HE LABOR DAY Edition of The American Socialist will be far and away one of the BEST issues of this paper which has seen the light. Now is the time when the truth about the Labor situation the world over needs to be known. Order a bundle for house-to-house distribution—75 cents per 100, \$7.50 per 1,000. People are more eager every day to read the truths of Social-THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. ism. REACH THE WORKER WITH THE WORD OF FREEDOM!

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AMERICA

Readers For The **American Socialist** Now Means Party Members Later On

VOL. IV. No. 6.



CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1917.

25 CENTS FOR SIX MONTHS: 50 CENTS PER YEAR: \$1 PER YEAR OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

We Need Hurry-up Action On This Appeal

HE POST office department has taken the second class mailing privilege away from your paper. This does not mean that THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST is dead. But it means that you must take some hurry-up action NOW to help keep it alive.

Under the second class mailing privilege THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST is permitted to go to you each week at the rate of one cent a pound. Otherwise we would be compelled to pay one cent a copy.

If we should be compelled to pay one cent a copy that would mean that we would have to pay 52 cents a year merely in postage to send your paper to you. And the subscription price is only 50 cents.

Therefore it is very necessary that THE AMERICAN SO-CIALIST makes every effort possible to secure another second class mailing permit. We have already taken the first steps to secure this new permit. An application for a permit will be made on this issue of your paper.

Here are a few facts to consider. THE AMERICAN SO-CIALIST now has in the neighborhood of 70,000 subscribers. In making our application for a new second class permit we must deposit one cent for each subscriber's paper, or \$700 in all, before the papers go out of the post office. Owing to the struggle it has been making the last few months YOUR PAPER is not now in a position to shoulder this extra burden.

We therefore come to you, for the first time in the history of the paper, with a request for financial support to help us successfully meet this new issue.

If every subscriber would rise to the occasion, and do it promptly, we would need only a penny stamp from each one of you. But there are a large number who always fail to respond. Therefore many of you must shoulder an extra burden. The bigger the fund, the better will we be able to overcome our difficulties.

You are all familiar with the incidents that led up to the revocation of our second class mailing privilege.

The issues of June 16th, 23rd and 30th were declared unmailable by the post office department because it was held that they were in violation of the censorship provisions of the espionage law which was signed by President Wilson, June 15th.

The issue of June 16th was published before the law went in-

to effect and all three issues were mailed out to subscribers before notice was received from the post office that they were unmailable.

All issues since the June 30th issue have been pronounced in compliance with the law and have been admitted to the mails.

Since the issues of June 16th, 23rd and 30th were declared unmailable, therefore our second class mailing privilege, the most treasured asset of any publication, is now taken from us.

We are sure that every one of our readers is anxious to see THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST kept alive.

When other publications have been increasing their subscription rates, THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST has refused to increase its cost to its subscribers in spite of the great increase in the cost of publication. This leaves us in this emergency with an empty treasury. We know that our readers will replenish this treasury NOW in order to help tide over this crisis.

Send all contributions to THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

We need hurry-up action on this appeal! Therefore send your contribution now!

Truth About

By Allan L. Benson. TO THE DISINHERITED.

AM GOING to put a new heart into you. I am going to put your shoulders back and your head up. Behind your tongue I shall put words, and behind your words I shall put power. Your dead hopes I shall drag back from the grave and make them live. Your live fears I shall put into the grave and make them die. I shall do all of these things and more by becoming your voice. I shall say what you have always thought, but voras come back to you, they will come back like rolling thunder.

This country belongs to the people who live in it.

The power that made the Rocky Mountains did not so make them that, viewed from aloft, they spell "Rockefeller."

The monogram of Morgan is nowhere worked out in the course of the Hudson River. Nothing above ground or below ground indicates that this country was made for anybody in particular.

Everything above ground and below ground indicates that it was made for every-

Yet, this country, as it stands to-day, is and have everything. The rest do everything and have nothing.

A great many gentlemen are engaged in the occupation of trying to make these wrongs seem right. They write political platforms to make them seem right. They make political speeches to make them seem right. They go to Congress to make them seem right. But no mere words, however fine, can make these wrongs right.

The conditions that exist in this country to-day are indefensible and intolerable. This should be a happy country. It should be a happy country because it contains an abundance of every element that is required to make happiness. The pangs of hunger should never come to a single human being, because we already produce as much food as we need, and with more intelligent effort could easily produce enough to supply a population ten times as great.

Yet, instead of this happy land, we have a land in which the task of making a living is constantly becoming greater and more uncertain. Everything seems to be tied up in a knot that is becoming tighter.

YOU do not know what is the matter. Your neighbor does not know what is the

Why should you know what is the matter? You never listen to anybody who wants you to find out. You listen only to men who want to squeeze you out. Their word is good with you every time. You may not think it is good, but it is good. You may not take advice from Mr. Morgan, but you take advice from Mr. Morgan's congressmen, writers, and speakers. You may not take advice from Mr. Rockefeller, but you take advice from the men whom Mr. Rockefeller controls. If you should go straight to Mr. Rockefeller you would get the same advice. What these men say to you, Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller | Never again were working men to own the

say to them. You listen as they speak. You vote as they vote. They get what they want. You don't get what you want. But you stick together. You seem never to grow tired. You were with them at the last election. Many of you will be with them at the next election. But you will not be with them for a while after the next election. They will go to their fine homes, while you go to your poor ones. They will take no fear with them, save the fear that some day you will wake up; that some day you will listen to men who talk to you as I am talking to you. did not say. And, when your own unspoken But you will take the fear of poverty with happiness.

> If you have lost your hope of happiness, get it back. This can be a happy nation in your time. This country is for you. It is big. It is rich. It is all you need. But you will have to take it, and the easiest way to take it is with ballots.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS AND WHY IT IS. HE occupation of the scarlet woman is said to be "the oldest profession." If so, the robbery of man by man is the oldest trade. It is as old as the human race. It had its origin in the difficulty of producing enough of the material necessities of life. The not for everybody. Everybody has not an earth was lean. Man was weak. Never was equal opportunity in it. A few do nothing | there enough food for all. Many must suffer. Some must starve.

What wonder that man robbed man? Selfpreservation is the first law of nature. We have always fought and shall always fight for those things that are scarce and without which we should die. If water were scarce, we should all be fighting by the brookside. If air were scarce, we should all be straining our lungs to take in as much as we could.

But what wonder, also, that the robbed should resist those who robbed them? The robbed, too, have the instinct of self-preservation. They, too, want to live. All thru the ages, they have fought for the right to live. By the sheer force of numbers, they have driven their exploiters from pillar to post. Again and again, they have compelled their exploiters to abandon one method of robbery, only to see them take up another. And, tho some men no longer own other men's bodies, some men still live by the sweat of other

The question is: Must this go on forever? Must a few always live so far from poverty that they cannot see it, while the rest live so close to it that they cannot see anything else? Must millions of women work in factories at men's work, while millions of men walk the streets unable to get any work? Must the cry of children forever sound to high heaven above the rumble of the mills that grind their bodies into dividends? Must the pinched faces of underfed children always make some places hideous?

THE invention of the steam engine gave the rich men of the early eighteenth century the opportunity of which they stood much in need. Factories cost money. The workers did not have any. The rich men did. The rich men built factories. That is to say, they thought they were only taking over, from the hands of evolution, the poor man's tools.

tools of their trades. Their tools had gone down in the struggle in which the survivors must be the fittest. For centuries, the world had starved because of their old hand-tools. They could not, for a moment, exist after steam and machinery came. It was right that the hand-tools should go. It was unfortunate for the workers only that the successors of hand-tools were too expensive for individual ownersnip, and that they were also unsuited to such ownership. No man can run a whole shoe factory, even if he owns one. Many men are required to run many machines, and many machines are required to make the labor of men most productive.

ALL OF this, the early Socialists saw or easoned out. They saw the rich men of the day building factories. They saw those who were not quite so rich joining together to build factories. Little co-partnerships were springing up all over the world. Everybody competed with everybody else in his line. Manufactures multiplied, and it became the common belief that "competition was the life of trade."

Stick a pin here. The roots of Socialism go down somewhere near this point.

The early Socialist writers who predicted the trusts did not believe competition was the life of trade. They believed the inevitable tendency of competition was to kill itself.

HOWEVER, the existence of the trusts is ample verification of the Socialist prophecy that they would come. And the trusts came in the way that the early Socialists said they would come.

No Socialist was ever heard finding fault with a

trust simply for existing. A Socialist would as soon find fault with a green apple because it had been produced from a blossom. In fact, Socialists regard the trusts as the green apples upon the tree of industrial evolution. But they would no more destroy these industrial green apples that are making the world sick than they would destroy the green apples that make small boys sick.

Socialists contend that the good can be saved and the bad destroyed by converting the private monopolies into public monopolies—in other words, letting the government own the trusts and the people own the government. This may seem like what the foes of Socialism would call a "patent nostrum." It is nothing of the kind. It is no more a patent nostrum than the trusts are patent nostrums. Socialists invented neither private monopolies nor public monopolies. Socialists did not kill competition. Competition killed itself. Socialists simply were able to forsee that too much competition would end all competition and thus give birth to private monopoly.

And, having seen thus far, they looked a little further and saw that private monopoly would not be an unmixed blessing. They saw that under it, robbery would be practised in new, strange and colossal forms. They knew the people would not like robbery in any form. They knew they would cry out against it as they are crying out against the trusts to-day. And they believed that after having tried to destroy the trusts and failed at that; after having tried to regulate the trusts and failed at that, that the people would cease trying to buck evolution, and get for themselves the benefits of

the trusts by owning them.

This may be an absurd idea, but in part at least, it has already been verified. It has been demonstrated that private monopoly saves the enormous sums that were spent in the competitive era to de-termine whether this man or that man should get the profit upon the things you buy. The consumer has absolutely no interest in the identity of the capitalist who exploits him. But when capitalists were competing for trade, the consumer was made to bear the whole cost of fighting for his trade.

Private monopoly has largely done away with the cost of selling trust goods, by doing away with the individual competitors who were once struggling to put their goods upon the market. Private monopoly has also reduced the cost of production by introducing the innumerable economies that accompany

What private monopoly has not done and will

never do is to pass along these savings to the consumers. The monopolists have passed along some of the savings, but not many of them. What they have passed along bears but a small proportion to what they have kept. That is what most of the trouble is about now. The people find it increasingly difficult to live. For a dozen years, it has been increasingly difficult to live. Persistent and more persistent has been the demand that something be done about the trusts.

THE FIRST demand was that the trusts be destroyed. Now, Mr. Bryan is about the only man in the country to whom the conviction has not been borne home that the trusts cannot be destroyed. The rest of the people want the trusts regulated, and the worst of the trust magnates sent to jail. Up to date, not a single trust has been regulated, nor a single trust magnate sent to jail. Officially, of course, the Standard Oil Company, the American Tobacco Company and the Coal Trust have been cleansed in the blue waters of the Supreme Court laundry and hung upon the line as white as snow. But gentlemen who are not stone blind know that this is not so. They know the Standard Oil Company, the American Tobacco Company and the Coal Trust have merely put on masks and gone on with the hold-up business. Therefore, the Socialist predictions of seventy years ago have all been verified up to and including the inability of any government either to destroy or regulate the trusts.

So much for what Socialists believe Socialism, by reducing the prices of commodities to cost, would do for the people as consumers. Socialists believe Socialism would do even more for the people as workers. Behold the present rlight of the workingman He has a right to live, but he has not a right to the means by which he can live. He cannot live without work, yet, even he must seek work as a privilegenot as a right. The coming of the age of machinery has made it impossible to work without machinery Yet the worker owns no machinery and can get access to no machinery except upon such terms as he may be able to make with its owners.

Socialists urge the people to consider the results of this unprecedented situation. First, there is great insecurity of employment. No one knows how long his job is destined to last. It may not last another day. A great variety of causes exist, any one of which may deprive the worker of his opportunity to work. Wall Street gentlemen may put such a crimp in the financial situation that industry cannot go on Business may slow down because more is being produced than the markets can absorb. A greedy employer may precipitate a strike by trying to reduce the wages of his employes. Any one of many causes may without notice step in between the worker and the machinery without which he cannot work.

But worse than the uncertainty of employment is the absolute certainty that millions of men must always be out of work. Times are never so good that there is work for everybody. Most persons do not know it, but in the best of times there are always a million men out of work. In the worst times, the number of men out of work sometimes exceeds 5. 000,000. The country cries for the things they might produce. There is great need for shoes, flour, cloth, houses, furniture, and fuel. These millions of men, if they could get in touch with machinery, could produce enough of such staples to satisfy the public If they could but work, their earnings would vastly increase the amount of money in circu-lation and thus increase the buying power of everybody. But they cannot work, because they do not own the machinery without which they cannot work, and the men who own it will not let it be used, because they cannot see any profits for themselves in having it used.

SOCIALISTS say this is an appalling situation. They are amazed that the nation tolerates it. They believe the nation would not tolerate it if it understood it. Some things are more easily understood than others. If 5,000,000 men were on a sinking ship within swimming distance of the Atlantic shore and the employing class were to prevent them from swimming ashore for no other reason than that the employing class had no use for their services-the would understand that. Socialists believe the people will soon understand the present situation.

Here is another thing that Socialists hope the people will soon understand. The policy of permitting a few men to use the machinery with which all other men must work or starve compels all other men to become competitors for its use. If there were no more workers than the capitalists must have, there would be such competition. But there must always be more workers than the capitalists can use. The fact that the cepitalist demands a profit upon the worker's labor renders the worker incapable of buying back the very thing he has made. Under present conditions, trade must, therefore, always be smaller than the natural requirements of the people for goods. And since, with machinery each worker can produce a vast volume of goods, it inevitably follows than only a part of the workers are required to make all of the goods that can be sold at a profit. That is why there is not always work for all

With more workers than there are jobs, it thus comes about that the workers are compelled to compete among themselves for jobs. Only part of the workers can be employed and the struggle of each is to become one of that part. The workers who are out of employment are always willing to work, if they can get no more, for a wage that represents only the cost of the poorets living upon which they will consent to exist. It therefore follows that wages are always based upon the cost of living. If the cost of living is high, wages are high. If the cost of living is low, wages are low. In any event, the worker has nothing left after he has paid for his

Socialists say this is not just. They can understand the capitalist who buys labor as he buys pigiron, but they say labor is entitled to more consideration than pig-iron. The price of labor, they declare, should be gauged by the value of labor's product, instead of by the direness of labor's needs. They say the present situation gives to the men who own machinery most of its benefits and to the many who operate it none of its hopes. Now, as of old, the average worker dare hope for no more than enough to keep him alive. Again and again and again the census reports have shown that the bulk of the

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 5)

An Appeal For Hurry-up Action!

The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Illinois.

Enclosed please find \$..... as my response to your appeal for hurryup action in the present crisis. I want to see The American Socialist get back its second class mailing privilege as quickly as possible.

With best wishes,				
Name	• •			
Address	• •			
CityStateState	•			

Hoover Says He'll Hit Some High Food Price Causes

HRU the medium of a Mr. R. L. Wilbur, the editor of The American Socialist continues his correspondence on the food problem with Mr. Herbert Hoover, destined to become the American food dictator. In reply to our second letter to Mr. Hoover, published in The American Socialist of August 4, we have heard from Mr. Hoover thru his mouthpiece, Mr. Wilbur, as follows:

Washington, D. C. August 4, 1917.

Mr. J. L. Engdahl, Editor, The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St.,

Chicago, Ill. Dear Mr. Engdahl: Your letter to Mr. Hoover has been referred to me for answer, as Mr. Hoover has such a great burden of correspondence that he is unable to handle it all. I will acquaint him with the points

brought up by you.

I am sure that it the food bill passes he will try to eliminate some of the unnecessary elements that go to make up our existing high prices. Any suggestions that you have to offer will be very much appreciated by him and if you send them to me, I will see that they reach him at a convenient time.

Very truly yours,

R. L. WILBUR.

In replying to this tender feeling for the causes that result in high food prices, the editor of The American Socialist wrote: Chicago, Ill., August 8, 1917.

Mr. Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your Mr. Wilbur writes that you will appreciate any suggestions looking toward a solution of the rood problem.

It is easy to make suggestions; it is very difficult to secure action on those suggestions. As Representative Lenroot (Wisconsin) said in reply to the So-

cialist representative, Mr. London (New York) in congress: "Of course, we will admit that there is a serious evil confronting us, and nobody has suggested a remedy except Mr. London, and nobody agrees with Mr. London"

Even you, I hope, will admit that there is a serious evil confronting us in the extortionate prices put on the necessities of life. You have offered no remedy; you have presented no solution for this problem. We, Socialists, offer our solution. It is common property, it is knwn to every intelligent person. I do not agree with Mr. Lernoot that nobody agrees with us. Many in the national administration do agree with us but lack the courage to champion their own convictions. Only when pushed to extremes do they come out into the open. Thus we find in the

current issue of The Chicago Daily News the following:

"Seizue of the coal mines of Illinois by the state and operation of them during the period of the war in the interest of the whole people, if the coal mine operators do not reduce prices, was recommended today by the state council of defense. This radical and revolutionary move was

concurred in unanimously by the council members."

Legal advice is furnished the Illinois Council of Defense by Mr. Levy Mayer, one of the most able corporation lawyers in the land. Therefore, note this statement:

"The law committee finds that no preliminary court proceeding is necessary to take this drastic step. Attorney Mayer in his report points out that the state constitution vests the governor with the seizure of

This is certainly good news to all Socialists. Every time we have tried to start a municipal coal yard, lighting plant, or even a milk distributing depot, we have been met with the charge that it is unconstitutional, that we are illegally seeking to destroy property rights. An injunction is immediately secured by the ruling class and the courts

of the ruling class have usually decided against us.

Now the great state of Illinois, from which the coal miners digannually 70,000,000 tons of soft coal, proposes to seize the mines and says there is no law to stop it. The city of Denver, Colo., recently bought several coal mines to supply its people with coal at cost. The city of Cleveland, Ohio, did the same.

In the meantime, where is the national government? Early in the war it turned the question of coal prices over to the coal production committee of the Council of National Defense. This committee consisted of coal barons and of course the price was not reduced. The whole affair became a national scandal.

The fuel problem finds itself duplicated in the food problem. Your Mr. Wilbur writes that if the food bill passes you will try to eliminate some of the unnecessary elements that go to make up our existing high prices. Why SOME? Why not ALL? You cannot fool the people with a makeshift solution. There is no middle road between private control and public control. Socialist Representative, Meyer London, in congress,

"Shall we by clinging to prevailing theories permit the food of the country, the social needs of the people, to be controlled by private capital, merciless unscrupulous, lacking conscience, or shall the question of food and food pries be taken up by the people as a national problem"?

The daily press reports that you have in view the appointment of a food gambler on the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce as food controller for the great northwest. If this is true, then profiteering in food lives and high prices will continue to keep the people on the raw edge of starvation.

unicipal and state governments, under great pressure from people, will then have to take up the food problem, as the defense council in Illinois has taken up the fuel problem, and seizing the food industry will then become the order of the day even as the program of

seizing the mining industry is now in the limelight NOTHING LESS THAN THE GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF THE TRANSPORTATION, MARKETING, PRESERVATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD WILL SUFFICE AT THS HOUR.

J. Ogden Armour stated the other day that the government could have "Armour & Co." The government should have called this bluff without a moment's hesitation. The time will soon come when it will have to take "Armour & Co." no matter what "J. Ogden" thinks about it. Let us not delude ourselves with makeshifts. When the few continue to own, the many will continue to groan under the burden of

private profits, no matter how many commissions you have fixing prices. The government will either have to accept public ownership as the solution of the food problem, or this solution will be forced upon it by an arcused nation.

Very truly yours,

J. L. ENGDAHL, Editor, The American Socialist.

LIBRARY FOR EVERY

In order to stimulate and encourage the heroic work which readers of THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST are now making to extend our subscription list, THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST extends to them the following tremendous new offer:

We will present a library, containing all fourteen of the Standard Socialist Works named below to every local or voluntary group which will join in a vigorous campaign to increase the circulation of The American Socialist:

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Subscription lists sent on request.

Fraternally yours, The American Socialist

803 WEST MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

Press Censorship

(From The Public) sorship itself, and, second, the method by law. for applying the censorship. As to the first point, the espionage law provides definitions, rules of procedure and penalties. Under this provision of procedure and penalties. Under this provision defeat its own purpose. While the ests and has bred class struggles and no newspaper has been adjudged guilty of breaking the law, and the editors and publishers retain their citizens' rights and privileges. But ers. The very matter that is found has reduced the many to a state of under this same law-and, more especially, under a well-recognized hawked about the streets, or sent by It has cast out of the active incustom and practice—the officials of freight and express to distant parts dustrial life of the nation millions of press reports that Frank Farrington, the postoffice department have adjudged 17 publications guilty and stripped their editors and publishers of the minds of the victims a needstripped their editors and publishers of their citizens' rights to use of the of martyrdom that prompts persisting distant parts dustrial life of the nation millions of willing and able workers and has driven them into shiftlessness, vice and crime.

It has brought uncertainty and mails. Thus is raised the point that, ence in the forbidden course. The admisery to all classes of the people, thec oal mines of the state by the repression laws or to actual crime. while the branch of government charged with enforcing the law and restraining and punishing violators finds no fault committed another department of the government charged

ment and administer punishment. Preposterous as such a maladjustment may seem, it is not due to the present crisis, but it is of long standing. It originated in the early days of the government, when the postal department was given power by gress to exclude obscene matter from the mails. Later, power to exclude fraudulent matter was added, and to this lottery tickets were included None of these provisions of law need have worked much hardship had not the courts chosen to treat the postal department on the same basis as the military departments and denied appeal from its rulings. Under this condition a practice has been built up by means of which the postmaster general can and does regulate businesses that depend upon the mails. Such citzens as he believes are doing a fraudulent business he can without other procedure than lies in his own department, exclude from all mail privileges. By this means the Lewis banking business of St. Louis in 1905 was wrecked. Detectives of the postoffice department investigated the bank, declared it to be a fraud, and the postmaster general withdrew its mailing privilege. This threw the business into the hands of a receiver, who found the bank solvent, paid all deposits in full, and had left for the stockholders not only their invest-ments, but large dividends. The receiver and a noted banking authority declared the bank to be sound and to be running on sound principles. Yet the courts would not interfere to preserve the rights and property of men who, without due process of law, had been deprived of those rights by

This is the essence of the present situation. Under cover of authority built up by the accumulation of accretions and precedents the postoffice department assumes the power to deny mailing privileges to newspapers that it thinks have broken the Espionage law. It is not a question of censorship; it is not a question of breaking the law; it is only a question of what the postoffice degree of the postoffice of the postoffice degree of the postoffice degree of the postoffice degree of the postoffice of the post department assumes the power to deny mailing privileges to news-papers that it thinks have broken question of what the postoffice department thinks. The suppression of

a governmental department.

suble means of doing by indirection what poular opinion will not permit to be done by direction. It is to executive functions what the "rider' to legislative action and what the injunction is to court practice. A favorite trick of politicians who essay the task of statesmen is to attach a measure that cannot be passed on its own merits to another measure that must pass. And men who wish to set aside the guarantee of trial by jury to do so by having a court enjoin an action that is already forbidden by law. Then the offender can be tried, not for breaking the law-but for disobeying the injunction, which is entirely in the hands of the judge. The parallel between the censorship of the post office and the use of the injunction in labor cases is complete. In each an agency intended for another purpose is used to accomplish an end that really comes within the authority of another legal power; and because of this use of the wrong agency things are done that would not be possible under the regularly constitued course of procedure.

The question of whether the post office department is to exercise the power to punish citizens who have not been tried according to law is of grave importance at this time because of the enlargement of government functions. There is little doubt that the telegraph and telephone will at an early day be added to the postal functions. Would that mean that the citizen suspected by the department would be shut off from the telegraph and the telephone, as he is now barred from the mails? And there are those who believe the railroads will soon be taken over by the gov-ernment. Would the same principle apply there? Would the editor or other person thought guilty by a government official be prevented from riding upon or shipping freight upon the railroad? If, indeed, the govern ment-by-injunction principle is to be revived in a government by departments the people will hesitate to entrust to their care any of these func

This whole censorship question is quite simple. All the confusion and working at cross purposes by the government and the publishers is due to the assumption of power by one de-partment of government that of right pelongs to another department. determination of guilt and punishment and restraint of the citizen lies in the legal department. The postoffice department can aid in discovering offenders, but it has no legal means of determining their guilt. If it be decided that we are to censor the press, let it be done by orderly procedure that will give to the accused all the legal safeguards that society has provided for offenders. The present method comes under

either martial law nor civil law; it s pritating in the extreme; and it visits upon individuals hardships that The censoring of newspapers by should be suffered by no citizens exbarring them from the mail involves cept as punishment for crime of two points—first, the question of cen- which they have been duly convicted

withdrawal of mailing facilities may class hatred. suppress a few papers already in financial straits, it will stimulate othtoo dangerous to be mailed may be drudgery and poverty. ministration will save itself a great and happiness to none. will serve the best interests of the with the promotion of the exchange of intelligence, and having no constituional right to judge or punish, does, as a matter of fact, pass judg-punishment of crime. Attaching riders to bills is considered a low order of statesmanship, and government by business is an embittered and pitiful shall we have to endure the application of the same principle in postoffice department?

YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEPT.

Organization - Education - Solidarity. WILLIAM V. KRUSE - - Director

To reach the nation's youth with the message of Socialism and to bring them into the organized Socialist movement through Young Poople's Socialist Leagues.

Address all communications to: Socialist Party Young People's Dept., 503 W. Majison St., Chicage.

Y. P. S. L. NOTES

Y. P. S. L. NOTES

OFFICIAL BUSINESS.

The sending out of the ballots for the election of a National Secretary of the Y. P. S. L. has been unavoidably delayed, so all leagues are hereby notified that they will be allowed three weeks in addition to the time mentioned on the ballots in which to put in their returns. Thus all circles in unorganized States must have the tabulation of their ballots into the National Office not later than Sept .14th. Circles in organized states must have them in the hands of their State Secretaries by the same time, and three days more is allowed the State Secretaries to get in their final report.

New York State Convention.

New York State Convention.

The annual convention of the Y. P. S. L. of New York State will be held in the Bronx, September first and second. The exact order of business has not yet been worked out by the State Committee, but the social side of it is all fixed up by the leagues of Bronx County, who act as hosts at the occasion. On Saturday, Sept. 1st, there will be a banquet at \$1.00 per plate, at Ehling's Palm Garden, with entertainment by professional talent and speeches by delegates and invited guests. Guests of honor will be the editors of the "New York Call", and the "Young Socialist Magazine". On Sunday evening, Sept. 2. provided there is no business session, there will be a lawn social at Franz Siegel Park, at which entertainment will be furnished by talent from the united Yipsels of Greater New York.

Indiana State Convention. New York State Convention.

Indiana State Convention.

Connecticut Notes.

New York Notes.

Jamestown is now very busy camping on the shores of Lake Chatauqua and invite all can only be cured by the removal of its main source and cause—the privites main source and cause—the privites of the capitalist system.

Rochester is continuing to make use of the local college professors in its educational work. They lecture for the league very often, and at one of the lectures so keen an interest was shown that the Professor made arrangements to conduct the league thru the local museum. Other Notes.

Terre Haute, Ind., reports great success on all its affairs and is making arrangements for public meetings, euchre parties, and a big boat ride, mainly for the benefit of the Socialist Party branch and its headquarters. The Yipsels down there in Gene Debs' home town are aces high with the local comrades.

Meg, Ark., organizes a new league with twelve charter members. Bright nopes for good success.

The Socialists do

Chicago, Ill., is surely hitting a boom these days. Every league in the city reports big membership increases and three or four new organizations are expected to be formed within the next two weeks. The camp at Fox Lake, fifty miles from town, is always filled to capacity, there generally being over fifty people there and a great many more over weck-ends. The Y. P. S. L. is taking charge of the Party dance on Sept. 2nd, and will run the first big Masquerade of the season on Thanksgiving eve.

Seed Catalog

(Changed every week) Scatter the Seeds of Socialism-The Soil is Fruitful; the Sun is Bright; Season of Harvest is

nearing. **Assorted Leaflets**

What we Have and What we Want Regulation-A Farce and Fraud Warren Bills-How to Draft an Armv You Women Who Vote

Working Woman to Working Men Socialists and the Sword Why the Professional should be a Socialist Why Socialists Pay Dues The Church and Socialism

Parable of the Water Tank 20 cents a hundred—\$1.50 per 1.000

of each of these Ten Leaflets will be sent you for 10 cents. Ask for a

Seed Catalog No. 2 National Office, Socialist Party, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. **Evils Of Capitalism** By MORRIS HILLQUIT.

APITALIST management the industries, both competitive and trustified, has produced most of the social maladies of our

It has placed inordinate wealth and power in the hands of the few, and

willing and able workers and has president of the Illinois Mine Work-

It has brought uncertainty and

of capitalistic mismanagement.

FOR THE small merchant or manufacturer, placed between the nether millstone of competition with his own kind and the upper millstone of powerful industrial combinations, injunction is in disregute; how long struggle. He fights hard to maintain his industrial independence, but it is the a losing fight against the superior force of irresistible and immutable economic development. His fate is sealed. It is only a question of time when he will find his abiding place in the service of the trust or in the ranks of propertyless wage labor.

The precarious status of the small business man drives his sons and daughters in ever greater numbers into the liberal professions. The latter become congested in the extreme, unregulated, uncertain and unremunerative. The professional classes have their armies of unemployed or partly unemployed substantially to the same extent as the wage-workers. The "intellectual proletarian" is not much better situated than the proletarian of the manual variety. washed.

The farmer is dominated, controlled and exploited by the power of capitalism just as much as the other producing classes. By means of mortgages, railroad freight rates, elevator and storage charges and prices of monopolistically produced farm implements and machinery, the capitalists manage to appropriate the lion's share of his labor as effectively, the not quite as directly, as that of the hired factory hand.

AND EVEN the capitalist, the sole beneficiary of the modern industrial ranged by various branches of the system, does not always lead a life Socialist Party of Illinois. of joy, leisure and mental repose. The system more than he is driving it. He is the slave as well as the master of his wealth No individual or class of indivi-

duals can be held responsible for this general social unhappiness. The average capitalist is inherently as good as the average ker. The average of all persons, and thus makes the kind. and abstract social ethics are help-Queens County No. 1, boasts of six more Yipsels who joined the party thru the activity of the Y. P. S. L. and three active Yipsel party-members now hold important offices in their party branch. The financial secretary the literature agent, and the recording and corresponding secretary of the branch are all members of the league.

and abstract social ethics are help-less against this situation, and the political reformers who attempt to remove the effects of the baneful system without grasping its substance or attacking its foundation are ludicrously ineffective. The evil outgrowths of the capitalist system outgrowths of the capitalist system its main source and cause—the priv-

Syracuse has held some very interesting social function upon a rational a scientific basis is alone capable into the local capitalist press with its news. social function upon a rational and doing away with the two scourges of modern civilizationclass war and poverty.

> CLASS divisions have always existed in the recorded history of the human race. But advancing civilization has gradually abolished all privileges based on birth and caste, and it has been left to the capitalist system of production to evolve a new form of economic classes based on the relation to the ownership of the

The Socialists do not exult in the Chicago, Ill., is surely hitting a boom these existence of classes and class struggles, and do not "preach" class hatred. They merely point out the ob-vious fact of economic classes and class antagonism. It is no more reasonable to charge the "Socialist agitator" with fomenting class wars than it would be to hold the meteorologist responsible for storms. As a matter of fact, the Socialist movement is the only organized force in modern society which consciously class struggles.

duce enough to satisfy all reasonable needs of all reasonable human beings. The mass-poverty of to-day is due solely to irrational and faulty industrial organization.

Senator Hardwick of Georgia who is generally considered a conservative administration supporter, has intro duced a bill which, if passed would call a halt to the proposal to send the drafted men to Europe without their consent. His bill, he says, is introduced in response to overwhelming sentiment in Georgia, where he is up for re-election next year.

Coal miners at Staunton, Ill., have 80,000 Spies Couldn't started a campaign to secure a substantial increase in wages. They declare that the high cost of the necessaries of life is making the task of the coal miners in providing for themselves and their families a very say that the coal industry is accumulating untold profits which if equitably shared with the miners which if would help in a great measure to solve this problem. The last New York wage conference left the matter. These spies were usually into the solve this problem. of another increase in wages before the expiration of the present contract an open question. The daily social democratic (Socialist) party, ers, accompanied the Minois coal one spy on every newspaper. The barons who called on Governor Low-spies took part in committee meet-dento protest against the seizure of ings, incited to breach of the political government.

"Within The Law"

By WILLIS ANDREWS. The American people are being mulcted to the amount of \$50,000,000 item of flour alone, says Food Administrator Hoover. Along with this statement comes news of a burglary at the statement comes news of a burglary of America how to get the exploita month by food speculators in the in Chicago which netted its perpetrators the beggarly sum of \$30,-

possess those qualities of adroitness and conscienceless cunning that peculiarly fit them for careers in high finance, it seems strange that they do not adopt a less hazardous mode of existence, when it is considered that so much more money can be filched from the people in legitimate Measure" at an open-air mass-meetlines of trade-within the law. Perhaps it is their innate recklessness of spirit and love for adventure that prompt them to follow their method of livelihood, inasmuch as robbing the people within the law entails no excitement or risk except to be spasmodically and intermittently coninvestigated and-white-

And besides, profit-mongering is so hallowed and consecrated in the minds of the people, that it would seem almost a profanation for vulgar burglars to become mere commercial brigands and profiteering bandits by devoting their lives to legalized pil lage of the people.

Meetings Suppressed

During the past few weeks, local and federal officials have interfered with a number of mass meetings ar-

Some two weeks ago, the State active capitalist is driven by the Organization sent Otto Branstetter on a down state speaking tour. All went well until he arrived at Dixon, III., where the Sheriff of Lee County endeavored to incite a riot at his first meeting. After the meeting was over Branstetter was informed that he could not speak in Dixon the followworker is by n ter than the average capital ills of our society are the direct and inevitable results of a system that allows one group of persons to own the terms of the system that allows one group of persons to own the terms of the system that allows one group of persons to own the terms of the system that allows one group of persons to own the terms of the system that allows one group of persons to own the terms of the system that allows one group of persons to own the terms of the system that allows one group of persons to own the terms of the system that allows one group of persons to own the terms of the system that allows one group of persons to own the terms of the system that allows one group of persons to own the terms of the system that allows one group of persons to own the system that allows one group of persons to own the system that allows one group of persons to own the system that allows one group of the system that allows one group of persons to own the system that allows one group of persons to own the system that allows one group of persons to own the system that allows one group of persons to own the system that allows one group of persons to own the system that allows one group of persons to own the system that allows one group of the system that group of persons to own the tools other two meetings scheduled were which are indispensable to the lives held and there was no trouble of any

partment thinks. The suppression of these newspapers may or may not have been justifiable; the question has not been passed upon by the regularly constituted authorities.

Post office censorship is an expression of an evil practice that is everywhere springing up when pouplar vigilance relaxes. It is a subtle means of doing by indirection in the first floor of the state Capitol in Bush-suble means of doing by indirection.

Connecticut Notes.

Connecticut Notes.

Connecticut Notes.

Connecticut Notes.

Of all persons, and thus makes the few the absolute masters of the many. So long as this system endures, no individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its torney occupied an automobile across to individual can escape from its object.

At Lincoln, Illinois, the district at torn industrial scheme. Moral sermons torney, however, knew quite well that Branstetter was within his lawful rights and therefore refused to inter-

At Beardstown, Illinois, we were not so fortunate. There, petty officials, had their way. Representative Deitrich who represents that district in the General Assembly of Illinois, urged the Mayor to stop the meeting and arrest the speaker. This was done Buffalo is holding many little lectures and mpromptu educational sessions. Hikes and olicines are also occupying a prominent place on the league bill of fare.

The operation of industries as a stetter to the jail and remained on stetter to the jail and remained on the outside for hours.

Everywhere the crowds have endorsed the views expressed by him and the tour has been one of the most successful ever conducted in Illinois. The campaign of intimidation

spreading. At St. Charles, Illinois, the Mayor dispersed a meeting that was being held in a hall and refused to allow the speaker to address the audience, while at Geneva, a meeting arranged under the auspices of the Good Templars was broken up by the authorities.

WORLD FINANCIERS IN FEAR OF SOCIALISM WOULD STOP WAR.

New Europe, a weekly publication possessing special sources of con-tinental information, draws attention o another "peace plot." It says that high fiannce is at work with a certain amount of Roman Catholic sup-New Europe heads its article Un-

holy Alliance of Finance, and says:
"We learn from an unimpeachable source that a secret conference of seeks to abolish all class divisions and international financiers which recently took place in Switzerland was in-Poverty as such, is of course also spired by somewhat different motives not a new and specifically capitalistic from those which were ascribed to phenomenon. The poor have always it at the time. Acting purely in the been with us. But the poverty of interests of the great capitalists of former eras was an unavoidable evil all countries, it aimed, above all, at interests of the great capitalists of due to the simple fact that man had an imemdiate peace such as would not yet learned to produce a suffici- arrest the growth of international ent supply of necessaries by means of proper tools. Modern poverty is entirely artificial and wholly unsought to forestall the holding of the necessary. The marvelous growth of Stockholm conference by a direct arthe productivity of labor within the rangement between the belligerents last generations has enabled mankind in which national claims would be for the first time in history to pro- entirely subordinated to considerations of world-wide finance.'

> Think, Mr. Workingman, think! If you will only do that and keep it up you are free and the world is yours.

Stop Russian Revolution One of the first acts of the tni-

umphant Russian revolutionaries was grievous and vexatious problem. They to seize the records of the Czar's secret service. Many of these records were imme-

diately burned but a list is being These spies were usually into weeke

to become members of the revolutithe social revolutionary party and the Maximalists. There was at least The tactics of the Russian secret service resemble very much those of he private detective agencies doing

the dirty work of the anti-labor corporations in this country. Perhaps the Burns or Pinkerton agencies will now give the jobless Eussian sleuths a chance to spy on ers off their backs.

In view of the fact that burglars SUFFRAGE SPEECH SUPPRESSED AT WASHINGTON D. C.

Julian Pierce Socialist National Committeeman for the District of Columbia, was brutally dragged from the platform and arrested last Friday night just as he began an address on "National Woman Suffrage as a War ing at Washington.

An audience of over 5,000 in sympathy with the Socialists witnessed the arrest, which was made under the direct orders of Raymond M. Pullman, the Democratic administration's superintendent of police at the nation's capital.

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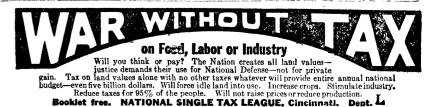
FREE-6 MONTHS - INVESTING FOR -PROFIT a monthly Guide to Money-Making.
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We Want More Of Life

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK. | to their former income would be cun-HE MORE of life we have the more of life we demand.

The dull, shallow life purchasable with wages,—that is all the life the ruling class dare offer the slave low the dead-line.

That is the program class of the wage-system. That's all. Simply wages.

BUT wages will not command art and plenty of time for it. Wages will not command opportunity for the study of art and profit-system of industry. science and philosophy, and plenty of Wages, payment in wag

leisure for such things. Wages will not command an abundance of life above the dead-line and plenty of leisure for it.

Wages will not admit you to the upper side of life with plenty of leisure for it.

WAGES?

What are wages?

Wages are the leavings. Wages are what the working class get after the capitalist class have filled their pockets with the surplus called rent, interest and profits.

Wages are only part of what the

wage-earner produces.
The capitalist employer skims the cream, the surplus value, from the lives of the wage-earners. And this terrible privilege of stealing the lives of the workers, this terrible privilege of legally robbing the workers, is given to the employer by allowing him to own privately what the workers have to use when they work. This kind of ownership, this private ownership of means of production gives the employer the control of life, because it gives him the control of the industrial foundations of life. The capitalist's private ownership of the industrial foundations of society give the capitalist class the industrial power and privilege of arranging the life-level of the working class—below the dead-line. Fortified with this incomparable power and privilege and having profits as their goal and purpose, the capitalist class agree and propose a so-called "living" wage, a wage sufficient (only sufficient) to

much as they produce at present they would still be paid with a "living" wage-below the dead-line.

five-dollar, round-trip excursion" (on Sunday)—these "literal additions"

Shall we think, rise and live in mainspring drives mankind on and light above the dead-line?—or shall on and on to ever grander realizative surrender and exist like dumb ons. Those with awakened vision must Benefit To All Ma cattle forever below the dead-line? Wake up! Stand up!

Defend yourself!

rouse in the thousand who sleep this passion for increasing consciousness; must rouse this holy lust of human brain for the truth and the

Benefit To All Mankind

NOTE.—At the close of the speech in congress on the Russian revolution, Socialist representative Meyer London was asked for his view of what Russia is going to do now.

Two News Items

(From The Chicago Tribune)

Washington, D. C., August 8. — Carried by Miss Lucy Ewing of Chi cago, a member of the well known the working class would still be below the dead-line.

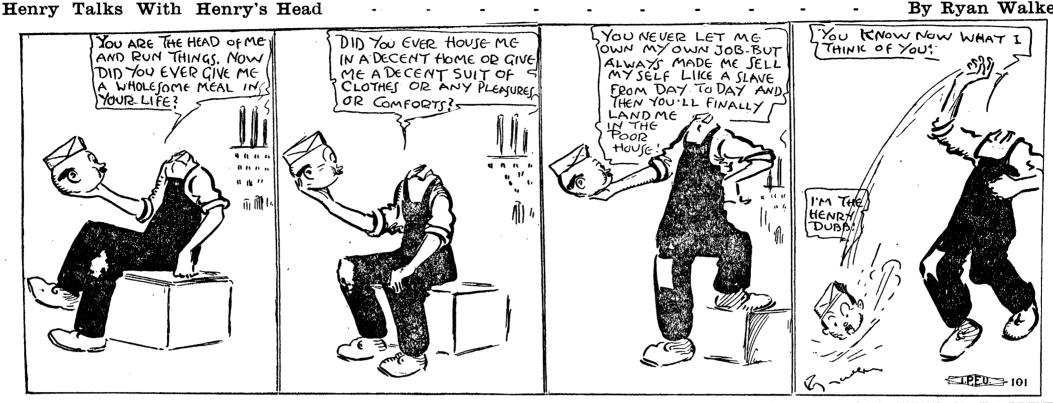
I challenge you to help destroy the dead-line, wage-and-profit system, under which the employer-master crowds you and crushes you and your children down below the increasing diameter of soul that is the program.

IN THE philosophy of Capitalism—in the creed and greed of Capitalism—a bare living is a fair wage.

That is Capitalism, the wage-and-profit system of industry.

Wages, payment in wages, leaves a rake-off, the thick sweet cream of the working class would still be below the dead-line, wage and the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime the dead-line, must rouse this sublime dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above the dead-line, must rouse this sublime that the love of life above t Ewing and Adlai Stevenson families,

By Ryan Walker



produce five times as much, or ten times as much or a hundred times as much as they produce at present they diers are ready, ready to protect the food at the food and the food at the foo imes as much or a hundred times as council and expressed the nope departed in the world with a sublime storm of noble that Russia would be a compelling various direction to telephone to defeate world with a sublime storm of noble that Russia would be a compelling factor for a universal and lasting various direction to telephone to various direction to the portoest—will fill the world with a sublime storm of noble that Russia would be a compelling that Russia would with a sublime storm of noble that Russia would with a sublime storm of noble that Russia would with a sublime storm of noble that Russia does say to class have the jail, the bayonet and the find itself—and with pride, courage world with a sublime storm of noble that Russia would with a sublime storm of noble that Russia would with a sublime storm of noble that Russia would with the world with the soul's war against the supreme outtained to class have the jail, the bayonet and the factor for a universal and lasting various direction to telephone to the factor for a universal and lasting various direction to the protect—will fill the world with a sublime storm of noble that Russia would be a compelling world with a sublime storm of noble that Russia would be a compelling world with a sublime storm of noble that Russia does say to class have the jail, the bayonet and the world with the soul's war against the supreme outtained to various direction.

These, my friend, will yet fill the world with a sublime storm of noble that Russia would be a compelling that Russia would be a compelling to the durb sublime to many that Russia does extra suit of shoddy, hand-me-down for larger life—above the dead-line. clothing and an occasional "extra That is capitalism, the wage-and-

WHAT shall the future be?

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thrilled by the glorious thought of doom. justice, millions of noble souls with nerveless hearts, with flameless eyes, ed, sickened, outcast, strangers to the upper side of life, blinded with tears

SUFFICIENT S of grief, dumb with disappointment SEIZE THE WORL and despair, suffocated into prideless above the dead-line, and humility, betrayed into senseless ac--in a beast's stupor contented-be-

low the dead-line.

There are indeed millions of these
—sleeping—deadened—almost dead to the call to rise or joy and justice.

BUT these shall wake-even these

shall wake. In these, aye, even in these, rifled, stifled ones, the god will yet stir, the god of the passion for loftier and lovelier living-above the dead-line. Even in these crushed, stunned ones will grow up a superbly proud con-tempt for any philanthropy for any philosophy, for any education, for any statesmanship, for any industrial system, for any leadership that cunnigly leaves the fleeced and cheated multitudes in the swinish wallow of the belly's beastly joys and leaves the brain a desert, stranger to the radiant fruits and flowers of science, stranger to the sweet perfume of poetry and the caressing tints and tones and the witching forms and meanings of music and art, stranger to the joy and justice of elevated fel lowship in a socially redeemed world. The bruised lips of these palsied ones will yet hurl hot curses at any and all who teach the socially damned to

THE MOST wonderful thing in the world is a slave resolving to rend the chains that bind him down to the low enjoyment of the cheap buffoonery of animalism, and enchantedly turning the unstopped ear of his soul to hear the wooing call to a life of light above the dead-line, the fascinating call to the upper side of life,—with lofty resolve deciding to have all of the best that is infinitely above beast-liness and far beyond the reach of a

be satisfied with their damnation.

petty "living wage." The very greatest thing that can happen to a slaves' soul, sick with the mental barrenness of ignorant indifference, is to be roused, and thus be rescued, from the swines deadly sleep of contentment, below the deadline, roused and made to see that he must unite with the robbed ones of his class and fight and fight cease-

The very highest service any man can render is to help light the fires that show mankind a greater destiny. Mankind will aways march on and ever on as far as it can see, as far as it can glimpse the highest shining peaks of aspiration born in the brain of the noblest and the best of the soul-hungry human race. "Men of soul-hungry human race. "Men of mind are mountains and their heads are sunned long ere the rest of the earth." Those who have vision must show the way and in others wake the impulse—this impulse that, like a

rage committed against the multitudes who toil. These do not willingly live in the dumb silence of crushwith, "We demand."

There are souls, millions of souls,
shrivelled by poverty, torn by the
world is this: "We are in distress;
we have been in distress. We have suffered untold mising grief and despair below the deadline. These are not yet bled and
strangled till they can no longer
aspire. These have not been successfully chloroformed. These will never
suffered untold mising grief and despair below the deadline. These are not yet bled and
strangled till they can no longer
aspire. These have not been successfully chloroformed. These will never
suffered untold mising grief and despair below the deadline. These are not yet bled and
strangled till they can no longer
aspire. These have not been successfully chloroformed. These will never so the world is the verification.

nerveless hearts, with flameless eyes, their hopes in ashes, weary, weaken-less in their labors to rouse the whole less the rouse less than the ro

SEIZE THE WORLD-for life HOLD ceptance of a brute's doom for themselves and their chilren—contented ENJOY THE WORLD—above the Content to all. dead-line.

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Public Ownership of Railways by Carl D. Thompson. Price 10 cts. (An illuminating discussion of the big problem now confronting the American people.)

National Office, Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

propose a so-called "living" wage, a wage sufficient (only sufficient) to pay for a "living" below the dead-line for the working class. And the capitalist class, by virtue of their fortified industrial position, also have the legal right, the legal power, the legal right, the legal power, the legal right, the legal owner than a so-called "living" wage.

IF THE workers produced twice as much or a horrow as to-day, their reward to-morrow as to-day, their reward to-morrow would still be a "living" wage—below the dead-line.

If the workers from now or twenty years from now or twenty years from now or twenty years from now—if then they should be able to the working class as much or a hundred times as much or tent the same they have as much or a hundred times as much or tent the same they have as much or a hundred times as much or tent times as much or the times as much or tent times as much or tent times as much or the times as much or tent times as much or the times as much or the times as much or tent to the ambition of Germany to pent the trailing as the trailing class is the symbol of the trailing class is the symbol of the working class is the symbol of the working class is the symbol of the trailing class is the symbol of the working class is the symbol of the working class is the symbol of the working class is the symbol of the them below the dead-line.

These, my friend, will yet fill the men's council and expressed the hope basis upon which universal peace can be secured." That is their plea. Is there any

pathetic response on the part of all arrest. iberty-loving peoples?

The skill with which the provisiondead-line, and al government has met the extra-ordinary difficulties born of the revoline enthusiasm with order, liberty with self-restraint. One would be justified in expecting that with the sudden release from oppressive restrictions the accumulated bitter-ness would have given rise to all sorts of excesses. The contrary is true. There is an almost complete absence of the atrocities, that characterized the French Revolution. There are no women knitting stockings while heads are falling from the guillotine. They have abolished capital punshment. The Czar finds himself safe in the city of Petrograd, with hundreds of thousands of soldiers and workingmen, with red flags flying, around him. He was permitted to vote in the last municipal election.

All that shows the presence of a constructive statesmanship, which is so essential when a nation is being reborn. It shows a realization of the large responsibility that has fallen upon the shoulders of that long-suffering people. I have an abiding faith that the revolution in Russia has brought a stream of new life and liberty, not only for the people of Russia, but for all of mankind.

Censorship Hit Again

NOTE.—Karl H. Von Wiegand, said to be the last American newspaperman to leave Berlin, has just arrived in this country and in an article in The Chicago Examiner hits the American censorship as follows:

Blind hatred, verbal machine gun fire at the enemy, the hurling of epithets across the broad Atlantic and screaming headlines over news, too often deceptive or wholly untrue will not defeat the enemy nor bring any closer the end of the war.

Thanks to censorship, an invention

of war makers culculated less to prevent military secrets leaking out than for the deception of their own and other peoples, the American pub-lic does not know all the truth about the belligerents even after three years of war.

Even to-day all the truth may not be written. That is the European militaristic theory and that theory has not been confined to Germany. It has worked badly in those countries. In Russia it has wreacked vengeance. In some of the other bellig-erent nations it is in the process of doing so.

I do not believe it will work in the United States. I cannot believe it is necessary. Better to face the bald truth at the beginning than to be made to realize bitter truth at the

The contented wage-slave is the millstone about the neck of the slave in revolt against his chains.

warrant charging resistance of the discussion of the warrant was served while he was addressing a meeting of the "American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace."

Many of the 200 persons at the meeting will be to demand the freedom of the press in the discussion of Peace Terms. Mr. J. Louis Engdahl, editor of The American Socialist; Miss Laura Hughes, of Toronto, Canada, and Ernest Reichman will speak reason why their request should not be met with a spontaneous and sym-

Former United States Senator John D. Works of Los Angeles, who was among other prominent persons in the audience, which included Dr. David Starr Jordan, arose and said:

"This arrest is a disgrace to the American people, and is done for the purpose of intimidating thinking peo-

Her Only Hope

We have received a letter from a mother in Denver, Colo., who contributs \$1 to the Liberty Defense Fund and writes as follows:

"Two of my children who are working for small wages were compelled to donate three times the amount I am sending you for the Red Cross Fund. I have two boys who joined the navy thinking they would be drafted to go to the trenches. They preferred being on water to being in the trenches. I can't give them up without an effort the to save them, and thru the Socialist Party is my only hope".

overs a multitude of crime and the

From The Firing Line

"Congratulations upon the splendid fight you are putting up for a free press", says Comrade Angie B. Lothrop, of Belfast, Maine. "Such a spirit of determination cannot fail co win out".

comrade John McClatchie, New Jersey, writes that he hasn't received his American Socialist for three weeks. Several neighbors make the same report. Nevertheless, he sends in 14 new ones. We'll put the trouble finder on the job immediately to see why those papers were not delivered.

Comrade Emil Gall, Kansas, comes in with a formidable looking list of 23 new

"Yours for a free press, free speech and Socialism in the near future", is the message that accompanies a list of 16 subs sent in by Comrade A. E. Frederick, Kansas.

Comrade E. L. Osgood, California, be-lieves in world peace so strongly that he sends in a list of seven new readers to get them thinking as he does.

"You have my heartfelt thanks for your grand and noble fight for right and justice", accompanies a list of subs from a comrade in Dayton, Ohio. Comrade H. Hoffman, Sauk Rapids, Minn., urges that we organize every county in the nation and set a county organizer on the job getting subs for The American Socialist. That is the goal we are working for.

An Iowa sympathizer got a copy of The American Socialist, found it contained the truth, the whoie truth and nothing but the truth, and so he went out and got a list of 11 subs. They arrive with his promise to get more.

Comrade J. N. Carter, Nebraska, sends in a list containing an even dozen names. "As I have received a couple of copies f vour paper I am now anxious to beof your paper I am now anxious to become a constant reader", writes a new recruit in Ohio. "Keep right after them. We want to win the day", he says.

Comrade Isadore Asheroff, a Nebraska yipsel, is right on the job with a list of 28 subs.

An answer to the robbery of the food speculators is found in a list of 22 new subs sent in by Comrade W. E. Stropp, Oklahoma Comrade William Herlet, Pennsylvania,

sends in a dozen subs as his protest against the high cost of living.

against the nigh cost of living.

"This is my bit", says Comrade John C. Eaby, Indiana, in sending in a list of 21 subs. "Have several more promised for another list I will send in soon".

Comrade M. L. Miller, Virginia, sends in a list of 13 and promises to send another hunch soon.

other bunch soon.

Comrade H. C. Burtrum, Minnesota, orders a bunch of sub cards to get a few more readers for the best paper on earth. Comrade A. E. Georgian of the New Times Pub. Co., at Minneapolis, Minn., increases his bundle order.

"Now is the best time for us to get to the people with our message", is the opinion of Comrade D. H. Brown, Arkan-sas, as he sends in a list of six subs. "I will do all I can to help the cause", writes Comrade J. D. Goodgann, Texas, as he sends in a list of 10.

"I am not a member of the Socialist Party but I assure you that I couldn't work any harder if I were", writes G. A. Smith, Ohio. Better get into the ranks just the same, brother.

"Now is the harvest time for Social-ism", writes a comrade from Napoleon, Ohio, as he sends in a list of 24 subs.

Industrial slavery will be the lot of the working class until they line After copying the "appeal," sev- up industrially and politically in the eral of the policemen departed in class struggle and strike and vote together for emancipation.

Max Eastman, editor of The Masses will speak at a mass meeting under the auspices of the People's (From The Chicago Tribune)
San Francisco, Cal., August 8.—
Daniel O'Connell, an attorney, was arrested here late today on a federal the meeting will be to demand the footbase of the meeting will be to deman

> According to reports from Petroocratic Maximalist and Internalist congress opened there, August 9. The elected as honorary presi congress dents Nikolai Lenine, Leon Trotzky Socialist journalist, who was expelled from Europe for preaching peace; Mme. Kolontay, and Lunachrisky.

> Russian Socialist papers received in this country tell of the first Socialst mass meetings held since the beginning of the war at Prague, Bohemia. Speakers declared that the reconstruction after the war must be brought about by the people; that a revolutionary change in economic and political institutions is expected as a result of the war.

Portuguese newspaper owners are demanding restriction of the censorship regarding matters pertaining to the war. They threaten to suspend publication if their demand is not met. News has arrived here that 85 civil ians were killed and 1,500 arrested The private ownership of railroads in Lisbon July 11, during a labor upovers a multitude of crime and the rising which threatened a revolution dear people are the victims of them and resulted in the suspension of constitutional guarantees.

WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND

Table Showing Status of the Society at the End of Years stated. in 5 Year Periods At End of NUMBER OF MEMBERS | Amount of Benefits Paid Since Organization | Amount Saved

			ii	-	10.000	
Year	Men Woman		Sick and Accident	Death	In Cash Reserve	
1885	116		\$525.90	\$150.00		
1890	2,919	252	35,014.57	3,600.00	\$6,062.57	
1895	10,992	1,924	310.846.07	75,581.00	35,265.38	
1900	21,616	4,123	1,002,398.32	253,731.35	89,773.35	
1905	28,470	5,912	1,962,960.82	587,740.96	220,323.38	
1910	37,743	7,524	3,236,004.12	1,087,845.77	438,501.72	
1915	43,650	8,347	4,876,761.11	1,762,706.87	865,200.00	

For fur ber Inform-

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lessly for light and life and freedom.

EVERY belligerent country the Socialists are gaining tremendously in power, and they are infinitely stronger today than in August, 1914' is the confession of Arthur S. Draper, writing in the New York Tribune. "They are waging a campaign for peace by negotiation. They argue that they can make a good peace tomorrow, and they declare that every day the war is prolonged the greater will be the burden the people must bear when it ends".

When Did He Work?

Kingdon Gould, eldest son of George J. Gould and heir apparent to the Gould millions, claims exemption from conscription because he has "dependents upon his labor for support". Let all the workers who have joined their efforts

to build up the Gould millions unite in one grand chorus, "When did Kingdon Gould ever do a tap of The Gould fortune was established years ago and

continues to prosper, not because of any efforts exerted by young Kingdon but because thousands and tens of thousands of workers on the railroads and in the coal mines, owned by Gould coin, allow themselves to be exploited.

Even if this scion of the Gould family should trot away to war, even if he should get killed, the wealth of the Goulds would go on propagating dividends as long as the present profit system endured. If all the workers should be sent away to the war then there would be real danger that the

Gould money bags would become empty.

The exemption board has declared Kingdon Gould physically fit to go to war. It is the first time we have heard that he is fit to do anything.

According to "Who's Who In America" we notice that young Gould is interested in the Denver and Rio Grande and the Texas and Pacific railroads; the Utah Fuel Co. and the Consolidated Coal Co. The workers for these corporations will see to it that his "dependents" do not starve. They will continue to do this until they realize that only their own ignorance causes them to support the kind of parasites one finds in the present generation of the Gould family.

When this realization has dawned upon them, then and only then will the Kingdon Goulds be compelled to go to work, if not in the trenches, then somewhere else.

Representative Wood, Indiana, told congress the other day that contracts for the construction of cantonments had been let to men who had already been found guilty of robbing, the Canadian government and upon discoverey were drumed out of that country and forbidden to return. They seem to have been welcomed by the grafters in this country.

Root Returns

sia as there is in the United States", declares Elihu even one in five contribute something toward the Root, upon his return to the United States with support of the city government. the Russian Commission.

This, of course, isn't saying very much for Russia, because, as Root truly says, "If all the telegraphic reports of riots, strikes, and other distur- who was Miss Catherine Barker, the \$30,000,000 bances in the United States were concentrated and sent over to Russia, the people there would get an alarming view of the situation here".

The daily press that has been so busy exploiting every street fight in Petrograd, had better be a little bit more careful in order not to entirely discredit

Frederick Adler, Socialist, in his recent speech before the Austrian court martial, characterized Austria-Hungary as follows: 'Already at school it was clear to me that the

greatest sin, the one which cannot be forgiven, is the sin against character; the sin that is customary in Austria..... We are in a state in which the convictions of men are despised, in which it is never recognized that the individual must act according to his convictions. It is the State of the Metternich doctrine which weighed down Austria before 1848, the State whih has fettered free speech in order to create a slavish public opinion..... It is this abandonmnt of any loyalty to convictions, this complete lack of stability, which has always filled me with the depest hatred of Austria, not as a political unit but as a moral one; of the Austrian character for untrustworthiness.

Take Hold Now

With this issue THE AMERICAN SO-CIALIST makes application to the Postoffice Department for a new second-class entry, allowing it the use of the mails at the periodical rate of one cent per pound.

By your help THE AMERICAN SOCIAL-IST will manage to keep up its task of heartening the movement for the overthrow of the ghoulism that fattens vampire-like on disaster-that coins profit out of national necessity. Will you help us now-NOW when your help is more needed than ever since the banner of universal brotherhood was first

We want subscribers who will stick with us thru thick and thin. HELP US GET

Use the blank below as your reply to the forces which threaten the life of the Socialist movement. Most genuine Americans will

ADDRESS

Send in their subscriptions!

Armed guards trying to break the strike of the Springfield, Ill., street carmen, killed a local police-

The United States Steel Corporation, in its report for the three months ending June 30, showed the enormous net earnings of \$90,579,204.

Fifteen thousand names have already been secured on the petition seeking the recall of Prosecuting Attorney Fickert, the San Francisco labor prose-

"By the time Hoover has the public trained to quit wasting garbage, the war will be over and there will be something else to live on".—THE NON-PARTISAN LEADER.

Judge Lovett, chairman of the Union Pacific railroad, has been appointed head of the war industries purchasing board, and the profiteers continue to gloat over prospective profits.

"A war profiteer, merely cashing in his country's emergencies and making money out of other peo-ple's blood and tears, is not a wholesome exhibit f humanity", admits The Chicago Tribune.

According to financial reports the express companies are the only corporations having a hard time of it robbing the people. There's a reason. They have Uncle Sam's own parcel post to contend with.

"Every one in Russia is a Socialist", said Charles Edward Russell, upon his return to this country from Petrograd, and the same story has it that Russell is going to try to get back into the American Socialist Party.

"The constitution, the set of laws that men will live under is the one which images their convictions. Other laws are usurpations, which men do not obey, but rebel against and abolish at their earliest convenience".—THOMAS CARLYLE.

Mayor Thompson scores another on Judge Landis in Chicago by asking whether Landis' extreme case of jingoism is due to the fact that he has a brother who is a lobbyist for the profiteering DuPont

"Sharp poverty stares most Chicagoans in face", is the conclusion of the tax collectors in Chi-"There is not as much disturbance in all of Rus- cago, who say they are having a hard time making

> SOCIETY NOTE:—Howard Spaulding, Jr., of Chicago, is in Washington this week with his wife, heiress. It is stated that he is looking for a job in the bureau of mines so that he will not be sent to the trenches.

committee of five appointed by the convention of the Arizona Federation of Labor to investigate the Bisbee deportations was met by gunmen at Forest Ranch, seven miles from Bisbee and forced

Jules Destree, Socialist deputy from Charleroi has been appointed Belgian minister at Petrograd We believe this is the first time a Socialist has been appointed to such a position. Soon the number of such appointments will be legion because many naions will be in the control of Socialists.

"Knowledge Is Power", by Wilhelm Liebknecht, has just been translated into Hungarian and is on sale by the Hungarian Socialist Federation, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago Ill. The price is 20 cents a copy. Karl Kautky's book. "The Social Revoultion" was translated recently into Hungarian and is having an

The American Union Against Militarism announces that the War Department has made it clear that the only "conscientious objectors" who could be call a halt to some of their perhicious activities too exempted from military service under the law would be the quakers and members of a few other well recognized religious sects opposed to war. The department officials said that the law would be interpreted exactly and that no provision could be made for exempting individual "conscientious objectors" on religious or other grounds.

In U. S. Senator Newlands' opinion, if the coal operators who recently agreed upon and suggested to the government \$3 a ton as a fair price for their had made it \$2 or \$2.50, the march of the United States toward the goal of Socialism would not have been so far along as it is. The apologists for the capitalist system will be using a lot of similar "ifs" to excuse Socialist progress in the days to come.

The recent Reichstag resolution urging a peace without indemnities and annexations shows that the German people are coming to their senses. Despite the shiftiness of the speech of Chancellor Michaelis no one can deny that the passage of this resolution by the united forces of the majority Socialists and the Catholic Center is a very sigpificant step in the right direction. The independent German Social Democracy has gone further. It has definitely demanded the restoration of Belgium and Serbia; the freeing of Austrian and Russian Poland; the granting of a plebiscite for Alsace-Lorraine; and rally to the fight when they see a right menthe full renouncement of all conquest. President
Wilson could accept this program without amend-

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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.

J. L. ENGDAHL.....Editor

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1917.

Meeting The Attack

In six months or a year from now the subsidized press will try to show that public ownership of railroads is a failure in Canada

This attack must be met by stating the facts now. The Canadian government which already owns the Intercolonial railroad in Eastern Canada, has decided to buy at once the Canadian Northern system, over 9,000 miles, and later the Grand Trunk

These are the least profitable among the rail-roads of Canada. They do not compare in revenue producing qualities with the more favorably situated Canadian Pacific railroad.

It has always been the policy of the money power when public ownership becomes irresistible, to let loose some of its deficit producing properties and then sneer at the failure of the government to immediately produce profits. This has too often resulted in blinding the people to the benefits of government ownership and crowned private monopoly with an undeserved triumph.

Canada would have done better to have taken over all of the railroads in the dominion at once. When public ownership of railroads comes in the United States, as come it must, let the nation take over all railroad mileage and not a few broken down system. Let the operation be quick and complete and let it come soon.

The United States government has its eyes on the People's Council of America, says a daily newspaper item. "The Council" is worth watch-

A Protest From Labor

No one will deny that labor has been very patient under the many injustices heaped upon it since the eginning of the war.

Now comes an emphatic protest, however, signed by 50 officials of international labor unions and sent to President Wilson, denouncing the strike breaking activities of the Chicago bureau of in-

vestigation of the department of justice.

Illegal arrests have been made during legitimate strikes, is one charge made, and the President is arged to instruct the Chicago investigators to consult with the United States department of labor in every case involving labor disputes or strikes before taking any action.

It is pointed that the strike officials in some cases have been arrested by overzealous secret service men resulting in immediate victory for employers. It is shown that deputy marshal's stars have been turned over to labor crushing employers and that government authority has been conferred on strike breakers.

This is merely a dose of the same medicine that the Socialist Party has been getting in the censorship of its press and the suppression of its meet ings. Chicago department of justice officials have been offenders extraordinary. The President cannot soon.

'We suggest that an attempt be made to suppress the Hearst papers", says The Des Moines, Iowa, Leader, in wondering why the government is jumping on the Socialist press.

The Constitution And Lamar (From The Nonpartisan Leader)

The methods used by Solicitor Lamar of the post boasted rights of a free press and free speech. We are trying to make the revolutionary government of Russia believe we are sincere in our advocacy of within the law; but they have found it impossible Russians as our allies, that they may help us "make the world safe for democracy." The Russians, among other things, have just thrown overboard, as oppressive and tyrannical, the very methods of dering free speech that Lamar is using in the United States. Can we make Russia believe in our sincerity and sympathy for their efforts toward democracy when we resort to as bad as the Czar ever resorted to to oppress the people?

But the methods of the Bureaucrat Lamar are not the only objections to him. He is by temperament and training unfitted to sit in judgment on what is and what is not treasonable. An example is his ruling on that branch of the American radical press that espouses the doctrine of "international ism." The big majority of Americans have no sympathy with "internationalism" as it is preached while this country is at war. Many advocates of the doctrine have overstepped the bounds and sought or conspired to hinder the prosecution of the war, which is treason. But there are laws and courts t attend to these.

Lamar, however, is credited with ruling that the mere advocacy of "internationalism" as an abstract principle is a repudiation of national governments and hence, when advocated or discussed in the United States while this country is at war, treason. Such a position is absurd. It is in fundamental opposition to our free institutions. We boast that we have the right to criticize the government and advocate what we believe to be improve-The advocacy of "internationalism" abstract principle comes within that right. The fact that many of us can not agree with the internationalists should not lead us to persecute them for their opinions or suppress their utterances. Lamar and his kind are sufficiently answered by

United States Judge Rose at Baltimore, who ruled as follows on a pamphlet alleged to contain treason: This circular contains nothing whatever to warrant a criminal charge to be lodged against any opinion must dictate ultimate judgments, man for distributing it. Every man has a right, if restriction which would withhold essential infe he chooses, to criticize adversely any system of society or any law, so long as he obeys that law while it is a law.'

We fought and bled of old to establish the principle of freedom of press and speech enunciated by Judge Rose in these words. Are we as a people to give it up lightly, because of Lamar, intrenched in his bureau at Washington? Lamar should read John Stuart Mill and the declaration of principles of the new Russian government—also the constitution of and periodicals, declaring it was a power the denew Russian government-also the constitution of the United States.

Wanted - Action!

The national administration seems blindly indifferent to the final outcome of the recent deportations in Arizona and the outrages against labor elsewhere, including the race riots at East St. Louis and other cities. This is merely dodging the solution of difficult problems.

That the workers want some sort of action is shown by the resolutions unanimously adopted by the Arizona Federation of Labor and telegraphed to President Wilson asking what action he intends taking with reference to the Bisbee deportations of

intend to act in restoring law and order in Cochise county, Ariz., and return to their homes the decounty, Ariz., and return to their homes the deported men of Bisbee. Are we to assume that the convention."

President Donnelly, in addressing the convention, declared the Bisbee deportations constituted a men who now hold it and give it even to the indimenace to the nation, and said the Bisbee affair vidual workers, because, with the principle of private

was a "beckoning finger to revolution." The deported copper miners, who have been practically interned at Columbus, N. M., are being allowed to go when they desire. There is only one place to go, however, and that is back to their homes in Bisbee. To return now without the protection of the government is to invite more trouble. If the present administration will not give them this protection it is only natural that they should struggle for a government that will.

Herve Gets Angry

Gustave Herve, former French Socialist and antimilitarist and now a jingo patriot, is exceedingly wroth at the housewives of France, who, he says, are evading the laws adopted to conserve the food supplies for the soldiers.

To save the supply of meat for the men at the front the Government sought to force the people to do without meat for two days out of every week. In

the words of M. Herve this is what happened: "The meatless days having been instituted, what follows? Yesterday, being Sunday and the eve of the first meatless days, you all went to your butchers, or else you sent your maids, and you bought your provisions for three whole days, quite independently of the purchases which you made at the pork-butchers. I saw you myself. Yesterday, both in the well-to-do and the poor districts, you stormed the meat-shops and as this naturally resulted in the butchers putting up their prices, you had the audacity to complain. The Government, representing the nation, and for the good of the nation, enforces two meatless days, and the first thing you do is to fly to the butchers to get your provisions, showing how much you care for the law! And you call that patriotism?"

To this we might answer "Sure." It is really too bad that the Franch have sufficient respect for their stomachs to look out for "A-1" first. If the Government were to pass a law forbidding people to eat anything, that ought to settle the question. But it don't—Nature does a little governing on her own

However, we need never fear that the working people of this country would thus flagrantly disobey the law forbidding purchase of meat on certain days The rich might but the poor would never do it. They haven't the price.

U. S. Senator Gronna, in speaking of the appointment of Frank L. Carey, Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce grain dealer, by Herbert Hoover, as administer of foods for the northwest, said:

"Mr. Carey is one of the members of the organization which the farmers of the northwest have repeatedly called, and will continue to call, 'grain gamblers' and 'food gamblers'".

For A Free Press

(By Alice Stone Blackwell in "The Woman Citizen", official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.)

The rights of women, as of men, are endangered authorities are now putting upon the espionage bill. That bill was passed by Congress to keep people from giving military information to the enemyoffice department to suppress alleged treasonable thing that we all wish to prevent. Under a clause of or seditious publications make a scrap of paper of somewhat vague and ambiguous meaning contained the United States constitution and trample on our in it, the postoffice has forbidden a long list of Soliberty and democracy. We are doing that to keep to get any clear explanation as to what they may or may not print. Some of them have offered to submit their proof sheets to the postal authorities in advance of publication, in order that anything objectionable may be taken out.

This matter has no direct connection with woman suffrage, but it has a direct interest for every publisher of a newspaper.

When there is an unwarrantable interference with the freedom of the press, every editor is called upon

to protest. Any paper that advocates breaking the law rend ers itself liable to legal penalties, of course. But the right peaceably to argue for the repeal of any law has always been considered to be a part of that freedom of the press which is guaranteed by the United States Constitution. In the debates over the espionage bill, it was also made clear that Congress did not mean to take away from the press the right to criticize the government. Yet it seems obvious that the postal authorities are now bent upon suppressing papers which exercise these rights in a way they do not like.

Such attempts are always stupid, because they d more to stir up ill will towards the government than anything that the suppressed papers could possibly say. They are particularly stupid just at this time, in view of our relations with Europe.

Publisher Protests

(Chicago Herald, July 20.) Publisher Declares U. S. Must Retain Free Press

Speaking on the subject of censorship of war news before the Philadelphia, Pa., chamber of commerce here on July 19, Louis Wiley, business manager of the New York Times, said it was absolutely necessary that the country retain its free speech and free press. He declared that at a crisis when mass restriction which would withhold essential informa tion and enlightenment from all the people could be neither wise nor patriotic. He emphasized "the patriotism of the newspapers."

"Under a rejected provision of the espionage law," said Mr. Wiley, "the newspapers would have been prevented, by heavy penalty, from freedom in the printing and collection of news.'

The speaker denounced the action of the Postoffice partment should not have.

The Truth About Socialism

(Continued from Page One) people in this country are so poor that they do not own even the roofs over their heads.

THE PURPOSE of Socialism is to give the workers all they produce. And, when Socialists say "workers" they do not mean only those who wear overalls and carry dinner pails. They mean every body who does useful labor. Socialists regard the general superintendent of a railroad as quite as taking with reference to the Bisbee deportations of July 12. Their telegram was as follows:

"The sixth annual convention of the Arizona State Enderthing of Labor decires to know if you State Federation of Labor desires to know if you sites who are living off the products of labor by Phelps-Dodge interests are superior to the prin- say capitalists commit their robberies, Socialists ciples of democracy? An answer is awaited by this also declare that the only way to stop the robberies is to take away the club.

It would do no good to take the club from the ownership retained, ownership would soon gravitate into a few hands and robbery would go on as ruthlessly as ever. Socialists believe the only remedy is to destroy the club by vesting the ownership of the great machinery of production and distribution in the people, thru the government.

SUCH IS the gist of Socialism-public ownership of the trusts, combined with public ownership of the government.

Gentlemen who are opposed to Socialism-for what reasons it is now unnecessary to consider-lose no opportunity to spread the belief that there are more kinds of Socialism than there are varieties of the celebrated products of Mr. Heinz.

There are more than 30,000,000 Socialists in the world. Not one of them would refuse to write across this article:

"That is Socialism," and sign his name to it. Every Socialist has his individual conception of how mankind would advance if poverty were eliminated, but all Socialists agree that the heart and soul of their philosophy lies in the public ownership, under democratic government, of the means of life. And, as compared with this belief, all other beliefs of Socialism are minor and inconsequential. Public ownership is the rock upon which it is determined to stand or fall.

Socialists differ only with regard to the means by which public ownership may be brought about. A handful of Socialists, for instance, believe that in order to bring it about it is necessary to oppose the labor unions. All other Socialists work hand in hand with the labor unions.

Also, there is a difference of opinion among Socialists as to how the government should proceed to obtain ownership of the industrial trusts, the railroads, telegraph, telephone and express companies and so forth. Some Socialists are in favor of confis cating them, on the theory that the people have a right to resort to such drastic action. In a way, they have excellent authority for their position. Read what Benjamin Franklin said about property at the convention that was called in 1776 to adopt a new constitution for Pennsylvania:

"Suppose one of our Indian nations should now agree to form a civil society. Each individual would bring into the stock of the society little more property than his gun and his blanket, for at present he has no other. We know that when one of them has attempted to keep a few swine he has not been able to maintain a property in them his neighbors thinking they have a right to kill and eat them whenever they want provisions, it being one of their maxims that hunting is free for all. The accumulation of property in such a society, and its security to individuals in every society, must be an effect of the protection afforded to it by the joint strength of the

society in the execution of its laws.
"Private property is, therefore, a creature of society, and is subject to the calls of that society whenever its necessities require it, even to the last farthing."

But one need quote only the law of self-preservation to prove that if any people shall ever become convinced that their lives depend upon the confisca-tion of the trusts that such confiscation will be under the strained interpretation that the postal justified. When men reach a certain stage of hunger and wretchedness they pay scant attention to every law except the higher law that says they have

a right to live. I believe that most Socialists twenty years ago were in favor of confiscation. The trend now is al toward compensation. Not that Socialists have changed their minds at all about the equities of the matter. They have not. But they are coming to see that compensation is the easier and quicker way. Victor Berger, the first Socialist congressman, introduced in the House of Representatives an antitrust bill in which he proposed that the government should buy all of the trusts that control more than forty per cent. of the business in their respective lines, and pay therefor their full cash valuesminus, of course, wind, water and all forms of speculative inflation. In short the differences in the Socialist party upon the question of compensation are not unlike the differences which once existed with regard to the best means by which the negroes might be emancipated. Years before the Civil War, Henry Clay proposed that the government should buy the negroes at double their market price and set them free. He said this would be the cheapest and quickest way of settling the troubles between the North and the South. The slave owners would not consent, and, eventually Lincoln freed their slaves without paying for them.

WHEN Socialists speak of buying the trusts, they naturally invite the inquiry as to where they expect to get the money to pay for them. They expect to get the money out of the profits of the trusts. That s the way that Representative Berger provided in his bill. It is a poor trust that does not pay dividends upon stock and interest upon bonds that do not aggregate at least ten per cent. of the capital actually invested. Most of them pay more, and some of the express companies occasionally spring a fifty or a 100 per cent. dividend.

The Socialist proposal is that the government pay for the trusts with two-per cent. bonds. and that each year, enough money be put into a sinking fund to retire the bonds in not more than fifty years. The burden of purchasing the trusts would thus be spread over a little more than two generations, but Socialists say the burden would be a burden only in name, since the prices of trust goods could be radically reduced, even while the trusts were being paid for, and upon the retirement of the bonds, all prices could be reduced to cost.

SOCIALISTS are, first, last and all the time in favor only of political action and trade-union action Wherever there is a free ballot, they believe in using it. Socialists realize that they can win only by converting a majority of the people to their be-lief. That is why they begin one campaign the next morning after the closing of another. busy with the printing press and their tongues all

the while. For them, there is no closed season. Socialists realize that Socialism can be reared only

In condemning the \$50,000,000 profits made by the coal barons of the United States during the past three months, The Cleveland, Ohio, Leader, in an editorial entitled, "HELPING THE SOCIALISTS", declares that, "The men responsible for these conditions are making Socialists by the wholesale". This paper admits that it has no argument to head off Socialist condemnation of 200 per cent profits on this fuel, a necessity vital to the very existence of the American people. There is still hope that the American people will wake up before they have been robbed of everything they possess by the profiteers in the necessities of life.