminate alms-giving. Toward 1870 a general movement springs up all over the country to organize charitable relief on a comprehensive and scientific basis. Charity organisation societies are formed in all important cities, introducing methods of

thorough investigation of applications for re-

lief and aiming to restore economic independence to the objects of their benefactions. Charity becomes an efficient, businesslike pursuit.

Toward the end of the century, the large incorporated philanthropies begin to make their appearance. First in the field was Mr. Andrew Carnegie with his Carnegie Institute at Pittsburg, followed by the somewhat similar but more munificent Carnegie Institution at Washington. The latter has an endowment fund of \$22,000,000, and is engaged in almost every conceivable branch of scientific research and so-

BIRTH OF FOUNDATIONS.

ciological investigation.

T HE next few years saw the birth of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, with an endowment of \$15,000,000, to provide pensions for college professors, the Hero Fund of \$30,000,000 to reprofessors, the Hero Fund of \$30,000,000 to re-ward deeds of courage and bravery, the Carne-gie Peace Fund of \$10,000,000 to promote peace and amity among nations, the Library Fund to provide library buildings for cities, and finally, the Carnegie Corporation of New Tork. This is a sort of a holding company for the divers philanthropic interests of Mr. Carnegie.

The corporation was given \$125,000,000, the income of which in the language of the act of

income of which, in the language of the act of incorporation, is to be used in aiding institutions of learning, peace endowments, libraries, hero funds, etc.

The "Carnegie benefactions" were closely followed by those of John D. Rockefeller, whose first endowments on a sufficient scale, the Chicago University and the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, were soon merged, in 1903, in the General Education Board, repre-\$73,000,000, and only last year the Rockefeller Foundation was organized in New York with a capital of \$100,000.000.

The Russell Sage Foundation, likewise a New York corporation, was organized in 1907 with a capital of \$10,000,000, and many other funds, endowments and foundations of smaller scope,

but similar general type, are in existence today.

The movement of phlianthrepic consolidation thus bears a striking resemblance to the movement of industrial consolidation of the end of ille last century, and just as the first great American industrial combinations were the Off Trust and the Steel Trust, so the first of the gigantic philanthreple trusts are the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, the one so thoroughly saturated with oil and the other so firmly founded on steel.

The parallelism between the industrial

growth and philanthropic development is furermore not accidental. intimate relation between these two fields of human activity.

The experience gained by capitalists in their industrial pursuits are naturally transferred by them to all other domains of their activity, and methods of organization, economy and efficiency are found to be equally applicable to all.

HOW POVERTY GROWS.

THE trend of industrial growth affects, not only the methods, but also the substance and objects of philanthropy. In the earlier phases of the modern factory industry, poverty is considered an accident because unemployment is a rare and passing condition. Temporary pecuniary relief in the shape of alms seems e all that the situation requires

to be all that the situation requires.

With the larger developer of capitalism, the perfection of labor and machinery, consolidation of plants, etc., were milespread and lasting. Poverty assumes the dignity of a regular and general institution, and requires a large, systematic and sustained effort to cope with it. Hence the charity organization societies on a grand scale.

In very recent times, however, we have reached a stage in which poverty has grown to an extent beyond the cure or even of philanthropy. The number of jobless workers mounts into millions; they are bound to exist much below the margin of subsistence. Even the millions in the great modern philanthropic funds could not feed,

clothe or shelter them.

The the philanthemic foundations do not even attempt the task of Teneving existing povercy. It is a noteworny fact, a fact pregnant with meaning, that none of the wealthy foundations expends any approach to the first foundations expends any appreciable part of its funds in old-fashion charity.

DO NOT AIM TO RELIEVE POVERTY.

H (RDI Y any page of the huge funds concentrated in the modern "philanthropic" trusts is applicable to the relief of the wideantend pover's misery and distress of the American population. No branch of their acconcerned with the improvement of tivities is the general conditions of existence and standard of life of the American worker.

If we analyze the buge Carnegie "benefac-

tions" we find but one item that may be considered of scenefit to workingmen. This is re-presented by a fund of \$4,600,000 for injured and aged employes of the United States Steel Corporation. The amount was contributed by Mr. Carnegle us part of the general fund of \$12,060,000 created by the Steel Corporation for the purpose of providing pensions for disabled

FIRST READ THIS

Aditor's Note. — Here is the stery unmasking the houstor, "foundations" of the nation's biggest multi-militantres. It was talk by Merris Miliquit, international secretary of the Secialist Party, also Secialist national committeeman from New York, to the United States Industrial Commission sitting at New York. Every reader of The American Socialist should read and study this story carefully. Then put this bopy of your paper into the hands of your neighbor and see that he or she reads it, too. The pinteerstic threase of Reckefeller and Carnegie would seen crumble if we could get this stery into the brains of all the people. How read the stery!

But if we accept this particular fund as partaking of the latter characteristic, it must be borne in mind that it is practically the smallest item in the list of Mr. Carnegie's munificent endow-

It is somewhat overshadowed by the item of \$5,000,000 for church organs and \$30,000,000 for the hero fund. Mr. Carnegie's remaining endowments are all devoted to educational purposes of one kind or another.

Mr. Rockefeller's earlier philanthropic en-

dowments were entirely disassociated from charitable relief, and the Rockefeller Founda-

have reached international proportions. The United States does not offer them a sufficient market. The civilized countries of Europe likewise produce more than they need. The big American capitalist concerns want new mar-kets, which must be created in the undeveloped parts of the globe. To become commercially valuable the benighted aborigines of the uncivilized countries must acquire two qualities—they must develop a taste for the ways and products of modern civilization, and they must learn to produce something valuable to give us

in exchange for our products. This is why our capitalists so cheerfully endow missionaries to instruct the heathen in the ways of Christian civilization, including the wearing of decent apparel, preferably of American manufacture, and this is perhaps one of the reasons why they are now being forced to part with their favorite hook worm diseases.

This is the situation in a nutshell. The American industries can well dispense with a million or so of the surplus working population of this country. Hence they are permitted to die of consumption, vocational diseases and preventable accidents. But the population of

view of the causes of industrial strife and unrest, a constructive social pressm.

BUTING UP THE COCLEGES.

IF SUCH college teacher knows that his institution owes its life and existence to the generosity of a capitalist or a group of capitalists. that his salary and the position of the college president and trustees depend on such capitalists would be be likely to be outspoken in opposition to the interests of the benefactor, even though his honest views would lead him to such

Quite likely the givers of generous college endowments rarely if ever place any restrictions upon the academic freedom of college teachers.

Such restrictions are quite unnecessary. They arise automatically and unconsciously.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller has admitted before this commission that "there is a possible danger with reference (of such influence) to higher admention." rducation."

"If the giver retains any kind of control, I think it is unwise," he added.

But the giver always retains some kind of moral control, even when the gift is absolutely

the large scale and trustified variety, thent of their prevailing practices, a definite the elder Mr. Rockefeller had had some such the plan under consideration for seven years. The industrial disturbances in Colorado impressed Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., "with the great need and for "social welfare" work and study have public importance of finding an effective means sprung up and have assumed menacing propor-of preventing such conflicts and caused him to urge a far-reaching study of industrial relations.

It would seem to the ordinary mind that the object that required immediate study and attention was the struggle in Colorado, which had assumed outrageous forms and monstrous dimensions, particularly as the Rockefeller in-terests were directly concerned.

But Mr. Rockefeller as stockholde and director of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company did not feel called upon to do anything in the matter, and Mr. Rockefeller a president of the foundation felt that "in view c' the passion aroused in Colorado and the many divergent interests involved there the foundation itself should not interfere in that situation, but that it was of the utmost consequence that the root cause of that and similar disturbances should be ascertained and, if possible, removed, not only in Colorado, but elsewhere."

And so Mr. Rockefeller's employes in Colora-

The great private foundations and the ous endowments for educational purposes and occupy and fill legitimate fields of functions Nothing is more peculiarly a matter of general social concern than education and social betterment. In a well, regulated democracy these functions should be more jealously guarded as public or government prerogatives than the coining of money.

The colleges and universities of our country should be managed by the State and federal governments just as our common schools are, with ample provisions for democratic administration and full academic freedom

The Commission on Industrial Relations should be made a permanent body with increased powers and means. It should be in a position to investigate on the spot and publicly all industrial disturbances of any importance as soon as they appear in any part of the country; to adjust grievances if possible or to recommend such legislative enactment or executive action as the case may require. At the same time I believe that the powers of all corpora-tions, such as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnevic Corporation should be strictly de-fined and limited.

a serious menace to the community. Take the Rockefeller Foundation as an illustration. R is incorporated by a special act of the New York Legislature "for the purpose of receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the income and principal thereof to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the

It may use such means to that end which from time to time shall seem expedient to the members or trustees." It may "invest or reinvest any principal, and deal with and expend the income and principal of the corporation in such manner as in the judgment of the trustees will best promote its object."

time at the pleasure of the corporation. Under the terms of this act of incorporation the number of its members or trustees may legally and legitimately be reduced to Mr. John D. Rocke feller and his "personal staff."

ent in such a large fortune to resist any public movement for greater social justice or greater industrial democracy, so long as they consider such movements as inimical to the "well-being"

It is true that Mr. Rockefeller could do all these things as an individual without incorporating a special foundation for that purpose. But the incorporation of the foundation promotion of the well-being of mankind throughout the world" tends to give his activities & certain prestige and power, which as an indi-vidual he would not possess, and, furthermore, relieves him from an annual tax of \$100,000.

As a matter of fact, it is theoretically con-celvable that the vast foud of \$100,000,000 thus segregated in the foundation may for a large

endowed with such hoge means and powers at the Rockefeller Foundation and the Cornoration, should be subject to at least at strict governmental surveillance as the fraternal benefit societies and banking and insurance con Their objects should be definitely

A reasonable and not too low minimum of membership should be prescribed, its proceedings and deliberations should be public, it should be required to file detailed annual re-

FRANK WALSH, CHAIRMAN OF U. S. COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, SAYS:

THE testimony at the New York hearing showed that the trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation exercised no authority that did not come from John D. Rockefeller, Sr. The powers of the foundation virtually are unlimited, as far as its financial resources. They are powers which should challenge the attention of every thoughtful American citizen. Whether such powers can be permitted safely in the hands of any authority less than that of the government of the United States is a question which will form an important part of the commission's forthcoming report. I am inclined to believe these powers cannot be exercised under the American theory of government.

has so far contributed to organized charities the sum of \$45,000 or less than 1 per cent of its annual income. It has appropriated a large sum for the relief of the Belgian sufferers from the war, but this was done under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances, and has ow, we just learn been discontinued.

Ine Sage Foundation devotes practically all

of its work and income to the investigation of social conditions and problems. CONCERN IN FOREIGN NATIONS.

A NOTHER striking feature of the large modern philanthropists is that they show a decided concern in the welfare of foreign nations and a corresponding indif-ference to the needs of their own country-

As already noticed the only charitable work on a large scale undertaken by the Rockefeller Foundation was to send shiplonds of food for the relief of the war sufferers in Belgium. It was a good deed, and I would be the last per-son in the world to criticise it in the spirit of a narrow nationalistic or pseudo-patriotic sent-

On the contrary, I rejoice in every manifestation of the growth of the spirit of international brotherhood of men. I hope to see the day when the men and women of all countries will

when the men and women of all countries will consider themselves equal and affectionate members of the great human family.

But why restrict the necessary help to Belgium! While the Belgium relief ships were leaded with wheat, corn and ether feedstuffs, tens of theusands of American werkers, their wives and children were going hungry.

The bread lines in New York, within perhaps are will as a Research was a second lines.

one mile of 26 Broadway, were growing longer and longer from day to day. Many of the men in these dreadful lines have probably at some time been working in one or the other of the numerous industries in which Mr. Rockefeller has invested, have probably helped to augment his great fortune. They were given no thought by the Rockefeller Foundation.

The only other extensive activity of the Rockefelier Foundation has been the creation and the work of the International Health Commission. This has directed its main activities to the eradication of the book worm disease in the British West, Indies, Central America, Egypt, Ceylon, the Malay States, and the Philippines, and also to the promotion of medical education and public health in China.

Again I say that in common with all broadminded people of this country. I should be very glad to see the Egyptians and Malayans freed from the ugly hook worm disease.

TUBERCULOSIS KILLS THOUSANDS.

BUT I cannot forget that many, many thousands of American workers die annually from tuberculosis, a disease preventable and curable by proper sanitary surroundings, wholesome food, fresh air and rest, that comparatively small expenditures of money would save large numbers of the unfortunate sufferers, mostly victims of the social and industrial surroundings into which their work has forced them.

I also think of the half a million working men and working women who are killed or maimed every year in the mines, fact-ories and on the railroads of this country, the very industries whose stocks and bonds up the fund of the Rockefeller Foundation. These accidents are to a large extent preventable by the application of proper safety appliances and troduction of more humano rules of more. An institution of the power and influence of the Rockefeller Foundation could contribute largely to bring about a reduction of such accidents. Then why confine the work of the International Health Commission to the hook worm disease in the Brit-

Even the domestic birds are discriminated against by the foundation. The tract of land purchased in Louisiana at a cost of \$225,000 town so purchasof securementaline for the teternational traveling variety, the migratory

ish West Indies?

Among Mr. Carnegie's benefactions we notice the Foreign Hero Fund to stimulate the courage of our contemporaries abroad and the now deserted Peace Palace in The Hague, besides his numerous benefactions in Scotland.

JUST BUSINESS ENTERPRISES.

THERE is a method and a purpose in these international capitalist philanthropics international capitalist philanthropies. They may be regarded as a somewhat more orkers. | modern and practical development of the old-it is rather doubtful whether this contribu- fashioned missionary work among the "heathen"

undeveloped foreign countries are just beginning to develop an economic importance for American capital. Hence international health

It is a mistake to consider the activities of the great modern foundations, at home and abroad, in the nature of philametropic indexor. The great capitalists who endow the foundaions do not seek to relieve their suffering fellowmen, but to strenghten their own social and econonic position and to train a corps of capable and efficient assistants.

Just as many large manufacturing establishments maintain experimental laboratories for technical scientific research to aid them with their business, just so do the large financial and business interests now begin establishing what we may term "sociological laboratories"

to support their rule.
"The best form of philanthropy is the investment of money in the building up of productive industry," said Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., testifying before this commission, and that characterizes the spirit of modern capitalist benevolence" admirably.
It is not charity at all. It is investment. It

is part of a wide and farsighted administration of large business interests. "We have not drawn sharp lines between business and philanthropic interests," admits

the younger Mr. Rockefeller, and his detailed testimony before the commission clearly corroborates the significant statement. The offices at 26 Broadway are the head-quarters of Mr. Rockefeller's diversified and world-wide interests. There he meets with his 'personal staff." his son and two confidential dvisers now in the capacity of an individual canitalist, now as member of the Board of Directors of some of the many corporations which he controls and now as the Executive Committee of the foundation or other "philanthropic"

SMOOTH AND LOGICAL.

THE transition from one field of activity to ceptible. The conferees do not even have the time to change their moods or mental attitudes in these transitions from business to philanthropy. It is all blended in one harmonious en-

The main lines of activity of modern foundations may be divided into two principal groups: Educational and social reform work. Under the first head must be classed the endowments of institutions of learning, such as the University of Chicago, institutions for cientific research such as the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, the Carnegie Institution at Washington and the Carnegie In-stitute at Pittsburg, the Carnegie libraries, endowments for scholarships to persons engaged in scientific research and for pensions to col-

lege teachers.
Under the heading of social reform work, we must class institutions such as the Russell Sage Foundation, the Carnegie peace endowments and hero funds as well as the Rockefeller Foundation, which has recently embarked in the field of industrial and social relations As to the social effects of these foundations. the same may be said about the industrial effects of the trusts. They have all the advantages of systematic and large-scale operation

irresponsible control and management and these dangers become more acute as the foundations grow in size, scope and power, in connection with the educational activities of the foundations, it will be to that such activities do not antisate to prince described but are in almost all cases limited to higher

If our colleges and universities had been confined to the teaching of purely abstract and academic subjects, such as mathematics, natural sciences, languages or technical subjects. the subsidizing of such teaching might be viewed without alarm. But modern life has a tendency to force more direct and vital sublects to the fore. Our higher teaching institu-tions occupy themselves very larvely with so-cial, economic and political sciences. These are as yet very far from being exact sciences.

But too often they reflect the personal inclinations, interest or bias of their exponents, and when institutions for the teaching of these subiects are created, supported or endowed by individuals with very definite class interests and social bias the dunger is that such bias will naturally communicate itself to the teacher, who owes his living to the generosity of the founder or patron.

The college or university teacher of economcannot and should not avoid the treatment of the important problems of the relations of tion should not be more properly classed as a races. Both are at bottom business enterprises, business investment than as a "benefaction." The modern American industries, particular- respective social rights and obligations, a judg- | D. Rockefeller, Jr., before the commission that

unconditional. First, there is the strong senti-ment of gratitude and loyalty which the ordin-ary recipient of a benefaction feels toward the benefactor, and, second, there is in most cases the lurking possibility of having to apply again,

Ur. Eilott and added all testimony that a number of colleges have to his knowledge been influenced by institutions like the Carnegie or Rockefeller foundations, but in his opinion such influence was always "for good." For whose good? It was undoubtedly a goo... influence from the point of view of the donor, but was it always a healthy influence from the point of view of academic independence and democracy! Dr. Eliot himself, as president of the Harvard University, has been the recipient of munificent gifts from Mr. Rockefeller and other capitallsts. It was also he who proclaimed the strikebreaker a hero. It is not possible that his views, whether right or wrong, were unconstiously influenced by such gifts, and that his notions of "good" influences were formed in the

Perhaps an even more insidious influence over college teachers is exercised by Mr. Carnegie's pension system. The average college professor is a very much underpaid man. As a rule, he has not been able to lay aside anything substantial against the needs of the most trying and helpless period of his life—old age, or to make any provisions for the care of his fam-ily in case of death.

Neither the government nor the college administration come to his relief. It is Mr. Carnegie who plays the part of kind providence, and the poor teacher can only repay him in loyalty to him and his class. The intentions of the donors may be of the best, but the results may be incalculably harmful to the studying

MENACE OF SUBSIDIZED EDUCATION. THE education of the people, from the ele-

mentary schools to the universities, is the most important social function of the community. It determines the kind of manhood which we shall have in the future. Nothing is more pregnant with menace to the progress and democracy of this country than a subsidized and bissed education. The great industrial corporations of our time

have robbed the people of their economic independence. They are now making a bold assault on the intellectual independence of this country, and their philanthropics, endownents and foundations are the instruments of such assault. But even more fatal from the point of view of social desirability are the so-called "social research" activities of the foundations, their investigations into social conditions and publications of results. This statement is not meant as a criticism of the work that has so far been done by the Russell Sage Foundation, for that has in my opinion, been quite good on the whole It is meant as an expression of the notential danger which lies in such private enterprises, particularly if supported by unlimited means gigantic financial and industrial enterprises. All the objections which may be raised against similar control of educational institutions apply with the same force to the control

added. The investigator in the field of natural science may approach the subject of his study without bias and as a rule his conclusions will not clash with any interest. But the investigator of sochi expensions and industrial relations has an catirely different task. He is could upon to study conditions which have a direct and bearing on people's material interests. He must pass upon the many conflicting claims between capital and labor. He must sit in indement over the employing classes and the masses of the employes. He must align himself at least in part with one side or the other. There is no such thing as an impartial judge of social conditions.

of social research by moneyed interests. But a

number of new and stronger objections must be

The Social investigator, who derives his means and acts by liting from a group of cap-italists actively engaged in industry and fre-quently confronting their workers in embitter-ed struggle, will not investigate, but apologize for his employer.

There are many more reasons why I believe that great foundations engaging in social re-search are social dangers, and I shall try to elucidate some of them by taking as an illus-

THE Rockefeller Foundation announced in August of last year that it had determined to engage in the field of social and economic research on a large scale.

"INVESTIGATING" IN COLORADO.

do continued to be maltreated, assaulted and killed, while Mr. Rockefeller set out to look for the root cause, a safe task for him, since in his own testimony he does not "suppose that com-ing generations will solve that problem, which of gracestive action and all addeded in only But too often so-called investigations are re-

sorted to for the sole purpose of diverting pub-lic clamor or indignation with no idea of securing practical results. Particularly is that the case when the investigation has no governmen tal sanction and is not to be followed by recommendation for legislative enactments. And Mr. Rockefeller did not have to embark on an elaborate course of social research. All he had to do was to issue orders to his repre

liberty to organize, and the "root causes" would take care of themselves. ROCKEFELLER'S ARBOGANT CHALLENGE.

sentatives in Colorado to comply with the laws

of the State enacted for the protection of the miners, and allow them their constitutional

WHY did Mr. Rockefeller determine at that particular time to engage in a general investigation of industrial relations? The government of the United States had appointed such a commission with the widest possible scope and with ample powers, and that com mission was actively engaged in such investi-

gation at that very time.

Why should Mr. Rockefeller have thought it necessary to duplicate the work of that com-mission? If he was anxious to have the "root causes" of industrial disturbances discovered for him, why did he not wait for the report of this commission?

To the unsophisticated observer it may seem that Mr. Rockefeller was not pleased with the methods of this commission, particularly its euriosity about the Colorado situation, and that he decided to pusish the government by pitting his hundred millions against the modest government appropriation, thus overshadowing if not nullifying the work of this commission. It is to my mind one of the most arrogant challenges ever issued by an individual against the government and the people.

The social researches of the Rockefeller

Foundation are not conducted along any fixed lines or by any definite methods. The entire undertaking has been placed in the hands of Mr. Mackenzie King, former Minister of Labor in Canada, who is to make the investigation as he sees fit.

Mr. King was selected by Mr. Rockefeller after careful consideration, and his attitude on problems of industrial relations, and parti-cularly on the labor movement, must have considerable weight in determining the selection fects as far as Mr. Rockefeller knew at the time he engaged him? Mr. King had been Minister of Labor in Canada, and as such had been an ardent advocate of the Cumpulsory Arbitration Law. If such a law had existed in Colorado, where

the government is mostly in the hands of the mineowners, the workers would be reduced to a condition of virtual slavery, deprived of the only right that can protect them — the right to strike— and forced to work under any terms forced on them by their employers' government. Another important subject on which Mr King had expressed an opinion before his appointment was the strike situation in Colorado This opinion was contained in a letter adto Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and read before the commission. It was couched in periodity clear. Mr. King ad lead Mr. Rocke relier not to worry armuch over the detained of the miners for the recognition of their

He was of the opinion that after the war there would be such a large influx of foreign in this country, and such strong competition for work in the mines, that the men would be glad to get work on new terms and would get each for the "shadow of recognition of the union", the foundation has demonstrated by a flagrant but would have their hands full with the street, act its hostility to public weltare, after the gle to "maintain standards" -- thus creating I damage has been done a penaltic review of kinting recognition of the standards and penaltic recognitions and penaltic recognitions and penaltic recognitions and penaltic recognitions. normal conditions in Colorado"

Mr. King thus seems to have quite definite and well-formed views about the "Industrial relations" between capital and labor. He doc not believe in "the shadow" of union recogni-tion, and he considers industrial conductors normal, when the labor market is oversupplied and the workers are easer to get jobs on any terms. The entring is why he needs a few generations hore to confirm his position.

OPERATES AGAINST TRUE PROGRESS. I BELIEVE the Rockerener rooms.

far as it engages in the work of social re-BELIEVE the Rockefeller Foundation in as search is disingenuous in object and motives and distinctly a factor operating against true

The broad powers which such foundations enjoy under their present charters constitute

The corporation has no membership, properly speaking. It consists of directors or trustees without a constituency. The number of such trustees may be determined by the corporation

COULD FORTIFY BUSINESS INTERESTS.

THESE persons would have the right to apply the entire principal and income of the vast fund for the direct purpose of forthfying their business interests or the interests of the industrial system which they repres without restriction.

They might use the tremendous power inheren

of mankind," and it must be borne in mind that the trustees of the foundation are the only judges under their charter of what shall be considered as promoting the well-being of man-

There is hardly anything which such an immense sum of money concentrated in the hands of practically one individual and judiciously applied toward one particular object, could not accomplish. It is a tremendous power for good or a tremendous power for evil, and whether its overwhelming weight should be thrown into the scale of one or the other depends entirely on the inclination of a very small group of men, practically of one man.

We may well imagine a national election conperhaps even a more general issue of industrial democracy, as against industrial feudalism. In hotly contested campaign as such important issues are bound to produce, the Rockefeller Foundation could well swing the election one way or the other, according to the conception of its trustees as to which side would best pro-

of its trustees as to which side would be pro-mote the well-being of mankind.

It would not need to directly subsidize politi-cal parties for that purpose. It could buy or subsidize a large section of the public press, flood the country with literature and spe and resort to a thousand other less legitimate but more effective methods of infinencing the election with the aid of its unlimited funds.

number of years be manipulated in productive investments as well as any other part of Mr. Rockefeller's foundation, and at some critical moment be turned back to the donor or his heirs in some indirect form sufficiently velled to answer the requirements of human well-

MUST CURB FOUNDATION.

IT is used in the lift of the formation that the notice forms the act of ics incorporation cours be re-pealed or amended by the Legislature at any time. But the answer to this is that such legis-lation is always deficult to secure and more difficult to execute in view of "vested rights" which may accrue in the meanwhile, and also that the question whether the set should be re-pealed man a choose is relied to a late, i. e., after

enumerated.

ports of all its transactions, and a suitable government agency should have supervisory and directory powers in connection with its activi-ties. Finally, such corporation should not be execupt from taxation.

The American Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.

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GATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27th, 1915.

NEWS OF THE WEEK Here is all the week's news worth while beiled down for workers so busy fighting for Socialism they do not have time to read the daily capitalist press.

TUESDAY, PEBRUARY 16.

WEDNESDAY, PEBRUARY 17. Two ships destroyed as Germans estabdeverment officials at Washington fear felled States has reached brink of mo-lements crisis in relations with Germany Benariment of agriculture makes start-ing dedication that embarge on foodstuffs and the start of the start ing decideration time.

B not needed to prevent food shorter
THUBSDAY, PERRUARY 18.

Two riots mark progress of Chicago's Reserved Bussia is planning to seize all the poor and unemployed.

The British navy is doing all that Occupy for merchant ships and embarge it can to place a partial embarge

PRIDAY, PERRUARY 19.

SATUBDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

This Week's Editorial

George W. Perkins, who fought with Hoosevelt at Armageddon, is serving as chairman of Mayor Mitchel's unemployment committee in New York. There are 500,000 unem-New York. There are 500,000 unemployed in New York. The distress among the poor is even greater than the suffering of the civil population in London, Paris or Berlin.

of the unemployed problem. The committee has made its report. It suggests that congress

might relieve the distress of the wa-Democrate jam President Wilson's ship by throwing an immense surplus of gurahase bill through house of representatives. Vote, 215 to 121.

David E. Shanshan, "set" republican dested speaker of Illinois house, after seven wests" desdlock, longest in state between wests" desdlock, longest in state beginning of British navy makes another attack on German positions in Balgium.

Small beyo United States will be able to sweld consequences of trade war between Germany and Great British.

WEDDERDAY, FERRUARY 17. benefits, we may believe, would ac crue to speculators rather than to

Ochwoys for merchant ships and embarge it can to place a partial embargo a sales of arms to allies demanded in lerman note opposed by United States.

Weene suffrage rejected by Indians that the fact that the fact is to place a partial embargo upon our foodstuffs by cutting off Germany's Supplies, but the fact made. Marry Chandler, millionaire land owner to see in the Germans and Austrians to see in law of Harrison Gray Otis, owner The Lee Angeles Times, indicted on large of having computed to violate to the strainty of United States by invading lions of unemployed in the United States win benefits for big cattle com-Pr. Arthur T. Hadley in address to Yale the use of the submarine be able to complete fire embargo, if the unemplayed would be any better off.
The embrage without such Sactal

Bates of the Panama-Paritic Sympation of the Panama-Paritic Sympation of the Panama-Paritic Sympation of the Panama-Paritic Sympation of the Panama-Paritic Sympathy of the Panama-Panam

Indians surround Bluff, Utah, and fire adopted resolutions declaring, "That whites. Demand for federal troops no Socialist legislator should vote on whites. Demand for federal troops no Socialist legislator should vote made. Several killed.

First American ship sunk on high seas for and no Socialist advocate the maintenance opening of European war. Exhaustive inquiry ordered.

British transport carrying troops to France reported destroyed, together with the convey. Worwegian press angered by national defense, as long as the destruction of Morse vessel.

White man lynched at Pleasant Hill.

White man lynched at Pleasant Hill.

The capitalist system endures."

The capitalist press in Oklahoma shows its fear of the deluge of So-

shows its fear of the deluge of So-cialist votes at the next election,

From Socialist Press

(From The Milwankes Leader.)

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, Jr., will receive a copy of this issue of The American Socialist with the accompanying article, "Was Rockefeller Converted" plainly marked. It may help to show him that the workers were not deceived by the press agent stunt perpetrated by his publicity man, Ivy Lee, during the hearings of the Industrial Commission in New York City.

VERY important trial is in progress in Pueblo.

A number of striking coal miners are being tried on the charge of having shot and killed four mine guarda near La Veta, Colorado, on November 8, 1913. pointed by Mayor Mitchel, Amos The capitalist press outside of Pueblo and imme-l'inchot expressed the opinion that diate vicinity has given very little notice to the case. it was futile to expect men such as Perhaps it is because only several miners are tried

> What are the lives of eight miners to the interests that control the press? A few miners more or less is a matter of indifference to those who give public in-

BUT TO THE workers this case is all important To the workers the case now being tried is fully as important as the Buck Stove and Range case or employed and poor by placing an the Danbury Hatters case. Perhaps it is a little embargo upon wheat. An embargo more important for in this case the very lives of at least eight of our comrades are at stake.

reast eight of our compages are at stake.

The charge against them is murdering mine guards who hired out to murder men, women and children who were fighting for the right to live. In other words, these miners now on trial at Pueblo are to be sent to the gallows for defending their home

and lives.
Is this an ordinary prosecution, such as would be conducted against persons who are really guilty of murder? Are these miners who fought that those dependent upon them might live, being tried in the same manner as real criminals would be tried?

LET US EXAMINE just a few facts in connection with this case.

Who are the attorneys for the prosecution? J. J. Hendricks, the district attorney; Jesse Northcutt of

Trinidad. Who is Jesse Northoutt? The attorney for the

Rockefeller coal operators.

This is the same Jesse Northeutt in whose office were stored a quantity of fivearms during the strike. This is the same Jesse Northcutt, who in company with Pelts and Belk, the notorious thurs, teck machupon our roodstuins by cutting on Germany's supplies, but the fact that wheat is \$1.50 instead of \$2 a bushel, which it undoubtedly would be if the Germans and Austrians if the fact that who helped kick the brakeman from a Colorado and Southern train because he protested against Northcott, Felts and Belk bringing a machine gus into a Pulman car.

Jesse Northcutt, the pal of Walter Belk the self-

confessed murderer, taking a most prominent part in the prosecution of miners that were outraged by the political and industrial tyrants who have dis-

graced the state of Colorado.

What a travesty upon justice! It would be far miners try Jesse Northcutt, for he as much as any other one of the despots is to blame for the lives that were lost during the strike.

HAS MR. ROCKEFELLER been converted? If so why is his attorney so prominent in the trial of the If his heart has softened by "Mother" Jones' narration of the horrible outrages committed in his

ST ADOLPH GERMER

Northcutt is not the only Rockefeller agent active in the prosecution of the miners. There are others.
Senator Charles Hayden of Walsenburg, whose whole career as a legislator has been one of blocking by nonsense, too.

whole career as a legislator has been one of the whole career as a legislator has been one of the sale of the mining interests.

In addition to these, Frank Gove and George Manly of the Manufacturers' Association and Citizen's Alliance are assisting in the prosecution.

Will anyone still deny that the mency interests are usurping the functions that properly belong to the civil authorities? Will anyone deny, that it is a the use of that cry for justice from the few remaining interests are usurping the functions that properly belong to the civil authorities? Will anyone deny, that it is a dians? They should understand that at present high prices justice is a luxury beyond the reach of all save for sub-cards for The American Socialist.

The way to do this right new is for 5,000 readers do send in \$1 each for sub-cards for The American Socialist.

BUT WHEN IS that investigation to be made?

Thousands of strikers are refused employment by this company. Will he investigate after they and their families are starved to death?

Scores of strikers are to be relimeded to the new.

They east as they tell us to live.

Scores of strikers are to be railroaded to the penitentiary and perhaps the gallows. This is to be accomplished with the aid of Rockefeller's agents.

If he were sincere in his premise to conduct an investigation to correct the wrongs, why doesn't he call off his dogs of warf

II on his degs or wary We have nothing to look for from Mr. Rockefeller. He has said that his mission in this world is to spend money in benevolent ways. And perhaps he "One who is trying to repair the meant what he said when he said it. The trouble is cracked shell of an octogenarian that Mr. Rockefeller's views on benevolence are quite different from ours. He has been raised in a different environment and cannot understand labor's view

point on these vital questions.

Besides, we do not need Rockefeller's benevolence.

And we do not ask benevolence. We ask justice. THE REASON WE do not get justice is because

we are not as loyal to our class interests as Rocke-feller is to his class interests. Instead of being loyal to our class interests, we are loyal to Rockefeller's class interests. And Rocke-

feller and his capitalist colleagues are profiting by that condition. That is why the Rockefeller interests have their

agents in powerful places trying to railroad working men to the gallows.

But the closing chapter in Colorado's industrial

of this nation to the other in protest against the to make a reputation as standard capitalist complicacy to murder men who fought for Had the aktuation been reversed and had the mine

guards brutally murdered strikers as they did in Walsenburg and Forbes, the array of counsel above mentioned would be defending the red-handed profes sional murderers.

Let every labor paper in the land start the fight to free the boys now on trial at Pueble.

THE GINGER JAR JUST GETTING STARTED By WM. FRANCIS BARNARD

With sympothy the starving well are fed; How graceless of them, then, to ask for

Why waste all that ruined cannon fodder; capitalist economy should supply plenty of carrion birds, and thus put it to some use.

ration of the horrible outrages committed in his of the scoundrel" it is the first refuge of the scoundrel" it is the first refuge of the fool.

You can't be neutral where the class struggle is concerned; and stop that capital and labor harmo-

Each knows one true friend, When the last hope shall end, And there's searcely the strength to draw Let them keep their chesp team, False pity and sheers; Fold as then to thy becom, kind Donti.

"What is a reformer, Papa?"

egg." Mr. Bryan's silence makes a very loud noise just now. Reactions speak louder than high sounding

The bachelors' clubs are opposed to woman suffrage. Woman will simply have to refuse to breed

The class struggle never appears r is not yet written.

The working class will be aroused from one end clai observances to those who want

district.

WHAT THEY SAY. "Keep evel; heep out; The strongest must rule, The weekest must rule, The weekest must go to the wall. Be wise; be wise; him the truth up with lies. Lost the walls of our Jujico fall.

Socialism cannot fail; all the fools are opposed to it. The price of a great character is the loss of a reputation.

The war brides will soon give birth to guns, cannon, and bombs. Custom is the father of ignorance; pabit is its mother.

Six cent bread is better than a

well fed working class, men are cheap as dirt. If you are with the great you need

not fear to lie: If you are with the small; one coffin-truth must die.

The truth about war: it is all

Cecil Chesterton is traversing Cecil Chesterton is traversing
American, hitting Socialism terrible blows with a pea-shooter.

The woman comrades are also time I want to join you. I am send-ing \$5 towards the party's debt. J.

"sindicate" was so right in truth for the cause of Socialism, — the that his spelling ought to be forgiven.

"Here is my second order for 4 only cause worth while." Jes. J. sub-cards for raising \$5,000." Thomsellamy, Carthage, Ind.

Carnegie says it is foolish to be "too good." Also) (we say to Andrew) it is not good to be too fool-

Several different state governments are toying with that black Cossack plan. To save Hell you volunt must always employ the Devil.

They want a substitute for bread,
A thing that's ne'er been known.
Just give them bran er hay instead.
And when these are gone, a stone. It appears that God is still on all

upon the market. When the church bells of Europe

THE big campaign has started! All of the readers of The American Socialist are by this time acquainted with the plan to put \$1,000 into the deploted coffers of the uniform! Socialist.

We are putting the elery of this hig effect on the second page this week because we let; that the startling exposure of organized millions ("Charity Trust" by Horris Hillquit was entitled to the entire first page. We can paly wish that we were in a position to enable every worker in the land, is read how the Carnegies and the Bookefellers are contributing hundreds of millions to chloreform the public mind and more firmly entrench the applicate class in power.

This great power must be mot and everthrewn. The American Socialist is one of the great weapons that enables you to combat the millions of capitalism with the pounies of the working class.

The American Socialist is not asking a denation, either for itself or the Socialist Party. It merely asks that you buy fear "sub" cards for \$1. You can easily sell these "sub" cards at 25 cents each and get your memory back. Hany of our readers write in and till how they have "Put their deliar for fear more."

Page 1988 The American Socialist Party. It merely asks that you buy fear "sub" cards for \$1. You can easily sell these "sub" cards at 25 cents each and get your memory back. Hany of our readers write in and till how they have "Put their fear more."

Page 2018 The American Socialist Party national execution with the members of the Socialist Party national execution with the members of the Socialist Party national execution.

Here is what the members of the Executive Committee have

to say about the big campaign to lift the \$5,000 debt off the party and boost the circulation towards the 100,000 mark.

and boost the circulation towards the rou, out that a.

VICTOR L. BERGER, the veteran of the committee cays:

"This is the best work any member can do at the present time, — It means good prepaganda and it will clear the party of its debt at the name time. By May 1st, The American Socialist should have 100,000 readers and the party be out of debt. New let's pull together committee."

JAMES H. MAURER, the Socialist fighter in the legislature of Pennshing to the state of the socialist fighter in the legislature.

"The biggest work of the Socialist Party is to build up a strong Socialist press. The power of the Socialist movement can be measured by the circulation and number of our papers. The campaign of The America

WATCH THESE FIGURES FROM WEEK TO WEEK

What We Want -- \$5,000 Total Received - - - 8200 Still Waiting For -- \$4,800

Justice is a prostitute, and her favors are for sale to the highest bidder. The law may be seen at any time in the garb of the red light district.

Justice is a prostitute, and her favors are for sale to the highest bidder. The law may be seen at any cards should win support everywhere. I want to see this campaign succeed. Here is my dollar."

ADOLDH GURDER.

and in the Mine Workers' organisation writes as follows:

"The American Socialist is now one of the most powerful of American Socialist publications and deserves the support of every Socialist and sympathiser.

"I am enclosing a dollar bill for subs. We must march to the 100,000

mark and then on to 1,000,000.

The america and feet of classy Socialist, i. o., working class information to the second section of the second section of

"Let every comrade do a little and we can seen record 1,000,000 voices proclaiming the end of capitalism and the rise of the co-operative commonwealth." LEWIS J. DUNCAN, former Socialist mayor of Butte. Mont., says:

A strong party owned paper is necessary to make our movement big and healthy. I am glad to see The American Socialist grew, and am glad that its resources are being used to get rid of the debt which hampers us.

J. STITT WILSON, former Socialist mayor of Berkeley, Cal., says: We need a big paper — we don't need a big debt. Let us boost the one and get rid of the other. Here's my dellar, — on with the good

WHAT OUR VOLUNTEERS HAVE TO SAY:

Here are a few statements taken from the many letters accompanying the dollars that roll in every day helping us on our journey toward the goal of \$5,000:

R. W. Dalsiel, Glenburn, N. D. writes: "I appreciate every good daily paper." M. Kalk, Waco, Tex. effort on your part. Here is my dollar." Auton Mahne, Chishelm, Minn., wants to be count 1 in with our list "Sincerely hope that five thousand of volunteers. comrades will send in their dollar. "I have always fought the world's

I surely do enjoy the paper", says
J. W. Trainer of Freeport, III.

guard known as "Ignorance." This , Douglas, N. D., sends a dollar The jitney bus of reform will for 4 sub-cards.

"I want no premium and desire to "Please add my dollar to the pile see the Party Paper with a million writes circulation and the party out of Ind. debt." W. DeCester, M. D. Windem.

The littley bus of reform with mever drive the railroad of graft out of business.

"Please add my going to the property of business." writes E. E. Overton, Indianapolis, Ind. The man who spelled syndicate as "May success crown your efforts Minn.

How about that perpetual war zone thrown around the toiling millions by exploitation? What? Used to that? Well!

Of the high cost of lying we hear no com.

"I am sending \$1 to help wipe out the good campaign. I wish we could put it move and I trust the comrades will in every home throughout the namake enough to pay the debt and have some to spare." Jos. Carney.

Anderson, Ind.

"I am sending \$1 to help wipe out the population of the life out in every home throughout the namake enough to pay the debt and the life out the skeptic as well as the life out the skeptic as well as the life out the life

"I want to be one of the 5,000

plaint:

It pays the false witness, who oft seems a "asint,"

Mere's the world's wisdom addressed to each youth:

"Yen can't make a million by telling the truth."

"I mean to keep \$1 at work from heliever." Ora Wylle, Marion, Ind.

"I mean to keep \$1 at work from heliever." Ora Wylle, Marion, Ind.

"I mean to keep \$1 at work from heliever." Ora Wylle, Marion, Ind.

"I hasten to answer the call for you know it is human nature to 5,000 volunteers to purchase four work for one's own interests, and I sub-cards." F. G. Brown, Denver. my own paper, and I mean to work "In answer to your request in the for my paper." Rosa B. Andersen, last American Socialist, I enclose Ottumwa, Ia.

33. for which please send me 12

"Let us put the circulation of The American Socialist above the 75,000 respond so you can raise the demark." Henry Perkins, Leagment Sired amount." Sherman Eiller, Fort Pierce, Fla. "Every time the subscription list

volunteers." A. Nordstrom, Craw-fordsville, Ind. duplicate my order for 4 sub-cards." "It is a pleasure to be one of the Dr. A. F. Green, Cleveland, Ohio.

volunteers to help make The American Socialist the greatest paper in but enclose a money order for \$1 America and hope the number of to help a little. Please send me comrades that will respond to this four more sub-cards and I will try proposition will be, so great that and get rid of them and send for we will be in a position to think of more inside of a weck." Thes. B. making The American Socialist a Richardson, Belvidere, Ill.

AMERICAN SOCKALICA VOLUNTEER SUB-BLANK

The American Socialist, 808 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed find \$1, for which please send me four American Secialist sub-cards. I am an AMERICAN SOCIALIST VOLUNTEER. I want so execute Part Beam his sad atoms and the party out of debt.

Yours for Socialism. Name Street No.

City State

Fire thousand men and wemen playment demonstration, in spite of on the ground that he did not hold marched through the streets of mud and slush. There are 30,000 sufficient property. The Socialists with land.

Winneapolis, Minn., in an unem-sunemployed in the city.

When we lie on our back to the land. There is always to the land. There are 30,000 sufficient property. The Socialists with land.

When we lie on our backs in our graves.

When we lie on our backs in our graves. NEXT WEEK-- See what the members of the

'E ABE in another hig fight. In almost every state in the nation many municipal elections are now in full swing. TOT WANT TO CARRY YOUR CITY FOR SOCIALISM!

of Secialism are winning the municipalities from the capitalist foe.

There will be four pages full of good stuff. The regular edition for militarism and war out of its position of power. — strengthen the demothis week will consist of six pages. The extra two pages will carry the
"Official Business" of the party and other routine matter. The big "Bundle
Order" Edition will consist of four pages of the heat membershall as and thus strengthen socialism itself, to the end that ultimately
people, and thus strengthen socialism itself, to the end that ultimately
the side of what particular measures can it throw its weight so as to gain advantages for world peace and disarmament, crowd the monster of
militarism and war out of its position of power. — strengthen the demotrace of the world, advance the interests of the proletariat and the
people, and thus strengthen socialism itself, to the end that ultimately
the side of what particular measures can it throw its weight so as to
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people are the particular as the proletarian and of Socialism are winning the municipalities from the capitalist for.

There will be four pages full of good stuff. The regular edition for

Order" Edition will consist of four pages of the best propaganda available for this campaign.

DO YOU WANT YOUR OWN LOGAL EDITION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST

THE municipal elections are approaching. How would you like to The pictures of your candidates and all sorts of local matter edited by the discussion: will let us know in time. For \$6,00 we will give you one column of local matter in The American Socialist: two columns will cost you \$5,00; three columns, \$10,00; four columns, \$12,00; A ENTIRE PAGE ONLY will be the result, not of one measure or movement, but of a series of measures and a combi. Some of the municipal edition, dated March 20, to socialism this spring.

Bundle orders of the paper will cost \$5, per thousand as usual. This has a great apparently for every community in the United States that has lation of a practical program for the immediate future, — the elatora.

We are not going to attain socialism at one bound. Neither are we going to abolish war or militarism or arraments at one stroke. It will be a gradual process, the beginnings of which are already at work. It will be the result, not of one measure or movement, but of a series of measures and a combi. Some of the local theatres in a unlawful to measure and a combi. Some of the local theatres in a unlawful to measure and a combi. Some of the local theatres and picture buses are closed. By giving these picture. The local theatres and picture houses are closed. By giving these picture, the League is all theaters and picture, the League is all theaters and picture. The local theatres and picture houses are closed. By giving these picture, the League is all theaters and picture, the League is a literate to a community in the little of a practical program for the immediate future, — the elatora
final purpose in regard to armament militarism and war, but the formulation of a practical program for the immediate future, — the elatora
final purpose in regard to armament militarism and war, but the formulation of a practical program for the immediate future, — the elatora
final purpose in regard to armament militarism and war, but the formulation of a practical program for the immediate future, — the elatora
final purpose in your own local on an inside page. We can arrange this for you if you?

Bundle orders of the paper will cost 55, per thousand as usual. This is a great opportunity for every community in the United States that has a municipal election this spring and does not have a local paper.

ACT AT ONCE. TIME IS PRECIOUS.

American Socialist Bundle Order Blank American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Shireday mineraphy was not as an armine of the first of The American Socialist, No I want to help The American Bunule Bates One Year to One Address & copies. 81: 8 copies. 82: 10 copies. 82: 50: 25 copies. 88: 5: 5: copies. 81: 80: 100 copies. 81: 80: 100 copies. 82: 60: 100 c Bundle Bates of Aug Is-State 200. 31: 100, 50 cents KOTE .- For Bundle rates in Cook County too The Chicago Section

AN INCOMPLETE PROPOSAL.

Colorado.

When the commission was appointed by Mayor Mitchel, Amos Perkins and Gary, who are chief among the beneficiaries of a system based on the exploitation of labor and natural resources, to propose measures that will strike at the root

restrict growing foodstuffs in the as a temporary expedient is not without its merits, but unless it should be supplemented with measdisposal of those who need it, the

Socialists of Valdes, Alaska, have

Turks slay hundreds of Armenians. De-medies people shot and homes burned. Renate naval committee votes for 21 Sensate naval committee votes for 21 indicated the Tulsa, Okla. legislature. Says the Tulsa, Okla. Sectalist peace meetings in Italy broken World: "We beg to remind them of

THE PROGRAM AND THE GOAL

By CARL D. THOMPSON NOTE:—Mr. Thompson was a member of the subcommittee of the National Executive Committee that made the draft of the proposed peace program, and has given the matter considerable study. The following article is the first of a series which Mr Thompson will contribute to the American Socialist in the discussion of the peace program. In these articles he proposes to cover the various phases of the program, the principles underlying them, and incidentally to reply to some of the criticisms that are being made of the proposed program.

Remarge against all shipments may be seeme weapon of the United States.

Germans reported to have defeated Rus candidate on the Socialist ticket resease and taken 100,000 prisoners.

Secialist Assemblyman James

Yint, in the Wisconnin legislature

We beg to remind them of the Mr. Thompson will contribute to the American Socialist in the pasce of the program. In these articles he proposed to cover the various phases of the program, the principles underlying them, and incidentally to reply to some of the criticisms that are being mole of the proposed program.

We beg to remind them of Mr. Thompson will contribute to the American Socialist in the pasce against all shipments may be derendful average which every being mole of the proposed program.

TNDER socialism there will be no war, — there will be no monstrous militarism or armaments such as we know today.

Every socialist understands that. And millions who are not socialists principles underlying them, and incidentally to reply to some of the criticisms that being made of the proposed program.

**NDER socialism there will be no war, — there will be no monstrous militarism or armaments such as we know today.

**Every socialist understands that. And millions who are not socialists winne E. Branstetter,

storage were houses.

Secialist Assemblyman Frank use of power had begotten abuse of ture, has introduced a bill for an eight hour law for all but agricul ture, has introduced a bill for an eight hour law for all but agricul ture, has introduced a bill for an eight hour law for all but agricul ture, has introduced a bill for an eight hours.

***TRIMES.** Oble, Feb. 8, 1915.

***TRIMES.** Oble, Feb. 8, 1915.

***We need no argument on that question. With all our might, we are against mar; we are against mar; we are against mar; we are against mar power and begotten abuse of power had begotten abuse of ture, has introduced a bill for an eight hour law for all but agricul ture, has introduced a bill for an eight hour law for all but agricul ture, has introduced a bill for an eight hour law for all but agricul ture, has introduced a bill for an eight hour law for all but agricul ture, has introduced a bill for an eight hours.

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**We need no argument on that question. With all our might, we are against mar; we are against mar; we are against mar; we are against mar power eight had given with all our might, we are against mar; we are against mar power and where long on the power and solution of militarism and we want absolute disarmament. Socialism will never be satisfied and our efforts never abate until these objects are achieved.

On these things all socialists are absolute.

On these things all socialists are absolute to the power and where long the power and where long and brought about the rule of the produced corruption which the bosses from their throne and about war:

Oblega, III.

Oblega, III.

**Mental about war:

Oblega, III.

Described and our efforts never abate until these objects are achieved.

On these things all socialists are absolute.

**On the section of the power of the power of the power of the power of the states where long the social substance of the bosses for the power of the states where long the social substa

question of whether we want war or militariam or armaments That is settled long ago. The real problem is how to get rid of them.

The question is not what will we have under socialism, but how can we get rid of what we have, that keeps us from getting socialism. The question is not what should socialists stand for as a final goal That also is settled long ago. The real question is what are or ideal. the concrete, definite measures by which the socialists can rid the world of militarism and war; - what are the practical, possible steps which So The American Socialist is going to help you in two ways. It is socialism can urge and at what points in the world struggle and in what going to get out a special "CARRY YOUR CITY FOR SOCIALISM" ediways can the socialist movement marshall its power and influence; on
then No. 124, dated March 20. This special issue will tell how the forces: the side of what particular measures can it throw its weight so as to

the goal may be reached. able for this campaign.

Tou will want a great big bundle of this issue to distribute in your cal work, it is as Withelm Liebknecht has so well said years ago:

"We are not going to attain socialism at one bound. The transition is going on all the time and the important thing for us is not to paint a picture of the future—but to forecast a practical program for the immediate period, to formulate and justify measures that shall serve as aids to the socialist rebirth."

YOU WANT YOUR OWN LOCAL mediate period, to formulate and justify measures that shall serve as adds to the socialist rebirth."

A great amount of wisdom is crowded into those few words. They lay down principles upon which all really constructive socialists come to agree sooner or later. — principles which we must again especially less which are frequently held. Wembers are approaching. How would you like to have a special issue of the Universal Socialist for your own city! The Complete special issue of the Universal Socialist for your own city! In members of standing on their feet and delivering a good short talk on any question.

lation of a practical program for the immediate future. — the elations able to attract big through to hear the Scientist of constructive measures that will aid in the evolutionary processess, success. tionalism and poace. And whatever the incidents of violence or international convulsion or catastrophe may attend the process, the essential thing for us is to keep our minds fixed and our energies directed upon the large busy. The League busy were larged busy the larged busy at least two lestures are held every ulate the forces that will ultimately overthrow the militaristic system that will ultimately overthrow the militaristic system busy and the process and not about a special affairs keep the Schenertady New bocal that mark the transition from militarism, armaments and war to interna-tionalism and peace. And whatever the incidents of violence or interna-

ulate the force that will ultimately overthrow the militaristic system
the more important considerations for us just now. It is the way that
the more important considerations for us just now. It is the way that
the more important considerations for us just now. It is the way that
the more important considerations for us just now. It is the way that
the more important considerations for us just now, not the goal.
It is important that we never forget our goal, it is true But it is
even more true that unless we take steps towards the goal, we will never
get there. Hence the "steps" are the more important consideration for us
the more important consideration for us
the more important considerations for us picking the four best debaters to represent
the purpose of t

part in the discussion of the problems involved in the formulation of our peace program, it will help immensely in the direction of united and con-

Woman's Department WINNIE E. BRANSTETTER, Director

This department has charge of pre-agands and organization among wampagends and organization among wear-en. Is purpose is to make Socialists, unionists and intelligent voters of wear-and to secure their active member-ship in the Socialist Party. Address all communications to

Socialist Party, Women's Dept. 813 W Madison St., Chicago. STRIKER'S CHILDREN RECEIVE GIFT

Young People's Dept. J. A. ROGERS, Jr. - - Director

cialist Purty Young People's Dept. 808 W. Mediern St., Chicago.

With lectures, entertainments and de-bates, the Lower Bronx League of New York City, is deing great work and mak-ing aplendid progress. The League-now has #5 members, every one of whom is in good stauding, and it is expected to awell this number to 200 before aix months have passed. The Dramatic Club of the League in preparing to give to seems League is preparing to give to access from Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

If these principles are borne in mind by those who study and take

marched through the streets of mud and slush. There are 30,000 sufficient property. The Socialists Minneapolis, Minn., in an unem-sunemployed in the city.

J. F. Higgins, the Socialist election.

ism. Barnes' conception of individualism is strangely like skindied mayor of Star City. West Va. vidualism is has been custed by the judge of the

Executive Department

WALTER LANTERSTELL. Complete

VICTOR L. SEROER, SOS Floor Co. LEWIS J. DUNCAN, Date, Ment. ADOLPH GERMER, 505 Facus Benk Building, Springfield, Ill. JAMES H. MAURER, 1864 E. Horonth St., Reading, Po. S., STITT WILSOM, Midge Read, Bu-boley, Cal.

Address all communications to The Socialist Party, 808 W. Madiem street, Chicago. Address all mall to depart-ments and not to individuals. Habe yenitteness payable to the Socialist

OFFICIAL BUSINESS.

Local South Huntington, W. Va. By Local South Runtington, w. Va. WHEREAS, The working classes of the rious nations of Europa have been reed against their will into a fratrieddal rife which will bring nothing but misory d increased poverty to the workers of antions, and WHEREAS. Socialist representatives in

he parliaments of Europe have seen fit of support the militaristic policies that re arraying the workers of Europe under the various nationalistic banners in dename of our international program and outrary to the best interests of the instrumental working classes, therefore be

BESOLVED, That the American Branch of the Recialist movement declare itself opposed in all military activities, and be FURTHER RESOLVED, That all So-cialist legislatures who vote military sup-plies to capitalist governments do there-by automatically forfeit their membership in the American branch of the Interna-tional Socialist movement. 20 members in good standing. Published for seconds Feb. 27, 1915.

By Local Morrison, Ohla.
That the Becialist Barty of the United States denounce the ruling of the Civil Service Commission depriving the Civil Service employee of their constitutional, personal and political libertice and altegulature exact a law repealing acid ruling and by so deing release the Civil Service employee from peenage, giving them the same political libertice as other United States citizens.

8 members in good standing.

8 members in good standing. Published for seconds Feb. 37, 1915.

By Local Roberts County, So. Dak.
Shall the National Enceutive Committee, the National Secretary, the Weman's National Correspondent and all other National Party officers be instructed by the membership of the Socialist party to apprepriate me more party funds, and to cease frem using the party organization to raise or to distribute funds for any other purposes than those directly connected with the perfecting of the party organization and the prepagating of political Socialism?

COMMINET.

In our opinion no strike ever gains any-

In our opinion no strike ever gains any-ing for the working class as a whole. thing for the working class as a whole. Every strike that gains the ends for which it was insuperated only confirmed a strikers in the confirmation of the ends of

and voters become disgrated with once fulle things.
There has been open many thousands of deflare contributed by Beckelints hat always for atribes, charity investigations and so on; never, for some time new, anything for Beckelism, encops a comparatively few deliars begged from the weak to aid the strong, so in the congressional campaign, where every candidate so ided(f) was defeated and only Openede I. onder was elected without such aid(f). To every appeal for aid in building up the party organization, in securing more members or in the campaign for weman outfiness in the really same.

runds available."

The reason is not far to cook. Almost invariably, when a warking man is given a place of some authority, he loses much of the ability to think and set as a workingman. He tends to function psychologically as a gentleman(!) But these efficies are our severants, not our bosses, and it is high time we instructed them; they need it and we need SOCIALISM.

49 members in good standing.

Published for seconds, Feb. 37, 1918.

SECONDS TO BEFERENDUMS. , Received since last Publication.
BY NEW BORTON, MINN: (first published Dec. 5, 1914). Seconded by: Lethair, Mont.: (Coquet, Minn.
BY PHILADELPHIA: (first published

sair, Ment.; Clequet, Minn.

BY PHILADELPHIA: (first published Jan. 2, 1915). Seconded by Tehena County. California.

BY RUTTERDAM JUNCTION, N. Y.: (first published Jan. 16, 1915). Seconded by: Troy, N. Y.: Middletown, N. Y.: (his year. I is very necessary to know whether the Recialtst Party stands with N. Y.: Lockport, N. Y.: Buffele, N. Y.: Mether the Recialtst Party stands with N. Y.: Lockport, N. Y.: Buffele, N. Y.: Mether the Recialtst Party stands with N. Y.: Lockport, N. Y.: Buffele, N. Y.: Mether the Recialtst Party stands with reading matter of its membership, and if excommunication fellows any deviation published Jan. 16, 1915). Seconded by: (first published Jan. 16, 1915). Seconded by: (first published Jan. 18, 1915). Seconded by: Railest Mah.: (Columbus Kans.

BY OBWEGO, KANS: (first published Jan. 28, 1915). Seconded by Columbus Cans.

BY OBWEGO, KANS: (first published Jan. 28, 1915). Seconded by Columbus Kans.

BY OBWEGO, KANS: (first published Jan. 28, 1915). Seconded by Columbus Kans. BY ORWESO,
Jan. 28, 1915). Beconded by
Kana.
BY BLACK DIAMOND, PINNISH
pRANCK, WASH.: (first published
Feb. 13, 1915). Beconded by: Elizabeth,
W. Va.: Prederick, Otha.
EXPIRED REPERBUDUMS.

EXPIRED REPERSHOUSES.

By Loral Pomona, Calif.

12 members in good standing.

Bubmitted for seconda, Nov. 21, 1914.

Expired Feb. 19, 1915.

SECONDR: Sante Anna Br., Calif., 28;
Valenaia, Calif., 17; Upland, Calif., 24;
Long Beach, Calif., (Withdrawn); Melreno, Calif., (Withdrawn); Hemed, Calif., 10;
Laheport, Calif., (Withdrawn); Alameda, Calif., 30; Orong, Calif., 21;
Porterville, Calif., 28;
Redlanda, Calif., (Withdrawn); Menterwy, Calif., 30; Windsor, Calif., 10;
Rellister, Calif., 20; Enfaule, Okla., 8;
Mannanita, Calif., 22; Debese, Calif., 12.
Lodi, Calif., (Withdrawn); Tuatin, Calif., 18;
Lodi, Calif., (Withdrawn); Tuatin, Calif., 19; Erroba, Calif., 72; Camine, Calif., 19;
Kurdawn); Euroha (Pinnish), Calif., 58; San Louis Oblopo, Calif., 58; Canchella, Calif., (Withdrawn); Lettich Br. Los
Angelea, Calif., 26; Langir, Okla., (momhere and given); Petafuma, Calif., 19;
Weburn, N. Dak., 18; Augusta, Me., 11;
Ran Bernardino, Calif., 52; Woodland,
Calif., 39; Melrose No. 21, Calif., 27;
Ripao, Calif., 19.

Total membership in good standing 790.

And I was a continued by the continued b

SHALL WOMEN WORK? From B. WOOK

tion wherein there would be no women working in the industries. But that is a great mistake.

To be sure, we Socialists intend to sholish the long hours and the un-

desirable conditions under which Women work at present. So also we incled to abolish the long hours and the conde was under which mea work at present. We do not intend to prohibit mea from working altogether. And it would be just as ridiculous to suppose that we intend to pre

POSSIBLY THE WOMEN will not choose to work in the mines and fields. But, in my humble opinion there will be millions of them working in the mills, factories, offices, and elsewhere. And they will work in

the mines and fields if they so desire. It would be fatal to our prospects of reaching the women with the message of Socialism if we were to give the militons of wage earning women to understand that we did not intend to let them continue to earn their own living, but proposed to compel them to become dependent upon men. They prize what little independence they have, and they wan

It would be equally fatal to our prospects of reaching the women with the message of Socialism if we were to give the married women to understand that they must remain dependent upon men. It is one of the most hopeful signs of the times that they are chafing under the galling chains of dependence.

Moreover, if we really did intend to shut women out of the industries Socialism would not be worth having.

Even the rather pitiful measure of economic freedom secured by

some women under capitalism is exceedingly wholesome and beneficial.

It is one of the greatest glories of Socialism that it will extend econ omic freedom to all women, and extend it to them in abundance

FAR FROM SHUTTING women out of the industries. Socialism will do just the opposite. It will e pen up to every woman a full and free opportunity to earn

her own living and to receive her full earnings.

This means the total cessation of marrying for a home.

It means that there will be no more prostitution, either inside or outside of the marriage relation.

It means that the sex relations between men and women will be

raised to a plane of purity which can scarcely be imagined under the present degrading and impossible conditions.

SOCÍALIST WOMEN'S DAY, SUNDAY, FEB. 26 Reading, Pa., Feb. 18, 1915. The Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill. Dear Comredes: — The State Committee of Pomeryvania last night instructed me to inform you that they magnet that the Rational Examples Committee of A. F. of L. to

Comment en Executive Committee Motions

offense he was sentenced by the police educt of Fort Wayne \$50 and costs and fifty days in juli.

RALPH KORNGOLD

ier, Bestrem, Boll, Haren, Heusten, Be-thenberg, Hareld. TOTAL, S. MRS. OHRIS SAUERS: Maures, Burks. TOTAL, S. NOT VOTING: Bradford, Griffitha, Heatel, Pimbley, Onesl, McOrillia, Brower, Huerters, Recewer, Asliences, Riseason, Garver, Axiell, Goebel, Theinert, Eber-hard, Seidel, Mangan, TOTAL net weigs, 18.

hard, fieldel, Mangan. TUTAL new versus, 18, Total number of votes east, 46. Nocember to a choice, 39. None of the candidates having received a majority, there is therefore no election.

In accordance with Rule 10 of the National Committee, there being one member of the Woman's National Committee to be chosen, all of the candidates will be dropped ancapt the two having received the highest/number of votes...

RULE NO. 10 OF THE NATIONAL COM-

Genment on Motion Me. 11.

Redriguez, Cock County and the Illinois
State organization have both compiled
with the action of the National Executive
Committee. Purther, Local Cock County
has adopted a cleane in its constitution
to the effect that Language branches shall
hear grievances areainst, and penalize their
own members. The Executive Committee
action ameunts to the same thing nationaliy. I believe the principal to be a good
one to follow, provided the language Ver
deration does not by its action violate the
platform, principals or constitution of the
Party. And I do not believe any mesh
charge could be made against the Finnish
Federation in this case.

(Comment on Motion Me. 4)

Shots At The Enemy

By DUNCAN M. SMITH

The tremendous economic waste that results from the enforced idleness of several million men must be anagent to area the amateur economist. Under intelligent direction, such as there was at Panama, we could build with the unemployed such a system of public works as existed nowhere else in all history. It goes without saying that we could also produce enough wealth so that no one need be hungry or cold, but the practical politician is not far doubts neither the sincerity nor enough advanced for that. He can questions the motive of the opponsee the need of a public building or ents of this resolution. He does a good highway but he cannot hear however believe that some of their the cry of the hungry.

If the European blockade is made with a profound distrust in the grain tight we can keep our wheat at home and starve. Strange as it the Tories of this day that the may seem to you that would be the effect. It would mean that wheat themselves. One of the arguments would go down in price and that our grain growing states would be flat on their backs even as Texas is because it has too much cotton.

It would mean that wast to majority, its feelings beginning played upon by the Capitalist on their backs even as Texas is because it has too much cotton.

and busted financially to take his chance among stronger men. So-clety that took such good care of him when he was sick now lets him when he was sick now lets him the condition of the shifting may be at the time.

human beings are or are not to be go out to murder workers or other mained or slaughtered as a result nations to please capitalism, there are no Socialists killed in the war? That one way to raise the standard of intelligence is to exterminate the have seen fit to use when dealing the provider provider that the part of it which provider praying and the murder workers or other matters to please capitalism, there are no Socialists killed in the war? That one way to raise the standard of intelligence is to exterminate the fools? If not, why not? PRANE BOSTROM, Tacoma, Wash to inform you that they magnet that the Matienal Exametive Committee meet with the Executive Committee of A. F. of L. to formulate plans in expectition to war. The possessibilities of the United States being drawn into/the present conflict in Europa are lessing large and the Pennayivania Engletive Committee feels it highly important that some steps be taken looking to definite action on the part of the Socialist Party and the A. F. of L. in the present crisis.

Trusting that you will take up this matter at your earliest envenience, I am, Youre in the cause.

(Signed) ROBERT B. RINGLER.

Fraternally submitted,
Walter Lanfornick, Executive Secretary.

the present period of reaction but to do the fighting would be a legiti-we must remember that it will come mate weapon if wielded by the to an end. Perhaps the forces of spokesman for the capitalist system evolution have swung back for a forward movement. There is a lot of the party will have a chanced to of history being made now to justi-vote upon this resolution. If the and communities are studying the hungry man has no place else to for the party.

CHA! of the hungry. There would be a big vote if they should.

After a while people will quit pitying the war sufferers and begin pitying themselves. When they do we may expect something to drop.

American manufacturers assure the government on their word of honor that they are not building submarines for European countries but the kaiser does not believe them. He knows about the word of honor of a business man.

The San Francisco exposition is open but many have not started for it yet. The walking will be better

The war is to begin in earnest in the spring. All of the nations have new crops of privates that they killing, perhaps for their stupidity in being privates. The capitalist notion of good

times is a condition in which only a few thousand instead of a few million are starving to death. The unemployed man must see by

this time that the various govern-American Socialist ments will do nothing for him and that he must do something for him-Lecture Bureau

We can't see why the United States should want to go to war We have all of the benefits of war including war prices for food and none of the drawbacks.

The Army and Navy Journal is calling for 100,000 volunteers to show that this country is ready for war. No one is holding back the editors of that paper. The enlist-

Letters from "American Socialist" Readers

REFERENDUM ON WAR.

Socialists is taken into consideration that comment is justified. He are Socialists who are Democrats

It is said that there was less money spent in the Chicago primary campaign than in any of recent was less majority and this would mean that case will as the majority than to try to edupart to the responsibility as well as the majority? What other business and it takes one of these women 20 has a minority than to try to edupart to the majority and this would mean that case the majority into its own views.

And what right have we to expect in the large New York City departing. The flag in the large New York City departing the mean stores earn less than \$8 a week to expect in the large New York City departing. The flag in the large New York City departing the mean stores earn less than \$8 a week to expect in the large New York City departing. The flag is the majority? What other business and it takes one of these women 20 has a minority than to try to eduparting the majority and this would mean that the majority into its own views. campaign than in any of recent years. With four candidates, all its mistake would not be apt to be satisfactory, the capitalists did not see the need of wasting money. Wait until the Socialists threaten and you will see the strong box of privilege did speed.

War has one advantage over peace. In the warring countries they try to feed the unemployed.

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War has one advantage over peace. In the warring countries they try to feed the unemployed.

War has one advantage over peace. This argument has been but to be and so become a majority into its own varies in decome a majority into its own varies in decome a majority into its own views and so become a majority into its own varies in decome in trying to depart them? And what business have we to deprive the majority of week one-third less than \$7, two thirds \$10 or less, and only one-third less than \$7 two trying in the selection of the investigation of the people sometimes voted against its inalienable ri abolished. Another argument is frumanitarism is such a strong that if one was compelled to sign his Fumanitarism is such a strong that it one was competited to state the secretary of the pallot would be endangered, and there the doctors perform Now there is just one ballot that the secretary of the ballot would be endangered. Now there is just one ballot that else is misleading and wasteful? Fire the doctors perform Now there is just one ballot that the secretary of the ballot would be endangered. Now there is just one ballot that else is misleading and wasteful? Fire the doctors perform Now there is just one ballot that the secretary of the ballot would be easily the secretary of the ballot that the secretary of the ballot would be endangered. The secretary of the ballot would be endangered. tal and there the doctors perform Now there is just one ballot that since no Bocialist could, unmiracles on his body. If he recovers never should be secret and that is

That since no Bocialist could, unthey turn him loose, weak physically the ballot which means that other and busted financially to take his human beings are or are not to be go out to murder workers of other mained or slaughtered as a result

It is hard to have patience with vote for war should be compelled 'impractical" that will settle it. A

> CHARLES W. ERVIN, Philadelphia, Pa.

WHAT ABOUT IT! While we have always prided our selves on our superior wisdom and our "scientific" position in a politigal way, isn't it a fact that it is

iqui way, isn't it a fact that it is different to imagine a set of greater chumps than the Socialists have shown themselves nearly to a man in the peculiar ditemma which this world war has placed them in?

We have in the past bragged about our success in preventing this and that war, until we really believed it earnestly enough to hypnotise

RUSTLERS.

RUSTLERS.

**Arrangemehte have been made between the Chicage (Gook Goonty) and the National Socialist Party which will enable shown in the past bragged about our success in preventing this and that war, until we really believed it earnestly enough to hypnotise it earnestly enough to hypnotise ven some of our more decent opponents into believing it.

one that could stop a war? And dates for the spring campaign. what could we ever have done to stop war or preparation for war?
We have always charged capital- FREE TO YOU! ism with responsibility for war as well as for all other ills, and rightfully so. We have even proved that war MUST last as long as capitalism States that are not yet aware of the prevailed, that the armed forces

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For agree; and pertivalars, write, JOSEPH SCHEOLL & OO., Mass. Ridg., Kansse City, Mo.

minority so insignificant as The writer is not given to argu- amount to next to nothing. ing in the party press about questions of party policies. This is his first offence. He feels however. first offence. He feels however, that some of the arguments of the opponents of the "Philadelphia Resolutions" dealing with the warmaking power, are so remarkable when the fact that they come from the company of the system of the solutions of the "Philadelphia Resolutions" dealing with the warmaking power, are so remarkable when the fact that they come from the system of the sy when the fact that they come from and the grown-up children are surprised that there is hardly a wet spot left to show where the won-derful air castle once shone in all

its splendor. Did the Socialists stop the war between Sweden and Norway? Yes study the rank and file, marching through that: the streets to the number of a hundred thousand, with banners carrying the inscription: "We want no war" and "Let those who want war do the fighting," probably did something. But does anyone se-riously believe that the parliamentarians had any influence there or year;

ignorance of the working class? are still lower, Dr. Woolston point only enemy? That this ignorance is therefore out only enemy? That to fight anything disability. His testimony of railways is hardly surpassed to fight anything disability.

To increase the circulation of The American Socialist, I suggest that the Socialist Party branches in a municipality cooperate with one another in making an effort to have ty the accialist position. Individuals majority think it "didculous" and this paper placed on sale at the news stands, at 2c per copy. unemployed problem and they have few comrades, no matter how gifted to confess that under capitalism or how pure their motives in optimize of 5 or 6 members can be found to soak into some heads. When the ficiently wise to decide this matter In a city that has 100 active so-

terest in this plan.

A suitable stamp with which to print the price of the paper would cost very little. Consider this at your next meeting.

OAVID GREEN,

854 Montrose Bivd., Chicago.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO CHICAGO MUSTLERS.

Milwaukee Socialists have name onents into believing it.

Honestly now, what have we ever and selected several judicial candi-

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WAGES OF 100,000 IN NEW YORK. The New York State Factory In- viewed regarding residence, 65 per

Fifty thousand men and women in 4 trades alone in New York state and 30 per cent of all are foreigners, are earning under \$8 a week; Out of 15,000 women employes in industrial lines in New York ('ity, 8,000 received less than \$6.50 a week during the busy season last

elsewhere in preserving peace?

And what right have we to expect it? Do we not believe in the rule of it takes one of these women 20 Fifty-three per cent of the women The figures given by Howard B. Woolston, director of the investiga-

Irene Osgood Andrews of the American Association for Labor Legisla. The author's con tion, who declared that out of 1,063 women rateworkers in the better candy factories of New York City 89 per cent had weekly earnings averaging for a year less than their given wage. In regard to departation of government ownership in the United States would be bessering that the states would be bessering to the control of the control ment stores, Mrs. Andrews quoted one New York City establishment with an average payroll of 3.750 employes which added during the year 12,759 people and dropped

Of 1,300 women employes interwages in unorganised trades at the preliminary hearings of the commission on the wage problem held in New York City December 1 and 2. This evidence, which the commission has collected during its two years study of wages in the state, showed that: ner cent with friends or relatives could spend as they chose.
In the trades studied, three-Efficients

of the workers are women and girls, BOOK REVIEW. "Government Ownership of East-

ways." Samuel O. Dunn. Published

by D. Appleton & Company, New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net. The purpose of this volume is first, to give information as to the comparative results of public and private ownership and management of railways in various leading and typical countries. Its chief purpose however, is to try to direct serious consideration to the question what — in view of the experience of other countries with state ownership and management, and of the conditions existing in the United States - would probably be the re-

sults of the adoption of government ownership and management of railbe presented to American des The author's conclusion is age

ficial to the public." (p. 278).

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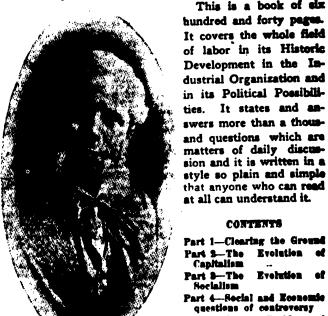
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Part 4-Social and Economic questions of controversy Part 5—Current Problems of Public Interest Part 6-Political Organisa-

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Walter Thomas Mills

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Gain "It is by persistent work that and constructive measure for the great menuments are built," said abolition of memperment. the Frenchman, Zola.

American Socialist sub-hustlers Statesman, leading Republican daily socialist movement. evidently have the determination to of Idaho, and the Capital building.

There no doubt are many papers, "hit the unemployed problem square the in the country which can show large, between the eyes" er jumps in circulation than this mayer "My emergency employment paper, but we doubt whether there bill is not a charity measure.

The comrades have taken hold what I carn with a lot of other

BE A VOLUNTEER.

ROLL OF HONOR

"The American Socialist is what we era in every county in the state shall, an booting for it every chance peat." Arthur E. Hansen, Bast Stan wave or such other work as they is, Wash.

Chas. Pfeiffer, Prement, Nobr., extends subscription for 2 years in order to playment, as slimb to the 78,000 mark. Applicat "Let us peak the circulation to 100,000" playment are made to the clerk of passers. W. Perkins and so saying he the heard, the applicant awearing he as a remittance for 5 sub-cards.

Judin W. Sowers, Salt Lake City, Utah odd heater for the party paper enters to week with the names of 18 comrades "I am much pleased with the cention of methodical improvement of The American Socialist and I am very much astistical improvement of the American Socialist and I am very much astistical improvement of the American Socialist and I am very much astistical improvement of the socialist and I am very much astistical improvement of the social improvement and the social improvement of the social improvement in the district; provided, that if the applicant is uniform the social improvement in the compensation be not less than 1% have all we need for progress."

This comrade event 88 worth of cards.

"There been a Socialist for a number of the usual wage.

Day a 10 cost subscription card for The leveled by the state from the county merican floridate for that friend of merican floridates. Here the work is just great to meaking good." O. M. Oor. Milan. is, to see of our regular subscription of the Wisconsin's enthusins.

"Bottaliem to coming fact. The work:

Are gotting awake." J. A. Standley, made. 24. The comrades at Pecatel

24. and our subcomption cards at the Date meeting.

New Haven, Conn. recently cele-Grimes, Clairies, Pa. puts brated his 84th birthday.

"Euro are sense names for The Ameria Seculiari taken at the mass meeting held about \$250 was raised as falling off the waterways I Great progress by the Socialist take. E. Bartisti, St. Paal.

B. B. Britist, St. Paal.

To we able last night to ecars up a state subscriptions at a farmer's club meet ing. I hope it will bring a few more on the right read to salve all problems of life." Help L Langua, Althin, Minn.

C. E. Breckman, Las Veges, New, many in the colony by Frank E. Wolfe.

"Tour paper is good. Fills the bill massly." Sam Bassler, Springdale, Ark

E. B. Van Vallesburg, Enid, Ohla, and in a list of 8 and lopes we will have 193,000 readers this year.

"Eare comes my little above for the colony by Frank E. Wolfe.

The Socialist Cooperative Colony at Liano del Rio, near Los Angele, Califf, is shown in a report just is used for an allowed the colony by Frank E. Wolfe.

The Socialist Cooperative Colony at Liano del Rio, near Los Angele, Califf, is shown in a report just is used for all the colony by Frank E. Wolfe.

The Socialist of San Unionic, Text, have entered the municipal ection of a platform and the selection of candidates. Hig results of the Philades.

Vegen Socialist of the Philades.

BOOSTER CLUB

\$8.00 Worth of sub-card. He care NOW IS THE CHANCE FOR THE SOCIALISTS OF COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP OF NOT

SOCIALIST'S JOBLESS BILL. WINS IN IDABO LEGISLATURE. ON THE WAR By ROBERT HUNTER

remarked to Boxman that the bill

Bowman in speaking of the hill

Applications for emergency

one flecal year within the state. Eight hours constitutes a day's

The nnemployed demonstration at

Rockford, Ill., was bighty successful

mercased from 5 mm to 21 mm

right of man to work. The lone so challenge of the present war many people have asked why challenge representative in the legis-

cialist representative in the legistrature, Senator Rati W. Rowman Many reasons have been given but so far as I have seen no one historiqueed an UMPRGENCY EM- pointed out that Socialism is in reality the cause of the war.

principled an 1 MPRGLNC1 r. 11 pointed on that sections in in reality the cause of appearance of the war - Shaw, Wells, Vandervelde, Viviani, Hasse, Scheide the the house of appresentatives, with man and an The real of their commercialism, militarism, capitalism, nationalment in the convention and other isms have at last resulted in the long expected and the man and the most work works.

n legislature of 23 senators and 51 inevitable world war.

I have read papers and magazines until my head is tired. I have reduced the second counter-accusations from all the lords and potentime in the history of the United tates of the carth denouncing this or that action of secret diplomacy to congress by Congress

BUT DESPITE ALL that I have read I come back to the first flash The bill was received favorably of thought that crossed my mind in August last, that the cause of the from the first. The Idaho Dally war was the growing power, national and international, of the modern

The one big voice that I have heard expressing the same thought is make their paper a great monument lending Democratic daily, have both that of Liebknecht. "This war," he declared, "is a Napoleonic effort to to the cause of Socialism, for they given considerable attention to the little cause of Socialism, for they little, from a favouble viewpoint are quietly, steadfastly, persistently Mayor Hodges of Boise personally attempt to confuse the leaders."

Bernard Shaw says nearly the same thing when he declares that Junker-Militarist-Capitalist class of Germany, France, Russis and England have formented and incited the present war.

I cannot believe that the capitalists of Germany, France, Russia and

Englard had any quarrel among themselves that necessitated this war.

I refuse to believe that the bloodthirsty teachings of the military Is any paper in the country that can a cold-blooded business proposition lords of England, France, Germany and Russia brought on this war, show a more steady and persistent There is no mandle sentiment in . No doubt they wanted war and no doubt the war traders with their

ili. I am simply tired of dividing great factories for making war materials wanted war, what I earn with a lot of other. No doubt some of them would have been satisfied with any excuse in palendidly of the volunteer cam- people who are as able to work ar order to have launched a war, but without the aid of the dominant classes palen for The American Socialist 1, and 1 hope the legislature, by of the four great countries of Europe no clique or coterie or commercial in this issue you will again find a making this bill a law, will put it syndicate could have started this war.

to go to work and feed himself. I WHAT THE DOMINANT class in England feared more than all else, need what few dollars I earn to in this world was the steady, onward, almost irresistible growth of Labor's feed my own family - let the other political power. For forty years the war lords of Germany have pled with the German

The plan of the bill is as follows: nation to crush the socialist movement. The young German crown The board of county commission prince has called the four million German Social Democrats a party of As Behel once said, the rulers of Germany have for years denounced

As Benef once Said, the raisers of vermany may for years accommon the enemy at home." In 1859 the Kaiser said: "To me a Social Democrat represents an enemy of the Empire and the Patheriand."

"A fortnight later," continues Behel, "the Emperor called upon those gathered round him to make war against the Party of Subversion." On September 2, 1895, we were denounced as 'a hand of mon unworthy to bear the name of Germans.' On October 18, 1895, at the time of the mur-Chas. Lits. Sandasky. Onto erdors a the state of Idaho for not less that, to the family described the victim as 'one more victim of the reverbed of sub-cards. He will either sell six months.

Little state of Idaho for not less that, to the family described the victim as 'one more victim of the reverbed of sub-cards. He will either sell six months.

Little state of Idaho for not less that, to the family described the victim as 'one more victim of the swearing-in of later sell six months.

No person is entitled to more than recruits in 1-91, it was explained to them that they had to pay absolute of the swearing-in o

their fathers and mothers." In England, Russia and France similar sentiments have been uttered by many powerful capitalists and by every dominant voice in the Junker-Even the armies themselves were built up chiefly to deal with this

vast multitude who were called 'the enemy at home.' THE ENEMY AT home was only yesterday becoming the greatest

power in all the nations of Europe. They were demonstrate higher was national extensive Committee of the open spaces, insurance funds, old age pensions, labor legislation, and a;

In course exters \$6 worth of cards.

The per cent of the usual wage.

The county and for shall certify to the additor of the state a state.

They were becoming educated, wonderfully organized and enlighted to the additor of the state a state.

They were becoming educated, wonderfully organized and enlighted to the additor of the state a state.

They were becoming educated, wonderfully organized and enlighted to the additor of the state as the ened. They owned hundreds of great daily papers, magnificent thouses of the people,' cooperatives and millions of common property.

They were the hope of the world, because they promised in the near the face of the earth the Junker-Militarist class that has venture to prophery that inside of personal distributions. Socialist paper of the sum of the general taxes collected from the sum of the general taxes collected by the sum of the general taxes collected taxes taxes taxes collected taxes taxes taxes taxes taxes taxes taxes taxes tax

for centuries lived and thrived upon the degradation and slavery of the to the Socialist Party than yourself people. They were organizing vast battalions for a great war to come and I feel confident that you will be between the oppressors and the oppressed. There is and can be no doubt whatever that the Kalser feared more

ment is provided.

One of the Wisconsin's enthusias.

The control of the Wisconsin's enthusias.

WELL. THERE WAS only one way to stop it. Denunciation, imprisonment, persecution, the rack and the dungson had all been tried. due cost to the Government to ask There was only one way to save the Junker-Militarist classes of England, France, Germany and Russia, and that was to induce the working should be printed, but full published. class to cut its own throat.

All the leading powers of Europe claim that they were forced into this war. Every people of Europe is convinced that it is a defensive war. People were to the well-toughtful this war. Every people of Europe is convinced that it is a defensive war. people. We all know that the abuse indeed into the monstrous belief that they are defending their homes, their

inded into the monstrous better that they are accommon to the state of the children against the foreign enemy.

Incredible and unbelievable as it may seem, the international work—astism and not production. It is included in the control of the con

ROCKFFELLER HIRELINGS PLAY participating with any armed force

The L. League, Athia. Man.

O. E. Breckman, Les Vegla, Nev.

Compared the municipal of a platform and the ord and seek of 12 the west.

The paper is seed. Fifth the bill described to a platform and the ord and the seek.

The paper is seed. Fifth the bill described to a platform and the ord and the seek.

The class character of the late through the profits of a platform and the ord and the seek.

The class character of the late through the profits of speculation from being the profits of speculation from the performance of duty, or participating in the invasion by an armed force of any portion of the front the northern struck and the profits of speculation from the northern struck and the profits of speculation from the northern struck and the profits of speculation from the northern struck and the profits of speculation from the northern struck and the profits of speculation from the northern struck and the profits of speculation from the northern struck and the profits of speculation from the northern struck and the profits of speculation from the northern struck and the profits of speculation from the northern struck.

Negro Socialists of the United Strucks are leading to profit and the profits of speculation from the northern strucks.

Negro Socialists of the United Strucks are leading to profit and the profits of speculation from the struck in initiate to struck in the late to commence of duty, or participating in the profits of speculation of the profits of speculation of the struck in the struck in initiate to struck in the text in the participation of the struck in the struck in the struck in the struck in the text in the participation of the struck in the participation of the

Some of our members of the ROONTER the Landsturm, has been directed as a supernumerary. The opicite to the control of the control of the Landsturm, has been directed as a supernumerary. The opicite to the control of the control of the Landsturm, has been directed as a supernumerary. The opicite to the control of the con

BIG FOOD PETITION NOW BEFORE CONGRESS

Carrying more than 100,000 names the "Food" petition circulated by sented to congress and referred to the Committee on Interstate and

action as it appeared in the con-gressional record is as follows: Establishment of Food-Supply

Extension of Remarks of Hon. William Kent, of California, in the House of Representatives, Wed-nesday, February 17, 1916.

Mr. KENT. Mr. Speaker, I have received and have been requested to file petitions signed by more than 100,000 persons the caption of which petitions reads as follows: FOOD SUPPLY DEPOTS.

To President Woodrow Wilson and to the Congress of the United States: Whereas the speculators are arbitrarily and unnecessarily raising the price of the necessities of life;

Whereas the United States Gov ernment should conserve and protect the interests of the produ and consumers as against these speculators who are robbing the people, multitudes of whom are

already in dire need; Therefore We hereby petition the President and Congress of the United States to establish in the strategic indus-Nation food-supply depots and such other facilities as are necessary to maintain a just market for the producers and for the purchase of food products and for the sale of these necessities of life direct to the

Accompanying these petitions submit the following letter:

Socialist Party, National Office, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Illinois, Feb. 15, 1915 Hon. WILLIAM KENT,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. Dear Sir: I am sending you herewith a blank sample of a petition that was ordered circularized by the Sociatist Party. Semething over 100,000 names were secured, and the package containing the petitions is being sent you by express.

I know we are imposing upon you somewhat by asking you to take care of this matter, but we know of willing to do this for this organiza-

tion.
With kindest regards, I beg to remain, very sincerely yours, WALTER LANFERSIEK.

Executive Secretary It would be superfluous and of unshould be given to the well-founded

and consumer meet.

The contention of these many; but never mind.

The Parable Of The Water-Tank

By EDWARD BELLAMY

Author of "LOOKING BACKWARD" and "EQUALITY"

PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN LEAFLET FORM. This great classic explains UNEMPLOYMENT and COMMERCIAL CRISIS in the form of a parable.

SIMPLE and DIRECT as some of the parables in the Bible.

It has long been known as one of the best "eye-openers" in Socialist literature. Now for the first time it is sold at a price which makes it possible to distribute it from house to house.

The Rising Tide Of Socialism

By CARL D. THOMPSON

REVISED AND BROUGHT UP-TO-DATE. Nothing will excite more interest in Socialism than the proof that Socialism is STEADILY, IRRESISTIBLY growing.

This leaflet brings out the growth in the Socialist VOTE and REPRESENTATION in a manner which is bound to arrest the attention of the man or woman who reads it.

THESE TWO NEW LEAFLETS SELL AT THE OLD PRICE.

\$1.60 per thousand prepaid; \$1.00 per thousand when purchased in quantities of 5000 or more, F. O. B. Chicago; 20 cents per hundred prepaid.

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY

803 WEST MADISON STREET

DRIVATE PROFIT IN WAR MUNITIONS TO BRING WAR and sent to the city council urging

DRIVATE profit in the manufacture of munitions of war will be the chief reason for bringing the United States into war, if we should be drawn into the European struggle, says Rep. Tavenner of Rock Island, Ill., in a speech which he has inserted in the record of House debate.

Tavenner is an ordinary Democrat, obedient to his party leaders and regular in everything. But he represents a district that includes a governmental arsenal, and he sides with organized labor. So he has drifted into the fight against the armor plate and ammunition rings, and he has was a peril to the state. Perhaps come to be an agitator for a government monopoly on the manufacture of the debate will set them thinking a munitions of war.

The "labor vote" is for Tavenner because he has always fought for the regular labor bills in Congress. Now he is easuring the further support of the "labor vote", and satisfying his own convictions, by lambasting the Carnegie Steel Cog the Midvale Steel Co., and the Bethlehem Steel Co. — the members of the double "ring."

After he has got through telling the House, every little while, how

these three concerns have pulled down \$150,000,000 in contracts from the Army and Navy since 1867, he takes an incidental swing at the Dupont Powder trust, whose share in the pie has been only \$25,000,000 additional.

Tavenner finds that the government has paid the three big firms something like \$50,000,000 more than it would have paid if there had been even reasonable competition in the bidding. There is a harsh word for

TAVENNER DOES NOT understand that if, as he claims, the armor and opposing military drills in the plate ring and the powder trust are making use of their social friends in schools, as well as an increase in the various governmental departments, to land these fat contracts, they armaments, featured the semi-anare simply doing what every other private enterprise might be expected nual meeting of the Connecticut So-to do. He does not see the profit system.

He does get a clear look, though, at the contrast between the fair ven. The unemployment question additions of labor in the government-owned and government-run arsenal was also considered. at Rock Island and the slave-pen shops of the "ring" in western Pennsylvania He sees the corrupting influence exerted upon Army and Navy off-

cers by the "ring," as year by year it works its secret power to defeat the establishment of an armor plate plant and the government production

hers during the provider and row to the series their numbers over the circulation of the series their numbers over the circulation of the series to take up punish any who does to take up

harf Lichknecht, the German on who will be care to receive on the care of the care to receive the care to much ridicule, and pass on to the next bit of smothering.

Socialists of Canton, Ohio, have joined in the light on the proposed before the le
bolists of Canton, Ohio, have congress adopted at the meeting ternational Socialist movement, the held by Elkins. West Va.. Socialists brotherhood and federation of labor and whose only inanti-red flag law t. w before the le-gislature of that state. In resolu- Feb. 12, was signed by J. Edward the photocraft of the second proposed to start a Socialist Assemblyman Vist, Wisconsin legislature, has introduced a foundation of the proposed to start a Socialist Assemblyman Vist, Wisconsin legislature, has introduced a foundation of the proposed to start a Socialist Second proposed to start a Socialist tion, as enemies of universal peace and deserve the condemnation of all liberty loving people of our

held by Cincinnati, O., Socialists Feb. 12, resolutions were adopted

The unemployed mass meeting held at Erie, Pa., urged that the city, state and national governments immediately take up the question of unemployment relief.

The Mussey Debating Society of little harder and then they will soon decide otherwise. Only capitalism is endangered by Socialism.

Congressman Cary, who repre one of the Milwaukee districts, deone of the milwausee districts, de-nies the charge of his Socialist op-ponent, Winfield R. Gaylord, that he was elected by fraud last fall and will fight the latter's contest. Cary says he is willing to have a rec of the ballots, so we may soon learn

ing the woman suffrage referendum now before the state legislature.

Socialists of Waukegan, Ill., at their unemployment mass meeting Feb. 12, passed resolutions demand ing that the national, state an municipal governments exercise their and all other means of production, distribution and communication. New Zealand Socialists, who have

just elected several members to l'ar-liament, held a conference recently to formulate their views on the war. of all countries, and whose only interest is to shake the exploiting tyrannies in all countries from the back of labor.

Henry Dubb. Farmer. He Explains the System to the Lunatic.

Ryan Walker















Jolt That Brain!

Have you tried to convert that shopmate of yours?

Have you succeeded? If you have not you should try BRAIN JOLTERS by Ralph Korngold-It is the EASIEST, SIMPLEST, most DIRECT argu-

ment on Socialism that has thus Tar appeared. It would make a dead man sit up and take notice. Every beek-should have a managementality 101 To ERS for sale at its meetings.

You will find it sells better than any other pamphlet. Order a supply TODAY. Prices: One Copy, 10 cents; 12 copies, 75 cents; 100 copies,

\$5.00 propaid.

National Office Socialist Party 803 W. Madison Street Chicago, Illinois