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GREEDY "CHARITY" AIDS 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 organization societies are formed in all important cities, introducing methods of thorough investigation of applicants for relief 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 Pittsburgh, followed by the somewhat similar but more magnificent Carnegie Institution at Washington. The latter has an endowment fund of \$25,000,000, and is engaged in almost every conceivable branch of scientific research and sociological investigation.

BIRTH OF FOUNDATIONS.

THE next few years saw the birth of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, with an endowment of \$16,000,000, to provide pensions for college professors, the Hero Fund of \$300,000,000 to reward the brave and the heroic, the Carnegie 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 York. This is a sort of a holding company for the diverse philanthropic interests of Mr. Carnegie.

The corporation was given \$125,000,000, the 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, representing in expenditures and capital more than \$75,000,000, 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 philanthropic consolidation thus bears a striking resemblance to the movement of industrial consolidation of the end of the last century, and just as the first great American industrial combinations were the Oil Trust and the Steel Trust, so the first of the significant philanthropic trusts are the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, the one so thoroughly saturated with oil and the other so firmly based on steel.

The parallelism between the industrial growth and philanthropic development is furthermore not accidental. There is a true and intimate relation between these two fields of human activity.

The expansion 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 to be all that the situation requires.

With the larger development of capitalism, the perfection of labor-saving machinery, consolidation of plants, etc., unemployment becomes more widespread 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 help 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.

Thus, the philanthropic foundations do not even attempt the task of relieving existing poverty. It is a mooted question, a fact, a fact present with meaning, that none of the wealthy foundations expends any appreciable part of its funds in old-fashioned charity.

DO NOT AIM TO RELIEVE POVERTY.

HAPPILY any part of the huge funds concentrated in the modern "philanthropic" trusts is applicable to the relief of the general poverty, misery and distress of the American population. No branch of their activities is concerned with the improvement of the general conditions of existence and standard of life of the American worker.

If we analyze the huge Carnegie benefactions we find but one item that may be considered of benefit to workmen. This is represented by a fund of \$4,000,000 for injured and aged employees of the United States Steel Corporation. The amount was contributed by Mr. Carnegie as part of the general fund of \$12,000,000 created by the Steel Corporation for the purpose of providing pensions for disabled workers.

FIRST READ THIS

Editor's Note.—Here is the story unmaking the founder "foundations" of the nation's biggest multi-millionaires. It was told by Morris Hillquit, international secretary of the Socialist Party, also Socialist Education Commissioner for 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 copy of your paper into the hands of your neighbor and see that he or she reads it, too. The Rockefeller and Carnegie benefactions will soon crumble if we could get this story into the brains of all the people. Now read the story!

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 endowments.

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. Carnegie's earlier philanthropic endowments were entirely disconnected from charitable relief, and the Rockefeller Foundation 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 now, we just learn, been discontinued.

The Sage Foundation devotes practically all of its work and income to the investigation of social conditions and problems.

CONCERN IN FOREIGN NATIONS.

ANOTHER striking feature of the large modern philanthropies is that they show a decided concern in the welfare of foreign nations and a corresponding indifference to the needs of their own countrymen.

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

On the contrary, I rejoice in every manifestation of the growth of the spirit of international brotherhood and unity. I hope to see the day when the nations and peoples of the world will consider themselves equal and affectionate members of the great human family.

But why restrict the necessary help to Belgium? While the Belgian relief ships were loaded with wheat, corn and other foodstuffs, tens of thousands of American workers, their wives and children, were starving in the bread lines in New York, within perhaps one mile of 36 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 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 Rockefeller Foundation has been the creation and the work of the International Health Commission. This has directed its main activities to the eradication of the hook 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 broad-minded people of this country, I should be very glad to see the Egyptians and Malaysians 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 comparative 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, factories and on the railroads in this country, the very industries whose stocks and bonds make up the fund of the Rockefeller Foundation. These accidents are to a large extent preventable by the application of proper safety appliances and the enforcement of laws governing rules of work.

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 British West Indies?

Even the domestic birds are discriminated against by the foundation. The tract of land purchased in Louisiana at a cost of \$225,000 was so purchased as to exclude the migratory birds.

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 philanthropies. They may be regarded as a somewhat more modern and practical development of the old-fashioned missionary work among the "heathen" races. Both are at bottom business enterprises. The modern American industries, particu-

larly the large scale and trustified variety, 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 American capitalist concerns want new markets, 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, venereal diseases and preventable accidents. But the population of

ment of their prevailing practices, a definite view of the cause of industrial strife and unrest, a constructive social program.

IF SUCH college teacher knows that his situation 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 he be likely to be outspoken in opposition to the interests of the benefactor, even though his honest views would lead him to such opposition?

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 to such influence to higher education."

"If the giver retains any kind of control, I think it is unwise to say anything," said the donor, always retaining some kind of moral control, even when the gift is absolutely

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.

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

It is a mistake to consider the activities of the great modern foundations, at home and abroad, in the nature of philanthropic activity. The great capitalists who endow the foundations do not seek to relieve their suffering fellowmen, but to strengthen their own social and economic 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 great 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 the great modern philanthropic 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 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 scientific research such as the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, the Carnegie Institution at Washington and the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh, the Carnegie Libraries, etc.

Under the heading of social reform work, we must class institutions such as the Russell Sage Foundation, the Carnegie Peace Endowment 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 and all the evils, defects and dangers of individual, irresponsible control and management, and these dangers become more acute as the foundations grow in size, scope and power.

In 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 subjects to the fore. Our higher teaching institutions are rapidly becoming very largely with economic, social and political subjects. These are as yet very far from being exact sciences.

unconditional. First, there is the strong sentiment of gratitude and loyalty which the ordinary recipient of a benefaction feels toward the benefactor, and, second, there is in most cases the lurking possibility of having to apply for aid.

Mr. Elliott has added his 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 good 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. Elliott himself, as president of the Harvard University, has been the recipient of munificent gifts from Mr. Rockefeller and other capitalists. It was also he who proclaimed the strike-breaker a hero. It is not possible that his views, whether right or wrong, were unconsciously influenced by such gifts, and that his notions of "good" influences were formed in the same manner?

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 the maker may be of the best, but the results may be incalculably harmful to the studying generation.

THE education of the people, from the elementary 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 biased 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 philanthropies, endowments and foundations are the instruments of such assault.

But even more fatal from the point of view of social liberality 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.

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

the elder Mr. Rockefeller had had some such plan under consideration for seven years. The industrial disturbances in Colorado impressed Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., with the great need and public importance of finding an effective means 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 interests were directly concerned.

But Mr. Rockefeller as stockholder 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 of 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 Colorado social enlightenment and progress. The great private foundations and the numerous endowments for educational purposes and for "social welfare" work and study have sprung up and have assumed menacing proportions, because the government has neglected to occupy and fitly estimate 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 confining of numerous 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 the broad powers which such foundations enjoy under their present charters constitute a serious menace to the community at large. It 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 world."

They may use such means to that end which from time to time shall seem expedient to its 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."

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 and may be changed or increased at any time at the pleasure of the corporation. Under the terms of this act of incorporation the sum of its members or trustees may legally and legitimately be reduced to Mr. John D. Rockefeller and his "personal staff."

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 fortifying their business interests or the interests of the industrial system which they represent, without restriction.

They might use the tremendous power latent 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 of mankind," and it must be borne in mind that they toward one particular object, could 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.

Why should Mr. Rockefeller have thought it necessary to duplicate the work of that commission? 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?

What Mr. Rockefeller's attitude on these subjects 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 Compulsory 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 addressed to Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and read before the commission. It was couched in carefully chosen language, but its meaning was very plain. Mr. King advised Mr. Rockefeller not to worry himself over the demand of the miners for the recognition of their union.

He was of the opinion that after the war there would be such a large influx of foreign labor in this country, and such strong competition for work in the mines, that the men would be glad to get work on any terms and would not care for the "shadow of recognition of the union," but would have their hands full with the struggle to "maintain standards," thus creating a post-war economic situation which would be the normal conditions in Colorado.

Mr. King thus seems to have quite definitely and well-formed views about the "industrial relations" between capital and labor. He does not believe in the "chrysalis" of union recognition, and he considers industrial conditions normal when the labor market is over-supplied and the workers are eager to get jobs on any terms. The enigma is why he needs a few generations more to confirm his position.

OPERATES AGAINST TRUE PROGRESS. BELIEVE the Rockefeller Foundation in as far as it engages in the work of social research is distasteful in object and motives and distinctly a factor operating against true

social enlightenment and progress. The great private foundations and the numerous endowments for educational purposes and for "social welfare" work and study have sprung up and have assumed menacing proportions, because the government has neglected to occupy and fitly estimate 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 confining of numerous 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.

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J. L. ENGLISH, Editor. WALTER LANFIERSEK, Business Mgr. RALPH KORNGOLD, Circulation Mgr. RYAN WALKER, Correspondent.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27th, 1915.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Here is all the week's news worth being followed down for workers so busy fighting for socialism they do not have time to read the daily capitalist press.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 16. Democrats in President Wilson's ship...

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17. Two ships destroyed as Germans establish...

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18. Reported basis in planning to seize all...

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19. Harry Chandler, millionaire land owner...

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20. Status of the peace program...

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 21. Indiana surrounded by Utah and fire...

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22. Turks take hundreds of Armenians...

This Week's Editorial From Socialist Press

AN INCOMPLETE PROPOSAL.

(From The Milwaukee Leader.)

George W. Perkins, who fought...

with Roosevelt at Armageddon, is serving as chairman of Mayor Mitchell's unemployment committee in New York.

There are 600,000 unemployed in New York. The distress among the poor is even greater than the suffering of the civil population in London, Paris or Berlin.

When the commission was appointed by Mayor Mitchell, Amos Pinchot expressed the opinion that it was futile to expect men such as 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 of the unemployment problem.

The committee has made its report. It suggests that congress might relieve the distress of the unemployed and poor by placing an embargo upon wheat. An embargo by throwing an immense surplus of wheat on the market, would drive down the price of wheat and his associates propose no measures by which the unemployed could procure the means to buy bread.

One of the first essentials in dealing with an unemployed problem was the employment of the unemployed. The policy which would be calculated to restrict growing foodstuffs in the United States to home consumption as a temporary expedient is not without its merits, but unless it should be supplemented with measures to place the food supply at the disposal of those who need it, the benefits, we may believe, would accrue to speculators rather than to the poor and unemployed.

The British navy is doing all that it can to place a partial embargo upon our foodstuffs by cutting off 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 were able to replenish their supplies should not apparently enable the millions of unemployed in the United States to satisfy their hunger. We doubt should the Germans, through the use of the submarine be able to complete the embargo, if the unemployed would be any better off.

Such a policy without such Socialist action would not only do nothing to relieve the situation but let the 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 miners?

If his heart has softened by "Mother" Jones' nar-

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.

WAS ROCKEFELLER CONVERTED?

A VERY important trial is in progress in Pueblo, Colorado.

A number of striking coal miners are being tried on the charge of having shot and killed four mine guards near La Veta, Colorado, on November 8, 1913.

The capitalist press outside of Pueblo and immediate vicinity has given very little notice to the case. Perhaps this is because only a few miners are tried for their lives.

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 information.

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 the Danbury Hatters case. Perhaps it is a little more important for in this case the very lives of at least eight of our comrades are at stake.

The charge against them is murdering mine guards who were hired to order women and children to work in the mines. In other words, these miners now on trial at Pueblo are to be sent to the gallows for defending their homes 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 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 Northcutt? The attorney for the Rockefeller coal operators.

This is the same Jesse Northcutt in whose office were stored a quantity of firearms during the strike. This is the same Jesse Northcutt, who in company with Felix and Belk, the notorious thugs, took machine guns from Trinidad to Walsenburg to use against the strikers. This is the same Jesse Northcutt who helped kick the brakeman from a Colorado and Southern train because he protested against Northcutt, Felix and Belk bringing a machine gun into a Pullman car.

Jesse Northcutt, the pal of Walter Belk the self-confessed murderer, a long promotion and the prosecution of miners that was outwaged by the political and industrial tyrants who have disgraced the state of Colorado.

What a travesty upon justice! It would be far more fitting to reverse the situation and let the 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 miners?

If his heart has softened by "Mother" Jones' nar-

THE GINGER JAR

By WM. FRANCIS BARNARD

With sympathy the starving will eat; New Graduates of them, then, to ask for bread!

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

If patriotism is "the last 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 harmony nonsense, too.

Dr. Wilson at last has psychologized himself. The hypothesis of prosperity will soon make him deny that there is any poverty anywhere.

What is the use of that cry for justice from the few remaining Indians? They should understand that at present high prices justice is a luxury beyond the reach of all save the rich and powerful.

HEARD IN THE BREAD LINE. A cup and a crust To the body in rust, To the pocket in rags, they give; And a loaf of disdain To add weight to the pain, They cast as they tell us to live.

Such knows one true friend, When the last hope shall end, And they're sorely the strength to draw From their hands these bread crumbs.

Let them keep their bread, Let pity and mercy; Fold to them to their loaves, kind Death.

"What is a reformer, Papa?" "One who is trying to repair the cracked shell of an octogenarian egg."

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

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

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

The class struggle never appears in a dress suit. It leaves such social observances to those who want to make a reputation as standpats.

WHAT THEY SAY. "Keep cool; keep cool. The student must go to the wall. Be wise; be wise. Mix the truth up with lies. Lead the walk of our fight."

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; habit is its mother.

Six cent bread is better than a wall 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 waste.

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

"The" jitney bus of reform will never drive the railroad of graft out of business.

The man who spelled syndicate as "indicate" was so right in truth that his spelling ought to be forgiven.

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 more. It pays the false witness, who off comes a "saint."

Here's the world's wisdom addressed to each youth: "You can't make a million by telling the truth."

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

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

They want a substitute for bread. A thing that's as'er born known. Just give them brass or hay instead. And when those are gone, a stone.

It appears that God is still on all sides, and on none. In the war. Are the nations as well matched in prayers as they are in arms?

Congress is agitated over the number of wooden legs appropriated for old soldiers; wooden heads for civilians are dirt cheap, and a drug upon the market.

When the church bells of Europe have been melted up for war purposes, even the harmonies of peace will be turned into the rattle of war.

In the civil war 206,000 men were wounded. In this land from tuberculosis and yet we are told that war is the greatest of evils.

Ross Wm. Barnes of New York declares that the "American republic" is built upon the rock of individualism. Barnes' conception of individualism is strangely like skin-dividualism.

"Back to the land, back to the land!" They cry to King Capital's slaves: But we've only one chance to get back to the land.

When we tie on our backs to get back.

JUST GETTING STARTED

THE big campaign has started! All of the readers of The American Socialist are by this time acquainted with the plan to put \$5,000 into the depleted coffers of the national Socialist Party—at the same time securing 50,000 subscribers for The American Socialist.

We are putting the story of this big effort on the second page this week because we felt that the startling exposure of organized millionaires "Charity Trust" by Morris Hillquit was entitled to the entire first page. We can only wish that we were in a position to enable every worker in the land to read how the Carnegies and the Rockefellers are contributing hundreds of millions to cloak their public mind and more firmly entrench the capitalist class in power.

This great effort must be met and overthrown. The American Socialist is one of the great weapons that enable you to combat the millions of capitalism with the pennies of the working class.

The American Socialist is not asking a donation, either for itself or the Socialist Party. It merely asks that you buy four "sub" cards for \$1. You can easily sell these "sub" cards at 25 cents each and get your money back. Many of our readers write in and tell how they have "put their dollar to work." They sell their sub-cards and then send in their dollar for four more.

Read what the members of the Socialist Party national executive committee have to say about this campaign this week. What they say is just what tens of thousands of our readers are thinking. We must build a bigger American Socialist movement and a stronger and more powerful American Socialist.

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

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WITH US HEART AND SOUL. 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.

VICTOR L. BERGER, the veteran of the committee says: "I am enclosing a dollar bill for subs. We must march to the 100,000 mark and then on to 1,000,000."

"I mean good propaganda and it will clear the party of its debt at the same time. By May 1st, The American Socialist should have 100,000 readers and the party be out of debt. Now let's pull together comrades."

JAMES H. MAURER, the Socialist fighter in the legislature of Pennsylvania has this to say: "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 Amer-

ican Socialist to enlist 5,000 Socialists in a big effort to sell 20,000 "sub" cards should win support everywhere. I want to see this campaign succeed. Here is my dollar."

ADOLPH GERNER, who has done such excellent work in the party and in the Mine Workers' organization 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 sympathizer."

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TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS!

WE ARE in another big fight. In almost every state in the nation many municipal elections are now in full swing.

YOU WANT TO CARRY YOUR CITY FOR SOCIALISM! So The American Socialist is going to help you in two ways. It is going to get out a special "CARRY YOUR CITY FOR SOCIALISM" edition, No. 121, dated March 20. This special issue will tell how the forces of Socialism are winning the municipalities from the capitalist foe.

There will be four pages full of good stuff. The regular edition for this week will consist of six pages, the extra two pages will carry the "Official Business" of the party and other routine matter. The big "Bundling Order" Edition will consist of four pages of the best propaganda available for this campaign.

You will want a great big bundle of this issue to distribute in your city. Use the bundle order blank below. Now for our second plan to help you!

DO YOU WANT YOUR OWN LOCAL EDITION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST?

THE municipal elections are approaching. How would you like to have a special issue of The American Socialist for your own city? The pictures of your candidates and all sorts of local matter edited by your own local on an inside page. We can arrange this for you if you will let us know in time. For \$5.00 we will give you one column of local matter in The American Socialist; two columns will cost you \$7.00; three columns, \$9.00; four columns, \$11.00. AN ENTIRE PAGE OF ONLY EIGHTEEN DOLLARS. This is provided your local orders at least 5,000 copies of the municipal edition, dated March 20, to contain many special articles that will help carry your city for Socialism this spring.

Bundle orders of the paper will cost 25 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, 301 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

I want to help The American Socialist in its campaign to carry municipalities for Socialism.

BUNDLE RATES: Bundle Rates One Year: 12 Copies, \$1.00; 24 Copies, \$1.80; 36 Copies, \$2.50; 48 Copies, \$3.20; 60 Copies, \$3.80; 72 Copies, \$4.50; 84 Copies, \$5.20; 96 Copies, \$5.80; 108 Copies, \$6.50; 120 Copies, \$7.20.

Bundle Rates of Any Length: 1,000, \$5.00; 2,000, \$9.00; 3,000, \$13.00; 4,000, \$17.00; 5,000, \$21.00; 6,000, \$25.00; 7,000, \$29.00; 8,000, \$33.00; 9,000, \$37.00; 10,000, \$41.00.

NOTE: For bundle rates in Cook County see The Chicago Section.

DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

THE PROGRAM AND THE GOAL

By CARL D. THOMPSON

NOTE.—Mr. Thompson was a member of the sub-committee of the National Executive Committee that made the draft of the proposed peace program, and has given the most 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 program. In these articles he will discuss the various phases of the program, the principles underlying them, and incidentally reply to some of the criticisms that are being made of the proposed program.

UNDER 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 believe it, too, while more are coming to believe it every day.

We need no argument on that question. With all our hearts and with all our might, we are against war; we are against militarism and we are against armaments. We want peace. We want the absolute annihilation and abolition 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 absolutely agreed. Let no one forget or overlook or try to deny these fundamental facts. It is not a question of whether we want war or militarism or armaments or not. 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 or ideal. That also is settled long ago. The real question is what are the concrete, definite measures by which the socialist can rid the world of militarism and war; — what are the practical, possible steps which socialism can urge and at what points in the world struggle and in what ways can the socialist movement marshal its power and influence; on 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 democracies of the world, advance the interests of the proletariat and the people, and thus develop the interests of socialism itself to the end that ultimately the goal may be reached.

In this, as in all our programs and platforms, and in all our practical work, it is as Wilhelm 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."

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 emphasize in the present effort to formulate a peace program. Let us emphasize them here and now and let us reiterate them as we proceed in the discussion:

We are not going to attain socialism at one bound. Neither are we going to abolish war or militarism or armaments 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 combination of forces that are already in operation. The "transition" is already at work. It is already at work.

And above all, the important thing for us is not the statement of our final purpose in regard to armaments, militarism and war, but the formulation of a practical program for the immediate future. — the elaboration of constructive measures that will aid in the evolutionary processes, that mark the transition from militarism, armaments and war to international peace and justice. 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 immediate measures that will aid in the process, and help to accumulate the forces that will ultimately overthrow the militaristic system.

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 at all times.

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

Five thousand men and women employment demonstration, in spite of marched through the streets of mud and slush. There are 30,000 Minneapolis, Minn., in an unemployed in the city.

Woman's Department

WINNIE E. BRANNETTER, Director

This department has charge of propaganda and organization among women. It is in touch with the various organizations and intelligent voters of women. It is in touch with the various organizations and intelligent voters of women.

STRIKERS' CHILDREN RESCUE GIFT. This department has charge of propaganda and organization among women. It is in touch with the various organizations and intelligent voters of women.

Winnies Children's Relief Fund. This department has charge of propaganda and organization among women. It is in touch with the various organizations and intelligent voters of women.

Dear friends, this box of caps for the striking miners' children was duly received, and has been mostly distributed. It is in touch with the various organizations and intelligent voters of women.

Many of them have been made from your most appreciated gifts. They are in touch with the various organizations and intelligent voters of women.

There is great need, especially in the way of clothing for the winter. It is in touch with the various organizations and intelligent voters of women.

Trusting you will be able to contribute. It is in touch with the various organizations and intelligent voters of women.

Yours truly, A. MARINER, County Secretary, Socialist Party.

Young People's Dept.

J. A. ROGERS, Jr., Director

To speak the truth with the energy of the young and to bring them into the movement through Young People's Dept.

Address of communication: Socialist Party Young People's Dept., 300 W. Madison St., Chicago.

With lectures, entertainments and games, the League of New York City is doing great work. It is in touch with the various organizations and intelligent voters of women.

The League is preparing to give to members of Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

A dancing class is being formed, where those who do not know how to dance will be given an opportunity to learn. It is in touch with the various organizations and intelligent voters of women.

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

THIS COLUMN RECORDS THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF OUR SUB HUSTLERS FROM WEEK TO WEEK

Table with 2 columns: Week, Amount. Last week \$1,456; On \$5,410; This week \$1,567; Total \$21

"It is by persistent work that great monuments are built," said the Frenchman, Zola.

The American Socialist sub-hustlers evidently have the determination to make their paper a great monument to the cause of Socialism, for they are quietly, steadfastly, persistently building.

There is no doubt as many papers in the country which can show larger jumps in circulation than this paper, but we doubt whether there is any paper in the country that can show a more steady and persistent increase.

BE A VOLUNTEER.

ROLL OF HONOR

"The American Socialist is what you need. I am sending for it every chance I get." Arthur E. Hansen, East St. Louis, Mo.

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SOCIALIST'S JOBLESS BILL WINS IN IDAHO LEGISLATURE

The state of Idaho recognizes the right of man to work. The lone socialist representative in the legislature, Senator Earl W. Bowman, introduced an EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT which was adopted by the senate and which passed the house of representatives, with only one dissenting vote, Feb. 19.

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ON THE WAR

SINCE THE outbreak of the present war many people have asked why the Socialists did not prevent it. Many reasons have been given but so far as I have seen no one has pointed out that Socialism is in reality the cause of the war.

I have read all the wise men who have written and spoken upon the cause of the war -- Shaw, Wells, Vandervelde, Viviani, Haase, Scheidegman and all the rest of them.

I have read papers and magazines until my head is tired. I have seen accusations and counter-accusations from all the lords and potentates of the earth denouncing this or that action of secret diplomacy which caused the war.

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100,000 NAMES ON BIG FOOD PETITION NOW BEFORE CONGRESS

Carrying more than 100,000 names the "Food" petition, circulated by the Socialist Party has been presented to congress and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

At the request of Walter Lanfersiek, Socialist Party executive secretary, this petition was presented to congress by Congressman Kent, of California. The report of this action as it appeared in the congressional record is as follows:

Establishment of Food-Supply Depots. Extension of Remarks of Hon. William Kent, of California, in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, February 17, 1915.

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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.

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.

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 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

PRIVATE PROFIT IN WAR MUNITIONS TO BRING WAR

At the unemployed mass meeting held at Cincinnati, O., Socialists, Feb. 12, resolutions were adopted and sent to the city council urging relief for the jobless.

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 Washington College of Law, Washington, D. C., had a debate on Socialism and decided that Socialism was a peril to the state.

Congressman Cary, who represents one of the Milwaukee districts, denies the charge of his Socialist opponent, Winfield R. Gaylord, that he was elected by fraud last fall and will fight the latter's contest.

The adoption of resolutions favoring the woman suffrage referendum now before the state legislature, and opposing military drills in the schools, as well as an increase in armaments, featured the semi-annual meeting of the Connecticut Socialist state committee at New Haven.

Socialists of Waukegan, Ill., at their unemployment mass meeting Feb. 12, passed resolutions demanding that the national, state and municipal governments exercise their rights of eminent domain and take over the factories, mills, mines, railroads, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of production, distribution and communication.

New Zealand Socialists, who have just elected several members to Parliament, held a conference recently to formulate their views on the war.

They declared themselves as unshaken in their adherence to the International Socialist movement, the brotherhood and federation of labor of all countries, and whose only interest is to shake the exploiting tyrannies in all countries from the back of labor.

BOOSTER CLUB

Some of our members of the BOOSTER CLUB are not sending the regular amount of money to the BOOSTER CLUB.

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

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NO, I HAVE NONE FOR SALE I'VE GOT FOUR PILES OF SPUDS.

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NO, I HAVE NONE FOR SALE I'VE GOT FOUR PILES OF SPUDS.

I GIVE THEM TO HIM FOR RENT FOR THE RIGHT OF LIVING ON THE EARTH.

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SO BETWEEN THE LANDLORD, THE MONEY LENDER AND THE HOGS I GET MY SHARE OF THE SPUDS.

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GOOD NIGHT NURSE! LEAVE BACK WITH THE IMITATION LUNATICS!

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