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# The New Leader

A Weekly Newspaper  
Devoted to the Interest  
of the Socialist and La-  
bor Movement.

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## Ask Congress To Probe Island Terror

### Just A Word

Night At the Tub—How To Be Yourself—All Nordic But One—Job Out Of A Job—Mussolini and President Coolidge.

By PAUL HANNA

In a cellar nine feet below the sidewalk a man with six boils on his neck was playing at Canfield under a dim light.

"Not so good," he muttered, for the cards showing were all one color—black.

One of the boils was rooted in a tendon under his left ear and the twist of it threw him into the stiff, crouching posture of a man who has just been hit on the head and expects to be hit again. His next move made room for a red king, and the player grinned.

"Cheese!" he exclaimed; "this ain't so bad. Once I had eighteen of 'em all at once. I couldn't set down, nor lay down, nor stand up hardly. These would be all right if it wasn't for the one in the hinge of my neck. It makes me head ache all the time. See that?" He placed a finger on the flattened bridge of his nose. "I got that from a baseball bat, and didn't know anything for a week after it hit me. I get headaches easy since then."

It was a quiet night at The Tub. And The Tub, if you don't quite understand, is a cellar at 33 St. Mark's place where a soup boiler has been installed, and several long tables where homeless men sit down to eat the soup. Urban Ledoux, patron of the unemployed, is host at The Tub. Homeless men and reporters go down into that cellar by way of slippery stone stairs, and when they get used to the gloom the first thing they see is a hand-printed sign above the soup counter which says "BE YOURSELF".

Ledoux began as a French-Canadian mill boy in Maine, and rose to be an American consul abroad. He wasn't heard of after that till he turned up in Boston a few years ago as a slave auctioneer on the Common, selling jobless men to honest bosses as a protest against unemployment. Just before Christmas he thought it would be a good plan to march an army of New York outcasts into empty churches and let them sleep in the pews. His idea of "being himself."

Other men are also determined to be themselves. One of them is Bird S. Coler, Commissioner of Public Welfare. Another is Lieutenant Gegan of the Bomb Squad. Others are the gentlemen who hold a \$12,000 mortgage on the Corp Memorial Church. That was the only place of divine worship that Ledoux really got hold of for his outcasts. Now they have been tossed out of it. Coler and Gegan say it is unsanitary for the men to sleep in the church. Much more sanitary to sleep in the big snow-drifts outside. And the money-lenders have demanded their cash on the grounds that it "alienated" the church as a place of worship when homeless men sleep there.

If that "alienation" charge is based upon a belief that Ledoux's army is composed of no-account aliens it won't hold water. All those present in The Tub on Tuesday night were born in the United States, except one. Nearly one hundred per cent native-born Nordics. The only "alien" reference made during the evening was to a Jewish workman on the floor above, whose belated tapping at a work bench sent a fine shower of plaster down over the lathered face of a man who was shaving himself in The Tub. But the lathered man was called Mike, and came from Poland, so no harm was done to our flag.

"Where will the boys sleep to-night?" the reporter asked. The answer came from an ex-marine engineer, native born.

"Oh, some will go to the missions and some to the Municipal Lodging House. But they'll only go once to the Municipal. Tomorrow they got to work out the lodging by piling bricks at Randall's Island or nursing corpses at the Morgue. Come night, they'll be up against it again. How do you suppose they are going to find a real job, penned up all day on the island and in the Morgue?"

"Ugh, that Morgue!" sighed the reporter. (Continued on page 2)

### Keep Cool with Coolidge

FALL RIVER, Mass.—The Fall River Textile Council, representing six unions, will accept the ten per cent wage reduction by the Fall River Cotton Manufacturers' Association, to become effective January 12.

The Weavers' Union and the Mule Spinners' Union voted in favor of a strike. The loom fixers rejected the wage cut, but failed to pass a strike vote. Carders and slasher tenders accepted under protest. The yarn finishers accepted the wage cut.

### MINE STRIKER SLAIN

Pace, Miners' Secretary, Was Seized Recently by State Constabulary.

SCRANTON, Pa.—Within two weeks after he had been seized and "frisked" by six members of the State Constabulary—the "cossacks" of ill fame in Pennsylvania's Labor history—Samuel Pace, coal strike leader, was found dead here, riddled by fourteen bullets in his stomach and legs.

Pace, thirty-one years old, was secretary of the Even colliery local of the United Mine Workers, whose members have been on strike for five weeks. With other striking miners employed by the Pennsylvania Coal Company, they were expelled from the United Mine Workers when they turned down President John L. Lewis' edict ordering them back to the mines.

Pace was killed near his home in Pittston. He was returning from a strike conference when two gunmen rushed upon him, opening rapid fire with automatics. State troopers were on the scene in ten minutes, removing the body to the morgue. As a result of the shooting, four men have been placed under arrest, but the police believe the murderers are still at liberty.

In conversation with a newspaper correspondent recently, Pace told of some hostile interference by the State police. It occurred after he had delivered a strike speech. The Pennsylvania - Hillside Company agents had called a meeting of miners in the union hall of the Underwood Local, several miles out of Scranton. About 125 men assembled, out of 1,200 members of the local. The company men urged the men to go back to work. Pace took the floor and exposed the trick that was being played on the men—it was not a regular union meeting. He urged the men to stand by the fight. As he left the hall, taking a group of workers with him, six State policemen—the "Cossacks" of ill fame—seized him and searched him, finally releasing him. But the work of Pace and others was successful.

The back-to-work movement was a fizzle, about twenty-three responding, instead of the 450 announced in the papers by the company. Later the local union called its own Underwood meeting, with 800 present, and a ringing resolution to stay on strike was passed. Pickets were put on the line.

### Nearing and Fern to Debate Education

A debate of exceptional interest to parents, educators, and all interested in education, will take place at the Rand School, Friday evening, January 23, when Scott Nearing will debate Alexis G. Fern, Principal of The Modern School, on the subject: "Has Propaganda Any Value in Education?"

Dr. Scott Nearing's reputation as economist, teacher, lecturer, and debator insures an able presentation of the case for propaganda as an important part of education. His opponent, Alexis G. Fern, for thirty years, has been doing educational work along the line of utmost freedom from compulsion of any kind on children in their class rooms. He will present the other side of the debate.

The debate is held under the auspices of The Modern School of Stetson, N. J., and will commence at 8:45 P. M. Admission One Dollar.

### SOCIALISTS TELL PART IN REVAL REVOLT

Regret Necessity of Having Had to Support Government During Uprising.

In the report of the near-revolt in Esthonia on December 1, which was promptly crushed by the Government with little fighting but many executions of prisoners, printed in The New Leader of December 27, it was noted that the circumstances leading up to the outbreak were rather obscure and that the London Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International had asked Comrade Zeelens of Latvia, who also represents the Esthonian Socialists on the S. L. I. Executive, to investigate the case.

Now comes a cablegram from Riga, Latvia, to the New York Times averring that the Esthonian Social Democrats have sent a statement to the Socialist and Labor International apologizing for and justifying their present apparently non-Socialist attitude and laying emphasis on the fact that throughout 1924 they constantly attempted to defend the Communists against the Government's preventive measures, notwithstanding the fact that the Communist members of Parliament would gladly throw the Social Democrats overboard.

The Social Democrats now admit that without the Government's preventive campaign the attempt of December would have really been a dangerous matter, as investigations show the Communists intended to hold the machinery of government for only one day before issuing an appeal to Moscow from the Esthonian workmen's and peasants' Government for help, and that the Soviet Baltic fleet was ready with reinforcements, and that troops were waiting to cross the frontier and thus insure for Esthonia the fate of Georgia.

Revolt Plan Described. Their plans were complete in every detail, the Social Democrats say, including long lists of victims to be killed in the first week. The permanent list of victims, it is said, included 800 names, or ten per cent of the total population of towns. The Socialists, while regretting the possibly reactionary results of the December rising, declare in their statement that their immediate duty is clearly to defend the republic's very life against a handful of Communists organized and backed by Moscow.

In a letter to The New Leader, Andrew Pranspall, a Socialist and American correspondent of several Esthonian newspapers, after giving about the same account of the uprising as was cabled at the time, continues:

"It was a desperate and miscalculated attempt of the Moscow international to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. Esthonia was a province of the Tsarist Russia and was ceded to Germany by Trotsky by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, after which the Germans invaded Esthonia and requisitioned all the foodstuffs, cattle, and valuables they could. But due to the pressure on the Western front the Germans were forced to leave. Then the Esthonian Communists in Riga set up their Government. However, being unable to hold their ground, the Esthonian Communists sent to Russia for help. Then the Bolshevik forces invaded Esthonia in December, 1918, to help the Esthonian Communists. But the Russian forces were forced to retreat by General Laidoner and in less than two months nothing remained of them."

"Russian Money Used." "With the Russian Bolsheviks fled also the Esthonian Communists, who after crossing the border never ceased their agitation for a dictatorship of the proletariat in Esthonia. They were supplied with funds by the Communist international and were secretly aided by the Soviet Legation in Esthonia, which was always instrumental in supplying Communist agitators with false passports to cross the border. But the work of the Esthonian Communists made little or no headway among the Esthonian workers, the majority of whom are loyal to their Government. The Esthonian Communists were severely criticized for their inactivity by the Communist papers of Moscow and also in the secret letters of the Moscow international that have fallen into the hands of the Esthonian police. In order to keep their standing in the eyes of the Russian Communists, the Esthonian Communists gave optimistic reports of the situation in Esthonia to the Third International and upon their reports the date was set for an open rebellion and the events of December 1 followed.

"The trial of 149 Communists of Esthonia, which ended in the conviction of the majority, had no relation to the activities of the Labor organizations. All those people were arrested for activities aiming at the overthrow of the constituted democratic Government by an open rebellion. And those found guilty got (Continued on Page 3)

### Line-Up On Child Slavery

Balloting by the States on the amendment to forbid child labor has so far produced the following results: •

For The Amendment

ARKANSAS

Against The Amendment

GEORGIA  
NORTH CAROLINA  
MASSACHUSETTS

Favorable action by Thirty Six States is required to ratify the amendment, but there is no time limit to the period within which favorable action must be taken.

### Carlo Tresca Enters Jail; Declared Fascist Victim

### 23,000 GAIN FOR SOCIALISM

Enrollment Figures in New York City Show More Than 100 Per Cent Increase.

The official enrollment figures for New York City made public this week by the Board of Elections show enormous increases for the Socialist Party.

More than one hundred per cent increase over the 1923 enrollment was shown by the following official figures:

Socialist Party enrollment for 1924, 42,819; for 1923, 19,000.

The 1924 enrollment, by borough, follows:

Manhattan, 14,170; the Bronx, 9,072; Brooklyn, 15,019; Queens, 3,238; Richmond, 418.

The heavily increased enrollment was hailed at Socialist Party headquarters as further indications of the solid foundation of the party in the city.

Commenting on the enrollment figures, Joseph D. Cannon, executive secretary of the New York Socialists, said:

"Forty-two thousand enrolled Socialist voters in New York City, with the remainder of the State still to be heard from, present a field for renewed Socialist Party propaganda which cannot help but bring about a complete rejuvenation of our movement here."

"With our propaganda properly applied there is no reason why, within six months, we cannot enroll at least 10,000 of these convinced Socialists in the party organization. The increased enrollment seems quite sufficient answer to those who would minimize our gains; to the Comrades in the party it should serve as further encouragement and redoubled energy."

### Big Firm Smuggles Aliens Here to Beat Down Wages

Does the American immigration law apply to mechanics and laborers who pledge themselves to keep out of Labor unions, work for much less than the prevailing wage and share their low wages with corporations that bring them into "the promised land"? This question is raised by the testimony of a man who confesses that he and a large group of other workers were brought into the United States in violation of the law only a few months ago, and are still here under the protection of a steel-making and coal-mining corporation.

The story is one that ought to interest organized Labor in America, as well as the Bureau of Immigration and all others concerned in equal enforcement of the law. It is told by K. Maus, a Vienna journalist, who writes to the German language Socialist paper Vorwaerts, of Milwaukee, as follows:

"At the beginning of August, 1924, I received a letter from a friend of mine who was employed at that time as an electrical engineer in a German industrial city. He told me that he was leaving for the United States in a few days, with a large transport of miners. He is a Polish citizen, and as a military deserter could not possibly have obtained a passport from the Polish Government. In addition, the Polish quota had long since been filled. Moreover, the American consular

authorities were not then giving any more visas because of the impending new regulations. I knew all these facts, and did not take seriously my friend's statement that he was about to leave for the United States. Imagine my surprise, then, when early in October he wrote me a letter from America! In that letter he gave me the details of his trip and described his present circumstances in the United States.

"At the end of July, when emigration to America was practically cut off for the peoples of Eastern Europe, he was hired by the agent of an American steel corporation. He was obliged to agree that for one year at least he would stay at work at a certain place in the United States; that he would not take part in any strike or wage protest of any kind; that he would assume a false name to be assigned him by the agent of the steel company.

"When he had agreed to the above conditions he and a large number of miners who had been engaged on the same terms were furnished with false American passports and their steamship tickets. In due course they were all admitted 'legally' to the United States.

"At present my friend says he is employed in a mine at \$20 a week. He receives, however, only a small (Continued on Page 2)

### AMERICAN LABOR BACKS PORTO RICAN PLEA

Senator Brookhart Offers Resolution to Check Assaults on Labor and Democracy.

WASHINGTON. — Savage and cynical tyranny in Porto Rico and the complete overthrow of democratic institutions by the privileged class of that island are described in a memorandum submitted to both branches of Congress by Santiago Iglesias, president of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor.

On the strength of this memorandum Senator Brookhart, of Iowa, presented a joint resolution in the Senate on January 6 which calls for a complete investigation of the Iglesias charges. The American Federation of Labor is backing the demand for an official inquiry, and letters by President William Green urging it were delivered to President Coolidge and the presiding officers of the Senate and House simultaneously with the action by Senator Brookhart. If the Brookhart resolution is adopted two Senators and three Congressmen will be directed to visit Porto Rico and take the testimony of workers and others interested. Meanwhile, friends of the exploited islanders will strive to further the resolution by means of public hearings before the Committees on Territories and Insular Possessions.

Strange Hold On Masses. How the "white terrorists" have throttled both the human and economic progress of the island is described at length in the Iglesias memorandum. Those Americans who are more shocked by the done to political institutions than by human and economic outrages will be interested especially in the culminating brigandage of the ruling powers there. These outrages, however, have been committed as a means of consolidating the financial and social position of the reactionaries. On this last stage of the "white terror," President Iglesias says to Congress:

"The two largest political parties of Porto Rico, the Unionist and Republican parties, called upon the representatives of the Labor party to ask their cooperation in order that the Legislature of Porto Rico should pass a resolution petitioning Congress for an amendment to the Jones Act, bettering the industrial conditions of the people and giving to the voters of Porto Rico the right to elect their own executive. After several conferences, the support of the Labor organizations was granted upon condition that at the same time redress would be asked from Congress for the economic salvation of the workingmen through proper and efficient legislation. With that understanding, Resolution No. 2 was approved, copy of which is attached hereto, marked Exhibit B.

Betrayed by Tory Parties. "The Commission as established by Resolution No. 2 came to Washington and appeared before both Houses of Congress, urging the approval of several measures of self-government for Porto Rico; and Senator Iglesias, living up to his engagements, lent his support. However, after a favorable atmosphere had been created in both Houses as to the political features of the redress asked for, the representatives of the political parties did not further, at the same time, the measures of economic reconstruction of the island proposed by the Labor representatives.

"Upon their return to Porto Rico, Senators Barcelo and Tous Soto made an appeal to the rank and file of their respective political organizations to form a new party to the complete exclusion of Labor and aimed to defend political and industrial privilege against the rights of the workingmen. Copy of said appeal is attached to this statement and marked Exhibit C.

"After securing the success of their scheme both political leaders obtained from Governor Towner the calling of an extra session of the Legislature for the express purpose of adjusting the election laws. Copy of the message of Governor Towner is hereto attached and marked Exhibit B.

"Then, acting upon said message and having complete control of both houses of the Legislature, the election laws were amended as follows:

1. "To permit the two old parties, although having one sole identical ticket, to keep their organizations as different entities, (Continued on page 2),



## Just A Word

(Continued from Page 1)

non-Nordic, "I don't go back no more."

The "constructive note" was struck when somebody said a Columbia University professor had visited The Tub and was going to open a free employment agency to overcome the crooked agencies. Here is what some of the outcasts said about the private agencies:

"Most of them hold you up for cash in advance then you get fired a week later to make room for some other sucker, so's the agent and the foreman can split profits."

"When I was flush three of us paid an agent \$200 one morning for jobs that looked good, but we all got fired without cause a month later."

"Hell! I was in the business once myself. I worked in a plant where we had a raft of clerks. When things got dull we'd fire twenty-five or thirty men, and then I'd go bring in another bunch the same day and split with the head accountant."

"Still, it's all right if the job is near enough to get back to town before you starve."

"There's a law to limit the agent's charge, but that law is on ice in this burg."

"This professor says he's going to get the evidence and turn some of these crooks up."

"Fat chance!"  
"But he knows the graft and says he can beat it."  
"Hal!" cried the man with Job's curse. "If he's out to beat that game he's got a job for life. That's more's I got. . . . But look at this!" His right hand, with a bandaged thumb sticking upright, moved across the Canfield layout. He had worked it through.  
"Cheese!" he laughed, "I'm lucky at this game. Shows I must be rotten at love, don't it?"

Benito Mussolini has shot his bolt. Fascism is dying in Italy. It tried to imitate the classics of both Red and White dictatorships and finds Italy too modern to endure it.

Last summer Mussolini proclaimed as his own in a public thesis the following motto borrowed from The Prince:

"Men are ungrateful, inconstant, deceiving, cowardly in the face of danger, greedy for gain; and as long as you do them favors they are loyal to you and are ready to pledge you their blood, their property, their lives, their children—until they no longer need you; but when that time arrives they are quick to desert you. . . . Fear is dominated by dread of punishment, which persists as long as that fear endures."

That was the core conviction of Benito Mussolini. Italy repudiates it and him. There is nothing left of Fascism but the cracking shell.

He laughed at democracy, but today Mussolini must envy the secure position of another great statesman, head of a free country—President Coolidge.

Two months ago Coolidge was elected with a majority of nearly 7,000,000. And in the Senate on Tuesday he still had a majority of one left.

## Black-jacking Young America

THE New York Board of Trade and Transportation is a federation of some of the most powerful capitalistic interests. It is for the open shop. It supported a proposal to practically conscript the labor of workers in this State for private employers. A few months ago one of its members, in a circular sent to prospective members, boasted of it having broken the long-shoremen's strike of a few years ago.

Its final report on the child labor amendment has been sent to the press and numerous organizations. It is opposed, of course. It is alarmed at the "radical character of this proposal." It regards it as a forerunner of the "nationalization of children" and bringing the "shocking doctrine" of Bolshevism. It would reach "into the parental and family relations of every home of the land." The institution of the family is at stake. It would seriously shake the Constitution. The matter should be left to the states.

HERE IN THE HEART OF A GREAT INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL CENTER, WHERE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS ARE ORGANIZED INTO TRADE UNIONS, IS A CHALLENGE TO THESE WORKERS. The wealth, power and greed of exploitation are mobilized to prevent New York State from ratifying a proposal which would merely give Congress power to legislate in the matter, to cooperate with the states, and to set a standard that would finally lead to the abolition of child slavery.

The pretense of endangering the Constitution by the adoption of the amendment is a sheer subterfuge. Professor Manley O. Hudson, of the Law School of Harvard University, is of the opinion that "the amendment now proposed is the only practical way for us in America to deal with a problem which since Lord Shaftesbury's time has been similarly dealt with in England." Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School, whose opinion in this matter is certainly of more value than these New York Babbitts, states that "THE POWER GIVEN BY THIS AMENDMENT IS LESS THAN THE POWER ACTUALLY POSSESSED BY EVERY STATE IN THE UNION AT PRESENT."

If the New York Board of Trade and Transportation's position is correct it means that each State, in whatever legislation it has enacted to restrict child labor, has been slowly breaking up the family, nationalizing children within its borders, and has been introducing installments of "Bolshevism." It has been breaking down the sacred pillars of the Constitution; yet these Babbitts are willing for the states to continue this

alleged destructive work and they offer State action as an alternate program!

ALL THE PROPAGANDA OF THIS KIND HAS ITS SOURCE IN THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS. The latter are the shock troops back of the movement to insure that children of the workers shall remain a source of capitalist enrichment.

A few years ago this organization was fighting State legislation to restrict child labor. It contended that owing to the variety of conditions in the States it was impossible to obtain a uniformity of State legislation that would equalize competition among manufacturers. It insisted that only Federal legislation could bring about this uniformity and it urged all who were interested in the matter to give their attention to Federal legislation.

The advice was taken, but the Supreme Court set aside two Federal laws intended to restrict child labor. Only one Federal source of action remained. This was to amend the Constitution and give Congress the power which the Supreme Court said it did not possess. ALARMED AT THE PROSPECT OF THE AMENDMENT BEING ADOPTED, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS AND ITS POWERFUL REACTIONARY ALLIES NOW PRETEND TO SEE IN THE FEDERAL ACTION WHICH THEY ADVISED A MENACE TO THE FAMILY, NATIONALIZATION OF CHILDREN, AND THE COMING OF BOLSHIEVISM!

These enemies of the children are dishonest. They do not believe in their own propaganda. They are not stupid enough for that. Child labor is cheap and they want cheap labor. If they had to pay adults for the work that children should not do there would be less dividends to divide. There is no other reason why fat, sleek and well-fed masters of industry should oppose the release of children from the burdens of labor.

We repeat, these open-shoppers and enemies of humane progress have by their ignorant and insincere propaganda challenged the trade unions of the State and their friends on this issue. They should not be allowed to win in this struggle. Action is necessary. It cannot be delayed.

A LABOR MOBILIZATION SHOULD CONFRONT THIS CAPITALISTIC MOBILIZATION. THE CHILDHOOD OF THE NATION SHOULD FIND ITS DEFENDERS AND PROTECTORS IN A GLORIOUS BATTLE THAT WILL DRIVE THE MONEYBAGS BACK IN DEFEAT, LEAVING THEM TO GATHER THEIR FORCES FOR THE DEFENSE OF SOME OTHER ARCHAIC FORM OF REACTION.

## AMERICAN LABOR BACKS PORTO RICAN PLEA

(Continued from Page 1)

thereby controlling the appointment of all election officers and the whole electoral machine.

2. "To make well near impossible the registration of new parties by requiring personal, individual affidavits, with fingerprints, etc., of not less than 130,000 out of a total registered list of 250,000 voters.

3. To give the Labor Party, as their only representatives at the polls, one "observer" whose powers were nullified by other legislation, and proved to be entirely ineffective on election day.

"Copies of the amendments of the election laws are attached and marked Exhibit E.

"Amendments to the Municipal Law were also passed in order to take away, by executive action, from the Labor Party, before the elections, those cities that were administered by them since 1920, and particularly the great cities of Ponce and Fajardo, second and fourth in the island. Statement of the proceedings to oust the Labor officers from the Municipal administration of Ponce are attached and marked Exhibit F.

"Only after all that re-organizations, the election took place.

"At election day, all over the Island the polls were not opened on time, because the election officers were marking the registration lists as 'voted' so that when the polls opened and the real voters came to cast their ballots they found that they had 'already voted.'

"All the 'observers' were placed inside the polling-places in chairs backing the ballot box and over twenty feet therefrom; not allowing them a real part in the elections.

"These 'observers' had to abandon most of the polling places and go to their homes in fear of bodily harm. If they remained, they were compelled by force to sign the tally sheets at the end of the countings.

"Political leaders in front of the polls were using enormous amounts to bribe voters; and although the law is intended for a secret ballot, each and every one of them was opened by the election officers. If the vote was as promised, one of the election officers would give the man a ticket to go out and be paid.

"High political leaders would come into the polls and talk to the election officers as to the way in which the election was taking place and giving and receiving instructions therefor.

"Many other frauds—hundreds—were committed that deprived the voters of their rights, and which appear from the affidavits attached to

## Vladeck Lectures at Rand School

Among the new term courses at the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th street, great interest is shown in "Topics of the Times," by B. Charney Vladeck, former Alderman and manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, which will take place every Wednesday evening at 8:30 p. m. beginning January 14. The lecture will be followed by discussion.

On Tuesday evening, January 13, at 8:30 p. m., Algernon Lee is beginning a seminar course in Social Movements and Theories. The aim in this course will be to make a careful survey of the various "Proposed Roads to Freedom," not only as abstract theories, but with especial reference to the live questions of the present time.

Also on Tuesday evening, Miss Margaret Daniels is beginning a sixteen-lecture course on the "Elements of Psychology."

On Friday evening, January 16, Dr. Morris H. Kahn is beginning a ten-lecture course on "Physiology and Hygiene."

On Saturday, January 10, at 1:30 p. m., Scott Nearing will discuss "The French Debt" in his Current

this statement and made a part thereof, marked Exhibit H. Tickets are also enclosed.

"These affidavits refer to only one municipality; but all the originals, with their translations, from all parts of the island will be submitted to Congress.

"In spite of all these frauds and violence, the Labor Party was able to poll majorities in several towns. Then, at the time of recounting, a sufficient number of ballots were declared 'null' by the election officers to change the result. There are towns of 2,237 voters where 400 ballots were declared 'null'—all Labor votes.

"This state of affairs calls for the appointment of a Commission composed of three men with sufficient power and means to do efficient and complete work, or for a sub-Committee of both Houses of Congress. We are not so much concerned about the political aspect as we are regarding the social and economic aspect thereof. Politically, what happens at the present moment in Porto Rico is transitory; economically and socially it is permanent in the sense that it means the upsetting of all the democratic ideal and republican institutions of the United States. Moreover, our people have been led to believe that the national interests and principles of organized Labor would be sufficient to develop their social and economic betterment, with the protection and security of the laws of this republic."

(Signed) SANTIAGO IGLESIAS, President of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico.

Events Class. At 3:30 p. m., the Cameraderie will be addressed by Mr. McAlister Coleman on "The New Fight Against Autocracy in the Non-Union Mines of West Virginia."

**OUT OF JOB, TAKES LIFE**  
Otto Eisen, seventeen former shipping clerk, out of work a year, has been found dead in his mother's flat, No. 1494 Brook avenue, the Bronx. The body was on the floor of the kitchen with all of the gas burners open. Neighbors said he had been melancholy because of his continued unemployment.

## IMMIGRATION.

(Continued from Page 1)  
part of those \$20. The corporation deducts \$5 a week to defray the cost of transportation. He is then charged \$12 a week for board and lodging. Still further deductions are made from the remaining \$3.

"It is very doubtful that my friend and his fellow sufferers will be able to leave the work they are now doing at the end of the year and offer their services in the general Labor market. From my reading of his letter I gather that although the illusions cherished by him and his associates on their way to America have already been shattered, they do not fully realize as yet into what a terrible slave trap they have fallen."

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The Community Forum  
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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES  
"Lord Robert Cecil and the Outlawry of War"

11 A. M.—The Community Church

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES  
"The Rights of Man vs. The Rights of Men"

## The People's Institute COOPER UNION

FRIDAY, JANUARY 9

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN  
"The Great Mass Movements of History"

"The Mass and the Puritan Revolution in England"

SUNDAY, JANUARY 11

DR. EDWIN SAPIR  
"The Psychology of Culture"

TUESDAY, JANUARY 13

PROF. E. G. CONKLIN  
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Sunday, January 11

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8:30 P. M.—FORUM, at 9 Second Ave.

DR. ALFRED ASGIS  
"A Radical Among the Dentists."

7:15 P. M.—American International Church, 239 East 14th Street

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE  
"The Child Labor Amendment"

Dr. J. P. Warbasse  
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## Fourth National Convention of Y. P. S. L. Plans Drive for Socialism Among Youth

By MORRIS NOVIK  
(Chairman, National Executive Committee, Y. P. S. L.)

TO the singing of the International the delegates to the fourth National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League assembled on New Year's morning in the Debs Auditorium of the Rand School, New York City, to open their three day National Convention.

The convention, the second since the breakdown of the organization, and the reorganization which followed in December, 1919, and the early days of 1920, was spirited from the start, determined to clear the deck for two years of activity which will bring the League back to its former flourishing days in membership and closer to the Socialist Party in activity.

The convention received with applause the statement of the Boston delegates that not even one member of their circle where Albert Weissbord was an active member had left them to follow the former director. The delegates left the city after having laid plans for an extensive organization campaign to take place in the very near future, to increase the educational activity and to better equip themselves so that they could be of greater value to the Socialist Party and the various branches of the movement. They also elected a National Executive Committee, delegates to the Socialist Party Convention and a National Secretary.

### Opening Session

The convention was opened by Harry Bordman, as chairman of the local arrangements committee, who turned over the chair to A. J. Parker, acting national director, who proceeded to read a list of the accredited delegates and their voting power as drawn up by the N. E. C., which had met earlier in the day. The report showed that there were thirty-nine delegates present, including the fraternal delegates from the Junior Y. P. S. L., Free Youth, etc., with a voting strength of forty-six, the distant circles being unable to send the full quota. The delegates immediately proceeded with the regular order of business by the un-

animous election of Morris Novik as chairman.

Novik reviewed the history of the league since its reorganization in December, 1919, when he appeared before the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party to urge them to break the relationship with the Independents and reorganize the league on a party basis. After that it was just one struggle to increase, enlarge and strengthen the league, Novik said. Max Wagner, Milwaukee, was then elected as vice-chairman and Louis Dickstein as permanent secretary.

The convention at the opening session received greetings from Eugene V. Debs and telegrams and letters from Bertha Hale White, National Secretary of the Socialist Party; George E. Roemer (Boston), Leo Harkins (Philadelphia), two active Yipsel supporters and members of the N. E. C. of the party; from J. Baskin on behalf of the National Committee of the Workers' Circle, which was in session in New York City; from the N. E. C. Jewish Socialist Verband; Vittorio Butti, secretary of the Italian Socialist Federation; Morris Kaufman, General President of the International Fur Workers' Union; Morris Sigman, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Herbert Merrill, State secretary of the New York S. P.; Wallington Hoopes, Pennsylvania State secretary, S. P.; Joseph Viola, secretary Kings County, S. P.; M. V. Malushka, Chicago Yipsel; Otto West, Director of Circle 5, New York; Junior and Senior Circle of Baltimore; Sam Colton, organizer of Circle 4, Brooklyn; Julius and Herman Switkes and Solon De Leon.

### Greetings to Delegates

The following is part of the statement sent by Debs:

"The coming year will in a vital sense be a New Year to the Young People's Socialist League and to the entire Socialist movement. Party building will be the main issue, and in this most important task each member should resolve, in the spirit of true cooperative activity with his comrades, to do his level best. Before the year closes we must have a thoroughly reorganized, militant Socialist Party based upon the class struggle and expressing in terms not to be misunderstood the aim, purpose and determination to educate, organize, discipline and equip the workers for their historic mission of putting an end to Capitalism and wage slavery and establishing an industrial and social order in which the workers and producers shall be the masters of their tools and jobs, the owners of all they produce and the sovereign rulers of the world."

By Bertha Hale White:

"The national organization of the Socialist Party congratulates the league upon a record of service in the year just closed. May your delegates in the convention plan wisely and constructively for the year that now begins. Gratefully we acknowledge the great value of the league, its loyalty, enthusiasm and fraternalism, its great works inspired by youth's fair love of justice."

"I regret exceedingly inability to be present with you. May I express the hope that your discussions and deliberations will give the Socialist youth of America a more intimate understanding of the mission and aims of the Labor movement and will inspire it with zeal to serve this movement in a disinterested and constructive way as comrades and allies in a great common cause."

From Morris Sigman, president International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

Personal greetings were extended at the opening session by Bertha H. Mally of the Rand School, pledging the support of the Rand School and announcing the re-opening of the correspondence department; August Claessens, offering to write a pamphlet for distribution on the problems of Youth; Patrick Murphy on behalf of Local Bronx Socialist Party; Samuel A. De Witt, Nathan Fine, Meyer London and Frank Lorrimer, representing the Youth Conference, an organization consisting of all youth organizations in New York City.

The convention then accepted its

rules and proceeded to the election of committees.

An outstanding feature of the rules was Article 13, which provided that "The doors of the convention shall close to delegates one-half hour after the opening of each session. All delegates not recorded present, unless out on convention business, shall be considered absent for that session."

After arrangements were made as to where the committees were to meet the convention adjourned at 5.30, to give them a chance to meet prior to the convention banquet which was held at Hotel Gonforoni in the early part of that evening.

The opening session was attended by about 250 local Yipsels and party members who participated in the singing of the songs and listened attentively to the young Socialists legislating at their convention.

The Debs Auditorium was beautifully decorated with school and Yipsel banners, with pictures of the past conventions and with a large welcome delegate sign having for its background a beautiful red silk banner hanging in the center of the platform.

### Second Session

No sooner did the second day session open and the convention dispose of the roll call and reading of communications than they proceeded to elect J. Rabinowitz, of Boston, as chairman, and Oscar Albrecht as vice-chairman for the day. The report of A. J. Parker, acting national director, on the standing of the league was then submitted. This covered in detail the work and standing of the league in the last two years. It was unanimously adopted. The organization committee, calling for a three months' national membership drive to start February 15 and suggesting ways and means of improving the condition of the National Office, was the first to submit its report, and the earnestness of the delegates was shown when every part of the report was taken up, discussed, changed and accepted or rejected separately, taking only that which was desirable and practicable.

The report of the last two national conventions of the party and the July 4th convention of the C. P. P. A. was submitted by Morris Novik, fraternal delegate from the league, and was unanimously accepted.

The Educational Committee, the next to report, called on the N. E. C. to carry out at least one educational tour a year, to help start classes in circles, to have a yearly essay contest, and called upon the Rand School to start and urge the league to take advantage of the correspondence department, to have at least one Yipsel full time scholarship in the Rand School to start debating and dramatic contests in the League.

The convention during the day was addressed by Gertrude Weil Klein, Algernon Lee and Roger Baldwin.

### Some Important Decisions

The constitutional committee report consisted of suggestions for changes and additions to the constitution, notable of which was the enlarging of the N. E. C. from five to seven members, four of which will be within 200 miles of the National headquarters, in order that regular meetings may be held. The general opinion of all was that the N. E. C. shall henceforth be a functioning committee responsible for the work of the league. The committee's suggestion that a clause be added to the constitution which would expel all members who belong to military organizations was, after a lengthy debate, rejected. The delegates, although in agreement with the sentiment, felt that there was no need for it in the constitution and that the matter could be solved by a resolution on the subject which would be the law of the organization. A resolution to that effect was unanimously adopted the following day. The convention having been in session for six hours adjourned for the day, in order to allow the local committee to prepare for the entertainment which was to be held in the evening at which the Rand School and Dusha Dancers appeared and a play was presented by the local dramatic group.

The third day session of the convention started with the election of George Field, of New York, for chairman and Clementine Wagner for vice-chairman. The committee on publications submitted its report which called upon the National Office to publish a magazine and further recommended that Free Youth, which is now being published by Greater New York League for the National Office, be taken over by the N. E. C. as an official national publication. It also urged that we print a special pamphlet on child labor and the acceptance of the services of Comrade Claessens in writing a pamphlet. The desire to have an official organ was shown by the immediate adoption of a motion which increases the monthly dues by five cents to be used for the publication of Free Youth. The N. E. C. was instructed to work out plans which would enable it to send it to

all members if possible free of charge.

### Some Resolutions

The resolutions committee then submitted its report which called for compulsory education, free college education, release of political prisoners, congratulating and pledging our assistance to Labor in Mexico child labor, support to The New Leader and the Rand School, condemning the National Security League, Sentinels of the Republic, congratulating and promising cooperation to the Pioneer Youth of America. The convention was addressed by Morris Hillquit, James Oneal and William Morris Feigenbaum. The convention endorsed the stand and instructed the N. E. C. to continue its activity in the C. P. P. A., as well as the issuance of a referendum vote for a delegate to the international congress when the need for it arises.

The convention at its closing session nominated A. J. Parker as the National Director, elected a National Executive Committee consisting of Max Wagner, Milwaukee; Louis Bangor, St. Louis; Erricson, Gardner, Mass.; Savel Syjala, Boston; George Field and Morris Novik, New York; with E. Switkis, New York; and Trautman, Milwaukee, as first and second alternates respectively. Morris Novik was then elected as chairman of the committee and A. J. Parker and Morris Novik as delegate and alternate respectively to the coming national convention of the party. The convention sessions, which were spirited throughout, closed with greetings by Algernon Lee, A. J. Parker and Morris Novik, and the singing of songs the general audience.

### VOLUNTEERS WANTED

YIPSELS, PARTY MEMBERS, AND SYMPATHIZERS OF THE NEW LEADER WHO CAN SPARE ONE EVENING A WEEK OR MORE, TO HELP IN SOME INTERESTING WORK, ARE REQUESTED TO CALL THIS MONDAY BETWEEN 5 AND 7 P. M. AT THE OFFICE OF THE NEW LEADER, ROOM 507, 7 E. 15th STREET, AND ASK FOR THE BOOSTER DEPT.

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# Debs Rejoices in Prospect of An American Labor Party

By EUGENE V. DEBS

THE progressive tendencies in American politics are the outgrowth of the final stages of American capitalism and reflect the political awakening of the American working class.

These tendencies, despite all attempts through the blind stupidity of the workers and the covert machinations of their enemies to thwart or misdirect them, will inevitably lead to and result in the formation of an American Labor Party.

When?

I do not know. I hope soon. But, soon or late, it will come. That I know if I have learned anything at all about the operation of the resistance forces that are centralizing capital, socializing industry, organizing and arraying the workers against their exploiting masters, and compelling them more and more to take the initiative in the intensifying struggle growing out of their antagonistic economic interests, which can end only with their complete industrial emancipation.

This struggle is political as well as economic and must be fought out accordingly, and this can only be done when Labor has a political party as well as an economic union of its own to express its interests, declare its aims, and develop its power to fight its battles and achieve its victory.

This does not mean that a Labor party shall consist exclusively of workers, but it does mean that all who enter its ranks do so with the understanding that it is a Labor party, not a middle-class party, not a reform party, nor a progressive party (of which the Republican and Democratic parties are shining examples), but an open-and-above-board Labor party, standing squarely on a Labor platform, and marshalling its forces to fight Labor's political battles for its industrial freedom.

## Trade Union Support Essential

Most earnestly do I hope such a party will result from the Conference for Progressive Political Action to be held at Chicago beginning February 21 in pursuance of the agreement of the Conference to follow up the progressive campaign with a permanent party organization.

To be frank, I shall have to confess, not without reluctance, that I have not the faith I should like to have in a consummation so devoutly to be wished. But whatever the outcome I shall not be disappointed. I have long since gotten over that and learned how to wait.

We can have no effective Labor party without the backing and support of the labor unions. That is a fact without question. The present leaders of the unions, strange as it certainly appears, are almost to a man opposed to a Labor party. In this they are in entire accord with the capitalist masters and Labor exploiters.

The hope for an American Labor party lies not in the official Labor leaders but in the rank and file, and until the latter are aroused, insist upon and compel independent political action, no such craft can be successfully launched upon the foul and stagnant waters of American politics.

If a bona fide Labor party cannot be organized at Chicago then I hope that no party at all will issue from that conference. Better for no party than a nondescript imitation of one, composed of so-called progressive and reform elements, more or less muddled, discordant, and wholly lacking in clear aim, definite object, and concerted purpose.

## A Wrong "Third Party"

A "third party" of such a nature would at best align the dwindling "little interests" against the triumphant "big interests," seek to patch up and prolong the present corrupt and collapsing capitalist system, and failing utterly to effect any material change or achieve any substantial benefit would finally fizzle out and add one more to the list of "third party" fiascos.

A political party to succeed, for good or evil, must express, in the main, identical economic interests, without which there is no foundation to build or stand upon. A third party at this advanced stage of our industrial and social development, unless it stood expressly for Labor, would be lacking such a foundation and consequently could not endure. Only a Labor party can now be organized as a third party with any hope whatever of permanence and achieving its object.

A political party today must stand



EUGENE V. DEBS

for Labor and the freedom of Labor, or it must stand for Capital and the exploitation of Labor. It cannot possibly stand for any more than it could for both freedom and slavery.

I want to see the workers of this nation rise in the might of their intelligence and demand a party of their own, free, eternally free from the paralyzing putridities of the parties of their silk-hatted, wealth-inflated, job-owning and Labor-exploiting masters—a party with a backbone and the courage to stand

up without apology and proclaim itself a Labor Party, clean, confident of its own inherent powers, bearing proudly the union label in token of its fundamental conquering principle of industrial and political solidarity, and challenging the whole world of capitalism to contest the right of this nation to own its own industries, to control its own economic and social life, and the right of the toiling and producing masses to own their own jobs, to enjoy the fruits of their own labor, and to be

the masters of their own lives.

I am suspicious of those who admit that we must have a Labor party but object to having it called by its right name.

It should be a matter of pride and certainly not of shame to a Labor party to have its true title nailed to its masthead.

## No False Banner

If not why not? Shall we fear to keep out many who would otherwise join? That is the very reason the

party should be known for what it actually is as well as what it actually stands for. We must bear no false label, carry no false banner, nor seek support under any false pretense whatsoever. We must stand avowedly, face front, for Labor—for the people who produce, who render needed service, and who are useful and necessary to the world.

We need not designate both industrial labor and farm labor in naming our party. Both are labor, alike useful, productive and necessary, subject to the same oppression and the same exploitation, and bound to be united in political solidarity in the same political party.

It is a fact as amazing as it is humiliating that the workers of the United States, the most advanced industrial nation on the globe, are practically the only ones who have no political party of their own, being content to give their support to the corrupt and enslaving parties of their masters and meekly bowing their necks to the yoke of injunction rule.

Every other nation, large and small, with scarcely an exception has its Labor party in full panoply fighting its political battles for emancipation.

Even Mexico, so long reviled by our 100 per cent morons as the land of "greasers" and peonage, has its militant Labor movement to shame us into getting into line with the advancing columns of International Labor's Grand Army of Emancipation.

Let me make it clear that I am not wanting another Socialist Party organized. We already have one, and that is enough. Neither do I want another capitalist party organized, having already two, more than enough.

## Genuine Labor Party Desired

A middle-class party, by whatever name, would still be a capitalist party, for while it might champion "little interests" against "big interests,"

ress in the peculiar fashion in which America differs from all other nations. For the Socialist Party to fail would mean its extinction; for the Socialist Party to continue would be to its everlasting glory and service.

## Two Extremes

It is so easy to be impatient. In the one extreme are those who have exhausted their evangelical enthusiasm and accept compromise with things as they are. At the other extreme are those who are fearful of losing their virginal aloofness and who balk at wholesome marriage with the elements of progress. They are sectarian celibates, who make up in inflammatory phraseology what they lack in tactics.

But the patience which pays is that which finds satisfaction in the everlasting keeping at it which is the indispensable factor in real social progress. For there can be no such progress unless the masses as at present constituted make it.

The Socialist Party today is not as it was in the flame and flare of the boundless, burning adventure which swept across the land prior to the war and which sent the light of 1,000,000 votes into the dark corners of miserable capitalism. The war brought a new period; the war brought many other changes within capitalism and, through it. That past is gone.

There has been a crash among the old forces and the creation of new ones. Nothing like decided assembling has yet taken place. Only the initial steps toward this purpose have been made.

What has now gone before has served to tell, in the most tragic terms, that our present industrial autocracy must give way to democracy, commercial rivalry to cooperation, national prejudices to internationalism, military expenditure and engaging in war to education and peace, or there will be an end of the human race.

There is no mortal salvation but in Socialism.

## The Party's Two Functions

Whether those who call themselves Socialists put most of their energy to doing the necessary work is up to them. Whether the Socialist Party as a body functions to that purpose will determine to what extent it fulfills the aim of its being. That is the choice.

Now more than ever the Socialist Party can be a vast machine for the propaganda which is to benefit mankind. This is its first reason for existence.

From now on that propaganda must be of two kinds: that which is purely definition, telling what Socialism means in theory, and that which moves along with the agencies and forces making for social change and helps show the way.

In the chronicle of common humanity the Socialist Party of America has a noble record. It may now close the book or turn another page. Is there any doubt but that it will turn a new page—and a more glorious one?

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## New Roads For Socialist Progress

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

TAKING account of Socialist stock these days means that the party has reached another turning point in its career. Again it is about to stride forward.

For, first and last, the Socialist Party is the creature of the times. The times are changing. With the last campaign the party entered upon a different phase of its very honorable history. Judged by the controversy over this activity, there is still some shaking of heads as to whether it has been altogether wise. However, the discussion sways and, what is more important, whatever the result of the gathering of the Progressive conference at the end of February, the step has been taken. It cannot be retraced. And by all odds it should not be retraced.

Aside from the few geographical spots where the Socialist Party has political significance, it cannot have made any substantial sacrifice by retiring its candidates for the sake of electoral harmony. Whatever such sacrifice, it was a modest price to pay for blending with the huge trades union organizations and the farmers who were the bulk of the La Follette army. That does not seem to have to be proved.

The use of political methods in the past served more especially to give the Socialist movement the readiest popular avenue upon which to carry its banner and message. That was splendid. But dipping into politics as it is played today was very far from an unmixt blessing.

## Some Bad Tendencies

For one thing, too often those who won success at the ballot-box thereupon discovered that they were bigger than the party and were eaten up with personal ambitions. As Socialists they managed to be little heard of afterwards.

Next to that must be mentioned the pretty cheap electioneering methods sometimes used where success loomed in the offing. Bundled up with that was the tendency to practice inside the party the parliamentary chicanery which no organization cares to make its boast. The party would not be hurt at all to lose these various obnoxious weeds.

That this was the inevitable companion of the party experience in its early stages is the explanation, of course. This was gloriously demonstrated by the Communist upheaval in the Socialist Party, when the alleged spokesmen of ultra-revolutionary methods used the gutter

sewerage of Tammany Hall political leanings.

It goes without saying that no one expects Socialists to be wanting in the ordinary frailties of human beings. Furthermore, it does not have to be mentioned, that as the party grows, so it becomes easier for self-seekers to echo the catchphrases of propaganda and bring their burden of questionable practices. But it might be just as well to wait a while for that.

As a matter of choice, the Socialist Party has too valuable a service to render to be diverted from its task by the shortcomings of those who want place and preference in the organization. The Socialist Party cannot afford to sell its character for a mess of opportunist infatuation.

## The Party's Supreme Duty

For the first and supreme duty of the Socialist Party is to carry the full program of social revolution to the people. It must do this because there is no one else to do it. Anybody can play politics. Anybody

can be a liberal or a progressive. (May their number increase!) Any trades union can battle for immediate concessions. But, to put it the nearest way, only the Socialist Party can find the part for each to take in the fine evolution from what is to what will be which is the essence of the social revolution.

Only the Socialist Party can approach with becoming tolerance and scientific insistence the process of transformation from capitalist class misrule through working-class solidarity to human civilization. Only the Socialist Party can effectively inspire the love of liberty and instill the knowledge of direction to those who seek escape from the poverty, war, and madness of industrial cannibalism.

The Socialist Party alone can do this as a united body because the others which have tried have hit some wrong course and are astray from the moving mass of the people.

Above everything else, the Socialist Party dare not forfeit its chance and obligation to be of the vital movement which is aiming at prog-

## ON WINGS OF BOODLE



Labor and Social Welfare Laws Hobble Through Our National and State Legislatures on Crutches—While Subsidies and Other Legislation for Capital Go Through on Wings.

## British and U. S. Labor

By NORMAN THOMAS

THERE is an argument very popular in America, even in trade union circles, which goes like this: American workers are better off than British workers. British workers have their own Labor Party—American workers have not. Therefore the American tactics are better.

If that is a good argument we can match it. British workers are proportionately much better organized than American. There are actually more trade unionists in Great Britain than in the United States, though the total population is smaller. But the American workers are better off. Therefore trade unionism is a bad thing.

No Labor man will accept this argument for a minute when it is applied to trade unionism. Why, then, accept it so unhesitatingly with regard to political action?

Of course, the truth of the matter is that American workers are better off because of the vastly greater natural wealth of America, its freedom from some of the cramping traditions and practices of landlord-

ism and feudalism, its escape from the most terrible effects of the war, and a number of other factors. That British workers are as well off as they are is to a large measure due to the fact that they are so well organized, primarily on the economic field and secondarily on the political field. Such organization cannot make up altogether for pressure of population upon resources, the decline of foreign trade, the biological consequences of generations of underfed and underpaid workers which weigh so heavily on British Labor. On the other hand, proper organization would put American workers in a far better position than they are; and proper organization must take account of the political field.

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# "My Pound of Flesh," America Demands of Europe

By HENRY W. PINKHAM

"FORGIVE us our debts" is the prayer of Europe to America. America's answer is that of a Shylock demanding his pound of flesh. Our Government, by its insistence on the payment of the debts owed by the countries associated with us in the World War, is the chief and the insuperable obstacle to the restoration of normal economic conditions in Europe and to the establishment of that good will which is indispensable to real peace. Our official attitude on this matter is a grievous moral reproach. Decent men ought to be ashamed to belong to such a country, and would be if they would properly consider the subject.

Think of the great disparity of wealth. Britain, France and Italy are our principal debtors, owing about \$11,000,000,000. The wealth of the three countries put together is not much more than half the wealth of the United States. Their war losses were incomparably heavier than ours, not only through devastation but—far worse—in human lives. France and Italy have narrowly escaped bankruptcy and financial chaos such as Austria, Germany, Hungary and Russia have passed through with immeasurable suffering. Britain has her continuing problem of unemployment. These are the countries from which we are demanding the payment of billions of dollars. Shame on us!

Britain has entered into an agreement by which she will pay us annually about \$170,000,000 for a period of sixty years. That is to say that children yet unborn in Britain will toil for the benefit of children yet unborn in America. For nearly two generations the poorer country will thus pay tribute to the richer, the weak will bear burdens for the strong. Shame on us!

After we had entered the World War loud laments were heard among us for our blindness in remaining out of it so long. Did we not look upon the Western European nations as our saviors from destruction, defenders of civilization while we were laggards, champions of righteousness when we were too dull to perceive the moral issue? Were those professions sincere? Do we now repent of them? At any rate, they have not been generally disavowed.

The mere memory of them ought to make it impossible for us to ask payment of enormous sums from the countries now broken by their sacrifices in the war, sacrifices which we shared in only slight degree, for while our part in achieving the military glory was indispensable, the



KEEPING IT IN THE FAMILY

cost to us was relatively slight. Ten to one and more was the loss in precious lives on the part of the debtor nations as compared with our loss. Our land suffered no devastation, felt no invader's foot. How paltry appear the loans from our abundance, despite the hugeness of the figures—beside the tremendous sacrifices of our companions in arms! And yet we in our wealth demand payment from them in their poverty. Shame on us!

Our insistence on payment makes

us responsible for the excessive demands on Germany for reparations, demands unwarranted by the armistice terms which Germany accepted. The larger the amount that France must pay to our country, the more she feels obliged to extort from Germany. France and Italy are in debt to Britain as to us. The French ambassador lately began inquiries as to possible terms of settlement with us. Straightaway the British said, effectively though unofficially: "If France is able to pay the United

States, then she is able to pay us," and French inquiries stopped. If we offer France more lenient terms than Britain has received, Britain will naturally feel aggrieved. Mr. Frank Simonds, the well-known able writer on foreign affairs, says that people in this country have not the smallest notion of the resentment felt in Britain over the existing arrangement for sixty annual payments to this country. Now there will be resentment in Washington over the British interference with French

efforts to make a settlement with us. It is a bad mess.

The way out is clear. Inter-aliated debts, European debts to this country, and German reparation payments are parts of one problem. They must be discussed together by all the countries concerned. If our Government would cancel the debts due from Europe, including the British debt—the only decent thing to do, which should have been done years ago—then Britain would cancel the debts of France and Italy,

the demand on Germany will be reduced to a tolerable amount, and real peace will begin to appear in Europe, good will superseding the bitterness the debts have engendered.

President Coolidge said in his recent message to Congress: "I am opposed to the cancellation of these debts... There exists a moral obligation which our country cannot ignore and no other country can evade. The principle that each country should meet its obligation admits of no difference and is of universal application." This betokens the thrifty New England mind. But the fact is that ordinary maxims are irrelevant. Such debts were contracted and could only have been contracted in the extremely abnormal conditions the unprecedented World War created. Payment of such vast sums would only perpetuate abnormal conditions, as economists well understand.

Payment is impossible, anyway. We may as well recognize that fact and make a virtue of necessity by forgiving the debts now while such forgiveness will look like generosity. Our present policy is sowing seeds of bitterness and postponing the recovery of Europe. We are the Shylock nation of the world. Shame on us!

## Glengarry's Review

A dear friend advised: "Do not be TOO hard "On the CAPITALISTS. "They are a NECESSITY; "There would be LITTLE work "For the POOR "ONLY for them."

WHEREVER capitalists are, THE POOR are also; NEITHER could be WITHOUT the other—THE CAPITALISTS MAKE the poor AND the POOR MAKE the capitalists.

A CAREFUL study WILL PROVE the correctness OF this assertion: ONLY for the capitalists THE POOR would be DOING FAR MORE WORK.

The WORK of the poor IS RESTRICTED BECAUSE they are not paid ENOUGH WAGES to BUY back AS MUCH of the products AS the CAPITALISTS Are (in proportion) using.

There are in Illinois 365 shipping mines, OF THAT number 165 are CLOSED, AND the 200 "OPEN" ones ARE OPERATED ONLY TWO days a week.

How EAGERLY And how CHEAPLY The POOR miner will work Who has a FAMILY (A FAMISHING family) SUBSISTING on scant CRUSTS UNTIL he (the POOR) IS ALLOWED to EARN (?) ANOTHER armful of SCRAPS.

If the MINERS OWNED the mines They would be operated TO the FULL capacity OF the "POOR'S" ability To buy and USE COAL.

EVERYONE employed In the COAL industry Would receive a just share OF ALL the price And there would NOT BE ONE "POOR" miner In ILLINOIS.

The same EVIL POLICY Embraces EVERY industry—PRODUCTS are PILED high And JAMMED tight, And the "POOR" producers Are "PAID OFF" to starve Or FIND some other "JOB."

ONLY for the CAPITALISTS There would ALWAYS be PLENTY of WORK And PLENTY to eat, And ONLY the slothful Would be POOR.

The FARMERS And the WAGE-WORKERS Are POOR BECAUSE their EARNINGS Are TAKEN FROM them By the CAPITALIST system, But be CHEERFUL—The GLOW of Socialism LIGHTS the horizon.

Swedes for Amalgamation At a congress held November 24-29, the Swedish Miners' Union approved a report for the amalgamation of that organization with the Metal Workers' Union and decided to submit it to a referendum.

Spanish Printers Celebrate The Spanish Printers' Union has just celebrated its forty-second birthday. The original promoter of the national organization was the Printers' Union of Madrid, which is fifty-three years old and for many years was headed by Pablo Iglesias, the veteran Socialist Labor leader and parliamentarian.

## Comrade Lord Thomson

By J. R. SMALLWOOD

BRIGADIER GENERAL the Right Honorable Lord Thomson, P. C., turned his head in the direction of the valet, who had just brought in a newly-pressed suit.

"Will you please come in again at noon?" he said to the valet.

"Yes, my lord," the valet responded as he softly closed the door behind him.

"Comrade," I said to Lord Thomson—it was in his room at the Harvard Club, the day after his arrival from London—"what made you, a soldier, join the Labor party?"

"I joined because, not in spite, of my being a soldier," the ex-Air Minister explained, with an implied correction in his voice. "The Labor party was for peace; it was the only party of peace. I had five very good reasons for wanting peace—five wars in which I took part."

"War is always wasteful," he exclaimed; "invariably futile, and much the same thing as an international drinking bout. War is a perfect carnival of misrepresentation, lies, folly and stupidity."

And Lord Thomson knows what he's talking about.

"My father and both my grandfathers were generals," he told. "I graduated from the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich and set out upon a military career that lasted twenty-six years and took me through every rank to Brigadier

General. My fighting activities took me to four continents.

"Preoccupied with military matters as I was, and living most of my life out of Britain, I never found any time for thought about political or social problems. But the Great War was a great enlightener to me. I was military attaché at Belgrade, Bucharest and other continental capitals, and later as a member of the Supreme War Council had the duty of going about Europe pretty extensively. What I saw completely disillusioned me as to the glory of war, and in my book, 'Old Europe's Suicide,' I expressed the disgust I felt and feel for the 'statesmanship' that had brought about this ghastly affair.

"It was in Paris that I got acquainted with the first members of the Labor party I had ever met—MacDonald, Henderson, Clynes. They frequently visited France in connection with the Labor party's efforts for a lasting peace. As I met them often I was astonished to discover that the views I had worked out on the problem of a just peace had already been concretely stated by the Labor party, and that they indeed were the only ones who shared my views. More and more I courted the company of those men, and in 1919 I definitely associated myself with the Labor party and became a candidate for Parliament. I was defeated with a handsome majority, but it was a unique experience for me."

Probably it is the story that could be related by such other soldiers and sailors who have joined the Labor party as Major Attlee, Captain Basil Hall, R. N., Major Leatham, General Crozier, Colonel the Right Hon. Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P., P. C., and many other lesser officers and men who passed through the hell of war.

Lord Thomson related an incident of an interview he had with Nicolai Lenin when he was in Russia on a diplomatic mission for his government.

"The Labor party," Lenin told him, "it is hopelessly constitutional. It is not in the least revolutionary. We have abandoned any hopes we might have had regarding it. It is upon Poincaré and Winston Churchill that I would confer the Order of the Red Flag!"

With him in the House of Lords General Thomson has associated eleven members and friends of the Labor party: the Earls Russell, Warr, and Kimberley, Viscount Haldane, Lord Parmoor, Lord Chelmsford, Lord Bray, Lord Gorell, Lord Muir MacKenzie, and Lord Olivier and Lord Arnold. Russell, Olivier and Arnold are Socialists, but the others can only be called close sympathizers.

Thomson himself disclaims the label, explaining that he didn't like labels, and that he didn't know what Socialism was, anyway. "I have many friends who call

themselves Socialists," he confided, "and not two of them gave me the same explanation of what Socialism is."

"But you believe in the socialization of industry," I protested; "you recognize that there is a process of socialization already operating, and that the evolution of industry and commerce makes it increasingly imperative that social control and ownership be extended?"

"Oh, of course. But I would not want to see all industries socialized right off, if that is what you mean. I believe in immediate nationalization of the mines and railways. But I am against promising too much to the electorate. It's dishonest. Besides, you can't overturn things. You must go at it gradually."

"I will say this: that more and more governments must determine the 'rule of the road.' The aim and object of government should be to see that the weak do not get crushed by the strong, the inefficient by the efficient. Too many people want to go along on the old individualistic lines. That way is the way of the savage."

It is not only wrong, but bad policy, to attempt by force what ought to be accomplished by reason.—Tom Paine.

## "Evictions in Rainstorms Commonplace Brutality In West Virginia"

BACK of that headline in The New Leader is a story of dire suffering among women and children in the wind-swept hills of West Virginia.

Some twenty thousand persons, evicted miners and their families, are living in tents or bare shacks because they refuse to work at a thirty-eight per cent wage reduction under conditions that they believe are Un-American.

The United Mine Workers of America are supplying relief to their members in the shape of shelter and food barely enough to support life. But there is a desperate need for warm clothing for men, women and children.

These miners are for the most part American born, with a proud spirit of independence. They believe that they are fighting for the cause of all who work, the country over. You can make no finer contribution at this time than to help the innocent victims of a long and bitter industrial warfare.

Clothing and shoes and direct money contributions should be sent at once to Will C. Thompson, Secretary-Treasurer, U. M. W. of A., District 17, 120½ Summers Street, Charleston, West Virginia.

USE THIS COUPON

Will C. Thompson,  
Secretary-Treasurer, District 17, U. M. W. of A., 120½ Summers Street, Charleston, W. Va.  
Enclosed is my contribution for relief of West Virginia miners:

Name .....  
Address .....

This advertisement is sponsored by a joint committee of the League for Industrial Democracy and the American Civil Liberties Union, which recently sent a trained investigator to West Virginia, who gathered the facts stated above. The committee consists of Roger Baldwin, Norman Thomas, Robert Morris Lovett and Arthur Carfield Hays.

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# SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

## Through the States

### PENNSYLVANIA

**TO PENNSYLVANIA READERS**  
Information concerning the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania may be obtained from the State Secretary, Darlington Hoopes, 415 Swede street, Norristown, Pa. News items concerning Pennsylvania Socialist activities should be sent to that address.

At last, nearly two months after election, we have received the official figures of the vote for all candidates in Pennsylvania. La Follette received 307,567 votes, of which 93,441 were cast in the Socialist column and 214,126 in the Labor column. Coolidge received 1,401,481, Davis 409,192, and Foster 2,735. The total vote for all candidates was 2,144,719, of which Coolidge received 65% per cent, Davis 19.1-5 per cent, La Follette 14% per cent, and Foster one-eighth of one per cent. In nine of the sixty-seven counties La Follette ran ahead of Davis. These counties were Allegheny (Pittsburg), Beaver, Blair (Altoona), Erie, Lawrence, Crawford, Indiana, Washington, and Westmoreland, and in the first five named the Labor party vote alone was greater than the Democratic. In Allegheny county the vote was Coolidge 149,296, Davis 21,984, and La Follette 79,095. Thus in the second largest city of the State the Labor party polled more than three times as many votes as the Democrats.

Who says we shouldn't organize a Labor party on February 21? If we can start out in August with no organization, and poll a vote like that against the fiercest kind of opposition, what can't we do by 1928, with a reactionary administration furnishing us with fresh ammunition every day? No wonder the kept press is trying to divide and discourage us. That is their only hope. They know now that our strength is far greater than they thought it was, and they are playing their best cards.

Don't be fooled by Tories either in or out of the Labor movement. Our duty is plain. We have made a marvelous beginning. Over 300,000 Pennsylvania voters have forever severed their connections with the old parties. If each one of these secures just one more in the next four years, think what it will mean. Surely, the least of us can do better than that. Let us start now.

If you are a Socialist, your job is to build up the Socialist Branch in your vicinity. The Socialist Party is the only dues paying organization that is devoting its entire effort to educating the workers along political lines. Its work in the past made the last campaign possible. The workers who carried the burden of the campaign were trained in its ranks. We must not fail now. They will need us more than ever next time. Canvass every La Follette supporter and ask him or her to join the party, that is working every day for the cause of the producers. If there is no branch near you, get five or more voters together and apply for a charter. Resolve to do your part in the grand struggle for freedom. Come, let us help you. Write to the above address today.

Our National Executive Secretary, Bertha Hale White, is planning to visit Philadelphia on January 16 and 17, and the local comrades are planning several meetings to arouse interest in party affairs.

Pittsburg Lecture Forum.  
W. H. Lacey, attorney and law in-

structor at Duquesne University, will lecture on "The Law of the Land," January 11, at the Educational Forum of the Labor Party Boosters' Club, in the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Hall, 510 Fourth avenue, Pittsburg.

### NEW JERSEY

**State Committee Meeting.**  
The regular monthly meeting of the State Committee of the Socialist Party of New Jersey will be held at State Headquarters, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City, on Sunday, January 11, at 3 p. m.

### INDIANA

The Socialist Party of Indiana has elected State party officers and committee by referendum vote, to serve for one year, as follows:

State Chairman, William Fogleson, of Indianapolis; State Secretary, Emma Henry, of Indianapolis; State Organizer, Michael M. Confer, of Warsaw. State Committee: A. W. Hamilton, Terre Haute; George M. Larrair, Indianapolis; Charles A. Martin, Kokomo, and S. Pollo of Clinton.

The newly elected officials will hold a meeting in the near future to map out plans for party work in Indiana.

A referendum is now before the membership for the election of delegates from Indiana to the National Convention of the Socialist Party, to be held in Chicago, February 25. The delegates elected will also represent the Socialists at the Conference for Progressive Political Action to be held in Chicago at the same time.

### MASSACHUSETTS

**Italian Socialists Hold Convention.**  
Representatives of seven Italian Branches of the Socialist Party met on Sunday, January 4, at the Matteotti Hall, 110 Salem street, to discuss ways and means for organization and Socialist propaganda among the Italian-speaking people of this District. Comrade Valenti, former Secretary of the Italian Federation, was present and delivered a splendid talk upon the advisability of organization work. Comrade Arthur Culla from Springfield, former Organizer of the Federation was also present and acted as secretary of the convention. Comrade Joseph Salerno of Lawrence acted as chairman, while the office of the Socialist Party, New England District, was represented by Comrade Warren Edward Fitzgerald, who denounced Fascist Massachusetts for its incarceration of Sacco and Vanzetti. He received an ovation at the conclusion of his talk.

The convention decided to establish a fund to engage an Italian organizer, who will tour the entire New England District.

Plans were made to increase the circulation of the Socialist periodicals. A contest was decided upon for new subscriptions to the Italian Socialist Weekly of Chicago "La Parola Del Popolo" and the "New Leader" of New York. A gold medal of Matteotti, the martyred Socialist Deputy of Italy, will be awarded to the person securing twenty-five subscriptions either for the Italian, English or any foreign-language Socialist paper.

The convention went on record as being unalterably opposed to any cooperation with the Communist element, who slander and defame the Socialist Party and its best leaders systematically and unrepentantly, while speaking for the united front of the working classes.

A resolution was voted pledging

support of the Italian Socialists for the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, and all the political prisoners of the world, including those of the so-called Workers' Government of Russia.

Fraternal greetings were sent to the Socialists of Italy for their gallant fight to redeem Italy from Fascism.

## New York Activities

### Ester Friedman Lectures

Ester Friedman will present her new course of four lectures in Poughkeepsie, Schenectady and other Hudson River and Capitol district cities during the month of February. The titles of the lectures are: "Toward a Better World"; "Changing Social Orders"; "The Symptoms of Decay"; "Our Heritage."

**Stille in the Field.**  
Field Organizer S. H. Stille is working in Elmira, and reports fine progress. Stille believes in keeping locals on their feet after he has organized them and is accustomed to give them occasional calls. He visited Local Cortland and found enthusiasm not a bit abated. The State Office proposes to let Stille do some work in Westchester County after his Elmira campaign. Westchester County could maintain six or seven party locals. Including the Finnish branch of Portchester there are only three party organizations at present functioning in Westchester County. There is a big demand for the services of this effective organizer. Glens Falls, Poughkeepsie, Syracuse and other cities have demanded his presence, but it is the intention of the State Office to keep him in the Southern part of the State during the snowy months.

**Study Class in Schenectady.**  
Local Schenectady has concluded the Rand School Socialist Study Course, and will not take up a course based on the "Roads to Freedom" articles appearing in The New Leader. The State Secretary has recommended to locals the taking up of the "Roads to Freedom" course as a feature at all party meetings.

**On Radio Broadcasting.**  
State Secretary Merrill will introduce resolutions on radio-broadcasting at the forthcoming special National Convention of the Socialist Party. He will also prepare similar resolutions for introduction at the C. P. A. Convention. He argues that the Socialist Party and organized Labor should establish their own broadcasting stations before the field is closed to them altogether, and that the eloquence of Eugene V. Debs is as much deserving of being given to six or eight million people through the ether as the singing voice of a John McCormack or Lucrezia Bori.

### LOCAL NEW YORK

Branch 3-5-10th A. D. met December 22 at 22 Bank street and decided that at each meeting an open discussion be had on some important current issue and that a resolution be adopted at each meeting, setting forth the majority opinion of all present regarding the question discussed involved.

It is expected that this will arouse the discussion of vital questions. It is our hope that such outsiders may more interest in the branch meetings and interest other citizens in time become party members.

The next meeting will take place on Monday, January 12, 8:30 p. m., at 22 Bank street, which is a short block to the rear of the Sheridan Theatre, near 11th street and 7th avenue. Subject of discussion will be "The Transit Situation in New York City in the Light of the McAvoy Investigation." Comrade B. Pinkney will lead the discussion and

At the beginning of 1924 there were only three branches (Italian) in this State—Leominster, Winchendon and Everett. The New Year finds new branches in Lawrence, East Boston, Springfield and East Weymouth in addition to many members scattered throughout the State.

five minutes will be allowed other speakers to express their opinions. We believe a similar policy by other branches would be of great benefit to our movement.

**4th A. D.**  
New Year's Eve was celebrated by our comrades, their wives and children, with a banquet and entertainment at our club rooms, 24 Ridge street. The room were beautifully decorated by our women members and several of the Y. P. S. L.-ettes. A wonderful time was enjoyed. David Einhorn, famous Jewish poet, was our honored guest for the evening. The comrades did not "hit the hay" till late New Year's morning.

Tickets for our theatre benefit may now be obtained from any of the following Comrades: Ehrlich, Freindlich, Green and White. Our next regular meeting will be held on Thursday, January 15, at 8:30 p. m. Lecture program for the coming year will be taken up in detail.

**Quinlan Lectures at 8th A. D.**  
Pat Quinlan will lecture at the 8th A. D. this Friday evening, January 9, at the meeting of the branch. The headquarters is at 207 East 10th street. His subject will be "Political and Economic Changes." All members are urged to attend.

**22nd-23rd A. D.**  
The 22nd-23rd A. D. branch is working hard on its educational and organization plans which were announced last week. The grand opening meeting to be held at 600 West 161st street, Tuesday, January 13, 8:15 p. m., promises a big success. A musical program will be followed by a prominent speaker, probably Meyer London. Every member of the branch is urged to give his or her utmost cooperation in making this initial affair a big success. We must make Washington Heights the banner branch of Manhattan.

**Carlo Tresca Enters Jail**  
(Continued from Page 1.)

justify a conviction. It is stated that the undisputed evidence at the trial shows that the advertisement was inserted by an agent of Il Martello, named Vella, at the instance of Umberto Nieri, proprietor of the book store, who took full responsibility for it. Nieri was later indicted, convicted, and served a sentence of four months in the Westchester County jail for the offense. The union contends that in any event it was improper to impose a longer sentence on Tresca than upon the principal in the case. Further, the issue was complicated at the trial by the introduction in Tresca's cross-examination of a mass of irrelevant evidence concerning his activity in strikes and Labor disputes, which the union holds prejudiced the jury.

The conviction was recently affirmed by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. The indictment was returned in October, 1923, after weeks of effort to find violations of

the law in Il Martello following the Italian Ambassador's complaint. These efforts are described by the Civil Liberties Union as follows:

"At a dinner of welcome in July, 1923, Judge Gary, who is an honorary member of the Fascisti, the Italian Ambassador suggested that a 'certain Italian paper in New York ought to be suppressed.' The Government's attention to Il Martello began immediately thereafter. The July 21st issue of the paper was held up in the mails without warning and without specific charges. On August 10 Tresca was arrested for an article, then three months old, criticizing the Italian monarchy. The charge was later dropped. On August 18, he was ordered to delete from his paper the announcement of a raffle, although two other papers carried the same notice un molested. The September 8 issue of Il Martello was held up for containing a two-line advertisement of a birth control book. Although the advertisement was deleted and the paper allowed to pass through the mails, Tresca was indicted for this a month later. Even after the indictment the Government continued for a short period to harass the paper. On October 27 Tresca was forced to reprint an entire edition of the paper, omitting an account of how the Fascisti forced a woman to take castor oil. The November 10 issue was held up because of a letter from a reader prophesying that Mussolini would come to the same end as Rientzi, although an earlier issue of Il Martello had quoted the same statement by Arthur Brisbane which appeared in the Hearst papers. The November 24 issue was declared unlawful for charging that Mussolini appropriated for his election fund a sum intended for D'Annunzio in Fiume."

Tresca was tried for the two-line birth control advertisement before Judge Henry W. Goddard of the United States District Court at New York, and was convicted on November 27, 1923. Until recently he was out on bail while the appeal was pending. He has been represented in the proceedings by former United States District Attorney Harold A. Content. The Government was represented by Assistant District Attorney Mattuck.

Other factors in the case to which the Civil Liberties Union has called the attention of the Attorney General are that the same advertisement appeared in two other papers without interference; that the advertisement was deleted from Tresca's paper at the instance of the Post Office Department before the issue was mailed; that the Assistant District Attorney suggested in court at the time of conviction that the Government would not ask for the imposition of a prison sentence if Tresca would agree to leave the country, and that the original complaint against Tresca before the birth control advertisement was discovered was based on an article entitled "Down With the Monarchy."

Tresca's application for clemency was endorsed, among others, by Congressman F. H. LaGuardia, Judge Freschi, Judge Cotillo, the late Albert DeSilver, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Roger N. Baldwin, Margaret Sanger and Judge Man-

### BROOKLYN

#### Williamsburg

Williamsburg has organized a Central Committee with the 13th-19th A. D., the 4th-14th A. D., and the 6th A. D. affiliated. Sam Pavloff is chairman, Gertrude Green, recording secretary and Emil Bromberg, treasurer. The committee has arranged for a banquet and social evening at Royal Palace, 61 Manhattan avenue, for February 24. Tickets are fifty cents. Comrades expect to make this the biggest affair in years and it will be merely the beginning of intensive party activity in Williamsburg. County organizer Viola will give hearty cooperation to the Central Committee.

#### 13th-19th A. D.

The open forum conducted by Comrade Vlaudek of the Daily Forward on Sunday mornings continues, and the consolidated branches are planning work for the entire year. These plans will keep the members active for many months.

### THE BRONX

August Claessens will lecture on "Man Makes His Own History—But?" on Friday evening, January 9, at the headquarters, 1167 Boston road.

The Executive Committee of Local Bronx meets on Monday evening, January 12.

The 1st A. D. branch meets on Wednesday evening, at 1167 Boston road.

The 7th A. D. branch meets on Thursday evening, at its club rooms, at Tremont and Third avenues.

On Saturday evening, January 31, Local Bronx will hold an entertainment and dance at the local headquarters. A fine program is being arranged and our members and friends are requested to make note of this date and be prepared for a royal good time.

### YIPSELDOM

#### Kings County Juniors

Circle 11, Jr., Y. P. S. L. has elected the following officials: Organizer, Nathan Fine; Financial Secretary, Madeline Goldberg; Recording Secretary, Victor Spivack, and Educational Director, Harry Engle. This circle meets at 1336 Lincoln place every Friday evening at 7:30 p. m. Comrade Maurice Shulman is their able and capable director, with Comrade Jean Jacques Coroneel as assistant.

### A GERMAN PERIODICAL

Keep your German speaking friends informed with the progress and activities of the Socialist Party, here and abroad, through the

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565 Hudson St., City.  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at  
ANTONIA HALL  
62 East 4th St.  
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the  
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NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

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Organization Committee of Locals 87, 100, 103, 109 and 308

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Rm. 418 Bible House, N. Y.  
MARTIN LAWLER, Secretary



# UNION DIRECTORY

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## The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148  
MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

## The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.

Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4180  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

## CLOAK, SUIT and REEFER OPERATORS' UNION

Local No. 2, I. L. G. W. U.

OFFICE: 128 EAST 23TH STREET, NEW YORK.  
MEYER PERLSTEIN, Administrator.  
Telephone: Madison Square, 5590-5591

## CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 144 Second Avenue Telephone Orchard 0415-0416  
Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 79 Delancey Street, at 8 P. M.  
ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President J. HELLER, Secretary  
ABRAHAM BELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.  
SALVATORE NINCO, Manager-Secretary.

## DRESSMAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 16 West 21st St. Watkins 7950  
The Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the Office. Branch meetings are held every 1st and 3rd Thursday of the month.  
MAX BLUSTEIN, Chairman I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

## Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4540  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
SECTION MEETINGS  
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 6 P. M.  
Brooklyn—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.  
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.  
Bklyn—106 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomery St.  
SALVATORE NINCO, Manager-Secretary.

## SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 28th St. Madison Sq. 147.  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 8 P. M.  
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

## Italian Dressmakers

Union, Local 99, I. L. G. W. U.  
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 8 West 21st Street. Telephone 1748-Watkins.  
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

## Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1034  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
D. GINGOLD, A. WEINGART, Sec'y-Treas.

## AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715  
Telephones: Stuyvesant 6500-1-2-3-4-5  
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
811-821 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephones: Spring 7609-1-2-3-4  
DAVID WOLF, General Manager ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

## CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
799 Broadway, New York City. Telephones: Stuyvesant 4330, 9510, 9511  
JOS. GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

## New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."  
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5386.  
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.  
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

## PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.  
OFFICE: 178 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1351  
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.  
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOR, Sec'y-Treasurer.

## Children's Jacket Makers

Of Gr. N. Y. Loc. 10, Sec. A. C. W. A.  
Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387  
Executive Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
MAX B. ROYAKSKY, Chairman.  
A. LEVINE, Rec. Sec'y.  
M. LENCZITZ, Fin. Sec'y.

## Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10.  
A. C. W. A. Section "B".  
Office 885 Bushwick Ave. Bklyn. Stagg 10180  
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m.  
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.  
J. Beronowitz, L. Feltman,  
Chairman Rec. Sec'y.  
J. Portney, J. Kleinholz, Fin. Sec'y.  
Bus. Agent

## INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD  
GENERAL OFFICE:  
62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4408  
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman OSSIP WALINSKI, General Manager

## Lapel Makers & Pairers

Local 151, A. C. W. A.  
Office: 2 Delancey St. Drydock 3802  
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
ALBERT SNYDER, Chairman.  
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary.  
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent

## Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple  
11-27 Arlon Pl. Bklyn., N. Y.  
LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman.  
H. TAYLOR, Rec. Sec'y.  
LEON BECK, Fin. Sec'y.

## Pension for Aged Illinois Miners

The United Mine Workers of Illinois, District 12, is the latest of the American Labor unions to install an old-age pension system for its superannuated members. The pension plan, carried by a recent referendum vote of District 12, provides for an assessment of one per cent of the wages, out of which those miners who reach the age of 65 will be paid \$25 a month.

The adoption of an old-age pension does not mean that the legislative committee of District 12 will cease its efforts for the creation of a State compensation fund. The miners will continue efforts to have the State supplement the union fund, striving for a system which, in its general outlines, is the rule in eighteen foreign nations.

Four other American unions—the locomotive engineers, bricklayers, telegraphers and typographers—have old-age pension systems. District 21, of the Miners' Union, embracing Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma, likewise has a pension fund

## Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway. Phone: Orchard 6639  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.  
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.  
PETER MONAT, Manager.

## EMBROIDERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 301 E. 151st St. Milwaukee 7690  
CARL GRABNER, President.  
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

## FUR DRESSERS' UNION,

Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.  
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn.  
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.  
M. REISS, President.  
S. FINE, Vice-President.  
F. FRIEDMAN, Rec. Sec'y.  
E. WENDEL, Fin. Sec'y.  
H. KALNHOFF, Bus. Agent.

## FUR FLOOR WORKERS' UNION, Local 3, F. I. U. A.

Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stagg 5220.  
Regular Meetings Every First and Third Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Thursday.  
FRANK BARROSE, JAMES CARUSO, President, Secretary.

## NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
7 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7678  
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.  
G. LEVINE, N. ULMAN, Rec. Sec'y.  
A. Schwartzwald, Chas. Ranzano, Sec'y-Treas.  
LEO SAPIAN, Bus. Agent

## N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
General Office: 621 BROADWAY (Room 323). Phone Spring 2258-2259  
ALDO CURT, Manager. H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer.  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 243—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
All Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union.

## MILLINERY & LADIES' STRAW HAT WORKERS' UNION, Local 24

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America  
Up-town Office: 59 West 57th Street. Phone Fitzroy 6754  
Down-town Office: 210 East 4th Street. Phone Orchard 1042  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at the Up-town Office.  
SAUL SCHULMAN, B. LEVITAN, ALEN ROSE, Chairman, Rec. Sec'y, Fin. Sec'y-Treas.  
ORGANIZERS: NATHAN SPECTOR, I. H. GOLDBERG, M. GOODMAN

## INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 68  
ANDREW WENDEL, General President.  
ANDREW WENDEL, General Secretary-Treasurer.

## JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office: 22 East 22nd Street Phone Caledonia 0350  
Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office  
H. BEGON, Chairman ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager  
ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, ADOLPH LEWITZ, Rec. Sec'y. WILLIAM CHERNIAK, Vice-Pres.

## FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 13  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
A. SOIFER, Chairman.  
I. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman.  
H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

## FUR CUTTERS' UNION

LOCAL 1  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
F. STAIR, Chairman.  
H. SOMINS, Vice-Chairman.  
H. SCHINDLER, Secretary.

## PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Mark's Place. Phone Orchard 1206  
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.  
LOUIS SMITH, MORRIS WALDMAN, J. KNAPPEN ANNA MUSICANT, President, Treasurer, Fin. Sec'y.  
HERMAN WIESEN, JOE DIBINO, Organizers.

in operation. The pensions range from \$260 yearly paid by the miners in the Southwest, to \$720 yearly paid by the engineers and telegraphers.

## Pants Makers Aid Sacco and Vanzetti

The Pants Makers' Union of Brooklyn, A. C. W. of A., is organizing a Sacco and Vanzetti relief fund, for the furtherance of which a benefit dramatic performance will be given at the Central Opera House, 67th street and Third Avenue, Sunday, January 11. Anthony di Biasi announces the union has voted \$25 for the defense fund to aid the New England radicals "whose only guilt lies in having always fought for the rights of the working class."

## Cossack Bill Up Again in Illinois

The State constabulary bill again looms in the Illinois Legislature, and the State Federation of Labor will renew its fight against this measure. The bill has appeared in the last three Legislatures, and each time went down to defeat before a public sentiment that organized Labor developed. The trade unionists, however, are not resting on past victories. They are alert to the resourcefulness of those who would create a system of military policing in this State.

In a pamphlet on this subject, written by Victor Olander, secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor, it is declared that these State constabulary bills are the most dangerous measures ever presented to the Illinois Legislature.

## R. R. Way Men Appeal to President

President Coolidge has received an appeal for a redress of grievances from the lowest paid and largest class of railroad employees. Three times the United States Railroad Labor Board has denied the petition of the maintenance-of-way men for overtime pay, such as is enjoyed by other workers in the railroad service.

F. H. Fljozdal, president of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees and Shop Laborers, with headquarters at Detroit, has filed a vigorous protest against the Board's action with the Chief Executive of the nation, in the belief that the President should know how the Labor Board treats the men who were awarded a minimum of twenty-seven cents an hour as a "just and reasonable" wage and are compelled to work overtime at the same rate.

Fljozdal tells the President that the action of the Railroad Labor Board in this matter is sufficient justification for its abolition, and that some other measure should be taken for giving necessary relief to the class of employees he represents.

## Raincoat Makers Are On Strike

The Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U., is conducting a strike against the U. S. Raincoat Company of 20 West 22nd street, New York, one of the largest firms in the industry. The firm broke its agreement with the union by sending a good deal of its work to non-union shops.

The workers are out 100 per cent and the employer has not been able to secure strikebreakers. At the time of going to press he has already called the union for a conference to settle the strike.

New officers of the union were recently elected. They are as follows: Samuel Saroff, president; Max Kaplan, vice-chairman; David Gingold, manager, and Abraham Weingart, secretary-treasurer, who was re-elected.

## Lumber Company Sued by Unionists

Seven damage suits aiming to curb the use of the criminal Syndicalism law in Idaho have been filed against the Bonners Ferry Lumber Company of Idaho by Harlow Pease of Butte, Montana, for the assault, deportation, and arrest of I. W. W. lumber strikers. The suits, according to the American Civil Liberties Union, have been filed in Montana on the ground that the lumber company does business in that State. The suits charge that the employers are themselves guilty of criminal Syndicalism by resorting to "crime, violence and unlawful methods of terrorism to accomplish industrial ends."

One suit for \$125,000 damages filed on behalf of Richard Moore, an I. W. W. member, charges that during the lumber strike of May,

1923, an armed mob of 200, led by agents of the Bonners Ferry Lumber Company, attacked the strikers' picket camp. They threw Moore into a waiting truck, it is alleged, and, taking him to the Montana border, ordered him never to return to Idaho. Moore was roughly handled according to the complaint, and shots were fired after him as he went. Subsequently he returned to Idaho to demand redress for his grievances and was "falsely and maliciously" arrested on June 6 under the criminal Syndicalism law at the instigation of the lumber company.

## For Monument To Samuel Gompers

The Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly of West Virginia has inaugurated a movement for the erection of a monument to the memory of the late Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. The proposition is to raise funds for that purpose by popular subscription among the members of the trade union movement exclusively and no individual contribution to the fund to be over ten cents; the monument to be the product of union Labor in every particular; all contributions to be sent direct to Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor. President William Green, of the A. F. of L., will be asked to endorse the plan.

## Barbers' Union Gains Membership

The Journeymen Barbers' Union, Local 900, has gained in membership to a great extent as a result of a drive that has been conducted in the last few months, according to a report issued by J. Epstein, secretary of the union.

Detailed plans are now being worked out for an organization drive that will be conducted by the union in the Times Square section to unionize all the barber shops in that territory. A new administration has been installed in the union with the New Year, consisting of Samuel Schner, president; Peter Cardile, vice-president; A. Arbitor, recording secretary, and Jacob Epstein, secretary-treasurer. The field organizers will consist of Ralph Allocca, Charles La Motta and Charles Cacciola.

The Union of Technical Men, Local No. 37, New York City, urges a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti.

## ACTIVITIES OF THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

### Workers' University to be Re-Opened Jan. 10.

The classes in the Workers' University, after a short vacation, will be resumed in Washington Irving High School, Room 530, Jan. 10, and Sunday, Jan. 11.

On Saturday Jan. 10, at 1:30 p. m., Mr. Stolper, in his course "Clear Voices in English and American Literature," will discuss "Hamlet." At 2:30 p. m. Margaret Gadsby will discuss "Unemployment Insurance."

On Saturday Jan. 17, at 2:30 p. m., David J. Saposs will begin his course on "Trade Union Policies and Tactics."

On Sunday, Jan. 11, at 10:30 a. m. Mr. H. A. Overstreet, in his course, "The Psychology of Conflict," will discuss Class Conflict.

At 11:30 a. m. Dr. H. J. Carman will continue his course on "The Development of Modern Industrial Society."

New students can register for these courses now.

### Unity Centers.

In the Bronx Unity Center, P. S. 61, Charlotte street and Crotona Park East, room 511, Miss Theresa Wolfson will continue her course on "Our Changing Economic Institutions," on Tuesday, Jan. 13, at 8:40 p. m.

In the East Side Unity Center, P. S. 63, Fourth street and First avenue, room 408, Mr. A. L. Wilbert will continue his course on the "Social and Economic Forces in American History," on Wednesday, Jan. 14, at 8:40 p. m.

I. L. G. W. U. Building.  
In the I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th street, Alexander Fichandler will continue his course on "Psychology and the Labor Movement" on Wednesday, Jan. 14, at 6:30 p. m.

Sylvia Kopald will continue her course on "Economics and the Labor Movement," on Thursday, Jan. 15, at 6:30 p. m.

### Courses and Lectures in Yiddish and Russian Given in Different Parts of the City.

#### Bronx.

Friday evening, Jan. 9, Dr. B. Hoffman will lecture on "Workers' Governments in Europe, Their Political and Economic Achievements," at 8:30 p. m., in Local 2, Club rooms, 1581 Washington avenue.

Friday, Jan. 16, at 7 p. m., Mr. William Schulman will lecture on "Trade Unions and us in the Middle Ages."

On Sunday, Jan. 11, at 11 a. m., in the same place, Max Levin will lecture on "The Industrial Development of Modern Society."

In the Cloak Makers Center, 1629 Lexington avenue, corner 103rd street, on Sunday, Jan. 11, at 10:30 in the morning, Dr. E. Hoffman will

continue his course of six lessons on "Twenty-five Years' Labor Movement in America." This will be a historical review on the various phases, aims and achievements of the trade union movement in this country, with special emphasis on the I. L. G. W. U.

#### Local 9 Building.

In the auditorium of the Cloak Operators' Union, Local 9, 87 Lexington avenue, on Saturday, Jan. 10, at 1 p. m., Max Levin will conduct a class in "Labor Problems."

#### Down-town.

In Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street, Room C, on Friday, Jan. 9, at 8 p. m., H. Rogoff will start a series of three lectures on "American Civilization."

Russian-Polish Branch.  
In the Russian-Polish Branch, 315 East 10th street, on Friday, Jan. 9, at 7:30 p. m., M. Karpovich will lecture on "Universal History." On Friday, Jan. 23, in the same place, a lecture on "The Worker and His Health" will be given.

#### Brownsville.

In the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, room 301, on Thursday, Jan. 15, at 8 p. m., Alexander Fichandler will continue his course of six lessons on "Social Psychology." The topic of discussion will be "Approval and Disapproval."

These courses are especially prepared for the members of the I. L. G. W. U. by the lecturers and instructors, together with the Educational Department.

They will be continued throughout the season in the same place and at the same time.

#### Concert in Harlem.

Hundreds of members of the I. L. G. W. U. will be present at the celebration of the educational activities of the International in Harlem next Saturday, Jan. 17, at 7:30 p. m., in the auditorium of P. S. 171, 103rd street, between Madison and Fifth avenue.

Admission to all these activities is free to the members of the I. L. G. W. U.

## Dr. J. R. Warbasse to Lecture in Brooklyn

Dr. James P. Warbasse, President of the Cooperative League of America, will deliver two lectures on "Proposed Roads to Freedom," under the auspices of the Cooperative Educational Association of Brooklyn. The lectures will take place on Friday, January 9 and 16, at Grabel's Mansion, 1830 Pitkin avenue, Brooklyn. The first lecture, on Friday, January 9, will deal with trade unionism, profit sharing, shop control, Syndicalism, Socialism and Communism. Admission fee is 75 cents for the two lectures. Single lecture, 50 cents.



# Roads To Freedom

## VII. COOPERATIVE DEMOCRACY

**SYNDICALISTS** and guild Socialists have criticized the social ideal held by a large part of the modern Socialist movement, largely on the ground that it does not give due consideration to the claims of the producers.

There is growing up a school of thinkers connected with the consumers' cooperative movement who argue that the industrial organization of the future is likely to be built on the present consumers' cooperatives, and who insist that the consumer, for whom all industry should be operated, has been too greatly ignored in many Socialist schemes. This school has been called at times the school of "consumerism." The ideal at which it aims has been spoken of as a "cooperative democracy." The school is also anti-statist in its philosophy, and in many respects resembles that of Communist-Anarchism. It opposes ownership by State agencies on the ground that such ownership means compulsory cooperation, as contrasted with the voluntary cooperation of the consumers cooperatives.

**Growth of Consumers' Cooperatives**  
To understand the aims of this school, it is necessary to understand the present-day consumers' cooperative movement. This movement had its birth in Rochdale, England, in 1843. Since then the idea has spread, until today practically every country in Europe has strong consumers' cooperative groups, which have organized not only hundreds of retail cooperative stores, but great wholesales and large numbers of factories. In many instances the cooperatives possess large tracts of land, and operate banks, insurance companies, building associations, educational institutions and various other enterprises. In 1922, it was estimated that some 3,000 cooperative stores existed in the United States with an annual business of about \$100,000,000.

### Technic of Organization

The consumers' cooperative movement is organized by the consumers for the purpose of purchasing goods under conditions determined by themselves. Each member-consumer has one vote in the election of the governing committees and no one has more than one vote. A person may become a member on payment of a small fee, at times \$1, at times \$5, and at times \$10. Interest on

### PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

In what fields of effort have consumers' cooperative ventures chiefly succeeded? What fields have they failed to reach? Why? Why have consumers' cooperatives succeeded, where efforts at self-governing workshops have failed? What have been the obstacles in the way of consumers' cooperation in this country and what are the forces which are advancing the cause? What has been the chief value of cooperation thus far in European countries? What problems has it failed to solve? What part, in your opinion, will consumers' and producers' cooperation play in a future society? Why?

capital invested by the members is fixed at a low rate. The cooperatives usually sell goods at the same price as that charged by competing merchants. At the end of the quarter they return to the customer member a "dividend" or savings return in proportion to the value of the goods purchased.

### Achievements of Movement

The movement has thus far saved millions of dollars to working-class consumers; set a high standard in the quality of goods sold; promoted thrift, eliminated many wastes found in competitive industry, given a valuable training to thousands of workers in the technic of distribution and production, and has brought to the forefront able working-class leaders who could be trusted. It has provided the employees of the "coops" with somewhat better working conditions than those prevailing in private enterprises. It has proved an aid to the workers during strikes and periods of industrial depression. It has offered valuable educational and social opportunities to thousands of working-class consumers.

It has demonstrated that industry can be conducted for use as well as for profit. It has strengthened the bonds of brotherhood between peoples of various countries. It has promoted the ideals of justice and of mutual aid.

### Limitations of Movement

On the other hand, the movement has thus far confined its field of action largely to the distribution of articles of daily use in the household of the worker and has not as yet touched such national industries as the railroads, the mines, etc. The large bulk of its membership is probably interested more in the "dividend" that comes at the end of the quarter than in any ultimate social ideals. Most of the cooperative stores have not as yet been able to interest the majority of their members in the actual conduct of the business, nor have they worked out a satisfactory scheme of representation for their employees.

The majority of the writers on the cooperative movement regard it as one of several forces leading to a new social order, but not as the only

force. Hand in hand with the extension of cooperatives, they see the municipalities, the State and the nation taking charge of the transportation industry and other basic industries. They find it difficult to visualize how consumers, organized on a voluntary basis, can run such industries on Rochdale principles.

### Regarded as Panacea by Some

On the other hand, some cooperative leaders contend that in the cooperative movement people learn to do things for themselves on a voluntary basis, while under municipal, State or Federal ownership, they are inclined to leave the conduct of affairs to the State officials; that the political State was organized by a ruling class for the purpose of suppressing a lower class, and therefore cannot be depended upon for constructive tasks in behalf of the workers, and that cooperation by the State is of far more compulsory, far less voluntary nature than cooperation on the part of groups of consumers. They thus feel that in the society of the future practically all industry should be organized on a voluntary cooperative basis along the general lines of the Rochdale plan.

### For Discussion Groups:

**Literature—Pamphlets:** Order 5c and 10c pamphlets from the Cooperative League of America, 167 West 12th street, New York City, particularly pamphlets by Agnes D. Warbasse, Dr. James P. Warbasse and Harry W. Laidler, the latter on "The British Cooperative Movement" (5c).

Also write for the literature of the All-American Cooperative League, B. of L. E. Building, Cleveland, Ohio. This league is more favorable to the producers' cooperative movement than is the Cooperative League. The headquarters of the International Cooperative Alliance is 4 Great Smith street, Westminster, London, England, and of the educational department of the British Cooperative movement, Holyoke House, Hanover street, Manchester, England.

**Books—Savel Zimand, "Modern Social Movements,"** pp. 67-81. Dr. James P. Warbasse, President of the

WAITERS BAR TIPS — SCANDINAVIANS FOR UNITY — CUBANS VICTORIOUS — GERMANS REGAINING EIGHT-HOUR DAY — LABOR FEDERATION FOUNDED IN CHINA.

## LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

### Hotel Workers Against Tips

Resolutions denouncing the tipping system and urging the establishment of a fixed wage were unanimously adopted at the fourth conference of the Hotel, Restaurant, and Bar Workers' International held in Berlin November 25-27. Other resolutions called for the free movement of hotel workers from one country to the other, with the proviso that such wanderers immediately attach themselves to the union of the country where they are stopping, and for a campaign for the eight-hour day, even in the hotel industry. International dues were fixed at one and one-quarter cents per member per year, effective for 1924, and the office of the general secretary was shifted from Amsterdam to Berlin. After a Rumanian delegate named Roeslinger had denounced the "yellow Socialist" leaders of the International in true Communist style, he was excluded from the conference and a resolution was passed providing that only unions affiliated with central bodies forming part of the International Federation of Trade Unions would be admitted to the Hotel Workers' International. Reports from different countries showed that, after having been hit hard by the post-war crises, the hotel workers' unions were generally coming back strong and the prospects were good for rapid gains in membership. There were twenty-nine delegates present from Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, France, Poland, Italy and Holland. Reports from Norway, Yugoslavia, Switzerland and Spain expressed regret at not being able to send delegates. One of the last resolutions passed declared that the German Waiters' League and the Geneva Association were not to be regarded as real trade unions.

### Scandinavians Work for Unity

Another step toward bringing Norway and Finland into the International Federation of Trade Unions was taken on December 2-3 at a conference of forty-five representatives of the national central bodies of those countries and of Sweden and Denmark held in Copenhagen. At this meeting, which was called on the initiative of the General Council of Norwegian Trade Unions, there was much discussion of the international situation and a resolution was adopted welcoming the move by the Norwegians toward unity, expressing the hope that further action along that line would be taken in Norway and Finland and approving attempts to get the unions in Russia, the United States, Mexico and Ireland to join forces

with those of other countries in a single trade union international.

### Cuban Strikers Victorious

In its issue of December 16, Action Socialist, the Havana Labor paper, says that the terms agreed upon between representatives of the sugar mill workers and of the employers, at the suggestion of President Alfredo Zayas, ending a strike which was about to become general and to involve sympathetic action by the railroad men, constitute a victory for the strikers. Living conditions, especially those concerning food, are to be improved, all strikers are to be taken back, there is to be no discrimination against union agitators, efforts are to be made to establish the eight-hour day and pensions for aged workers, and President Zayas promises to stop deporting foreign Labor leaders and to readmit the score or more already deported if a study of their cases shows it to be advisable. The President also offers to submit a message to the Cuban Congress calling for the regulating of the relations between Capital and Labor in the sugar industry.

### Germans Regain Eight-Hour Day

As the result of the hard fight by the German trade unions against the industrialists' attempt to use the desperate economic situation of the country as a lever to eliminate the eight-hour work day, won in the early days of the political revolution of November, 1918, there was a sharp come-back during the last few months. When the German General Federation of Trade Unions made an inquiry last May into the hours worked in the building, printing, chemical, wood, metal, boot and shoe and textile industries, it found that 54 per cent of the workers were toiling more than forty-eight hours a week. Upon making a second inquiry in the same industries, covering 2,359,616 workers, in November, it learned that only 45 per cent were laboring more than forty-eight hours a week. The gain was especially large in the printing trade, where only 25 per cent were working more than forty-eight hours, against nearly 50 per cent in May. In the textile industry, the worst offender against the eight-hour day, the percentage dropped from 82 to 66.

### Chinese Labor Federation Founded

After much preliminary agitation, seventy-six of the various Labor unions in the Chinese Republic, with some 200,000 members, have got together and organized the Chinese Federation of Labor, according to reports received indirectly by the

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

Cooperative League, in "Cooperative Democracy" (N. Y.: Macmillan, 1923, 493 pp., \$3.50), takes the position that the consumers' cooperative movement should completely dominate the new social order. Albert Sonnichsen, in "Socialism and Cooperation" (N. Y.: Macmillan, 1919; out of print), is of a similar opinion. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, in "The Consumers Cooperative Movement" (N. Y.: Longmans, Green, 1921, 504 pp., \$6.50), while fully endorsing the movement, present a more critical point of view, maintaining that voluntary cooperation will have its place under a new system of society, but will not occupy the center of the stage.

Other worth-while discussions are: Daniel Bloomfield, "Selected Articles on Modern Industrial Problems," pp. 3-34 (N. Y.: H. W. Wilson, 1919, 377 pp., \$2.40); E. P. Harris, "Cooperation, the Hope of the Consumer" (N. Y.: Macmillan, 1918, 328 pp., \$2); Fred C. Howe, "Denmark, A Cooperative Commonwealth" (N. Y.: Harcourt, 1921, 203 pp., \$3); L. S. Woolf, "Cooperation and the Future of Industry" (London: Allen and Unwin, 1918, 141 pp.). Also supplement on "The Cooperative Movement" in the New Statesman of May 30, 1914; Paul Blanshard, "An Outline of British Labor," chapter 10, (N. Y.: Doran, 1924, 168 pp., \$1.50).

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# The Realm of Books

## Negro Sketches

BLACK CAMEOS. By R. Emmet Kennedy. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. \$2.50.

In his brief but illuminating introduction, Mr. Kennedy speaks with a glowing, almost caressing ardor of Negro life as expressed in his spirituals and in the primitive imagery of his folk lore that is fully justified by the collection of twenty-nine stories and poems that comprise this volume. Interpolated with the stories are a group of spirituals, words and music, which according to the author who started collecting them at the age of thirteen are not to be found in any printed collection.

It is with the resurrection in recent years of the haunting spirituals that the Negro has received due recognition as having made a distinctly original contribution to American music. "Rag-time" and the comic "coon-song" had been nothing but objective caricature by whites of Negro character and not a genuine revelation of self-expression. They were as far removed from the real Negro spirit as Christian Science is from Christianity or science.

Mr. Kennedy does not make the comparison, but his treatment of his material leads to the conclusion that an exact parallelism has prevailed in the literary realm. The Negro has been regarded objectively, solely as a worthy medium for caricature of the black face comedy type. Mr. Kennedy's method has the great virtue of being direct. At all times his characters speak for themselves. He does not speak for them. Nor does he create any forced situations. In fact, all the stories—mere sketches taken from the author's personal experiences—are devoid of "plot." Yet there is a blending of character and incident that results in a faithful revelation of the elemental qualities of Negro psychology.

Most of the stories are pervaded by a wholesome humor springing from these elemental qualities. In "Caledonia's Retreat" and "The East Green Alligator Churner" it expresses itself in a childishly naive sense of outraged feeling. In "Gineevah's Flight" it is deep-rooted, superstitious fear. In "Viny Field" it is a keen sense of pride. No less humorous is the Negro's love of the use of long words and his disregard of their correct pronunciation.

The sketches have a sincerity and a human quality that is distinctly refreshing. And none of it is lost even upon a fifth reading.

M. S.

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## In The Mirror

A Review by JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

NARCISSUS. An Anatomy of Clothes. By Gerald Heard. New York: E. P. Dutton. \$1.00.

After "Daedalus" and "Icarus," the volumes in which J. B. S. Haldane and Bertrand Russell look upon science and the future, "Narcissus" turns a mirror of sophisticated laughter upon clothes. "Clothes make the man" may seem but a phrase of fashion; Mr. Heard points out how the bodies of the Minoans were actually moulded by their dress. With a subtle sophistry that works by just the slightest misplacement of stress—such as his arguments to prove that the Greek was a decadent civilization—the author shows how clothing fashions have always followed architecture, and suggests that in clothes we have the last lingering of the old life-conventions of earliest man.

The first point would be sufficiently established by the illustrations alone, but a sweeping historical survey traces the parallel from Crete, Egypt, Greece, and Rome through the Dark Ages, the Renaissance, and our classical period to the Romantic Revival and the dearth of today. Architecture and clothing, Mr. Heard points out, have been checked by the sterile conventions of the past age, and have not grown to the possibilities of engineering and ferro-concrete. William Morris remarked: "How can this people expect to have good architecture when they wear such clothes?" and the formal attire behind which every "gentleman" strives to hide individual differences surely pictures no mind out of which great art of any kind is likely to flower. In this phrase of its survey, the book runs through the ages hinting at what Mr. Mumford details for America in his excellent "Sticks and Stones."

Mr. Heard, in addition to this rapid, provocative sketch, propounds in this volume the theory of "projected evolution." Man, he claims, because of his adaptability and imperfection, is as far as Nature can go in animal evolution; she must continue outside of man and through man, in the changes he presses on life around him. This ingenious theory should find ready acceptance among men, for that meets eager credence which we like to believe. On more solid ground of logic is the suggestion that clothes are the last of the socially fixed, semi-unconsciously accepted, projections of man's life. With early man all life was ruled by totem and taboo, by formulae, conventions. One by one these were brought into consciousness and sloughed off or rationalized; clothing alone remains largely unquestioned. The laws of dress are so unchallenged that our own public libraries will not permit a man to enter in his shirt sleeves. "While we watch we see enacted in

little a microcosm of tailors' clippings, a clash of pins and needles, the secular transformation which, when Religion passed through it, from clash of swords and smoke of burning gave rise to the epics of gospel and martyrdom and, in the turn of art and science, precipitated every creative wonder and inspiring discovery. Do we want to understand why good men persecuted someone who was only independently rational? Magnify to the heroic scale the gentlemanly feelings outraged by a solitary guest at some royally patronized house-party appearing at dinner in pajamas."

The book is a splendid tour de force; reading it is an intellectual exercise in which edification and amusement strive for the interest, and between them fling it high.

## Newspaperdumb

A Review by RYAN WALKER

FORTY YEARS IN NEWSPAPER-DOM. By Milton A. McRae, President Scripps-McRae Syndicate. New York: Brentano's. \$3.00.

The reader of this book will get the mentality of the men behind the organization known throughout the United States as the Scripps-McRae Enterprise Association; for Mr. McRae has written it in the true Bab-bitt style. Not once does the author rise above the mediocrity of his newspapers. He makes no pretense to literature; his story is disconnected, for he lacks continuity of thought. In short, he has very little to say, but it takes nearly 500 pages in which to say this little. He has never grasped the serious economic problems—or at least, his writings do not reveal such an understanding. A pleasant word from that sage of great wisdom, William H. Taft, or from the hoisterous "T. R.," has great weight with him. He never gets beneath the surface of anything. In short, his book has little to commend it to the serious reader except that it is a sample of the brains behind one of the largest newspaper syndicates in the country. As such it stands unique in its commonplaceness.

Mr. McRae has had the advantages of much travel, but he records places he has visited in true newspaper style and not as one who revels in art and in antiquity. He sees but he does not see; he hears but he does not understand. His interviews with politicians and potentates leaves one cold, for it's like re-reading old newspapers which have been shelved for, lo! these many years. All in all, the book is without the charm its title would lead one to expect.

## Morals of Olde

A Review by RAYMOND FULLER

COMEDY AND CONSCIENCE AFTER THE RESTORATION. By Joseph Wood Krutch, Ph. D. New York: Columbia University Press.

The present dramatic critic for The Nation, one of the noteworthy members of Columbia University's staff, goes searching into a study of the stage in England (actually London) during the latter part of the seventeenth century. This treatise is of great value to the critic of drama and to the student of literature. To the general public it is Grade A caviar. Manners and morals of the period after the enthronement of Charles II in 1660 are interesting to compare with our own garden variety—if you happen to like that sort of thing. Vastly more entertaining than these researches usually are, it gives splendid scope for the author's keen mind and wide learning. As Dr. Krutch solves the riddles of the vulgarity, the "bawdiness" and the multiple-standard of immorality prevailing then, when flourished history's perfect "gentlemen" and "ladies," his readers pick up nourishing handfuls of the crumbs which fall from his reading table. Especially those who hunger after the lore of our stage's childhood will like to read this book. His observations are original and his conclusions independent—here speaks authority. One quotation we must make—it is so characteristic: "For the basis of wit is a recognition of the contrast between ideals and reality, while the sentimentalists insist on their identity."

Of this racy clan of the Restoration, Congreve, steel-keen in dialogue and bullet-proof in conscience, is perhaps the sole survivor. This season at the Cherry Lane Playhouse they are courageously reviving one of his glittering comedies (written nearly 225 years ago). This play is neither caviar nor musty Cheshire cheese, and will give one an idea of this period almost better than reading about it in a book.

## What Price Folly?

IN PRAISE OF FOLLY. By Desiderius Erasmus. New York: Brentano's.

The trouble with the world today is that, in a medieval moment when it lacked folly, it took Erasmus seriously. The learned reformer had written a satire: "In Praise of Folly" is a volume in which Folly herself speaks, proclaiming her virtues, and the benefits she showers on the world. The great man was really intent upon exposing, through the mouth of their own goddess, the vanity and the waste and absurdity and sin of all who follow Folly; he desired Folly to reveal her own shallowness and fundamental mockery. But the spirit of the book carried away the artist in the preacher; he lingers over the delights of Folly with true delight; his portrait is too often seductively attractive. Readers enjoying it are wooed to their destruction. And the world of readers of his day, taking the words of this great man with the serious attention due them, committed itself to a course of Folly from which their descendants have never swerved. The state of the world today, therefore, is largely due to a misunderstanding of Erasmus.

It is not in jest that one speaks of the seductive manner of the writing; it possesses, to us today, a charming naivete, and we have attained such a level of progress beyond the old scholar that we may look with amusement on some of his circumlocutions and with tolerance upon some of his abominations. The volume thus gives a modern reader the double delight of a book well written and of a sense of superiority to the point of view expressed; two elements that make for pleasant reading.

The introductory life of Erasmus is couched in the same simple, naive style as the book itself, and presents the scholar's day in a way that recovers the atmosphere of his time. The book is well presented, with sketches after Holbein that also recreate the period, and should make a welcome volume in homes not already too full of Folly.

WILLIAM LEA.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

### Social Science

THE NEGRO IN SOUTH CAROLINA DURING RECONSTRUCTION. By Alruthus Ambush Taylor. Washington, D. C.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

THE WOMEN GARMENT WORKERS. By Louis Levine. N. Y.: B. W. Huebsch.

### Literature

THOMAS HARDY'S UNIVERSE. By Ernest Brennecke, Jr. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

TRAGEDIES OF THE MEDICI. By Edgumbe Staley. N. Y.: Brentano's.

### Miscellaneous

THE FREEMAN BOOK. N. Y.: B. W. Huebsch.

## The Soul of British Labor

A Review by WM. M. FEIGENBAUM

SOCIALISM, CRITICAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE. By J. Ramsay MacDonald. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.50.

BRITISH LABOUR SPEAKS. A Collection of Important Writings by Members of the (late) Labor Government and the Labor Party. Edited by Richard W. Hogue. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.00.

ESSAYS AND ADVENTURES OF A LABOUR M. P. By Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P. New York: B. W. Huebsch. \$5.00.

MY LIFE FOR LABOUR. By Robert Smillie, M. P. London: Mills & Boon. (\$1.50 at the Rand Book Store.)

These four books are entirely dissimilar in their contents, just as the authors, as Julius Caesar said about something else, "inter se differunt." And yet out of them we can distill something of the spirit and the soul of the British Labor movement.

Colonel Wedgwood, who was a member of Ramsay MacDonald's Cabinet, is a man of great wealth, the head of the great Wedgwood potteries, a war hero, a man of great administrative capacity, and an ardent and devoted Socialist. Ramsay MacDonald born in poverty, self educated, steered by self discipline, is a son of the soil, a man of remarkable intellectual attainments, and a devoted Socialist. "Bob" Smillie was earning his living by the time he was 11, for many years a coal miner, a trade union leader, and a devoted Socialist. And of the list of contributors to Mr. Hogue's book the same can be said: men and women of different walks of life, workers, intellectuals, trade unionists, teachers—and all Socialists.

For a certain period, Socialism in each country pleased to call itself Marxian. Marx was a German, and Marxism and Socialism was German. Paul Lafarge was Marx's son-in-law, and the Socialism that he planned for France was German Socialism. It was not until a Frenchman, Jean Jaures, took Socialism as it was at his hand, and inflamed it with a French spirit, that Socialism began to grow in France.

And in England, Henry M. Hyndman strove for years to implant a German Socialism in the minds of the people, and he failed. It was not until Keir Hardie, who was a workingman, a trade unionist, an internationalist, began to organize the workingmen on class-conscious political lines, that there was any genuine native Socialism. The British Socialism of today is the creation of Keir Hardie, of Bruce Glasier, of Ramsay MacDonald, of "Bob" Smillie. It is a British Socialism, the application of the fundamental principles of Socialism, of Marxism if you please, to British conditions.

The classical literature of Marxian Socialism is interlarded with such terms as "class struggle," "class war," "class interests," terms that are repugnant to many. The Germans and the Russians don't mind these terms, and they use them to the limit. "The Labor Party," say the British, "is not a class party, it does not aim at class war." But question them further and you will see they are saying in one way what every German Socialist theoretician has said in another way, but they have stressed certain human elements, where the Germans have been stern and rigid and almost militaristic in their philosophy and their organization.

British Socialism is essentially idealistic. It is almost religious in its fervor. Meetings are opened with song, red banners are carried with song, conferences of historic import are closed by the singing of "Auld Lang Syne."

That is the Socialism that has attracted "Josh" Wedgwood, that delightful man whom I had the pleasure of meeting and learning to admire on the occasion of his visit here two years ago. That is the Socialism of Ramsay MacDonald, a stern, high-minded man of wonderful gifts who is too honest to shrink from a fight on a matter of principle, no matter what the cost.

MacDonald's new book is a reprint of an earlier volume, which is reasonably well known. The novelty of this reprint is the introduction, in which he said: "The trade unionist has the same limitation imposed upon him as the capitalist—he cannot advance his interests at the expense of his society. It cannot be over emphasized that public doles, strikes for increased wages, limitation of output, not only are not Socialism but may mislead the spirit and policy of the Socialist movement. Socialism calls men to give unstinted service in return for a reasonable reward measured in terms of life. It is only when the worker by hand and brain does his best for society that he will create in society that sympathy and support without which the Labor movement will never attain its goal."

MacDonald knew that the introduction would create a storm, but he was too honest not to write what he did and at the time that he did.

As for the main part of the book, it cannot be too strongly recom-

mended as an excellent, a brilliantly written and convincing text-book, outlining the case for Socialism from the standpoint of Great Britain. Full credit is given to Marx and his work in organizing the Socialist movement, and there are none of the sneers at the great founder of our movement that characterize the work of some lesser men. In a brief review of this kind, it is impossible to outline the book except to say that it is the Socialism that all Socialists believe in, with the emphasis on human beings rather than on rigid mathematical formulas. It is a Socialism as unthinkable in Russia as Communism of the Zinoviev variety would be in Great Britain.

MacDonald is particularly strong in that he gives details, facts, figures, illustrations, showing the wastes and cruelties of capitalism and how Socialism would remedy those evils.

Mr. Wedgwood's book is a human document. It is a collection of essays and leaves from the notebook of a delightful and adventurous life rather than a serious autobiography. "Josh" is having too good a time, he is too much alive to write an autobiography just yet.

By far the most interesting chapter is a description of a scene in the Chamber of Deputies of France in 1911, when Jean Jaures drove out of office the Premier, the renegade Socialist Briand. It is a wonderful story, wonderfully told. Other articles are of adventures in Gallipoli (where he was sorely wounded), in Russia and Hungary, in South Africa, and in other parts of the world. A book as delightful as the author.

"Bob" Smillie's book is like "Bob" himself. A gallant figure out of the coal pits, his career parallels to a great extent that of Keir Hardie, who was his comrade and close friend. But the book is not an autobiography, but rather a collection of incidents covering his life in the coal pits, in the Labor movement and in the Socialist movement. A fine, clean, human man, this Bob is, and a fine, upstanding book, this that he has written. Its English imperfect, not at all well planned, it is nevertheless a credit to its author and the movement that is so proud of him. Ramsay MacDonald contributes an excellent introduction, in which he says that the pages "belong to those human documents which preserve far fresher for future times than do the more stilted and formal treatises the spirit which infused the Labor movement of these days."

"British Labor Speaks" isn't so important a book; it is a series of answers to a request for a statement of the position of the Labor movement made by an American. MacDonald, Philip Snowden, Margaret Bondfield, and a number of less known leaders of the movement answer, but there is nothing in what they say that is worth preserving for American readers. After Labor has spoken authoritatively, after its readers have told their stories, we know what British Labor stands for, and this inquisitive American adds nothing to our knowledge.

## REVOLT IN REVAL

(Continued from Page 1)

life or long terms of imprisonment. Jean Temp was shot because he called for armed resistance in an open court.

"The Estonian Ministry is put into power by Parliament, to which it is responsible. That body of 100 is elected by universal secret suffrage, according to proportional representation. The present Government, in which also the Socialists hold office, is a coalition representing thirteen different groups and parties. The Socialists and Labor party have over twenty members in Parliament. There are also ten Communists, but they almost all have gone underground or fled. Two of the Communist members were shot in the last revolt while attacking the Government institutions. The Communists are allowed to function until they commit some overt act."

"The Estonian Constitution is liberal in the extreme. The right to strike is guaranteed and eight hours is the legal work day in all factories. The unemployed were given State aid last winter at the rate of 100 marks per day, about one-half a laborer's pay. In 1919 all the large landed estates, which comprised three-fourths of all arable land and were owned by about 250 families of German barons, were declared property of the State. They have been parcelled out to the landless peasants, creating over 50,000 small farms, in addition to the 21,000 small farms that existed before."

"Communists are not popular in Estonia. They find their adherents principally among the workers in cities. But the industrial population of Estonia is only about 25% of the whole and the rest of the people, the farmers, are loyal supporters of the Government."

"The blackest stain on the Communists in Estonia, before the December rebellion, was the murder of a member of Parliament named Nanielson, who deserted the ranks of the Communists last summer and went over to the independent Socialists. The Communists threatened his life in their publications and Nanielson was shot while on his way home with his wife from a meeting. But the murderers, several active Communists, were soon found and are now facing trial. The Estonian Communist organs expressed satisfaction at the murder and printed in their pamphlets that it served the traitor right."

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# --- D R A M A ---

## A New Galsworthy Play

George Arliss Impersonates "Old English," the Dramatization of "The Stoic," at the Ritz Theatre

George Arliss, whom Winthrop Ames presents at the Ritz Theatre in Galsworthy's "Old English," is unquestionably the most important element in the evening's presentation. His acting fits the part with a glove-smoothness, with the perfect response and beauty that combine in the well-groomed racehorse, the thoroughbred; lifting beyond these through his clean intelligence, without blurred lines of doubt or misunderstanding, that plays through and illumines his acting. Even when we spend most of an act merely watching him eat there is a delight in the manner of his dining, a revelation of the character in his deportment, that cover the expanse of the play and make it dramatic. Arliss, too, is a true artist in the sense that he likes to be surrounded by good workers; he does not appear alone for the curtain call; he does not remain the one surpassing actor in the midst of second-rate hirelings: the cast that supports him is a true support. Cecile Dixon, his granddaughter "under the rose," is a lively little baggage, delightful in her possibilities now beginning to be revealed; Irvy Marshall, in a less sympathetic part, plays sympathetically; even the maid of a few lines (Molly Johnson) makes them tell. Ivan F. Simpson, as an old friend of "Old English," is a well-acted contrast; the men in general exhibit the polish we have come to expect of actors trained in England. The direction, too, by E. Lyall Swete, misses no device of the theatre; lights, mannerisms, pauses, are so planned as to give the play the greatest possible strengthening.

With this superb acting and presentation, "Old English" seems a better thing than it might otherwise reveal itself, in the reading, for example. Sylvanus Heythrop, whose character makes the play, is a relic of early Victorian days; despite the passing of his period and his type, "he remained an Englishman." Gilbert, the trenchant satirist of the day, would have made superbly comic use of the man; Galsworthy attempts to make him slightly heroic, slightly pathetic. To help his illegitimate grandchildren, offspring of his true love, Heythrop puts a deal through his navigation company on condition that the one who benefits by it provide for the future of these children; caught and able to save himself from exposure only by involving the children, he calmly eats the last great dinner that is deliberate suicide. The man of eighty-odd acts like the Spartan boy who let the fox eat out his vitals rather than acknowledge that he had stolen it; he is perhaps a genuine Victorian, a British bulldog; George Arliss makes him a loveable, human fellow, full of fun and vitality despite his physical decline; but the concentrated skill of Galsworthy cannot help his being slightly ridiculous. Not in the beholding, perhaps, for Gilbert's ghost does not haunt us then, but in reflection.

J. T. S.



IRENE FENWICK will play a leading role in "The Piker," a new opus by Leon Gordon, in which Lionel Barrymore is starred—the opening is slated for Wednesday night at the Eltinge Theatre.

## Sarah Bernhardt On Her Art

Sarah Bernhardt was quite conscious that her art was evanescent, and that, as Maurice Baring quoted in the admirable introduction by James Agate, says, her name must become a "russet leaf." So in her later years she decided "I must be useful," and decided to jot down the results of her experience. Through the skilled selection of two of her countrymen we get in "The Art of the Theatre" (Goefrey Bles, London) a persuasive counsel of perfection, to all who would essay "the most difficult of all the arts." Starting with memory, she goes on to "fine physical proportions," and the voice "the most necessary instrument of all"; and so on through the whole gamut of natural aptitudes and the intensive cultivation of them. One of the most interesting chapters shows why she played men's parts and why she would have liked to play more. Hamlet interested her most of all, because a woman can interpret a male part "only when it represents a mind in a feeble body. A woman would not be able to play Romeo, Don Juan, or Napoleon." The book scintillates with strange notions like that, inspired by the brain which has a grasp of principles.

## THE NEW PLAYS

### MONDAY

"PROCESSIONAL," by John Howard Lawson, will open at the Garrick Theatre, Monday night. The play is called "a jazz symphony of American life." The cast includes George Abbott, June Walker, Blanche Frederici, Philip Loeb, Charles Halton, Donald MacDonald and Patricia Barclay. Philip Moeller directed the production and Mordecai Gorelick designed the settings and costumes.

### TUESDAY

"THE LOVE SONG," an operetta based on the life of the composer Jacques Offenbach, will open at the Century Theatre, Tuesday evening, presented by the Messrs. Shubert. Four authors are mentioned—Eugene Farago, Michael Nador, James Klein and Carl Bretschneider. The American adaptation was made by Harry B. Smith. The score is by Edward Kunneke, the Viennese composer. The principals include Marguerite Namara, Odette Myrtil, Harry K. Morton and Zella Russell, Allan Prior, Dorothy Francis, Harrison Brockbank, Evelyn Herbert, Clifford Lawley, John Dunsmure, Isabelle Rodriguez, and Edna Von Buelow.

"TWO MARRIED MEN," a new comedy by Vincent Lawrence, will come to the Longacre Theatre, Tuesday evening, presented by William Harris, Jr.—his first production this season. The cast includes Frances Carson, George Gaul, Ann Andrews, James Dale, and Minor Watson. The piece has been directed by Clifford Brooke. The set is by Livingston Platt.

"THE VALLEY OF CONTENT," a dramatization by Blanche Up-right of her own novel, will open Tuesday night, at the Apollo Theatre, with Marjorie Rambeau in the principal role, under the direction of Tom Wilkes. Oscar Eagle staged the play. The supporting cast include Harry Bannister, Ruth Harding, Ramsey Wallace, Jane Chapin, Rex Cherryman, Millicent Hanley, Audé Dué, Grace Gordon, Katherine Revner and Kevitt Mantou.

"ISABEL," a comedy by Curt Goetz, and Barrie's "SHALL WE JOIN THE LADIES?" will form the bill at the Empire Theatre, opening Tuesday night, with Margaret Lawrence in the leading role. "Isabel" was adapted from the German by Arthur Richman. "Shall We Join the Ladies?" is the first act of an unfinished Barrie play. Charles Richman is producer. Frank Reicher staged the plays.

### WEDNESDAY

"THE PIKER," a new play by Leon Gordon, which A. H. Woods will present at the Eltinge Theatre, Wednesday evening, with Lionel Barrymore as the star. Irene Fenwick, Allan Brooks, Frank Conroy, Robert Cummings, Harry E. McKee, Adrienne Morrison, W. A. Norton, Charles Slatery, and J. C. Malady are the other stars. The play has been staged by Priestly Morrison.

"CHAUVRE-SOURIS," with Nikita Balieff himself, will open at the Forty-ninth Street Theatre, Tuesday night, under the management of F. Ray Comstock and Morris Gest.



MARGUERITE NAMARA comes from her success at the Opera Comique in Paris to sing in "The Love Song," the Shubert operetta opening Tuesday night at the Century.

## "Seeniaya Pitza"

Mr. Yushny's "Blue Bird" Has Three Acts of Rare Loveliness

Something very much like genius has come to town in the "Seeniaya Pitza," the Russian Blue Bird Theatre, now showing its wares in the playhouse called the Frolic atop the New Amsterdam. While battalions of beautiful maidens are busily engaged in glorifying the American girl downstairs, sad-eyed Russians, light-hearted Russian, dancing Russians, pathetic and comic Russians are showing the Russian soul in a series of vaudeville acts that make up one of the most delightful programs in town.

Of course, everybody is comparing this show with Mr. Balieff's "Chauve Souris." That is inevitable, especially since at least three of the numbers given by Mr. Yushny were in Mr. Balieff's programs, and since Mr. Yushny, the "Conferecier" of his own show, has quite obviously stolen Balieff's stuff. He sputters over his English as Balieff did; he is amusing, ingratiating, friendly, as Balieff is, and you can't get it out of your mind that he is simply imitating.

Let it be said very candidly that some of the acts are poor. Indeed, one, "The Traveling Circus," was so poor that it was taken off within the first week. A dance by a gentleman and a lady to a Chopin Nocturne is of distinctly amateur standing. A piece called "Catherine the Great," in which four statues in the square in St. Petersburg sing of the past glories of their nation, is a bore unless you understand what they are singing about. And then, when you have made up your mind that the show is a flop, the curtains part and you see six men with straps about their shoulders, tugging at a rope attached to a boat on the Volga river. Painfully they tug, with anguish in their faces, mournfully singing the Volga Boat Song, that inexpressible sad chant of Labor. Looking at these ragged, unkempt figures, you begin to understand the revolution.

Another act that has greatness is the Barrel Organ. I doubt if I have ever seen anything quite as great as Mme. Valer's act in convulsing the audience with this, one of the funniest acts on the stage.

"The Eternal Question" is an act of stately beauty. "The King Orders the Drums to Be Beaten" is that wistful, melodious little act that Mr. Balieff gave us, and that Mr. Yushny repeats. There are also Cossack dances, Caucasian dances and Gipsy dances. It's a pity that the scene in the Caucasian mountains stops just when the dancing gets interesting.

Let us hope that Mr. Yushny will soon realize he has a fine thing in his show, and that it need not compete with the "Chauve Souris." Let him pitch it in a more sombre key, let the Volga Boat Song, and the Barrel Organ, and "The Eternal Question" set the pace and let the "Conferecier" quit imitating Mr. Balieff, and we will have a performance of rare beauty and real value.



CONSTANCE TALMADGE in "Her Night of Romance," by Hans Kralp, a European writer, on the silver sheet at the Capitol Theatre Sunday.

## "China Rose" Coming to Beck's Theatre, Jan. 19

John Cort will open on Monday evening, January 19, at the Martin Beck Theatre, with "China Rose," an Oriental operetta, with music by A. Baldwin Sloane and book by Harry L. Cort and George E. Stoddard, and cast that includes Robinson Newbold, J. Harold Murray, Harry Short, Harry Clarke, Miti Manley, Viola Gillette, Edna Cabot and Alfred Kappeler. "Madame Pompadour" will close on January 17, and will reopen next season after important changes are made in the production.

# --- T H E A T R E S ---

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With A Cast and Ensemble of 250 Persons and an Alexis Kosloff Ballet of 50.

WILLIAM HARRIS, Jr. presents

A new comedy by VINCENT LAWRENCE

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AT THE LONGACRE THEATRE

TUESDAY EVE. JAN. 13th

The cast includes

FRANCES CARSON-ANN ANDREWS

GEORGE GAUL-JAMES DALE

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THIS PIECE HAS BEEN STAGED BY CLIFFORD BROOKE- THE SET IS BY LIVINGSTON PLATT

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IN HEIDELBERG

Staged by J.C. HUFFMAN

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Laugh Knock Out!

## IS ZAT SO?

"We wish we had a season ticket good for the run of this comedy; we'd wear it out showing it to the doorman."

—BIDE DUDLEY, Eve. World.

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IN THE SENSATIONAL COMEDY HIT "BADGES"

by MAX MARCIN & EDWARD HAMMOND

Direction of JULES HURTIG

## David Graham Phillips' "The Price She Paid,"

At Moss' Broadway

B. S. Moss' Broadway, beginning Monday, will have a new photoplay, "The Price She Paid," as the principal screen attraction, and a bill of vaudeville which will include the Mason and Cole Revue; The Commanders, a new band; Frank Davis and Adele Darnell; The Mitchell Bros.; Perez and Marguerite, and other acts.

"The Price She Paid" has Alma Rubens and Frank Mayo in the principal roles. The film is based on the story by David Graham Phillips.

"Badges," the Marcin-Hammond drama now at the Forty-ninth Street Theatre, will be moved to the Ambassador Monday night. Madge Kennedy and Gregory Kelly play the principal roles.



JUNE WALKER will be seen in the new Theatre Guild production, "Processional," by John Howard Long, opening at the Garrick Theatre Monday

## Eddie Dowling in "Sally, Irene & Mary"

at Bronx Opera House

Eddie Dowling in "Sally, Irene and Mary," a musical comedy of youth, will be the attraction at the Bronx Opera House beginning Monday night. The Broadway cast is intact. Other players include Louise Brown, Edna Morn, Kathleen Mulqueen, Josie Intropidi, D. J. Sullivan, Eddie O'Connor, Grace Studford, Burford Hampden, Herbert Hoey and Frank Connor. Eddie Dowling, in collaboration with Cyrus Wood, is responsible for the book, Raymond Klages the lyrics and J. Fred Coots the music.

"Top Hole," another musical comedy, will be the following attraction.



## THEATRES

"Perfect Candida at Actor's Theatre."—Burns Mantle, Daily News.

"Bernard Shaw's comedy masterpiece now being played for a limited engagement every evening and matinees Wed. and Sat. at the 18th St. Theatre.

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FRIDAY, SATURDAY & SUNDAY, MATINEE & EVENING, 2:30 & 8:30.

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Famous CAPITOL Program

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"The Price She Paid"

from the story by DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS

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Big Bill of World's Best VAUDEVILLE

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NEVADA CONTRALTO

VAN DER VEER

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DEYO - ENESCO - KINDLER

PIANO VIOLIN "CELLO Trio-Sonata Program. (Steinway Piano.)

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returns from two years on the London stage in "Two Married Men," a new comedy by Vincent Lawrence, opening Tuesday night at the Longacre.

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EDWIN FRANKO GOLDMAN

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Colony Symphony Orchestra

Constance Talmadge In

"Her Night of Romance,"

At Capitol Sunday

Constance Talmadge will be seen at the Capitol Theatre next Sunday with "Her Night of Romance." This is the first of Constance's productions to reach the silver sheet of the Capitol.

The story is by Hans Kraly, a European writer (author of "Passion," etc.), who has had many years of experience writing for the screen. Connie appears in the role of an American heiress on guard against fortune hunters.

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## DRAMA

## Beasts of Prey

"Wolves," Romain Rolland's Powerful Drama of War, at the Yiddish Art Theatre

Both Anatole France and Romain Rolland, lovers of the people as they are, saw clearly enough, in their studies of the French Revolution, to show that might on any side does not make right, that force generates through its essential violence the lusts and blind driving passions that brutalize mankind. Rolland's play "Wolves," the first of his dramas of the Revolution to be presented here, reveals a dramatic power unsuspected in the reading, where the propaganda seems a burden on the action. The stage performance, excellently handled by the Yiddish Art Theatre, under Maurice Swartz's directing, lends force to the idea and renders it truly dramatic, as it is dramatically true.

The young d'Oryon, of the General Staff of the French army invading Mainz, is accused of bribery and of being an aristocrat; he is carried off, after describing the brutal officers as the wolves they are. His friend traces a letter through the spy (Abraham Teitelbaum gives a very good performance of the timid old man) to another officer, Verrat (Isidore Cashier is slightly artificial at first, but becomes very effective). But Verrat is the favorite of the men; he is a conquering hero, and Marshall Teulier (Maurice Swartz again catches a character to the tiniest quaver) refuses to accuse him, even though he is convinced of his guilt.

When Teulier refused to denounce the guilty Verrat, the other officer took it upon himself to declare the guilt to the General Staff. Verrat has just come in from a successful assault, hailed by the soldiers and the very officers who have just heard the accusation. He answers the charges by showing his wounds and roaring at his accuser; the officers unite in calling him not guilty. Teulier says that the country needs him too much to kill him for treason. Just before the curtain falls, Teulier signs the death warrant of d'Oryon, whose friend is also placed under arrest. Once more, as the second doomed officer is marched off, the word "Wolves" hisses across the stage, characterizing a fighting force whom hatred and lust of blood have turned into cunning, cruel beasts.

"They Knew What They Wanted" Moves to Klaw

To make way for the Theatre Guild's third production, "Processional," by John Howard Lawson, "They Knew What They Wanted," Sydney Howard's comedy will be transferred to the Klaw Theatre on Monday. The Theatre Guild has taken over that theatre under a lease for one year—with an option for renewal. This was made necessary by the increased subscription list—now numbering over twelve thousand. Richard Bennett and Pauline Lord will move along to the Klaw Theatre. The cast remains the same.

## Broadway Briefs

Eugene O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones," with Paul Robeson again in the title role, will be revived at the Punch and Judy Theatre on Monday.

Yushny and the "Seeniya Ptitza" company from The Blue Bird, Moscow, will offer an entirely new program at the Frolie Theatre, Tuesday night of next week. The present bill will be continued up to and including Monday.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" will be continued another two weeks at the Triangle Theatre in Greenwich Village and will then be succeeded by "The Crucible," by Franklin Biglow and William Stanley Hill.

## MUSIC

Galli-Curci Returns—Larsen-Todsen Debut at Metropolitan Next Week

"The Barber of Seville" will open the eleventh week of the Metropolitan Opera season Monday evening, with Galli-Curci and Errolie. Other operas next week:

"Fedora," Wednesday evening with Jeritza and Gigli; "Tristan and Isolde," Thursday evening, with Larsen-Todsen (debut) and Taubert; "Rigoletto," Friday afternoon, with Galli-Curci and Fleta; "Jenufa," Friday evening, with Jeritza and Laubenthal; "Falstaff," Saturday matinee with Alda, Gigli and Scott; "Andrea Chenier," Saturday night, with Ponselle and Fleta. At Sunday night's concert, Mmes. Rosa Ponselle, Raymonde Delaunoy, Carmella Ponselle and Messrs. Ralph Errolie, Lawrence Tibbett and Giovanni Martinelli will sing.

## NEW YORK SYMPHONY

The New York Symphony, Walter Damrosch conducting, will give a concert at Aeolian Hall, tomorrow afternoon. Nadia Boulanger, organist, is the soloist. The program: Air and Gavotte, Bach; Concerto in D Minor, Handel; Pour les Funerailles d'un Soldat, Lili Boulanger; Procession of the Knights of the Grail from "Parsifal," Wagner; Symphony, Aaron Copland; Elborada del Gracioso, Ravel. This Saturday morning, at Carnegie Hall, will include the following: Overture to "William Tell," Rossini; Unfinished Symphony (First movement), Schubert; Evensong, Schumann; Entrance of Little Fauns from Ballet "Cydalis," Piere; March from "Tannhauser," Wagner.



MARJORIE RAMBEAU returns to Broadway in a new play, "The Valley of Content," by Blanche Upright, on view Tuesday evening at the Apollo Theatre.

## Molnar Again

"Carnival" Gives Elsie Ferguson a Stirring Time at the Cort Theatre

Ferenc Molnar, although this latest of his plays to be presented here, at the Cort Theatre, is slow in starting, does not fail to keep his audience interested in the psychology of his leading character. The play evolves wholly out of Camilla, the wife of a stern, hard Baron, who loves her and guards her as a treasure. She has not the courage to break from his bonds; she endures the loneliness of eight months on their estate, breathing only in memory and anticipation of the four months at Budapest during the season, and the few balls she will be allowed to attend. Smothered, also, is a love for Nicholas (Tom Nesbitt), a poetic law student who is ruining his life for her; she hardly realizes the depth of her feeling—until accident gives her power.

She is called stupid behind her back, and she envies and hates the clever women who can twist their husbands about and make their happiness flow from any environment. Then the Crown diamond, the famous Orloff diamond, with a history of a thousand years, falls from the tiara of the princess, and Camilla, unseen, picks it up. With a sudden realization that it is not conscience, but wisdom, that makes cowards of us all—"you are wise, therefore small"—she conceals the jewel. This act at once puts her in command of herself, therefore of her surroundings; she is able to summon Nicholas, to deceive her husband, to prepare to flee. In her great moment, subtly drawn, she rises to a height of sensitivity and intuitive insight of which she had not before been capable—so much so that her new keenness is her own undoing. For she senses in the hesitation of Nicholas that he is, after all, but another of those protesting lovers who, though they swear that to sacrifice everything for their love would be a trifle, a joy, really desire a safe and comfortable affair. With a brave resignation born of her new strength, she tosses the diamond aside and goes back to a greater unhappiness, for the promise, the moment-glimpse, of freedom.

Molnar, after a slow opening, encompasses the story with little irrelevant detail, but makes that interesting. A poorly played hysterical miss, desiring help from one of the men, is forced first to give him certain "intimate details" concerning the women she has seen searched. The Baron, Bertton Churchill, is a strong part well played; the setting and direction are adequate. Miss Ferguson, after herself being apparently affected by the slow opening, rises splendid as a diamond in her courage and her pathos and her pride to an excellent interpretation of an interesting woman.

J. T. S.

## Wanted: A Labor Party

By ROBERT A. HOFFMAN

THE February National Convention of the Socialist Party will be called upon to make the most important decision in the history of the party. Shall the Socialist Party sever its connections with the progressive elements in America who are not yet convinced of the practicability of the entire Socialist program, or shall the Socialist Party consent to some arrangement whereby we retain our identity but cooperate with these elements?

When Judge Panken takes a definite stand against the party affiliating with or cooperating with a liberal party, I believe he expresses the sentiments of a majority of party members. Personally, I know of no Socialist who desires the party to help create a second Democratic party minus its crooked political rings.

On the other hand, I am opposed to the Socialist Party going back to the policy of 1920, running a full ticket of dues-paying Socialist Party members. That policy was the correct one for many years, but we reached our full strength by using this policy several years ago and cannot rally around its larger groups unless we change our policy.

## The Buffalo Vote

In Buffalo we can poll 9,500 straight Socialist votes year after year, if our people are interested enough to vote at all, but we are assured of the support of these voters no matter who runs on our ticket or whether we hold a campaign meeting or street corner meetings or not. This vote is a bed-rock vote, it cannot be persuaded to vote for any old party candidates. Not even Al Smith was able to reduce this straight vote last fall. Norman Thomas ran even with the other candidates, but Frank C. Perkins, running as an enrolled Socialist, and proudly announcing the fact on every possible occasion, can poll 62,000 votes in 1919 for Commissioner (high man) and 72,000 in 1923 (again high man). La Follette polled 22,000 votes as the Socialist candidate and 1,000 as the Progressive candidate. So, you see, we have between 11,500 and 63,500 progressive voters in Buffalo who are willing on occasion to vote for candidates who accept part if not all of our program.

It seems to me that the problem confronting the Socialist Party is not how to hold what we have, but how to reach out and convert the non-Socialist Perkins supporters and La Follette supporters. These people will not vote for a straight Socialist ticket, at least so labeled, and their vote is almost useless unless they are with us 100 per cent. How can we insure their regular support? It can be done, it must be done.

We must realize that 1,000,000 American voters are with us to the finish, 4,000,000 more are with us

in spirit but they cannot swallow our name; they will not vote a Socialist ticket except under very exceptional circumstances, as in California last fall.

## No Liberal Party

The February convention of the C. P. P. A. will not create a Labor party. Of that I am convinced. And it seems to be agreed we don't want a liberal party. Personally I do not want any party dominated or controlled by men like Edward Keating or other democratic politicians. Nor do I desire a "Labor" party if so-called Labor leaders like Cashen of the Switchmen are to be in it.

Cashen was chairman of the Buffalo La Follette Committee, of which committee I was secretary, and I was responsible for court actions which stopped the underhanded attempt of Cashen to let all the local Democratic candidates run under the Liberty Bell. When our Socialist attorneys drew their papers they made Cashen a party to the action, but he failed to appear in court. The attorney for the Democratic candidates stated in open court that Cashen had assured the Democratic leaders that he and his cohorts, three out of five on the executive committee, had the power to agree to such endorsements. We won, and immediately after election at the meeting of the La Follette Committee I made the motion which recalled Cashen as chairman and dropped him from the organization. Labor leaders of this type would wreck a Labor party.

My idea of what course the Socialist Party should take is to form a Labor party at Chicago, joining forces with the Farmer-Labor parties of the various states and such progressive unions as the needle trades in the A. F. of L., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Machinists, Molders, Electrical Workers and other progressive groups—such a party to be known as the American Labor party or the Farmer-Labor party. The time is ripe to form such a party.

As I was a delegate to the Cleveland C. P. P. A. convention, I can testify from personal observation that if a fight had been made on the floor of the convention a Labor party resolution could have been carried with a large majority. Any kind of an attempted fight on the floor would have smashed the machine that was only too evidently running the convention. The Anti-Mobilization Day resolution presented from the floor over the objections of Chairman Johnston and forced to a vote carried overwhelmingly.

I expect to be a delegate to Chicago representing non-Socialist elements, and I hope to see the Socialist delegates combine with other progressive elements to bring this matter to a showdown and force the convention delegates to decide whether they are insurgents within the old parties or if they are for independent political action, fighting for economic freedom for the producing masses.

## Music Notes

Mischa Levitzki will return to the city for his piano recital, which takes place Tuesday evening at Carnegie Hall. The program is as follows:

Sonata, A Major, Scarlatti; For Elise, Beethoven; Sonata, Op. 53 (Waldstein), Beethoven; Des Abends, Aufschwung, Warum, Traume wirren, Schumann; Andante and Rondo Capriccioso, Mendelssohn; Jeux d'Eau, Ravel; La Fille aux Cheveux de Lin, Debussy; Jardin sous la Pluie, Debussy; Tango, Albeniz; Prelude G Minor, Rachmaninoff; Gavotte, Levitzki; Staccato Etude, Rubinstein; Rhapsody No. 13, Liszt.

Next Friday night the St. Cecilia Club will give a concert at Washington Irving High School, under the auspices of the Peoples' Symphony Concerts.

Arno Segall, violinist, will make his American debut Wednesday night, at Carnegie Hall.

Louis Gravense will give a request program at his song recital in Aeolian Hall, this Saturday afternoon.

Nevada Van der Veer gives her song recital Wednesday evening, at Town Hall.

Allen McQuhae will give his song recital this Sunday evening, in Carnegie Hall.

Marie Gabrielle Leschetizky will give her piano recital Tuesday evening, at Aeolian Hall.

The musical program at the Piccadilly Theatre next week, will include among other numbers, the overture "Raymond," "The Parade of the Wooden Soldiers," and "My Hero," from "The Chocolate Soldier."

Catherine Newsome-Jewell, soprano, will give a recital in Town Hall, Thursday night, January 15.

Lawrence Schaffer will make his debut as a pianist Thursday afternoon,

## DANA ON ANATOLE FRANCE

Was Anatole France a Socialist? A Communist, or an Anarchist? What was his attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church? What is the meaning of his "Thais"? What part did he play in the Dreyfus Affair? What was his point of view towards the majesty of justice? What is the right interpretation of his "Penguin Island"? How does his "Life of Jeanne d'Arc" compare with Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan"? How did his views on Socialism differ from those of Jaures? What was Anatole France's attitude during the World War? What caused him to change his point of view? What did he think of the Treaty of Versailles? What was his reaction towards the Russian Revolution? Was he in favor of the Soviet Government at the time of his death? Why have Anatole France's works been put on the index? What attacks have been made upon him since his death? These are some of the questions which will be discussed in the lecture by Professor H. W. C. Dana in the Auditorium of the Rand School, Saturday, Jan. 17, at 3:30 p. m. There will be an opportunity for general discussion of these and other problems.

## At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"The Price She Paid," from the story by David Graham Phillips, with Alma Rubens and Frank Mayo.

CAMEO—Thomas Meighan in "Tongues of Flame," from the last novel of Peter Clark MacFarlane, with Bessie Love and Eileen Percy.

CAPITOL—Constance Talmadge in "Her Night of Romance," by the author of "Passion."

COLONY—Douglas Fairbanks in "The Thief of Bagdad."

RIALTO—Pola Negri in "East of Suez."

RIVOLI—"Locked Doors," with Betty Compson, Theodore Roberts and Kathryn Williams.



## THE NEW LEADER

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Editor ..... JAMES ONEAL  
Managing Editor ..... PAUL HANNA  
Manager ..... U. SOLOMON

### Contributing Editors:

Eugene V. Debs Morris Hillquit  
Victor L. Berger Algonon Lee  
Abraham Cahan Norman Thomas  
Harry W. Laidler Lena M. Lewis  
Joseph E. Cohen Wm. M. Feigenbaum  
Clement Wood G. A. Hoehn  
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Saturday, January 10, 1925

### ANNOUNCEMENT

THE NEW LEADER is glad to announce the addition to its staff of Mr. Paul Hanna, as Managing Editor. He is an experienced journalist and at one time served the daily Call as its Washington correspondent. His contributions to The Call as its special correspondent at the Paris Peace Conference will also be remembered by its readers as especially illuminating.

Comrade Hanna comes to the staff of The New Leader with a thorough knowledge of the Socialist and Labor movement and with the utmost confidence in its ideals and final triumph. His wide experience in newspaper work, his affiliation with the Socialist Party, his service to the Labor movement for many years, and his interest in building up a powerful political and economic movement of the workers, certainly guarantee devoted service in helping to improve The New Leader and making it a more powerful organ of the forces making for human emancipation.

### A QUESTION OF GOOD FAITH

GOOD FAITH is absolutely essential in any enterprise and especially in the Labor movement where organizations are often required to cooperate for common purposes. At the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action last July a resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote providing for a national convention early this year. The resolution stated that the national committee "shall meet and issue a call for a special national convention." The purpose of the convention "shall be to consider and pass upon the question of forming a permanent political party for national and local elections."

It now appears that a report has been sent by three representatives of the railroad brotherhoods at Washington to the chiefs of these organizations urging that the latter should not send delegates to the Chicago conference in February. One report quotes this paragraph from this document: "The so-called mandate of July 4 was not the action of a convention, but was the expression of opinion of those who attended the conference."

If this interpretation is correct, then the acceptance of La Follette as the Presidential candidate and the adoption of the platform were only the expression of opinions and not definite action by the conference. This interpretation would render all the actions of the conference absurd. The decision in the matter of a convention was just as mandatory as any other action. Moreover, the language of the resolution which we quote above shows that the decision was something more than an opinion. The word "shall" is decisive.

We regret that this mistaken course of a few leaders at Washington should raise the question of good faith on the part of any affiliated organizations. Moreover, the document urges "that Labor organizations remain free to determine for themselves and by themselves their own political policy." This is precisely what the Chicago convention will permit them to do. That convention is not called to organize a Labor party but to consider the advisability of organizing it. The railroad brotherhoods certainly should have nothing to fear from a discussion of the question and to urge their local and district organizations not to send delegates is to deprive them of an opportunity to make their opinions known.

Whether this document will prevent a representation of the railroad organizations we do not know, but it is unfortunate that national representatives should take such a narrow view of the matter. The good faith of their organizations are at stake and they may have hazarded the continuance of the cooperation which they have received from other organizations.

### HAIL TO THE Y. P. S. L.

THE National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League, held here last week, was full of encouragement for the older comrades, as well as for the young folk themselves. Its proceedings were marked by an excellent combination of idealism and common sense, of earnestness and good temper. There was perhaps too much speech-making; but most of the speeches were made by guests and fraternal delegates, not by members of the convention. The acting national secretary of the league (who was at the closing session unanimously elected to serve for the next two years) made an honest report, writing off all the doubtful assets, in the form of inactive circles and delinquent members,

which his predecessor had not had the heart to cast aside. The league now knows just where it stands, and on the basis of this knowledge the convention laid plans for solid reconstruction.

The Y. P. S. L. has a broad and fruitful field for its work. Even in the cities where it now has few circles there are tens of thousands of young men and women who can be drawn into its ranks, once they are shown what it is and what it can do. And there are scores, if not hundreds, of other cities in which circles could and should be organized.

The discussions showed that the delegates were less eager for very rapid numerical progress than for improvement of the quality of the league's work. They had their experience of mushroom growth, a few years ago, and they want no more of it.

There is indeed much to be done, and the Yipsels have a right to expect steady help from the party and its members. They are right in not wishing the league to be merely an adjunct to the party, but they are ready for mutually beneficial cooperation. It is clear that in New York City this will be forthcoming. Locals New York and Kings have elected to the advisory committee two men who have the sort of wisdom that comes with years, but who know how to work in harmony with their juniors; no doubt Local Bronx will make an equally good choice. The example should be followed elsewhere.

### THE CAPE COD CANAL GRAFT

AN ARTICLE in a recent number of the Nation calls attention to the philosophy of those who support private capitalism in Congress. It appears that the Cape Cod Canal, a private enterprise, has not been productive of dividends. The owners desire to unload it on the Government for a nice figure. Secretary of War Weeks, who has failed to take action against some notorious war grafters, signed a contract in 1921 for the Government to take over the failure subject to an appropriation by Congress. A bill for this purpose has passed the House "by a non-party vote, 149 to 132," and a Senate committee has reported it favorably.

The author of the article remarks: "Politicians have a habit of virtually giving away invaluable rights like Teapot Dome and Muscle Shoals and then of saddling on the Government losing ventures like the Cape Cod Canal." This is precisely the policy of political organizations serving the masters of industry and finance. If there is any rich loot to give to private exploiters they may have it; if there is any losing business of the exploiters to part with these party organizations try to have the Government acquire the failure, incidentally giving the owners a handsome price in the bargain.

Shortly after the invention of wireless transmission of information there were fears in the business world that the new invention would render the telegraph business of little value. This apprehension was soon followed by repeated suggestions that the business should be taken over by the Government and be administered by the Post Office Department. Experience, however, showed that there still remained a profitable field for the telegraph and the suggestion of Government ownership was dropped.

The legislative representatives of private capitalism are as sensitive to the interests of capital and finance as a thermometer is to the weather. With very few exceptions, as the vote on Mr. Weeks' Cape Cod Canal bill in the House shows, whether the Congressman bears a Republican or a Democratic label makes no difference. Both know who are the "people" to be served and they serve their "people" as all good servants should.

### SOME MODERN MAGIC

FOUR YEARS AGO, William Thaw established a trust fund. It is now announced that this fund has "produced" an income of more than a million dollars, one-tenth of which goes to Harry Thaw as a reward for his "thrift" and other economic virtues.

Here is magic which challenges the ancient sorcerers. Where did these million dollars come from? What wizardry is capable of transforming a few hundred thousand into a million in four years? The dollars did not work. Placed in a safe and withdrawn a century later they would not be increased by a brass farthing. Yet we are told that the dollars placed four years ago by Mr. Thaw have in four years "produced" a million.

Wonderful dollars! If we ask the economists of the universities to explain this mystery most of them will solemnly mumble something about "thrif" and "abstinence." Mr. Thaw abstained from eating his dollars and they made him a present of many more. Or his thrif in placing them

### IF—

(Somewhat after Kipling, but mostly for Zero's Unemployed.)

By S. A. DE WITT

IF YOU ARE driven like a beast of danger  
From public pen to public sty in dread,  
And Christmen shun you like a vicious stranger  
Too low and mean to share the Saviour's bread,  
Just think of Christian missions out in China  
That teach the Chinks the things that Jesus said.

Just think of millions spent to make the heathen  
As civilized and jolly as you are,  
With prospect of a sweet angelic heaven  
If you are lucky to get killed in war . . .  
Just think of all it means to be a Christian,  
Then thank your gracious God—and say no more . . .

If you are out of work and starved and lonely,  
And hopes are dregs within an empty cup,  
And all your faith in God and man rests only  
On what you beg today so you may sup—  
Just think of Wall Street and the rising market,  
Just think of coupons, son, and pucker up.

in some mysterious way brought him a rich reward.

But this magic increase is simple after all. Mr. Thaw invested the money. He may have hired a broker to invest it and may have given him a commission. Then Mr. Thaw waited one year, two years, three years, and at the end of four years there was the increase. Invested in what? In paper tokens that represent some sort of industry or some business.

Now values, commodities, articles or services are only possible by the expenditure of useful human labor. The one million dollars represent the useful labor of workingmen and women. This sum represents a surplus which they produced, a surplus which the "thrifty" Harry Thaw will help to spend. What is true of this investment is true of all investments in modern industry. Labor produces what it does not own; others own what they do not produce. This is the magic of private ownership of industry, a modern sorcery that will not pass until industry itself is socialized and administered for the welfare of all.

### POSTAL WORKERS' DEFEAT

THE Senate has voted to sustain the President's veto of the postal salary bill by one vote and thus ends a record of shameful political juggling of the one measure in a generation that appears to have been approved by ninety per cent of the people. Some of the most conservative organizations in the country could not withhold endorsement of the bill when they became aware of the low wages paid to many postal employees.

Shortly after the assembling of the present Congress it was evident that certain members who had voted for the bill would recant when the veto was before them. By the end of December it was also reported that President Coolidge had used the patronage lash so effectively that he had whipped enough Senators into line to support his veto. Even Senator Edge, who had fought for the bill, got "cold feet." While he is recorded against the veto he made no fight in the present Congress for the bill.

Then the Sterling bill was introduced to increase postal rates and it was openly charged that this measure was intended to give G. O. P. Senators an excuse for supporting the veto. That transparent fraud, the story that the postal workers had attempted to bribe Senators, also played an important part in the political juggling. A number of employees were dismissed from the service, yet every one of them belonged to the higher salaried grades and had no connection with the organizations of poorly paid workers. One postal employee openly charges in the World that the discharged men had been "assigned parts in this fraud and (were) forced to act them under threats."

We hope that the sleek gentlemen of the Senate who supported the veto and the comfortable President who does not have to worry over the household budget will sleep well and enjoy their meals. We hope that the memory of hundreds of thousands of postal workers who are plunged into gloom

because of this heartless and despicable action will not haunt these Washington bureaucrats. Words fail us, as they must fail these postal employees, to express the contempt felt for those who share responsibility for this inhuman action.

### FRANTIC MUSSOLINI

MUSSOLINI appears to have reverted back to his militant dictatorship following the march of his castor oil squads upon Rome. The storm of resentment that followed the murder of Matteotti seemed to tame him for a time, but fear of increasing opposition has apparently induced him to risk all on a policy of suppression.

When filled with fear of the rising opposition he startled the Italian Chamber in the middle of December by announcing that he would go before the country in the March election under the old election law. This was a marked concession. One week later his former aid, Rossi, made public his charges that Mussolini himself had ordered the brutal assaults perpetrated by the Fascisti, some of which resulted in murder. A few days later Mussolini clamped the lid on the press and a Fascist mob set fire to one anti-Fascist newspaper plant. The New Year brought Mussolini's threat that he would "clear up the situation" within forty-eight hours. Early this week came the news of his suppression of the organization of war veterans, the use of machine guns in the streets to terrorize the opposition, and the resignation of two Liberal members of the Cabinet.

All is not going well with the pompous braggart and the developments of the past few weeks indicate that Fascism is on the decline. The big capitalist firms that have invested in the Fascist movement may give Mussolini's thugs a further lease of power, but that his regime will have to go ere long is evident from the frantic actions of the dictator himself. When he goes there will be a number of our own grand dukes of capital and finance who will mourn Mussolini's passing, but few others will.

To guard against any friends of The New Leader being disappointed, we advise them to reserve January 29. This is the date of The New Leader dinner which will be given in Yorkville Casino, 86th street and Third avenue. The dinner is arranged to celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of The New Leader. An excellent program is being arranged and all who attend are promised an enjoyable evening.

Agents of the 100 percenters should investigate the B. M. T. for its "subversive propaganda" openly displayed on placards hung in its cars. Straphangers have for a week been staring at a poster carrying a reprint of a cartoon from Die Freiheit, a Communist daily! Said cartoon pictures a fat capitalist riding in a comfortable car. The caption reads: "He would not allow subways to be built. He has plenty of room." Your country is in danger, gentlemen! Raid the B. M. T.

The National Association of Manufacturers are said to be opposed to the old bromide which says, "What is home without a mother?" The manufacturers are expected to offer a substitute to read, "What is a factory without children producing profits for us?"

The Monday Opera Club is overlooking a lot of beta. Our higher snobocracy, who rejoiced in the opportunity to pay ten dollars to kiss the hand of an ugly woman who hopes some day to be a Czarine, are being created out of real royalty. Can't the go-getters who fixed it for Mrs. Cyril arrange to import King Manuel? A few nifty chorus girls can be used as bait to get him over. Then there's an ex-something living at Doorn, in Holland. And a whole flock of exes scattered over Europe, all of whom have as much chance of being monarchs again as has the lady who just left the Monday operators flat. A mere grand duchess; pooh! when there are scores of late reigning monarchs for the snobs to make idiots of themselves over.

Several hundred subscriptions to The New Leader will expire within the next few weeks and in renewing them we suggest that each subscriber inform one or more good prospects of his intention to renew, stating that he will be glad to forward theirs at the same time. No opportunity should be lost by our friends to increase the circulation of their paper. The cooperation of those who appreciate The New Leader has built it up and its increased circulation will depend on them.

## THE Chatter-Box

### Much Ado-oodle-doo

Says Hylan to the common people  
"Them I. R. T. is in a plot";  
Say the I. R. T. to the patient people,  
"This Hylan bunk is tommyrot."  
But whatever they say, whatever they tell,  
A subway ride is a trip through hell.

The newspapers have been reporting that Mons. Gegan of the Bomb Squad has been throwing out hints at Zero—whatever that may mean.

We like this Cheka stuff of throwing hints and furtive winks. Great dope for a republic, democracy, Stars and Stripes Forever sort of a place. Eh!

We did know that our police were paid for protecting the public against banditry, bootlegging, subway massacres, gambling, etc., all of which has been entirely eradicated by their vigilance. We did know that the Bomb Squad had the arduous duty of attending Duchess Cyril's tea dansants to protect her against the Nihilistic hordes that had been lying in wait for her in every Second Avenue cellar. This they performed nobly.

But we did not know that in the every-day curriculum of the Bomb Squad there was included the throwing out of hints and sly innuendoes against American citizens, who were persona non grata in the eyes of a smug "scrupled and iced" churchdom.

Sounds like Kautspan Korner, Ku Klux County, Kansas, where Hiram Squeetinks was perceived squeezing Mrs. Hutskins too ambitiously during the barn dance, and so the klannish elders decided to hint Hiram out of town.

We trust Mons. Gegan was misquoted maliciously by the lying, pandering press.

### The Magdalene Speaks

What did you say to them, Reverend Mr.—  
I forgot your name?  
Did you count it shame  
Or glory  
That these women came  
Out of their blinded houses of ill fame,  
Out of their fiery fears of furtive shrinking,  
To assert their claim;  
Into a glare implacable, unthinking  
Shrilling their version of an old, old story?

What did you make of their facts, Mr. Reverend—  
I forgot your name?  
Whom did you blame  
For their need of silk hosiery?  
Did you concede the ethics of their game;  
Advise the wiles of flesh are all illusory?  
The price of sin proclaim;  
Show them how vice has ever been delusory;  
With platitudinous texts assail debauchery?

As for me, I rejoice; I rejoice  
In the protest of these long-silenced voices;  
The clang of their defiance  
Is music to my ears;  
Despised instruments  
Of fingered in darkness  
Smote into sound  
By the hand of a masterly injustice.  
Their trivial facts  
Vibrate  
Dissonant wave on wave  
Of unresolved harmony.

Floria Renaud.

### "Thirty Days Hath September"

If poetry is the muse of youth,  
Forgive me, for I now am old;  
Weary of youthful insolence,  
So nonchalantly bold.

Yet still my mind, in measured time,  
Beats out, and tongue and pen obey;  
I always make my verses rhyme—  
Perhaps that's why I am passe.

Susan Trettie.

For a young man who expects to get ahead in this world we believe we have said enough. There is such a thing as egging the church on to exasperation. So with the fate of Copernicus, Bruno, and Galileo in mind, we withdraw for the nonce, with a cryptic wink and hint—"Meet us at the Tube."

S. A. DE WITT.

tors, men prominent in the General Electric Company, the Electric Bond and Share Company, the Public Service Corporation of America, the United Gas Improvement Company, the United Light and Power Company, etc.

"Since the incorporation of the American Super-Power Corporation in November," continues the article, "its activities have been conducted with the utmost secrecy so far as the general public is concerned. According to the corporation's own statement to its stockholders, it was organized to acquire interests in the various power and light companies in the United States and to cooperate with the management of such companies to further the best interests of the electrical industry. The properties mentioned, with their affiliated companies," the Times states, "serve communities in virtually every part of the country . . . and it is believed that its objective is eventually a power arrangement of the first magnitude, embracing not only a tie-up of the properties mentioned, but additional properties in which the company is entitled under its articles of incorporation to acquire interest."

## How Our Water Power Is Being Given Away

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

AS SOON as the water power bill was passed, private corporations which before had held off because of the insecurity of their investment flooded the Commission with applications for licenses. The 1922 report of the Commission glories in the fact that, in the two years of the operation of the Act, more than 321 applications were received, involving an excess of 20,000,000 horse-power, an amount "more than twice the existing water-power installation of the United States, and more than six times the aggregate of all applications for water sites under Federal control in the preceding twenty years," and one-third of potential horse-power in the country under present conditions. For a new field of highly profitable and safe investments had been opened up to the business interests overnight.

Action on applications involving nearly half of these 20,000,000 horse-power—namely, those on the St. Lawrence, the Columbia and the Colorado Rivers—has been temporarily suspended pending reports of investigating commissions and, in the case

of the St. Lawrence River, a possible treaty with Canada. During 1921-1922, however, licenses were granted for the operation of plants with a capacity of nearly 2,000,000, and preliminary permits for the construction of plants with an even larger capacity (2,400,000) were granted.

A fifty-year license was issued, for instance, to the Niagara Falls Power Company, and this company was permitted the use for the next fifty years of 19,500 cubic feet per second from the upper Niagara, out of a possible 20,000 cubic feet which treaty agreements with Canada permit this country to divert from the Falls. A similar license was issued to the Southern California Edison Company. Still another firm has obtained a preliminary permit to survey the water possibilities of the lower Niagara. The Commission regrets that it hasn't been able to attend to all of the applications, and is intent on leasing the available water power to private companies in the shortest possible time.

If the policy of the Federal Water Power Commission prevails, before many years

practically all of the water power rights on the public lands and navigable streams of the United States will have been given away to private corporations for a period of from 25 to 50 years, chiefly for the latter period. Once under private control, it will be indeed difficult to get the water power and the plants into the hands of the public.

There is a definite movement on foot to connect up the transmission lines of steam-driven plants with those of water-driven plants in a vast national super-power system. There is also a strong drive on the part of the American Super-Power Corporation to gain control of the largest possible number of electric light companies in this country. A few months ago—October 11, 1924—the New York Times made the following report:

"A plan to bring about a huge super-power combination through the purchase of stock interest in a number of the largest and most prosperous public utility corporations in the country received substantiation today when the interests identified with the American Super-Power Corporation became known."

Then followed a list of officers and direc-