

Socialist Party Only Influence Working for the Great Masses of the People

By MEYER LONDON
Socialist Congressman.

THERE IS evidently a complete realignment of political parties in the United States.

The Democrats have absorbed enough of the Republican platform to practically

eliminate the distinction which existed between the two old parties. The entire political map is being re-made.

In this condition of political ferment and uncertainty there is only one political force the direction of which is certain, the purport of which is clear, the mission of which is definite, and the language of which is unequivocal, and that force is the Socialist movement.

The tremendous growth of the Socialist vote in spite of the fact that a good many who would have ordinarily voted the Socialist ticket probably voted for Wilson in approval of his peace policies, shows unmistakably that we are growing, and that our growth is steady and uninterrupted. In this district, we were very near elect-

ing several members to the State Legislature.

I succeeded in defeating a combination of the two old political machines. While there was nominally a Republican candidate for Congress, the political machines of both old parties co-operated on election day.

We must perfect our organization. We

must coordinate our efforts. In this critical moment in the world's history, we shall be the only influence that will work for the great masses of the people, holding the whip-hand over the old political parties.

In view of the constant danger of international complications, we shall be the most potent factor for international peace.

This paper has been paid for, if not by you, then by some one who wants you to read it.

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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Have You Entered Our Great Rand School Scholarship Contest?

VOL. III. No. 19.

304

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1916

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Two Smashing Victories! Meyer London Re-elected; Thomas H. Van Lear Chosen Mayor of Minneapolis

For the first time in the history of the nation a Socialist congressman has been re-elected. Meyer London has been sent back to Washington for two years more by the twelfth New York district to speak for labor in the national capitol.

For the second time a Socialist has been elected mayor of a large city against the combined opposition of all the old parties. Thomas H. Van Lear has been chosen chief executive of Minneapolis, Minn., the metropolis of the northwest.

These are two big victories won at last Tuesday's election in the face of all the handicaps imposed by a presidential contest, in which every possible effort was exerted to center attention on one or the other of the old political parties.

The total vote in the twelfth New York district gives London, Socialist, 6,102; Sanders, democratic, 5,759, and Block, republican, 970. London's plurality is 343.

With the returns from six precincts still missing the vote in the Minneapolis mayoralty contest was as follows: Van Lear, Socialist, 34,369; Otto S. Langum, anti-Socialist, 29,807; Van Lear's majority, 4,562.

In the Twentieth New York district, where Morris Hillquit was our candidate, the result was as follows: Siegel, republican, 4,347; Rosenblatt, democrat, 3,950; Hillquit, Socialist, 4,239, thus giving a bare plurality of 108 to Siegel, the sitting republican congressman.

"If, after an examination of all the facts in the case, and of all our watchers, we know that in a few places fraud without doubt occurred, it may be advisable to start a recount", declares Hillquit.

May Get Two Congressmen.

The chance that Hillquit may be declared elected gives us a chance for a second congressman. No other Socialist candidate came so near to victory.

Everything considered the Milwaukee Socialists waged a brilliant struggle to elect Victor L. Berger and Winfield R. Gaylord. In the fourth district the result was as follows: Cary, republican, 11,077; Gaylord, Socialist, 10,615, and Szczerbinski, democrat, 10,252. The vote in the fifth district was as follows: Stafford, republican, 18,917; Berger, Socialist, 15,363, more than double the vote for Browne, democrat, who received 7,218. Berger's vote was increased by 4,000 over two years ago.

BIG VOTE INCREASE IN MILWAUKEE.

The Socialist vote in Milwaukee county, Wis., for local officials and congressional candidates showed a heavy increase in every ward, showing that the Socialist party is stronger than ever before. Only the extraordinary vote that was brought out for the other parties secured them the victory.

The tables which follow give the vote of all three parties for county candidates in 1914 and 1916:

	1914			1916		
	Dem.	Rep.	Soc.	Dem.	Rep.	Soc.
County Clerk	19,918	19,526	19,891	24,020	26,839	25,198
County Treasurer	16,435	23,858	19,333	19,474	25,545	24,394
Sheriff	20,823	17,033	23,644	15,054	33,096	27,916
Coroner	14,288	25,325	19,860	16,545	32,450	24,883
Clerk of Courts	15,536	24,016	19,708	15,931	32,616	23,907
District Attorney	12,648	22,348	26,200	18,917	26,772	35,841
Register of Deeds	15,210	24,411	20,223	18,165	30,306	27,098

In an editorial headed "An Index of Strength", The Milwaukee Leader comments on the increased vote in the Berger and Gaylord congressional districts as follows:

"The marked growth in the socialist strength in Milwaukee is shown in the vote for congressional candidates. Mr. Berger, in the Fifth district, received nearly 16,000 votes—a vote which is 4,135 larger than he received two years ago and a larger vote than Stafford received in the previous election.

"Mr. Berger undoubtedly would have been elected if it had not been for the racial politics cultivated by The Free Press and The Germania-Herald, which urged German voters in the strongest German district in the United States to vote for Stafford to 'reward' him for what he had done for 'our cause'. Yet in spite of the fact, that every old man and cripple was brought to the polls to vote the Republican ticket, Mr. Berger received the largest vote ever cast for a Socialist candidate for congress."

The exact returns have not been received from Terre Haute, Ind., for the Debs' district. Maynard Shipley, campaign manager, wires as follows:

Demand Recount in Debs' District.

"We are demanding a recount of the Debs' vote. Even the republicans and democrats admit that hundreds of votes were not counted. Everyone is amazed. Returns from the district as a whole are not yet available. 'Gene is not disappointed at not being elected. I am. So are thousands. I sincerely expected to see him sent to congress. He was defeated by crooked voting machines. Also by some yet more crooked politicians in charge thereof.

"But the splendid educational work done thruout the six big counties can never be undone. The Fifth District of Indiana was transformed by this campaign. The forward change effected was worth all it cost to any of us."

Democrats Get Oklahoma.

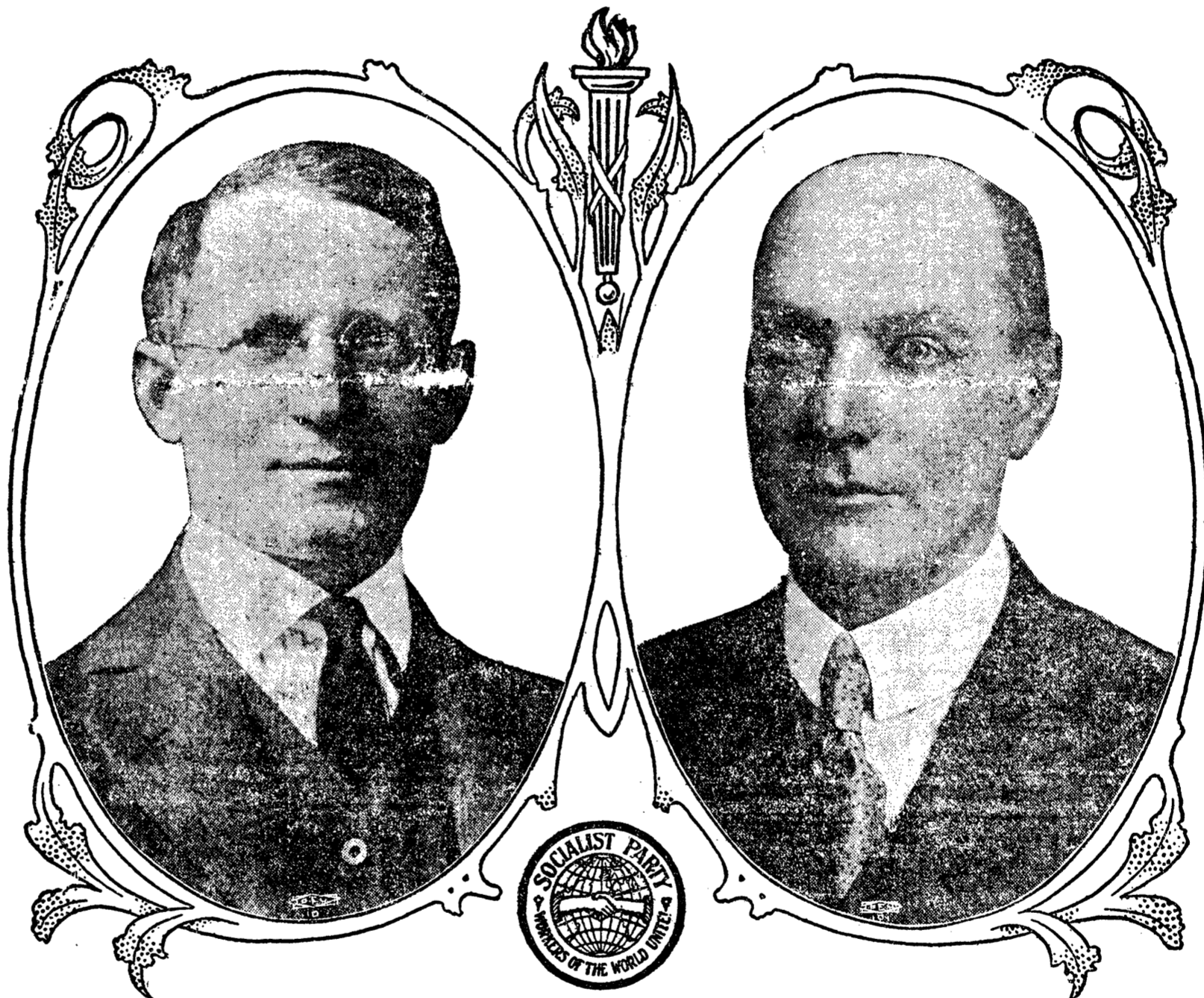
Our greatest reversal seems to have taken place in Oklahoma, which swung into the democratic column by 30,000. S. State Secretary H. M. Sinclair, before the election, estimated that all three parties would poll under 100,000 votes. Instead the Wilson vote went up to 140,000 and the Hughes vote to 110,000 smothering all hopes of Socialist congressional victories.

The drift to Wilson in Nevada also defeated all hopes of carrying this state for the Socialist candidate for U. S. senator, A. Grant Miller. The Socialist vote, however, equalled that of the republicans and numerous minor victories pave the way for success in 1918.

"I expected re-election", declared Meyer London, when the results became known. "It has been a campaign of education. Incidentally, if I had been defeated, there would have been thousands of heart broken men and women in my district. I rejoice, not so much for myself as for the sake of the district and the people whose hearts beat in accord with mine on the great problems of life.

"The district seems determined to send to the national legis-

Two of Our Winners!



MEYER LONDON
Socialist Congressman Re-elected
From The Twelfth New York District

THOMAS H. VAN LEAR
Socialist Mayor-elect
of Minneapolis

lature, not a politician, but a man who stands for a definite philosophy of life.

"I have taught the electorate of the Twelfth District to understand the great and growing importance of the national legislature, which, during the past ten or fifteen years has been concentrating in itself the power of the state legislatures.

"This election has shown that the East Side electorate cannot be bamboozled by raising religious issues. In the main this is the most wide-awake electorate in the nation. The republican candidate for congress received almost no votes at all. His organization supported the democratic candidate, but we defeated the combination of the old parties."

Victories in Legislatures.

The Milwaukee Socialists increased their representation in the Wisconsin legislature by one, the party having elected seven assemblymen and two new senators. With Socialist Senator Louis A. Arnold a holdover, there will be ten Socialists in the legislature.

The administration of Winfred C. Zabel, Socialist district attorney in Milwaukee county, received an overwhelming endorsement in his re-election by a plurality of 9,401 votes over his republican opponent. The vote was as follows: Zabel, Socialist, 36,262; Wurster, republican, 26,861; Schwefel, democrat, 14,767. The Socialist candidates for sheriff, county clerk and register of deeds were defeated.

Two Legislators From New York City.

A. I. Shiplacoff was re-elected by Brownsville Socialists in Brooklyn to go back to Albany. He will be accompanied by Joseph A. Whitehorn, also of Brooklyn, elected from the 21st district.

James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania federation of labor, was re-elected to the Pennsylvania legislature by a tremendous vote. Maurer's vote was 6,109. Two years ago, when elected to the legislature, he received only 3,869. Stump, his running mate, came in a close third, two being elected from the

district. Maurer's record in the Pennsylvania state legislature is one of the bright spots in Socialist history.

James Lawson was elected to the Vermont legislature from Barre Town by a majority vote. Dr. Reid has again been sent to the Rhode Island legislature from Providence.

For the eighth consecutive time Charles H. Morrill has been elected on the Socialist ticket to the Massachusetts legislature. Morrill has been conspicuous in blocking many anti-labor laws in the Massachusetts legislature and has been the author of several notable measures advanced in the interests of labor.

The two Socialist legislators elected from Western Kansas help increase our legislative representation. In Scott County, Kans., Comrade Elmer B. Barnes defeated Frank Yantis, president of the Scott City and Northern Railroad, and Charles Kelson, democrat. In Thomas County, A. Showalter, who had no democratic opposition for re-election, was defeated by J. S. Keller, Socialist.

California also re-elected her two representatives, Minnesota sent Representative Devold back to the legislature from Minneapolis, while it is not yet definitely known whether any Socialists have been returned to the Oklahoma and Nevada legislatures. The representation of two Socialists in the Illinois legislature was wiped out by the return of the progressives to the republican fold.

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If No. 211 appears on the yellow label on your paper this week that means that your subscription expires this week. If No. 212 appears on the label your subscription expires next week. You do not want to miss a single issue of The American Socialist. So get busy and renew your subscription at once. Address: The American Socialist, 803 West Madison Street, Chicago.

Victory of Masses Over Big Business Interests

By MORRIS BACKALL.

THOMAS H. Van Lear, the Socialist Mayor of Minneapolis, is 47 years old. He was born in Maryland of a poor family. At nine years of age he was compelled to go to work in the coal mines. He is a machinist by trade. He is an organizer of the International Machinists' Union for the district extending from St. Paul to the Pacific Coast. He has been a delegate to the American Federation of Labor for the last ten years. He is a delegate to this year's convention of the American Federation of Labor which met this week in Baltimore. He has been a member of the Socialist Party since 1900.

He is a very able speaker, has a strong personality, is a man with back-bone! He impressed his opponents from the start of the campaign. The Socialist Party of Minneapolis nominated him as candidate for Mayor six years ago, when he was defeated in a three-cornered contest by only a few hundred votes.

Big Business Alarmed.

The corporations of Minneapolis became alarmed at this show of Socialist strength and passed a non-partisan law for the city. Four years ago Van Lear was nominated again as Socialist candidate for Mayor, and only after a strong anti-Socialist campaign, filled with mis-statements and unscrupulous methods by the opposition, was he defeated by only a very few votes. This year he was again nominated, but he had on his side 90 per cent of the 20,000 members of the labor unions of Minneapolis. The unions organized the campaign conference and helped out with money, literature, and mass meetings. They even issued a weekly bulletin called the "Campaign News".

The corporations, on the other side, put out a nominee, Sheriff Langum, who could not appear before the campaign meetings because he didn't know what to say. His speeches were prepared by the capitalist press. The big business interests conducted their campaign with a quarter of a million dollars and had all the capitalist newspapers on their side. They announced their willingness to pay \$10,000 for the support of the labor unions.

Fought For Labor.

Van Lear had on his side all the unprejudiced elements and the organized labor people. He gained his popularity in taking part in the fights and battles of the labor organizations in Minneapolis; he helped with advice, and in other ways, the teamsters, the carpenters, the tailors and other labor organizations of the town.

After he was elected, he gave out a statement that the victory belongs to the common people and the unprejudiced citizens of the town, and he expressed his hope that the voters who cast their votes against him for Langum will combine together with the thousands of his friends and help him make a better city, and to give Minneapolis a government, the best it has ever had. He declared the contest was between the corporations, the street railway company, that wanted to grab a new franchise six and one-half years before the old one expires, on the one side, and the organized trade unionists and Socialists, on the other.

Hold Our Own On Coast

By T. W. WILLIAMS

California State Secretary.

Early returns give Lewis I. Stengler, 71st assembly district, and George W. Downing, 73rd assembly district, two to one lead. Sure of election to succeed themselves, Charles H. Ryckman, tenth congressional district, short term, and Ralph L. Griswell, ninth congressional district, polling very heavy vote.

Victory in Vermont

By FRED W. SUTOR

Vermont State Chairman.

We have elected James Lawson of Barre Town as the first Socialist representative to go to the state legislature in Vermont.

Prepare for the Future!

By ADOLPH GERMER

National Secretary, Socialist Party.

AT THIS writing the Presidential election is still undecided. To the working class it matters not whether Hughes or Wilson is elected.

OUR HOPES SHOULD RISE.

WE SET out to elect at least eight congressmen and one Mayor. Indications were that we would succeed. We fell below our hope, but that is no cause for discouragement.

The total national campaign fund will scarcely reach \$40,000. If we get one million votes they will cost four cents each.

MUST HAVE ORGANIZATION.

THE RATIO of expenditure for votes of the old parties is many times that of the Socialist Party. In addition to this, whatever influence Sam Gompers and his crowd has in certain labor circles was pitted against us.

The so-called defeats are really victories for us. They point out our errors that we must avoid in the future and weak spots that must be strengthened.

FUTURE BELONGS TO US.

The National Office membership records show that we have increased our membership considerably since the first of August. This growth must be kept up before more victories can be won at the polls.

BEGIN ANEW THE WORK OF BUILDING UP THE PARTY. THE FUTURE BELONGS TO US.

Our Scholarship Contest

Did you read that full-page announcement of OUR GREAT SCHOLARSHIP CONTEST in last week's issue of The American Socialist?

If you didn't, look up last week's paper right now! If you have misplaced your copy send in for another. We will gladly forward it to you immediately.

How To Earn A Scholarship

In all The American Socialist will award FIVE SCHOLARSHIPS. They are to be earned as follows: By securing subscriptions for The American Socialist.

Each winning candidate for a scholarship must attain a minimum of 7,000 points.

Each 25c subscription will count as one point.

Each 50c subscription will count as two points.

A club of four 40 weeks subscribers at 25c will count as four points.

In other words, in sending in subscriptions or in buying sub cards the candidate for a scholarship, will be credited with one point for every 25c sent in.

The standing of the candidates will be published weekly in The American Socialist.

Who Can Enter This Contest

Anyone, regardless of sex, color or creed is eligible in this race. The only condition is that the contestant have a working knowledge of the English language so that the Rand School of Social Science may have no objection to his entrance.

At least 10 subs must be sent in between now and January 1 to get your name into the list of competitors. In our first January issue we will publish a complete list of those who entered the race.

Get busy NOW and send in your first batch of subs and be sure to send a note along that you want these credited to your standing in the great scholarship contest. Here is a chance for a real education FREE.

Be Sure to Fill out the Blank at the bottom of this Page if you want to be in on the Doings.

Conditions

This contest began with last week's issue of The American Socialist. It closes at 12 o'clock noon of the first day of June 1917.

The names of the successful candidates will be announced two weeks later. The winners of the Scholarships will then have sufficient time to prepare to go to New York and take up their studies. The School will receive the students on or about the first of October 1917 and the work will be concluded about the middle of April 1918.

This scholarship includes tuition and books only. It does not include railroad fare, nor living expenses in New York. Students of limited means, may however, arrange for part time employment thru the School by correspondence.

The American Socialist at the present time is ready to award five scholarships only. These will be given to the five receiving the highest number of points, but in no case will a scholarship be awarded where the competitor has failed to attain at least 2,000 points.

The winners of the fifth place on the list both candidates will be awarded a scholarship each—thus making a total of six. Sub cards in this contest may be had in any quantity and credit for same accorded, for instance, \$5.00 worth of cards means 20 points; but it is understood that the mere purchase of cards cannot win. It is imperative that these cards be used in putting on subscribers. Renewals and extensions count the same as new subscribers.

Clip This Coupon

SCHOLARSHIP CONTEST DEPARTMENT, THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, 803 WEST MADISON STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

Dear Comrade: Please enter my name in the race for a Rand School of Social Science Scholarship. I am going in to win.

Name.....

Street Address.....

City..... County..... State.....

Age..... Sex..... Previous education.....

Election Views By New York Call and Milwaukee Leader

The Growing Vote

(From The Milwaukee Leader.)

The large gain in the Socialist vote in Milwaukee is not without its significance in the ointment. While the average vote for the county candidates mounted up to 26,163, the largest ever cast for the Socialist candidates, the vote for the presidential candidate shows a falling off.

What did any of the voters who voted for the Socialist county candidates gain by scratching the Socialist candidate for president? It did not make the slightest difference in determining the result.

The only thing that the Socialist voters, and we include the Socialist sympathizers, accomplished by voting for Wilson or Hughes was to neglect the opportunity to make their votes count as a protest against existing economic conditions and to register their purpose to use the franchise in their own interests instead of the interests of the capitalistic groups.

The Socialist candidates for governor and United States senator did not receive the full strength of their party vote, owing to the same fallacious reasoning that led thousands of Socialist voters to vote for Wilson or Hughes to make "their votes count."

It is inexcusable that any Socialist or Socialist sympathizer should "scratch" a Socialist candidate who stands for the principles and policies of the party to help pull the political chestnuts of capitalist politicians from the fire.

for executive, congressional, and legislative office, while seeking to register his Socialism by voting for the candidates for purely administrative office and whose election could not in itself advance the cause of Socialism.

The war has brought about abnormal conditions in American politics. With a population containing a large percentage of immigrants, the political connection between America and Europe has not yet been severed.

Much Ado About Nothing

(From The New York Call.)

While at this writing the result of the election is still in doubt as regards Messrs. Hughes and Wilson, and the popular capitalist press still endeavors to leave the impression that the result is a matter of vital national importance, and involves grave changes of policy, the real capitalist press, the financial organs, exclusively business interests, entertain no delusion on the subject.

So far as our relations with European powers are concerned, so far as the question of keeping or not keeping us out of war is considered vital, the following editorial expression from the Journal of Commerce is worth noting.

The course to be pursued in our foreign relations cannot safely be essentially different from that already adopted. It should not be less conscientiously pursued, tho it may be done more firmly and consistently. A

radical change would be perilous to our peace and prosperity.

That is to say, that Hughes, if elected will carry out, without any important change, the general European policies that have been attributed to Wilson, but which, in reality, were and still are the policies of the dominant capitalist class.

The great American voter, let us say, has decided that "Wilson's policies"—he sincerely believes they are "Wilson's"—do not suit him; he has "lowered American prestige"; he has not avenged the assistant; he has been weak, wabbly and vacillating, timid and irresolute.

Or, he thinks that Wilson has been too hard on Germany and too lenient with England; that he has been partisan and "un-neutral"; therefore, he will "punish" him by voting for Hughes.

Or, he thinks that Wilson "kept us out of war"; that his conduct under trying circumstances has, on the whole, been correct; that it is folly to "swap horses while crossing a stream"; that voting for Wilson in this crisis is immeasurably the most important thing in the world—even more important than Socialism—if it happens to be that nondescript thing that is neither flesh nor fowl nor good red herring—a "near-Socialist."

So far as the ruling class is concerned, it is absolutely nothing more than a matter of heads they win, and tails the other fellow loses, and they have no scruples about letting him know it, even when the coin is being flipped in the air and head or tail is still undecided.

Berger's Vote Is 4,135 Over The 1914 Figures

Perhaps the most encouraging feature of the campaign results is the way the Socialist vote increased in the two Milwaukee congressional districts. The vote received by either Berger or Gaylord in 1916 would have been more than sufficient to have elected them at any previous congressional election.

Table showing Berger's vote in various wards: Third ward 286, Fourth ward 242, Fifth ward 728, Eighth ward 833, Eleventh ward 1,004, Twelfth ward 981, Fourteenth ward 504, Sixteenth ward 587, Seventeenth ward 1,079, Eighteenth ward 1,178, Nineteenth ward 827, Twentieth ward 827, Twenty-first ward 226, Twenty-second ward 81, Twenty-third ward 144, Twenty-fourth ward 29, Twenty-fifth ward 402, Twenty-sixth ward 114, Twenty-seventh ward 262, Twenty-eighth ward 44, Twenty-ninth ward 283, Thirtieth ward 187.

Table showing Grand total for Berger's district: Grand total 9,546, 11,249. Socialist gain, 1,703.

Table showing Grand total for Berger's district: Grand total 11,674, 15,809. Socialist gain, 4,135.

By R. R. RUTLEDGE. Williston, N. D.—Debs, 1912, 580; Benson, 1916, 505. Comrade Axel Strom has been elected sheriff, and Comrade Earl Swinley, county commissioner, of Williams County.

Win Four Nevada Counties

Reno, Nevada.—The Wilson landslide carried Pittman over for U. S. senator. Wilson carries the state by nearly 5,000 over Hughes. Pittman beats me by about 2,000 votes. I ran about even with the republican candidate.

OUR MINNEAPOLIS VICTORY. Thomas Van Lear, the first Socialist to be elected mayor of Minneapolis and the second Socialist to be elected mayor of a large city against a combined opposition, gave out the following statement following his election:

"Fellow citizens: I share with you all the pleasure and gratitude that comes with victory; I feel thru your efforts we have saved our city from a real calamity. 'I do not feel that I have done more or less than my duty, neither do I think that I should be given any unusual credit for the part I have taken, because, had I failed there would have been still these thousands of voters and many uncorruptable leaders that would have fought the battle of the common people to the end."

"What saved our city was the coming forward of the great body of trade-unionists and socialist workmen who ask no other reward than that they be permitted to work and sacrifice that our city might not be turned over to special privilege. These men, for their unselfish work and loyalty to the best interest of our city, deserve the unstinted thanks of our fellow citizens and myself. As for myself: I owe my elevation to the highest office in our city to the union workmen, the socialist workmen and the level-headed business men who could not be fooled by false issues or prejudiced by crude falsehoods. Were I to attempt to further specify, or attempt to single out all those who gave yeoman service I would only do injustice to those who worked in the ranks unselfishly without ever expecting reward or recognition, simply working for a principle and a cause they believe in just."

"To all of those mentioned, and unmentioned, who contributed to this great memo-victory, I give my thanks with deep gratitude and pleasure. I shall aim to so conduct myself and the business of the office of mayor in such a way as will meet the approval of the people of our great city."

Lynn Thompson was elected to the school board. A. O. Devold was re-elected to the state legislature, and A. E. Voelker, alderman of the ninth ward, and Theodore S. Jensen, alderman of the twelfth ward.

Our National Vote

"I am sure as I can be that we will poll between 1,200,000 and 1,400,000 votes," says Allan L. Benson, our candidate for president, in an interview in The New York Call.

A comparison of the 1912 and 1916 vote as received from different states by The American Socialist is as follows:

Table showing national vote by state: ALABAMA (Robertsdale 14, Adamsville 54), ARKANSAS (Benington Township 13, Combs 42), CONNECTICUT (Rocky Hill 12, Waterbury 788, Berlin 16, Norwalk 78, Danbury 242, Naugatuck 496, New Britain 385, New Britain, Conn. 29), FLORIDA (Ruskin 49, Evanson 200, Winsbago County 985, Montgomery Township 437, Lesser Township 15, Harval Township 15, Buchanan 6, Stanton 364, Nokomis, Ill. 25, Miscompin, Ill. 384, Silo, Ill. 114, Macoutah, Ill. 101, Toluca, Ill. 151, New Britain, Ill. 10, Mount Zion, Ill. 2, Nebo, Ill. 2), INDIANA (Davies County 327, Fort Wayne 1,512, Evansville 1,309, Ellettsburg 255, Mishawaka 375, Grant County 1,200, Laporte County 397, New Chicago 48, Elwood, Ind. 677, Rush, Ind. 77, State Line, Ind. 7), IOWA (Jerome 3, Lake Mills 25, 17, Griswold 9, Chariton, Ia. 47), KANSAS (Hillsboro 49, Radley 125, Havana 1, Jaqua Township 7), KENTUCKY (So. Portsmouth 39, Highland Park, Ky. 46), MAINE (Waterville 24, Lisbon 58, Augusta 45), MARYLAND (Silver Springs 3), MASSACHUSETTS (Brookline 11, Westwood 11, North Attleboro 32, Greenfield 128, Conway, Mass. 4, Greenfield, Mass. 123, Plymouth County, Mass. 82), MICHIGAN (Benton Harbor, Mich. 169, St. Clair, Mich. 14, Romeo, Mich. 14, Stevensville, Mich. 9, Niles, Mich. 60, Baraga, Mich. 45, Traverse City, Mich. 174, Grand Lodge, Mich. 32), MINNESOTA (Borgholm Township 81, Winger Township 16, Heron Lake 2, Wisner Township 2, Kanab County 258, Ogema, Minn. 9, Harrell, Minn. 13), MISSOURI (Home Heights, Mo. 5), NEW HAMPSHIRE (Claremont 2), NEW JERSEY (Verthes Township 28, Newton 24), NEW YORK (Schenectady 6,327, Lindenhurst 29), NORTH DAKOTA (Valva 17, Doyleston 28, Dreyville 159, Astabula City 1,930, St. Joseph, Ohio 42, Greenfield, Ohio 25, Bluffton, Ohio 16), OKLAHOMA (Howe 23, Luman 33, Sabel 19, Drumright 162), PENNSYLVANIA (Kingston 12, Trafford 79, Vandergrift 19, York City 1,500, Shinglehouse 17, Salisbury 13, Philadelphia, Pa. 5,748, Connelville, Pa. 45, Dauphin, Pa. 41, Hazleton, Pa. 41), RHODE ISLAND (Granston 118, Newberry 5), SOUTH DAKOTA (Colton 15), TENNESSEE (Scott's Hill 12, Dyer County, Tenn. 4), TEXAS (Gore 3, Polo Pinto 30, Wells 16, Smith 34, Hasso 42), VERMONT (Barre Town, Vt. 117), VIRGINIA (Winchester 9, Bristol 23, Brockton, Va. 7), WEST VIRGINIA (Pimington 21, Bristol 27, Follansbee 53), WISCONSIN (Kenocho 490, Beaver Dam, Wis. 41, Red Grants, Wis. 7)

Two Kansas Legislators

By G. W. KLEIHEGE. The election returns are still too meager to make any adequate report, but enough has come in to show that the Socialist vote has increased tremendously in many sections of Kansas. At least two Socialist representatives to the state legislature were elected from districts where Socialists had never been elected before.

RE-ELECT SOCIALIST MAYOR. Haledon, N. J.—Mayor William Brueckmann, Socialist, was reelected with 317 votes. Ernest Schroeder, Socialist, was elected councilman with 300 votes. Two years ago Brueckmann defeated Charles F. Harding, Republican, by nine votes. This victory insures the Socialist Mayor a third term in the far western part of the state. It is probable that still others were elected on the Socialist ticket. In Fall Leaf precinct, in 1912, the Socialists cast two votes. Last Tuesday the Socialist ticket received 34 votes. Like reports are coming in from other sections of the state.

THE UNION Labor party seems to have gone out of existence in San Francisco, where it has been pretty much of a power during the past 15 years. Less than 700 voters registered this fall as U. L. P. supporters. At the same time, 3,728 voters qualified as Socialists, and it is certain that number will be very largely increased at the election. Some observers are declaring that after November the Socialists will really constitute a big third party movement in Frisco on account of the unsatisfactory industrial conditions that prevail and the manner in which prominent Labor men have split up between the old parties.

The 1920 Campaign

SOCIALISM WON big victories in the 1916 campaign. It can sweep into power in 1920 if it has men and women in the party, qualified for all offices, and prepared to make the big campaign. A training in Law is the best successful candidates are lawyers.

Send for our new, illustrated book, "Law and the People." It will mean the opportunity of your life to you—a Law training at cost, rail on easy terms, in a Labor College, backed by men and women like Debs, Walsh, Kirkpatrick, O'Hare, Russell, Work, England, Steinmetz, LeSueur, Warren. Be the man of power in your community.

THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, Fort Scott, Kansas. Send me your free, illustrated book, "Law and the People," and particulars of your correspondence, university Course in Law. Name..... Address.....

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FEED MEN FIRST. Before you talk of rules of conduct, make sure of the means of life. Before you talk ethics to a man feed him, since it is obvious that unless you feed him he will cease to live at all.

There is no necessary antagonism between Evolution and Revolution, as any scientist will tell you. Revolutions are but necessary steps in the general process of evolution. That is true alike of organic and of social evolution and after all "Social Evolution" simply means that "Social Evolution" has reached a stage where transformation is not only possible but inevitable.

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An Intimate View Of Karl Marx And Frederick Engels

By MORRIS HILLQUIT.

THE growth of the Socialist movement has been so fast and its current so swift, that to the majority of the Socialists of today the twin-figures of its theoretical founders and practical organizers stand in the dim background as mere abstractions, mere historical if not mythological characters. Yet it is barely more than thirty years since the death of Karl Marx and only twenty years ago Frederick Engels was still active in the struggles of international Socialism. Marx and Engels are practically men of our own generation, and it is important for us to know them in the flesh, to know how they lived and what they suffered and vanquished. For nothing is a better aid to true and sympathetic understanding of the thought and the work of a creative genius than an intimate knowledge of the man and his life's story.

Such an intimate insight into the inmost beings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels has just been opened to us by the publication of their mutual correspondence. The work, which was edited by August Bebel and Eduard Bernstein, as the literary executor of Frederick Engels, comprises four bulky volumes, each containing about 500 pages. The correspondence extends from September, 1844, when Marx was twenty-six years old and Engels twenty-four, to January, 1883, two months before Marx breathed his last. The number of letters printed is 1,386, and they make interesting, fascinating reading. They are written freely, frankly, carelessly, sometimes even recklessly. They are intimate, heart-to-heart chats of necessity reduced to writing—gossip about persons, things and movements; household affairs, and personal matters; thoughts, theories, doubts, plans and aspirations; trivial cares and world-moving ambitions. The letters were obviously written with no thought of their possible publication, and that feature constitutes their greatest worth, for only thus could they fully reveal the souls of their authors. The souls revealed in the letters are great and sublime, but thoroughly human nevertheless.

WHAT STRIKES us most forcibly in the relations between Marx and Engels is the strong bond of personal friendship which united them. It is doubtful whether history affords a single other instance of such perfect friendship. Neither of the two men was in the slightest degree sentimental or demonstrative. On the contrary. To judge from all indications they were rather reserved in demeanor and unemotional in outward appearance. Their correspondence, however, with the exception of a few letters to Engels, is full of "Dear Engels," "My dear Engels," "Dear Frederick," and "My dear Frederick." The letters are full of affection, but they are not mere political friendship solely from a similarity of tastes, inclinations or temperament. It is a friendship in which the individuality of each merges in that of the other. The two men are inseparably blended in one new being, made better and stronger for this blending of the traits and qualities of both.

WITHIN THE Socialist movement the impression generally prevails that of the two Marx was the greater man; that Marx was the genius and leader while Engels was merely a talented follower, whose glory was largely the reflected glory of his friend and master. The impression is entirely wrong, and is due in no mean degree to Engels himself. For Engels, who survived his friend by twelve years, never allowed an opportunity to escape without attributing to Marx the lion's share of the credit for their joint achievements. The letters prove conclusively that neither of them was intellectually inferior to the other, but that they were both equal and supplementary parts of one organic whole. Beginning with the Communist Manifesto, which was their first joint work, and ending with Engels' Anti-Duehring, the last important work published by one of them during the life-time of both, neither of the two undertook any work of moment without the other at almost every step. Sometimes one would write a whole chapter for the work of the other, and a great many of the letters written by Marx to the "New York Tribune" over his own signature were actually written by Engels. In a few instances Marx and Engels specialized in different subjects, and in such subjects each of them would defer to the other, but they were equals in general culture and erudition. If Marx was the profounder thinker, Engels had the more practical mind and the more lucid power of expression. If Marx was the greater genius, Engels was the greater man. What one would have been and done without the other is impossible to surmise. With each other they were Marx and Engels.

When we read the works of the great Socialist theoreticians, especially the unimpassioned, unemotional and classic

pages of "Das Kapital," we are apt to imagine that they were written in the serene atmosphere emanating from a calm, scholarly life, remote from petty cares and tribulations. What a different picture is revealed to us in the correspondence between Marx and Engels! We cannot read the letters without being appalled by the misery, privation of physical discomforts which the "fathers" of modern Socialism imposed upon themselves in order to accomplish their cherished work. Marx came from a well-situated bourgeois family and his wife was a member of the Prussian nobility. Had they maintained their social caste, Marx with his great talents and erudition could easily have assured a comfortable economic position for himself and his family. But he preferred to be a rebel and a social outcast and to suffer the pangs of poverty and privation. And what poverty! Soic as he was Marx rarely recurred to the subject of his economic misery. But once in a while he cannot restrain himself and there is a plaintive cry of despair. "Since a week," he writes in 1852, "I have reached the pleasant point where I cannot go out because all my clothing is pawned and I cannot eat meat because the butcher refuses me credit," and again, "every day I have to run six hours in order to borrow sixpence for food." Quite heartrending is a letter written at about the same period by Mrs. Marx to Engels, in which she relates how her little boy had by stratagem obtained three loaves of bread from a baker reluctant to deliver them on credit, and how he had run away with the precious booty in fear of having it recaptured.

AND ENGLIS! Engels in the meantime served as a clerk in a Manchester cotton house in which his father had an interest. He despised trade from the bottom of his heart. His young and enthusiastic soul was wrapped up in science and revolution. The counting room caused him daily psychical tortures. But he made the choice deliberately and unostentatiously, and there can be no doubt but that he thus sacrificed his life and welfare to his friend Karl Marx. To Marx went great part of the greater part of his earnings; to enable Marx to continue his work and studies Engels deliberately enslaved himself. In 1850 the periodical contributions of Engels to the Marx household are about one pound a week, and as his commercial position and his income grow, so grows his help to the friend, until in 1869, when Engels can afford to retire from business, he settles on Marx an annual income of 360 pounds. The fierce struggle with poverty are now ended. The friends are reunited in London, working together in the Socialist movement, which is at last beginning to assume respectable proportions. They are happy. But they cannot wipe out the terrible two preceding decades in their personal lives. Poverty and destitution have ravished Marx's household. Three of his children have died in infancy for sheer lack of food and air, his noble-hearted wife has been weakened and dispirited by the unspoken suffering. Still himself is a sick and broken man. Still Marx and Engels had passed twenty years in distasteful, degrading drudgery to help Marx. Which of the two has made the greater sacrifice?

What sustained Marx and Engels in the years of hardship and privation was their unshakable faith in the great cause to which they had consecrated their lives, and their strong mutual friendship. Describing the last illness and the death of his tenderly-loved young son Edgar, Marx writes to Engels in April, 1855: "In the terrible tortures which I suffered these days I was supported only by the thought of you and your friendship and by the hope that together we may yet accomplish something sensible in this world."

This sublime and abiding faith of the sturdy pioneers of modern Socialism was not based on revolutionary romanticism or on the hope of immediate fulfillment. Marx and Engels fully and clearly realized that the struggle in which they had engaged was a hard and long struggle, a struggle of generations. They realized that the new proletarian movement for human emancipation calls for a fight of unlimited endurance, prodigious knowledge and organization, and they patiently settled down to forge the weapons for that fight. While the international derelicts of the shipwrecked European rising of 1848; congregated in London and Switzerland, were indulging in spectacular but vain attempts to revive the corpse of the defunct political revolution, Marx and Engels were preparing the basis for the slower but surer and more radical social revolution of the working class of the world. They were well equipped with knowledge for their great task and they never rested in their efforts to acquire more knowledge. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were among the best-informed men of their generation, and when, around 1857, the friends were invited by Charles A. Dana to contribute articles on several topics to a certain encyclopedia which he was then editing for a New York publishing house, Engels could well suggest to Marx that they undertake the execution of the whole work. Between them they practically covered the entire range of human knowledge of their time. They always kept abreast of the

NOW THEN, SAM!



Attorney General Gregory announces that he will investigate the "abnormal and suspicious increases in the prices of the various necessities of life, especially coal." If it is found that such increases are due "to conspiracy and other unlawful action," the department will invoke the severest penalties which the law prescribes.

When hunger stalks abroad in the land, when America is starved to pile up profits for private gamblers who feed the war in Europe, the attorney general promises an investigation that will change nothing whatever in the general situation and will not put one single piece of bread into one hungry mouth.

There is no law passed by any old party that prevents any business man from charging for his goods what "the traffic will bear."

Even if there were such a law, fining or jailing a few business men will not alter one whit the practices of the whole business class.

The attorney general may or may not prove a "conspiracy" after a long and useless suit against this or that set of profiteers, but he and all members of the old party governments are parts of that general conspiracy which permits a few to despoil the many. He will not discover that kind of a conspiracy, however, no matter how long he may investigate.

The report of the Industrial Relations Committee, which President Wilson and his party majority tried to suppress, gives all the facts necessary to prove that private control of public necessities condemns the majority of the American people to a life of lasting insecurity and want.

No further investigation is needed. Let the administration act upon the facts already known and undisputed. Let congress pass a law to control the prices of all necessities and to insure this control by a national system of government ownership and management.

Hunger and want can not be stopped by investigations, reports or law suits. The way to stop price boosting and gambling in life's necessities is to feed, house and clothe every man, woman and child in the United States. The country is rich enough to do so. The only thing that stands in the way is old party respect for private profit and old party contempt for human life, liberty and happiness.

—Cartoon and Editorial from the Milwaukee Leader.

latest word in political economy, philosophy, history, politics, natural sciences and general literature, and in all these varied spheres they were not amateurs but masters. Both were hard workers and enthusiastic students to the end of their days. Nothing was too obtuse or uninteresting to them. In the summer of 1864 we find Marx sick with a bad attack of influenza. He complains to his friend of his inability to do real work. To while away his time he has taken up "the study of physiology, anatomy of the brain and the nervous system, the cellular theory, and such like things." And as an aid to their constant studies they cultivated the knowledge of languages. Both knew all important European languages to perfection. Their letters are curious proofs of their authors' linguistic accomplishments. In their correspondence with each other Marx and Engels unceremoniously mixed languages, using whichever happened to lend itself most felicitously to the expression of a given thought or idea. The groundwork of their letters is German, but most of them are copiously interspersed with French and English, with occasional incursions into Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Russian, Latin and even Greek.

AND SO they labored and learned and taught without rest or intermission, without faltering or misgiving, without hope of reward or care for recognition. To Engels it was given in the destiny of his life to witness the unfolding of the great international movement whose aims and methods he and his friend had so well formulated. Marx closed his weary eyes on the light of the day before the movement had attained an appreciable degree of power. But neither of them ever flinched in his faith in the cause or relaxed in his efforts. They were prodigious and patient and steady, because their aim was great and because they were intellectual giants.

REMEDY FOR THIS DISEASE.

Ivy L. Lee is an advisor and aid to Big Business. He tells great corporations what an intelligent public expects of them. Then he pleads their cases before the Bar of Public Opinion. Lately he made this remark: "If this country is to be saved from government ownership, it will be necessary for the people to determine to permit railroads to earn sufficient money to attract private capital absolutely essential to the proper up-building of the nation's transportation system."

In commenting editorially on this statement, Hearst's "Chicago American" says: "Isn't that delicious? Mr. Lee's thoughts should be amplified. For instance: "If the people are to be saved from good city government, it will be necessary for the people to permit bosses to steal enough to make it worth while to remain in the boss business."

Or, "Unless the people want to see the burglar business die out entirely, it will be necessary for the people to determine to supply the burglars with automobiles fast enough to make sure their escape." Continuing, the editorial says: "We can assure Mr. Lee that the country is NOT to be saved from gov-

ernment ownership, and an extremely good thing for the country it is, too. "Nor are the railroads to be saved from government ownership. For they themselves have reached the point where they admit that they can no longer finance themselves and manage themselves. And their most clever spokesman calmly tells the people that they must take the lid off and let the railroads charge all they like in order to escape the great calamity of Government Ownership, which would be honest administration of the railroads for public benefit, instead of incompetent and dishonest administration of the railroads for inside grafters."

In The Book-World

By SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

NOTE—All books reviewed in this column can be secured from The Literature Department, Socialist Party, 833 W. Madison St., Chicago.

"PUBLIC POLICY," by Walter F. Cooling, 37 Metropolitan Block, Chicago, cloth bound, price, \$1.—This book has been the result of many years study of Economic Problems. The author is well known as a one time active and ardent Single Taxer. In Public Policy he frequently refers to historical instances, illustrating and supporting the theory he advances.

Space will not permit an adequate review of the nearly two hundred pages of this work.

In the opening chapter the author treats of the evils resulting from the district system of representation. Our attempt to establish a representative form of government, he says, has failed, because we do not know how to represent the elements which go to make up the public opinion of a civilized community.

We cut the people up into groups, bounded by district lines, ignoring the associations which grow out of special class interest, as a result the representatives of the districts represent nothing higher than the intelligence of the least intelligent element necessary to make up a majority, that is, the intelligence which is common to all men. We strike out all the special knowledge and training which every man acquires by reason of his occupation and experience, and thus we are unable to employ the intelligence of a civilization.

One of the great objections he urges to the extension of governmental activity in the new fields, where it is admitted such activity is needed, is the known incapacity and corruption of governmental officials, due to the fact "that they represent the least intelligent and moral elements in their district, therefore, the least defined."

"Government rises out of the consensus of the groups engaged in Useful Work" says the author, "but in our efforts to maintain the consensus and express it, we cut the population into political districts, and there legal fictions enslave us. Our whole system of government rests upon this district system. We have the district Congressmen, the Senatorial District and the City Ward. But the representative of a district majority can represent nothing higher than the intelligence of the least intelligent element necessary to make a majority. The result is an ineffectual government, which can not be entrusted with the power and authority required or commensurate with modern needs."

If the district lines are abolished and the representatives chosen at large from the State or City, the representatives chosen by proportional systems, they will represent the class-conscious groups of those engaged in Useful Work. To escape from this subjection to the district majorities, we must abolish district majorities, and elect representatives from the City or the State, not as the representatives of a district or class-conscious groups, who do the dirty work of the world and possess all the responsible intelligence, that there is. This will make it possible to greatly extend governmental authorities and activity in whatever directions experience may suggest, without any fear whatever that the governmental officials are not in purpose and in intelligence equal to the responsibilities they assume."

The author emphasizes the selection of representatives from groups. In this way a parliamentary body would reach its highest efficiency, because groups would be represented by their most able representative, and this method would also prevent opposition by antagonistic groups and the eliminating of able men, representatives belonging to other groups, thus in a number of legislative bodies there would be representatives of say, the coal industry, public franchises, shoe makers, employes and trade unions, workingmen, etc. This would result in drawing a line which would clearly distinguish the economical interests of the various groups, as the author says, "it will be impossible to clarify public opinion on the greater problems of sociology until public policy is declared and enforced by group representatives. He calls attention to the fact that the "lobby" constitutes a body representing a group. At all legislative bodies there appear representatives of bodies lobbying who have the money with which to pay for result. Men who represent different classes.

By a proper electoral system, instead of standing on the outside and petitioning and bribing they would be within the parliament or body of representatives which would act directly in the interests of their class, they would not then be an invisible secret and corrupt outside agency.

The folly of District Lines is shown up as a ludicrous method of representation, a street separating the districts of representatives, frequently leaving an overwhelming majority without any representation is denounced and numerous instances are given to show how the minority frequently dominates and the most enlightened and essential interests to progress and civilization are checked if not completely submerged.

Space for a review here will not permit us to even summarize the various chapters of the book. The effect of rising prices and wages on the accumulation of the capitalist, and in this the author advanced the novel theory "That it is the policy of the most efficient producers in the state to maintain their control by a fall in price and a rise in wages and rise in rent." Without accepting or rejecting his theories it is well to note that in the cities where wages are the highest greater profits are realized than in country towns where wages are

lower and where even rent is much lower, and it is certain that clocks, rugs and a number of other things which are today used in the average household are much cheaper relatively than they were fifty or one hundred years ago, when they were rare even in well furnished homes.

This book is well worth reading, because it is not a re-statement or an elaboration of the accepted theories of political government or old economics, but a new theory program which presents a new analysis and theory of explaining our political and industrial system and its incongruities.

A Bit Of Cheer From Dixie

By FREDA HOGAN
Arkansas State Secretary.

Thru our fifteen three-day socialist encampments held in as many counties, and at which Comrades George G. Hamilton, Caroline A. Lowe and Anna A. Maley each delivered three speeches, it is safe to say that thirty thousand people learned of Socialism. In addition we sold hundreds of pieces of literature and subscription cards to our socialist papers.

"Socialism is growing to be quite a menace in the South," wrote Robert R. Hull in a personal letter recently. Hull is a preacher of Northwest Arkansas and seems to have felt called upon to help curb "the menace." So he engaged in debate with Comrade George G. Hamilton at Rogers on the 12th and 13th. His letter from which the above statement is quoted, and which also mentioned the value of "good moderation" and suggested certain ways of securing these, fell into the hands of our comrades and was used to advertise the debate. The result of Hull's efforts was so decisive a victory for Socialism that in all probability he will permit the "menace" to grow unhindered in the future.

At Tuckerman, where a crowd estimated at six thousand attended the socialist encampment, a candidate on the democratic ticket said "I'm on that ticket and sorry for it."

Down at Womble another democratic politician said, "No man can get around that argument. He'd be a fool to try." Because the Democratic party in Arkansas, as elsewhere, thrives upon ignorance the school system of the state is such that but a small percent of the children of the workers are permitted to secure the semblance of an education. The school teachers, whose wages average less than those of common laborers, in daily contact with the privations of their pupils, are quick to see that there is "something rotten in Denmark." In one county 27 school teachers are openly working for Socialism. At

one point three teachers kept Comrades Lowe and Maley up until one o'clock answering questions about Socialism. The attendance of women at our encampments and their interest after they had listened to one or two speeches was immensely encouraging. One woman said, "I've always been against my husband's Socialism, but hereafter I'm with him."

Only at one encampment did a representative of the democratic party—the party so long dominant in this state—attempt any defense of his political faith. He styled himself as a "poor plow boy" and made a further plea for the sympathy of his hearers with the statement that he "didn't know anything." Following him Comrade Maley made it clear that the socialist speakers were there because they DID know something and because they had vital issues for discussion. But at least one thing should be said for the "plow boy." He knew enough to know he didn't know anything—something which cannot be said in favor of all who undertake his hopeless task.

The attendance at our encampments made it clear that the people of Arkansas want to know about Socialism. Speakers who toured the state two years ago say our sentiment now is fully a hundred per cent stronger.

A man who occupied the seat ahead of Comrade Caroline Lowe said, as the train pulled into Huntington and he caught sight of the socialist celebration, "I guess that's another one of those socialist picnics. They're having them from one end of the state to the other this year." And daily papers, which a year ago had no space for socialist news, now have editorial references to the "perpetual propaganda the socialists wage."

All things considered, we believe Arkansas is giving a good account of herself in this day of splendid socialist opportunity. And we hope the work will speak for itself when the votes are counted.

The Chicago Tribune, commenting on the fact that many people voted for Wilson because of his alleged prosperity, says the American nation has taken "its belly for its God." This paper is peeved because the same American people apparently had not taken Mars for its God, with Roosevelt and Hughes its red and blue moons.

While the election has been in doubt we have been forced to listen to both Democratic and Republican calamity howlers. And we guess both are enough right to insure a merry of a time for most of us for the next four years, whether our leader be whiskered or smooth-shaven.

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ADDRESS

Year	NUMBER OF MEMBERS		Amount of Benefits Paid Since Organization		Amount Saved in Cash Reserve
	Men	Women	Sick and Accident	Death	
1895	116	—	\$525.90	\$150.00	—
1899	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	1,962,960.52	587,740.96	220,323.38
1910	37,743	7,524	3,236,004.12	1,087,845.77	488,501.72
1915	43,650	8,347	4,876,761.11	1,762,706.87	865,200.00

THE WORLD OF LABOR.

By Max S. Hayes.

WHAT of government ownership of railways and coal mines now? Is the principle still too socialist and impractical to warrant serious consideration?

Perhaps then it is more practical to pay \$7 and \$8 a ton for soft coal and \$10 for anthracite, or just about double the price of a few days ago, and fourfold more than the outside cost of production.

The railroad corporations have again proven their gross incompetence to conduct the transportation business in the interests of the people. Their conception of their duty to the public is to pile on all the traffic will bear and "the public be damned," as old Vanderbilt put it years ago.

Rather than being "too radical" and voting and demanding that the government nationalize the railways, as has been done in other countries, the American wise guys prefer to have their minds diverted by a lot of patriotic bunk mouthed by plutocratic politicians and take chances of freezing and going hungry.

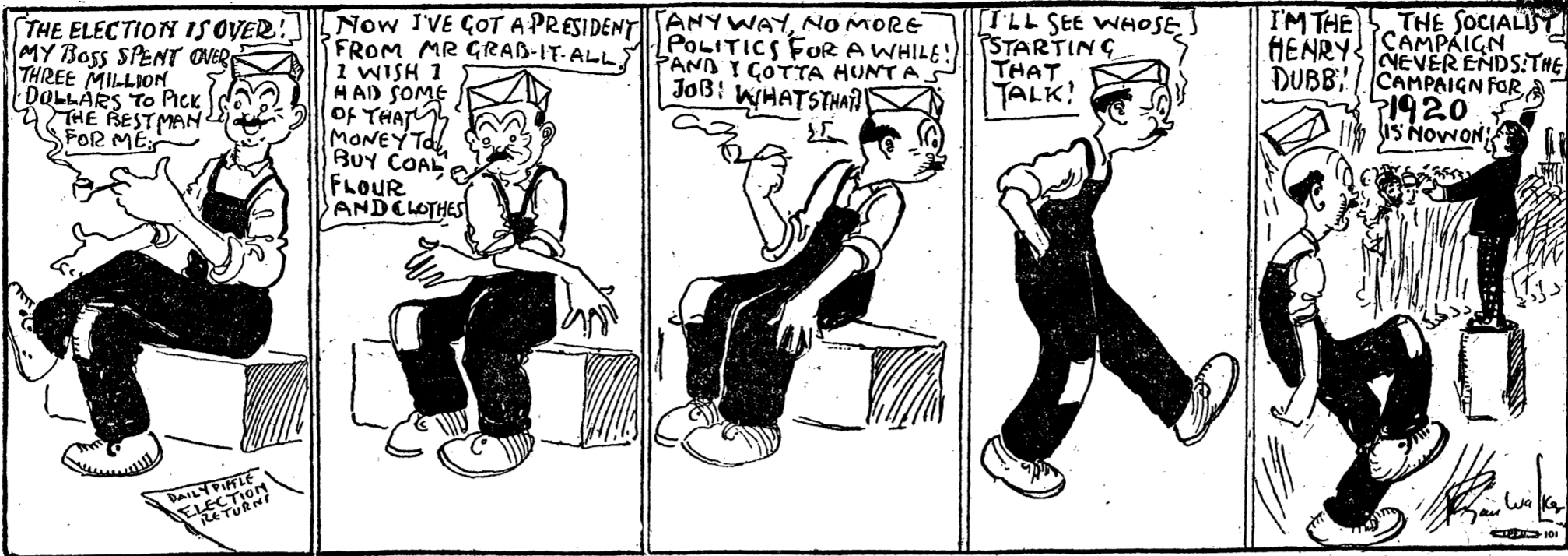
Wouldn't it make a cat laugh!

IT IS cabled to Europe that the Labor party in Australia has decided to expel Prime Minister Hughes because of his advocacy of conscription. It is probable that such action is favored by the executive officials of the Labor party, for no mention is made in the latest Australian papers received here of proceedings being instituted against Hughes in the regular way. A brief cable stated that Hughes made the announcement that an attempt had been made by some individual to assassinate him in his home. No further details are given. The feeling is running high in Australia because of Hughes' injection of the conscription issue after his return from England, and if the Labor party is not split it will only have been saved from such a fate by something akin to the miraculous.

HUNDREDS of workmen, including all prominent trade union and Socialist officials, have been arrested in Lisbon and Oporto, Portugal, as an outcome of "riotous demonstrations" against militarism and the decision of the ruling class to plunge the country into war. The commanding general has announced that on account of the gravity of the situation at home no troops will be sent into France or any other war front until at least two divisions of loyal troops have been formed to preserve law and order in Portugal. It is threatened to spread the demonstrations to every section of the country and start a revolution if possible if the govern-

By RYAN WALKER

Henry Dubb Finds There Is No End To One Campaign



The Campaign Is Over — Begin The Campaign!

By CARL D. THOMPSON.

THE CAMPAIGN of 1916 is over. The campaign of 1920 has begun. Whatever the final results—and without waiting to get them—I, for one, have already begun the campaign of 1920. Every live and steadfast Socialist, I presume has done the same. Our campaign never ends.

It is too early, of course, to know definitely the results of the election so far as the Socialist vote is concerned. The capitalist agencies for the collection of the news do not give us the Socialist returns to any extent, and we shall have to wait until we have been able to gather the returns more slowly and carefully thru our own channels.

Early reports make it appear that the Socialist vote is not as large as was expected, but we must not be hasty in judging from early reports. When the final returns are all in the Party will give a good account of itself.

SOCIALIST TIDE HELD BACK.

THE INTENSITY of the presidential contest between Wilson and Hughes has undoubtedly had a great effect in holding back the tide of Socialist sentiment in this campaign. Nevertheless there are many very encouraging indications.

We have re-elected Meyer London to Congress in New York, which in itself is really a great victory in view of the strenuous efforts made everywhere to stampede the vote of all radicals either into the Wilson or into the Hughes camp.

We have carried the city of Minneapolis for the first time, and with such a substantial majority that it is very likely to stay in the Socialist column. Not only have we elected Thomas H. Van Lear as Mayor, but in addition two aldermen, a member of the School Board, and re-elected our members of the state legislature.

In Milwaukee, we came again within a very few votes of electing the two candidates for Congress, elected the District Attorney, Winfred Zabel, two state senators and seven representatives.

Thus Milwaukee has again demonstrated its ability to stand the onslaught of a strenuous presidential campaign and hold its lines steady.

VICTORY IN VERMONT.

IN VERMONT, for the first time, we have elected a representative to the state legislature—Comrade James Lawson from Barretown. This is a victory in an entirely new field.

In California we have re-elected our two representatives to the state legislature—Comrades George W. Downing and Louis Stengler. In New York, besides electing Comrade London, we came within 100 votes of electing Comrade Hillquit, which is certainly a very encouraging showing. We also have re-elected Comrade Shipplacoff and elected Comrade Whiteshorn to the state legislature.

In Pennsylvania James H. Maurer has been re-elected to the state legislature. In the Debs district, we lacked 1,500 votes of putting Comrade Debs over the line. This, in view of all the circumstances, is another splendid showing.

In Nevada, at last reports, Comrade Miller was running second with 12,000 mining camp votes yet to be heard from, which means that he may yet be declared elected.

BIG VOTE IN OKLAHOMA.

IN OKLAHOMA, while the vote was not quite as large as we had anticipated, we nevertheless have evidently polled an enormous vote. In several congressional districts we have pushed the vote up to a point very near to victory.

While in some directions our vote has decreased, in others it has shown a large increase, and there is reason to believe that the Party will at least hold its own. In view of the tremendous effect of the war psychology, the unprecedented campaigns that have been made by both the old parties, and all the other circumstances considered, the showing is evidently going to be very good when all the returns are in.

FEW WORDS TO GERMAN WORKERS

By ADOLPH DREIFUSS

German, Translator-Secretary, Socialist Party. While it is too early to analyze the vote of the whole country in detail, there are two outstanding features that prove one lesson, namely, the failure of the doctrine of "punishing your enemies and rewarding your friends," without regard to higher principles, on a purely personal "good man" basis.

Sam Gompers' old tactics of "no politics in the unions" he advocated. Wilson's re-election; he sent out circulars to every local union urging them to officially support Wilson, because he thought Wilson "the best man" for labor. Result: Illinois, even the city of Chicago, New York State, Pennsylvania and other unionized states went republican, with big majorities for Hughes.

The bourgeois Germans yelled their heads off for Hughes as their "best man." No one noticed them. The many German-American voters could either not be "delivered" or were offset by others.

Had labor carried on a political struggle of principle, instead of being the tail for some "good man," had it stood for the only true labor party we have, the Socialist Party, we would have elected more Socialist representatives. The capitalists and their administration would stand up and take notice, and—to paraphrase the words of old Bismarck, who knew what he was saying—would to some extent recognize the wishes and demands of the people, FOR FEAR OF SOCIALISM.

Had the Germans, especially the German workmen, understood true neutrality—the German bourgeois never was neutral, he takes money from the Germans and allies alike—he would have voted the Socialist ticket in order to increase the power and strength of the only anti-militarist, truly neutral Socialist Party.

Both of these elements have now received what was coming to them. Everyone can see their lack of influence. They made themselves ridiculous and will be treated accordingly.

Will they wake up? Will they, in the future, stand for principles rather than good men? That remains to be seen.

Be There With The Boosts.

It is hard to agree on a definition that will be acceptable to all and under all conditions. It is harder still to lay down any hard and fast precepts for a real good "Comrade." I tried once to answer the question, "How to be a good comrade," as follows: "Whoever you are, and wherever you are, whenever you get a chance to give a little boost, a helping hand, remember your comrade."

We don't get so very many chances to give a helping hand, but we ought to use those that we do get for the benefit of our movement. When we are asked to recommend someone for the place we have just been promoted from—let us remember our comrade, the Y. P. S. L. member or other Socialist should always have the preference. When we get a chance to give a fellow member of our movement a tip that, while it means no profit to us in letting slide, will mean more happiness for him—then remember the comrade. This then

is the crux of the whole teaching—remember your own comrades.

Our aim should be to give joyous work to the hale and hearty, to bring comfort to the sick and weary, and honor even to our dead. Other fraternal organizations do it and prosper because of their action—the socialist movement is the greatest fraternal organization on the face of the earth, it has the broadest and most humane aim ever dreamed of, yet the dearth of real comradeship is deplorable. The Yipsels are departing a little way from the beaten path in this respect, and it is well that they do so.

Must Mean Something Vital.

Comradeship must mean something vital to us all. I do not advocate a gush sentimentalism for our Yipsel movement, but there should be a feeling that the firm handclasp of our brotherhood means something worth crossing the street to execute. It should mean mutual aid and comradeship alike in times of sunshine and of sorrow.

When a fellow is in tip-top condition, full of vigor and with an appetite like a horse, he is very apt to scoff openly at what he calls contemptuously, "Sunshine work." But let him be really down under the weather, confined to the hospital or home by accident or serious illness, then a visiting committee of Yipsels lasses bearing gifts of fruit and flowers is more than welcome. Circumstances alter cases. And, should the pen of the grim old reaper strike a name from off our membership roll, the departed member should carry the blessings of comradeship along with him even in death. In offering Yipsel funeral honors in the form of visitors, flowers, pall-bearers, or whatever form your sympathy may take you are doing the cold clay of what was your member no good, to be sure, but you are driving home in the minds and hearts of those who remain your living members the awe-inspiring lesson of real comradeship.

It is the little things in life that make the fight worth while, and the little pleasures to be garnered like violets by the wayside that keep hope steadfast in our breasts. Our movement is great, to be sure, but when we come to examine it real closely we will soon find that it is only the little acts of love and loyalty to the part of our every-day comrades that keep us in the path of progress. So in conclusion of this last article of this "Practical Talks to Yipsels" series, I would urge upon all young socialists this maxim: "If you would have your movement rise to a point where it is really BIG, take care, day by day, of the little things."

Do The Little Things.

Instruct one of your officers, the organizer generally, to keep an eye over your members, and if there is ever any little thing that can be done to gladden the heart of any individual or let that thing be done. A smile brought to the face of an ailing comrade, or the proof of appreciation brought home by the league to a Yipsel's bereaved parents is as praiseworthy as a great successfully conducted mass meeting. It is better for your league too, in the long run, for it will implant in the breast of every member the seed of loving and loyal comradeship that nothing in all their days can ever uproot.

Take care of the little things and you will succeed in the great.

VOICES BEST IDEALS.

We are familiar with the statement of Jefferson that, as between government without newspapers and newspapers without government, he would choose the latter. As a democrat, Jefferson knew that correct political judgments could not be reached without knowledge of the facts. Yet the American people, when they are making up their political opinions, never have an adequate knowledge of the facts. They read newspapers, but the newspapers they read refuse to tell them the things they need to know. If the newspapers of America were this year to tell the truth as to the things for which the Socialist Party stands Socialism would sweep the country. At a time of particular national danger, the Socialist Party alone among political parties has taken the correct position. It has voiced and is voicing the best of American ideals. Nothing can prevent the Socialist Party this year from polling an enormous vote, and with the prestige thus gained it will be in a position, four years hence, to go into the campaign with the announced intention of sweeping the nation in 1920.—Allan L. Benson, in Pearson's Magazine.

It looks as tho' a President might be elected by less than half of the popular vote. If you voted with the majority and saw the minority triumph over you, would you still sing of the sacredness of our U. S. Constitution? Yes you would, if you were a good old party man.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEPT.

Organization — Education — Solidarity. WILLIAM F. KRUSE — Director. To reach the nation's youth with the message of Socialism and to bring them into the Socialist movement through Young People's Socialist Leagues. Address all communications to: Socialist Party Young People's Dept., 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

- Y. P. S. L. Defense Fund. Seattle, Wash. \$2.00 Toledo, Ohio 2.00 Rock Island, Ill. 1.00 Watertown, N. Y. 6.00 West Side, Chicago for this is probably the best. 1.00 Peoria, Ill. 2.00 Bronx No. 1, N. Y. 2.00 Rochester, N. Y. 2.00 Start A News Letter.

One of the best means of keeping up interest in the league and its doings, is to constantly keep on telling your members what it is doing and going to do, and why it is doing it. The Cleveland League uses a newspaper, a sort of mimeographed newspaper which is distributed to all of the members. It is called "The News." That is because some of its sweet compliments remind one of the cold grey dawn of the morning after. It contains more truth than most of the papers for this is probably because its editor is just a blarneyed thinker myself—and who ever heard of a thinker writing poetry? The paper hits hard, but the editor claims he does not like to knock. It is so much satisfaction in getting your corners stamped on by some one who does not like to do it. One of his choice sayings is "Please buy an alarm clock so that we won't have to buy a sledge hammer." But they claim that it does the work. It wakes up the members and gets them around to meetings. And they suggest that all leagues do the same. It is not so deadly, it might seem for the editor has outlived three issues already. All leagues who run a news-letter

The 1920 Campaign Is On

Open the campaign of 1920 in fitting style. Give the plutes to understand that even tho they won out by a lavish expenditure of money, we too have some victories to record and that we have opened a new attack on Fort Capitalism. Let them understand that our attack is incessant and will be kept up until the last vestige of Capitalism is wiped out.

Each one can fire a shot into the enemy's camp by ordering and distributing a bundle of the two-page leaflets to be issued each month. These leaflets should go to every city, town and cross road in this country. The price is within the reach of everyone. Sixty cents per thousand prepaid. Send in your order today for the number you want each month. Watch for further announcement in The American Socialist. Address The Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Like this, or who want suggestions, are invited to correspond with ye Hon. Ed.—John Steinko, 1466 E. 118th St., Cleveland, Ohio.

Here's A Program. A lot of leagues wonder sometimes what a real program looks like. Here is one that is being carried out by the Socialist Party of N. Y. League: Sunday, Nov. 19th (evening) Lecture on "Music," illustrated by vocal and instrumental selections; this is to be an affair of the "real class." Nov. 22nd, Song Night, Nov. 15, Lecture by Dr. David Wolin, "Sex Hygiene," Dec. 2nd, THE big dance. Dec. 3rd, propaganda lecture by Robert Work, National Organizer, Y. P. S. L. There are a lot of things that can be done, if only we want hard enough to do them.

Not to be much outdone, the Detroit League is working hard in its own way. Friday, Nov. 17th, will be a special dance. A special dance is planned for every Saturday night. They are also starting a class in Socialism. Yet (and this is supposed to be a secret) busy as are the other departments of the league activity, the Matrimonial Department is outstripping them all. Start!

Two new leagues have been formed in New York State, one at Utica and the other in Schenectady County. They have been referred to the State Secretary for their charters, and give every indication of successful progress.

The Leagues of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, have recently held a very successful county convention where much business was transacted and many a supper was consumed in between sessions. The reason for this is found in the good cooks that are to be found among the young people. This year a special dance is planned for every Saturday night. They are also starting a class in Socialism. Yet (and this is supposed to be a secret) busy as are the other departments of the league activity, the Matrimonial Department is outstripping them all. Start!

The Binary of the Work Lecture Tour thus far mapped out is as follows: Utica, Nov. 27, Janesville, Dec. 2, Rochester, Dec. 9, Watertown, Dec. 10. There are a few dates left for up-state New York cities and those wanting dates can get them by writing at the Young People's Dept. National Office.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS.

Y. P. S. L. Constitution Amendment. To change Art. VI, Sec. 1 to read:—"A National Secretary of the Young People's Socialist League who shall also serve as Director of the Young People's Department of the Socialist Party, shall be nominated by the leagues. Each league shall be entitled to submit its nominations, together with statement and evidence of the qualifications of their nominee, as well as a statement of his acceptance. The National Executive Committee shall select the National Secretary. Two or more nominees who in their judgment are qualified for the position. These names shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the league membership. To insert Section 2:—"The term of office of the National Secretary shall be two years. Nominations are to be offered in time for election in January of odd-numbered years and the secretary-elect is to take office on the first of July following." Section 3 to be read section 3, and stand as at present. Submitted by the State Federation, Y. P. S. L. of New York. Submitted in accordance with Art. VI, Sec. 2 of the National Constitution. The National State Committees or of every league are to elect 10 per cent of our entire membership. Time for seconds expires.

THE Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, whose officials have announced that they will defy the Adamson law and test it in the courts on the ground that it is a ruinous confiscation of property, has just issued its annual report for the fiscal year 1916.

The gross earnings were \$133,762,392, an increase of \$16,096,804 over 1915. The railroad earned a net surplus of \$32,575,735 for its \$214,312,500 worth of common stock, equivalent to 12.30 per cent of the stock issue. (The common stock of railroads generally represents "watered stock.") The net earnings amounted to \$50,031,432 the last fiscal year, while in 1915 they were \$38,457,398 less.

The army of workers on the Santa Fe earned this huge surplus—not the stockholders. But the workers are to receive nothing while the parasites get it all.

BY A vote of 12,915 to 11,592 the United Mine Workers of Illinois have voted to hold a special State convention to investigate charges against President Frank Farrington of using his position to secure the election of Frank L. Smith, Republican candidate for Governor. It is said some sensational testimony will be placed before the special convention.

KANSAS Employers' Association has sent out a call for better organization of the capitalistic interests of the State to defeat the attempts that will be made at the forthcoming session of the Legislature by "labor agitators" to secure the passage of favorable laws.

AMALGAMATION of nation unions as well as closer federation seems to be going forward despite the war in Great Britain. The latest merger contemplated is that of the dockers and general laborers. The dockers number 45,000 and the laborers 132,000.

ILLINOIS State Federation of Labor has voted to investigate the matter of building a general headquarters at Springfield.

S and other workers in Illinois operate 21 co-operative restaurants and have materially reduced the high cost of living.

Co-operation Right

Washington. — The co-operative principle is right and a good one. So says a belated statement from the experts of the U. S. Department of Agriculture who have been studying the co-operative store movement in this country.

Failure of individual co-operatives do not mean failure of the co-operative principle, says this important statement. Failure means that there has been mismanagement, inadequate accounting and auditing, poor business methods, lack of judgment.

Bulletin 394 of the Office of Markets and Rural Organization, Department of Agriculture, tells the story. It is a fine piece of justification from an unfriendly source of the Socialist theory. Get it and circulate it. It is free.

Find Lower Prices.

Lower prices, smaller margins of profit, more efficient business methods and other practices beneficial to the consumer-owner are reported as a result of this survey.

With the application of efficient business methods and the education of the farmer to a clear understanding of the functions of co-operative stores, say the authors of the bulletin, American co-operative stores may be made successful. Instances are cited of unusual savings and large dividends to members of various associations. Such associations procure capable managers, it is pointed out, by paying adequate salaries; take advantage of large scale purchasing and cash discounts; maintain proper accounts and cost records; and watch stock turnovers. The co-operative store in general, it is pointed out, has very great possibilities in this country if the farmer can be made to understand this necessary relation of efficiency to financial success.

Need Good Leadership.

The more general, underlying conditions which investigations indicated should be present if a co-operative store is to be successful are: (1) good leadership among the members and prospective members, (2) capable management, (3) favorable environment, with regard both to physical location and to social or occupational affiliations, and (4) adequate legal safeguards. The leadership should not be confined to one individual, the severing of whose connection with the enterprise might prove disastrous, but should consist in an efficient organization in which a group of leaders takes part. One of good general business ability should be placed in active management of the store. The securing of such a man will involve the payment of a higher salary than is paid by most of the stores investigated. The average salary of the manager for the enterprises reporting was \$106 a month.

In some of the most successful co-operative stores investigated the common employment of many of the residents of the community or their common membership in social, fraternal or religious associations was an important factor making for success. Laws granting special privileges and creating special safeguards for co-operative associations now exist in 30 States. Persons contemplating the organization of co-operative stores are urged by the Department's specialists to consider carefully all these factors before taking definite steps.

COAL BARONS' LAMENT.

Washington.—Even a holiday is begrudged to its wage slaves by the Coal Trust—a holiday taken at a total expense in wages to the slaves of \$500,000. This is the burden of an oily kind of half-lying statement issued by the "Anthracite Bureau of Information," and sent to the capitalist newspapers.

Here is part of this statement. Note the solicitude of the Coal Trust for the public whom it exploits equally with the workers. And note, further, that the real reason the Coal Trust regrets the shut-down is because it loses money from the labor of its slaves.

Here is the lament:

The urgent need for coal, both anthracite and bituminous, at the present time is widespread and so acute in some sections that a species of panic exists lest consumers may be found entirely without fuel with which to withstand the winter's cold. The operators have been endeavoring to their utmost to relieve the situation, but have been seriously hampered, not only by the serious shortage of labor in the field, but by the indifference of the miners to the exigencies of the situation.

"One of the most flagrant instances

of this and of the violation of the contract with the operators is the observation of "Mitchell Day" on Monday, October 30th. This "holiday" happened this year to fall on Sunday, the 29th, but by order of the Union officials the mine-workers were "officially notified to observe Monday, October 30th, 1916, as a holiday by remaining away from work." By this action practically all of the collieries in the region were shut down and the public was deprived of from 250,000 to 300,000 tons of sorely needed coal. The loss to the miners in wages was in the neighborhood of \$500,000.

"Nor is this all. Wednesday, November 1, is All Saints' Day, and most of the collieries will be idle in observance of that day. Next week election day will mean another shut-down, and still another suspension will be caused by the celebration of the Greek Catholic All Saints' Day, which is fixed by the Greek calendar. In addition to these interruptions, buton strikes continue to be an irritating cause of restricted production. One mine, employing about 800 men, of the Tompio Coal Company of Scranton had been idle for six weeks on account of a buton strike. The Nesquehoning Colliery of the Lehigh Coal & Navigation Company was thrown idle from the same cause on Monday, Oct. 23, followed by the Tamaqua Colliery of the same company on October 28th. The idleness at Nesquehoning has deprived the public of 5,500 tons of coal a day, and the miners of between \$6,000 and \$6,500 a day in wages.

And still the Coal Trust coins millions. It is said that this wail is being sent out to pave the way for another boost in the price of coal.

Max Eastman On The Election.

To the Editor: A good deal of publicity has been given to a statement I gave the Woodrow Wilson Independent League that I would rather see Wilson elected than Hughes. This is a statement to which most Socialists would subscribe, and has been expressed in effect by the Socialist candidate himself. Nevertheless it has given rise to an impression that I am going to vote for Wilson and I request an opportunity in your columns to correct that impression. I am going to vote the Socialist ticket. It is my habit to criticize the Socialist Party so harshly that, altho I am a member I have never been held very close to its bosom. But I criticize it from the inside. And if ever I have to criticize it from the outside, it will not be because I have been led away from the working-class struggle by the lure of capitalist benevolence; reform; it will be because I think the Socialist Party itself has ceased to be, or to hold a possibility of becoming, a genuine political instrument of the working-class.—MAX EASTMAN, Editor, The Masses.

No great cause triumphed without leaders. Leaders must be trained. The Rand School of New York offers the training and The American Socialist will make it possible for someone to fit himself for a leader of Socialism.

The Prohibitionists claim they doubled their 1912 vote. We take our hat off to the "dry's". They at least have an issue, which is more than the Republicans and Democrats have.

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