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U. S. Army Flouts Congress; Prussian System Growing Up

By Norman Thomas

THE editors of the New Leader have been good enough to ask me to continue my campaign talks now that the particular municipal campaign is over. And this is appropriate because for Socialists the campaign is never over. I am going to quit running for office in order to be free to be as outspoken as I think necessary in discussing the situation that confronts us. I shan't mind at all if I stir up a lot of letters to the editor from indignant comrades who want to show me just where I am mistaken.

I am not going to take much time to discuss the municipal campaign which has ended none too gloriously for the party. This I must say: The campaign convinced me that we have enough earnest and enthusiastic comrades who are willing to give both money and time until it hurts to make the nucleus of a live, energetic party. Many of these comrades are young people—junior and senior Yipsels—who do not belong to what McAllister Coleman called the Socialist G. A. R. W. can afford to let our tired radicals become retired radicals and in the process the party may gain energy.

We did not make a brilliant job in the conduct of the campaign for reasons that were the fault of circumstances rather than of individuals. But we did better in the conduct of our campaign that a year ago. I am still of the opinion that we did well to try the experiment of going into the La Follette movement. Our great mistake was that in going in to that movement we did not sufficiently preserve our own identity. We were too generous. There is scriptural warrant for giving your cloak and coat to the man who asks for only one of these garments. But not even the Bible advises you to give the shirt off your back. We did that last year to the progressive movement. We ran a few good local campaigns but no good city-wide campaign for our State ticket. We had no money. We used it to overpay our debt to La Follette. The effect on our organization was disastrous and helps to account for the weak condition of the organization this year. I think we have already begun to repair the damage. Problems of city organization are tremendously important and I look to the city committee to take the lead in facing them. For the present I shall discuss not these immediate local matters but some of the larger problems of Socialist activity in America.

I have grown somewhat weary of myself explaining and hearing other comrades explain to our visiting British and German comrades what is the matter with the Socialist movement in America. We always tell them that what is back was a combination of post-war hysteria and repression, and the Communist split. Now there is a certain amount of truth in this explanation, but by no means the whole truth. European Socialists lived through both war and internal dissension and increased their numbers. Nobody can tell what might have been. But I am willing to risk assertion that if there had been no war and no Communist split the Socialist Party in America would still be a small minority. We might have elected some Aldermen and Assemblymen. We might have had watchers enough to have protected ourselves against the wholesale theft which kept down our vote this year. But we should have been a long, long way from electing a Mayor. Later on, in this series of articles, I shall examine more particularly the effect of the war and the Communist split. For the present there is a more fundamental matter which we should consider.

The Socialist Party in no country can hope to be powerful numerically until it is a labor party, that is, the conscious political expression of the working class, supported by it, and on terms of intimate cooperation with the organized labor union movement. This the American Socialist Party is not and never has been. That is not wholly or even chiefly the fault of the Socialist Party. If one must speak in terms of blame it is rather the fault of the labor movement and its leadership which in city after city has become an annex of the local political machine. But it is foolish to speak in terms of personal blame. As we all know, the size and constitutional organization of our country, the multiplicity of races and languages, the persistence of pioneer tradition, and the greatness of our national wealth as compared with Europe, have combined not only to keep labor from effective political organization but also to reduce its industrial organization to a point far below that which is found in other industrial nations. It is possible but scarcely probable that there will be an effective labor party until labor is more than 20 per cent organized in America. The fact that this year the tide has turned so that the A. F. of L. reported a small gain instead of a large loss is encouraging as a prophecy of the coming of a labor party in spite of the reversion of the A. F. of L. leadership to its old ally.

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AMALGAMATED IS WINNER OF A LONG STRIKE

International Tailoring
Co. Concedes All of
Union's Demands

THE five months' strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers against the International Tailoring Company and its subsidiary, The J. L. Taylor Company, was crowned with complete victory this week in New York City and in Chicago.

The strike was the occasion of the issuance of an injunction which outdid all others in industrial history. Supreme Court Justice Churchill, N. Y., issued the injunction which ordered the strikers not to assemble within ten blocks of the International factory. The brazenness of such an injunction can be better appreciated when it is remembered that the general headquarters of the Amalgamated is located less than ten blocks away from the plant.

The stubbornly contested strike ended with the renewal of the old agreement by the International Tailoring Company and the reinstatement of all its employees who went on strike. Formal announcement of the end of the strike by the union was preceded by paid advertisements sent to the newspapers by the International Tailoring Company stating that it withdrew the various rewards offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of persons committing "illegal" acts against its employees.

The J. L. Taylor Company, a subsidiary concern of the International, also was involved in the strike and was picketed by union officials and employees, who were arrested and arraigned before Supreme Court Justice Levy on charges of contempt of court. Justice Levy declined to hold them and criticized the attempt to use the power of injunction in this manner.

The workers in the men's clothing industry regarded the strike as the opening wedge of an attempt to break their organization and at times as many as 10,000 workers surged around the tailoring concern on Fourth avenue near 12th street. On one occasion 500 policemen surrounded the building.

The news of the ending of the strike was announced to the unionists at a meeting in Webster Hall, and the men were instructed to return to work. The International Tailoring Company is said to be the largest mail order house in the world doing a business in made-to-order men's clothing.

Judge Jacob Panken, Davies and Jones In the Bronx Nov. 22

The Bronx will have an unusual opportunity to get some first hand information about the British labor movement Sunday afternoon, November 22, when Rhys John Davies and Morgan Jones, both members of parliament, and both of them ex-members of the MacDonald labor ministry, will speak at the Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Boulevard, at 2 p. m. Judge Jacob Panken will also speak. The meeting is being arranged by the Socialist Party of the Bronx.

Steel Profits Make Golden Rule Look Sick

A profit of \$42,400,412 was the U. S. Steel Corporation's reward for buying labor cheap and selling its product dear in the third quarter of 1925. This exceeds by \$12,000,000 the profit of the same period last year and is sufficient to pay both regular and extra dividends twice over.

An extraordinary thing about these profits is that they were made by a corporation averaging only 72 per cent of capacity production. Even in July when the average fell to 68 per cent U. S. Steel made a profit of \$13,908,513. The steel trust charges prices which produce double dividends while operating less than ¾ capacity.

Profits the first nine months of the year amounted to \$122,907,825, equal after all interest charges and preferred dividends to \$9.44 on each \$100 share. Indications point to more than \$13 a share for the entire year. Financial quarters are full of hints that continuation of such high profits will be found to justify an increase in the 7 per cent dividends now being paid regularly on over half a billion dollars of common stock which originally represented no investment whatsoever.

Only five days before announcing these excessive profits Chairman

HUGE SHOE STRIKE THREATENS AS UNION INSISTS ON DEMANDS

Over 4,000 shoe workers, members of the American Shoe Workers Protective Union, by an overwhelming majority turned down the proposals of their employers, to withdraw three of their most important demands in the negotiations that have taken place since the last agreement expired November 1.

The workers, through their union, demanded that prices on various work in the shops be settled before the agreement is signed, that the union refuse the demand to relinquish three of the legal holidays gained in the past, and that all the work is to be divided equally among all the workers in dull seasons.

In the referendum that took place this week at the union headquarters at 231 Cumberland Street, Brooklyn, 4,133 members participated. Of these, 3,873 voted to repudiate the employers' demands and only 318 to accept.

If the employers do not yield to the terms of the union, a general strike, involving about 10,000 shoe workers in Brooklyn, may result.

CALIFORNIA I.W.W. THROWN IN "HOLE"

Pitiless Persecution of
Class War Prisoners
Grows Apace in San
Quentin

San Francisco.
THE vicious persecution of the I. W. W. prisoners confined in San Quentin, California, continues.

A few weeks ago Captain of the Yard E. J. Hobbs decided to cut off all the I. W. W. from radical publications. He arbitrarily informed The New Leader that the paper would no longer be delivered to the men behind the bars.

Eighteen members of the I. W. W. are now in solitary confinement and three more in the hole at San Quentin. Two of them have been in the dungeon since September 24. The others have been in solitary since September 25.

This strike was brought about by a gun guard who ordered prisoners Mellman and Varella taken to the "Porch" for not doing what he considered a good day's work. Mellman and Varella were working along with a crew of men, who were in charge of a guard. This guard was supposed to oversee the work. The men were digging a ditch through what is known as the old prison yard and the digging was exceedingly difficult. At that particular time they were digging through an old concrete wall, and anyone will concede that such work is very hard, especially for men who are forced to work on the scanty prison diet. The guard who was supposed to be in charge of the work apparently thought that the men were doing very well for he did not offer to reprimand

(Continued on page 11)

POVERTY FORCES MASS. AID TO AGED

Industrial Depression
Leads Legislature to
Provide for Pensions

By Esther Lowell

NEW ENGLAND'S general industrial depression has become so severe in its effects that the Massachusetts State legislature's commission on pensions is forced to recommend a bill providing State aid for the aged. A maximum of \$7 weekly is offered to all persons over 70 who have less than \$365 income yearly or less than \$3,000 in property. The commission admits that it chose \$7 as "the smallest weekly payment" which it considered "adequate under American conditions."

The fact that unemployment is a growing and permanent feature of New England's industrial life is reflected in the commission's report. Agents talked to nearly 20,000 of the 225,000 persons over 65 in Massachusetts and found out about 12,000 more receiving some form of charity. It was found that 43,000 persons 65 or over had no income or property from which to live. Conditions were worse in the large industrial cities: nearly 21 per cent over 70 in Boston have no income or property; 25 per cent over 75. In Fall River, cotton mill town, where two-thirds of a million dollars was spent in relief work last year, over 70 per cent of those over 70 have no income or property.

Massachusetts' chief industries are textile and shoe manufacturing. Shoes are on part time work but cotton and wool more so, with lower wages. New England cotton workers are feeling the pinch of production by Southern textile mills, often owned by their own New England employers. Massachusetts textile workers have been given repeated wage cuts and are still not working full weeks although the industry is supposed to have revived somewhat. Workers cannot get enough employment to provide a living for themselves, let alone take care of their old folks.

Some Urge Local Poor Relief

Opposing the pension proposal, a minority report urges extension of local poor relief. It argues against the thesis that "old age pensions are, in effect, payments of deferred and overdue wages; that they merely restore to 'those who have produced our wealth' a share in what they themselves have produced." This argument was given at the commission's public hearings. The minority also does not grant "that modern industry saps the energies of the worker and flings him aside at a relatively early age, that in other cases the worker is discarded when industrial changes rob him of the advantages of his specialized skill." This in the face of the introduction of the 72-loom system in cotton mills, displacing three skilled workers at a stroke and speeding up the one left to a pitch that cannot help wearing him out prematurely!

The minority contends that "there is no reliable evidence that, on the average, workers lose their power to make an income at earlier ages than in previous periods of the world's history." It does say that "populations are more mobile" and hence the family unit is less stable and old people are not so well cared for. It does not detail that young workers are forced to find new fields of employment as the old ones are narrowed in New England; that even skilled workers must migrate to live in spite of their attempts to root in New England mill towns; and that it is the old people who suffer most, displaced from the mills by the machine and young unskilled workers, deprived of their children's support because there are not enough jobs for all and because earnings on those jobs are insufficient for the needs of so many dependents.

The old age pension bill proposes to raise the State income tax ½ per cent and adding \$2 poll tax on all men and women. Although the pension is called "non-contributory," the poll tax makes pension receivers indirectly pay a part. Deductions for earnings over \$150 a year or for incomes under \$365 or for property under \$3,000 are provided to lessen the pension and those old people whose children are able to support them are ineligible for State aid. The commission figures that 18,000 will receive pensions if the bill goes through. This means that one out of about every 230 people in Massachusetts is over 70 and unable to support himself or be supported by the work of his children.

Labor's Dividends

Passaic, N. J., Nov. 4.—Cornelius Post, a carpenter, was killed when the contractor's shaft which they were constructing on the new D. L. & W. freight house gave way and crashed fifty feet to the earth.

El Paso, Texas, Nov. 7.—Four men were killed when the roof of the Tivoli Cafe in Juarez, Mexico, across the Rio Grande from El Paso, crashed this afternoon.

Kearny, N. J., Nov. 7.—H. B. Lambert got a new job today as a brakeman in the freight yards of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Three hours later he was dead, cut in two by a train.

Cranford, N. J., Nov. 8.—Tony Masaseena, gate tender, was killed when he was struck by a westbound Central Railroad freight train.

New York, Nov. 7.—A ninety-foot fall from a scaffold in a wing of the New Madison Square Garden resulted in the death of James Carlson, 25 years old, a carpenter.

COOLIDGE GIVES LUMBER TRUST BLESSING

Federal Trade Commission Gives Barons
Free Hand to Profit

By Leland Olds

ANOTHER monopoly blessed by Coolidge's federal trade commission is free to continue exploitation by the majority decision dismissing the case against the Chicago Retail Lumber Dealers Association. As the Supreme Court decision in the maple flooring and cement cases gave free rein to price fixing on a national scale, so this decision of the Humphrey majority puts the administration's stamp of approval on regional monopoly.

The commission acted without allowing the prosecuting counsel to introduce testimony refuting the testimony advanced on behalf of the association or to cross examine the association's secretary. Such action called forth a vehement dissenting opinion from Commissioners Huston Thompson and J. F. Nugent who expose the nature of the combine in part as follows:

"For nearly 10 years the association has maintained a pool under which the members agree upon a certain percentage of the total business to which the members shall be entitled, regardless of his actual sales. If a member's sales exceed his agreed percentage, he pays a specified penalty into the association treasury, and if he falls below his allotment he draws out of the treasury from penalties paid by other members. The association also has a price list based upon the members' alleged average cost of doing business. This so-called cost includes such questionable items as interest on investment and rent on real estate. Documentary proof of the foregoing activities is available in the files of the commission."

Refused to Call Necessary Witnesses

The dissenting commissioners call attention to charges that the association interferes with the trade of non-member competitors to force them to go along. They say, "the alleged interference with non-members consisted of intimidation and threats to put non-members out of business unless they joined and retained membership in the association, efforts to prevent interstate shipments to non-members, concerted price-cutting against non-members and the instigation of malicious and venal litigation against them. Proof of those charges can only be developed by the examination of witnesses under oath." The majority commissioners refused to call the necessary witnesses.

The precedent set by this deliberate refusal of the commission to protect consumers opens the way to control of the country's trade by the big capitalists who will eliminate competition through the new legalized trade associations and through dealers' associations similar to that in the present case.

WAR DEPT. WON'T OBEY THE LAW

Retrial for Dismissed
Surgeon Refused—
One Instance of a
Growing Militarist
Caste

By Edward Levinson

IF our peoples learned little from the last war—little that will make them take the road to peace when another war threatens—our army officers have learned much. The Prussian militarism we went to war to eliminate seems to have been contagious. Our professional soldiers have gotten a bad case of it.

Proof of this is to be found every day on the front pages. Colonel William Mitchell of the Air Service is up before a military court because he tried to use his constitutional rights of free speech. The belief grows and is continually substantiated that where one case of the prominence of the Mitchell affair gets to public notice, thousands of instances of brutal militarism involving lesser lights are suppressed under the cloak of the military oligarchy.

The halls of the War Department and other official offices of the Federal government are daily the scenes of army men or their friends vainly seeking to win the ear of an uninterested government. They come with the same story of the working of a huge Prussian machine, crushing out with ease the individual and his protest.

Rises Higher Than Congress

In a rare case, the army man seeking redress will through "pull" and persistence bring his case before Congress. In even rarer cases Congress will support him and, if it concerns a matter of dismissal, order a re-instatement or a re-trial. But Congressional action or not, the army machine will not budge. It seems to have become a law unto itself. Such a case is that of Dr. J. B. H. Waring, of Blanchester, Ohio.

Governor William J. Fields of Kentucky looked into the facts and this is what he found: "Of all cases of railroad that I have ever seen in the military establishment, or in any other establishment, I think this is the most glaring one. It started and was carried on to the result because this man secured civilian treatment after he had been all but blinded by an army surgeon."

A little of Dr. Waring's background: He is a native of Virginia where his people resided since early colonial days. Their civil, military and naval records was what might be termed by admirers of such activities as "distinguished." Captain Thomas Waring and his two brothers fought with Washington during the Revolution. Colonel John Harvie served as a member of the Continental Congress. He signed the Virginia Bill of Rights and the Articles of Confederation on behalf of Virginia. In short, he seems to have had the ideal background for one who would get along among the army blue-bloods.

Entered Army As a Surgeon

Dr. Waring is an honor graduate of George Washington University. In 1909 he became a graduate of the U. S. Army Medical School in Washington. A year previous he had entered the regular army as a surgeon. In 1911 on duty in the Philippines he suffered a severe sunstroke, from which developed "optic neuritis from exposure to sunstroke in the tropics" in line of duty.

Waring's eyes were convalescing and he had returned to duty when what he believed to be malpractice by an army surgeon all but blinded him. In addition, his eyelids were badly burned with lunar caustic. Invalided to the United States and placed in the San Francisco army hospital, he objected to further treatment at the hands of inexperienced army doctors (which he, as a doctor, felt to be improper treatment) and requested permission to consult skilled civilian eye specialists at his own expense.

The request was indignantly resented and denied. An attempt was made to court-martial him, but it failed. The Medical Corps officers grew very bitter. Waring became the victim of a subtle but persistent plan of attack. To cover up their malpractice, Medical Corps officers falsified the medical records, and this, in turn, necessitated further and more falsifications.

First Dismissal Is Disapproved

After a series of such events, Dr. (Continued on page 11)

THE LEGION OF LAW-BREAKERS

By Eugene V. Debs

THE American Legion has set itself up as the custodian of the constitution, the keeper of the ark of the covenant, the guardian of patriotism, the upholder of law and order, the protector of the flag, the exemplar of morality, and the supreme embodiment of 100 per cent. Americanism in the United States.

It is interesting to note that this military machine was set up by American army officers in the City of Paris at the close of the international slaughter, that it was financed and backed by Wall Street, and that its naked purpose is to inculcate the military spirit, create a military caste, and promote militarism generally in the United States so that there will be no danger of the Wall Street war-lords running short of cannon fodder when they give the signal for the next grand killing.

For two years after the war they ran things, including the government, with a high hand. They cut loose with a vengeance and rode roughshod over everything that stood in their way. This was their peculiar method of demonstrating their patriotic passion for law and order. They decided what entertainments the people might have the privilege of paying to see, and if an opera or show did not suit these thugs and rowdies they mobbed it, dispersed the audience in wild west style, and whopped and yelled in the streets like savages without molestation of the police and with the serene approval of the "constituted authorities."

The Record Of Crime

They have tamed down considerably since their Kansas City convention that scandalized the nation, the reports of which were suppressed as far as possible; and since they hounded Fritz Kreisler, the artist, out of the country (who has since been made an honorary citizen by and of the City of New York); and since they rode roughshod through peaceable parades, mounted rostrums and assaulted Socialist speakers, invaded and raided Socialist newspaper offices, and flung women as well as men headlong down the stairway, kidnaped Kate Richards O'Hare and Ida Crouch Hazlett and dumped them out on the plains to starve to death, and committed hundreds of other cowardly, brutal and infamous outrages as the record of their crimes kept by the American Civil Liberties Union abundantly shows.

A few days ago they, in alliance with the Ku Klux, threatened to mob the writer on his arrival at Scranton if he dared attempt address a meeting there.

Legionnaires Still Take The Palm for Lawlessness

The railroad and mining power in the anthracite, cruel and despotic as was ever the slave power in the south before the war, rules there with brutal sway and these morons were of course doing its bidding, but when the hour came to make good their threats the miserable politicos failed to appear.

The following press dispatch from Springfield, Ill., under date of November 1, throws an interesting sidelight on the performances of these plutocratic "patriots" and reveals them in their true light for the contempt of decent men:

"Springfield, Ill., Nov. 1 (By Associated Press).—Before assigning the American Legion to any Illinois city the Executive Committee of the Legion, it has been learned, plans to give hotel owners assurance that Legionnaires will not damage any hotel property. They intend that Illinois conventions shall give no occasion for recalling the National Convention at Kansas City.

"Military police arm-bands will reappear among the wearers of the olive-drab at the next convention, and police will have a new dignity during convention time.

"These plans became known when Springfield Legionnaires asked that the convention come here, and then turned to the hotel owners to ask about accommodations. Hotel men the country over, as well as Legionnaires REMEMBER WHAT HAPPENED AT KANSAS CITY, AND KNOW THAT THE DAMAGE DONE THE KANSAS CITY HOTELS ALMOST LOST THE NEXT

CONVENTION A WELCOME AT NEW ORLEANS.

Was any such statement as this ever issued about any other body of men, or any other organization, or convention in all the history of the United States?

Ran Amuck In Kansas City

The hotel keepers before agreeing to harbor these American patriots, heroes, law and order apostles and all-around one hundred percent Americans, must have assurance that their furniture will not be smashed, their women guests insulted and their patrons driven into the street by drunken thugs and bullies, rowdies and blackguards in the military uniform of the United States. That is what happened in Kansas City, according to the meagre reports that leaked out which could not be entirely smothered and suppressed.

According to these reports which have never been denied, the streets were filled with drunken Legionnaires, swaggering and cursing, defying the police and running amuck in the hotels where they were reported as taking full possession, squatting on the floors and making themselves so disgusting and insulting that the patrons fled in fear and terror from the scene. It was charged in the same report that while the convention of these patriots and upholders of the law were in session a woman was not safe on the streets of Kansas City, and that is what the people of that city will tell you under their breath today. They would rather be visited by a plague or a pestilence than to have another convention of

the same disgraceful and lawless kind held there by that gang of rowdies and blackguards who now prate about guarding the constitution, upholding law and order, and otherwise masquerade as the saviors of society.

One incident in their National Convention is recalled in connection with the foregoing dispatch from Springfield. The writer hereof was at that time in prison at Atlanta, serving a ten years' sentence for merely exercising the right to speak his opinion at a perfectly peaceable and orderly public gathering. Quite a number of people, most of whom were not at all in sympathy with his views, interested themselves in securing his release. When the National Convention of the American Legion met, a resolution was introduced protesting against the release of the writer and insisting "in the name of law-abiding and patriotic American citizens," as represented by the gentry who cannot even now secure hotel accommodations without filing written guarantee of decent behavior, that the "traitor at Atlanta" be made to serve his entire time.

The report in the Associated Press dispatches follows: "The chairman put the motion to adopt the resolution and it went through. By acclamation with a roar that shook the building. The chairman then called for the vote of those opposed, when all over the house the Legionnaires leaped to their feet, seized their chairs and glared about them ready to brain anyone who dared to vote against the adoption of the resolution."

Here we have a perfect illustration of the fine spirit which animates the American Legion. These heroes who hunt their prey in packs of a minimum of a hundred to one when they go out mobbing and kidnapping, were ready to "brain" any one in that assemblage of "patriots" and "saviors" who had a spark of human feeling or who had courage enough to vote his honest convictions in the face of a howling, brutal and blood-thirsty mob.

Heroes by Compulsion

That convention scene with the Legionnaires grabbing their chairs and glaring about for one with a spark of manhood to "brain" revealed vividly the true inwardness of the Legion and its real purpose in serving the ruling and looting powers of this nation, and it certainly demonstrated beyond question that the patriotic pretense and vaunted virtue of these self-appointed "saviors" but mask the spirit and purpose of the mob and the lynching-bee which await only the opportunity to claim their hapless victims.

It is noteworthy also that among those most conspicuous as strutters and swaggers in the name of patriotism and one hundred percent Americanism, nine out of every ten at least were made "heroes" under compulsion. They did not enlist; they did not volunteer; they did not go to war because they wanted to go or were willing to go but because they did not dare not to go. They were not even consulted; they were simply conscripted, seized by the scruff of the neck and chucked, as the late Senator Tom Watson of Georgia said, into cattle-boats and shipped to the battle fields of France as America's contribution to the international slaughter. And these are our self-touted patriots, heroes and saviors, the only real, red-blooded, one hundred percent Americans on earth.

Another question pertinent to the issue of the "law and order" American Legion is, by what magic obedience to the prohibition law, then and now on the statute books of the nation, did the law-loving Legionnaires load up, fill their "patriotic" hides with "white mule" so as to fit them to smash the hotel furniture, drive out the guests, and demonstrate their loyalty to American institutions, their love of the flag, their eminent patriotism, and especially their vaunted, inspiring, unwavering devotion to law and order, and their supreme consecration to ONE HUNDRED PERCENT AMERICANISM?

PEOPLE ARE LIKE THAT

As the leaves fall and the weather grows colder we gather close to the fire evenings with our families and friends. The warmth of the blaze seems to bring all humans together on terms of friendship and every evening before thousands of firesides the country over national and international problems are settled after much discussion. Here is an excellent opportunity to secure an occasional subscription to your paper. Good company and warmth mellow the heart as well as the pocket book. Bring the conversation around to publications, then take a copy of the New Leader, read a few paragraphs, the debate is on and victory will be yours.

Dear Rufus:—

"I was over to your Uncle's farm today and find everything in ship shape for the winter. Enough wood has been cut, the storm windows are up and there are seven barrels of damn good cider in the cellar (I speak personally). As far as I can see there is no more work to be done until next April, and there is no reason now why you should not come home."

Barthelemew Depew.

Branchville, N. J.

At the head of the list this week stands John T. McElroy of Washington, D. C., who turned in seventeen yearly subscriptions. Without a blare of trumpets he walked into The New Leader office and left the before mentioned seventeen subs and \$35 to cover. We have many fond hopes and aspirations but our most heartfelt at this moment is "long life and much happiness to John T. McElroy. He gave every member of the staff a little thrill. May his tribe increase.

"You say 'people are like that,' and I believe they are—some of them. You and I are not, but we will be unless we watch our feet. First, let me say, I have been 'laying off' for a long time to write you a letter of commendation. You are the best columnist on The New Leader, and I am glad to note you have a supervisory influence over the entire contents. Therefore I will make a few suggestions applying not only to your column but also to the entire paper. I dislike to make suggestions to the general staff, because they are liable to take them seriously.

"I have been considerably 'het up' at those officious friends of yours who are everlastingly urging you to 'go back to the farm,' but you have lately manifested a few tendencies which have cooled me down to some extent. I will mention one, which I am sorry to say, casts a gloom over the productions of most other writers as well as your own. It is inaccuracy. For instance, here is a letter from W. F. Richardson, who has struck oil, and wants to spend a little of his loose change for the good of the cause. He wisely thinks he can do nothing better than to extend the circulation of The New Leader, and asks for quotations on a bundle of 20 or 25 copies a week.

"Let us analyze what you are pleased to divulge to us of your reply. 'We are glad to make special prices on bundle orders.' Why not quote those special prices? Would you make special prices to Comrade Richardson you would not make to any other comrade? Or do you simply want to jolly Comrade Richardson into the belief that he is able to get extra special prices simply because he happened to strike oil? In the whole United States Comrade Richardson is not the only one who has struck oil, or received a legacy, or dug up a pot of gold. If you had said, 'Our bundle price on 25 copies a week to one address is \$50 a year,' some other lucky comrade would have sat down quickly and written you, 'Enclose please find \$50 for which send me 25 copies a week for a year.' But, as he has not time to write you a special letter for your special prices, he trots along quietly to hell on his good intentions. 'This business is becoming quite an item in our circulation department.' 'Quite an item?' One bundle a week, or 100 bundles a week? 'We can't let the general public in on the ground floor; we can't take the rabble into our confidence, but write us for special prices.' I think the majority of comrades, even those overburdened with oleaginous superfluity would prefer 'equal rights to all and special prices to none.'

"But still I say, yours is the best column in the paper, and I don't want to see you 'go back to the farm.' You don't need to, as you have brought the farm with you to town. You can never get the country out of those farm boys, but cheer up, the city boys have faults quite as glaring."

J. A. C. Meng.

Youngstown, Ohio.

Modesty forbids our denying that we are the best columnist and have a "supervisory influence" over this publication but we will agree to take our correspondent's letter seriously. Hereby we promise (right hand to the heart) that in the future accuracy will be one of our slogans. It's going to be tough on us but the point has been well taken and our ways may be considered mended. Before we forget our good intentions let's state that bundle orders for The New Leader are filled at the rate of three dollars per hundred. This does not mean that one must order a hundred copies each week but whatever you order will be charged to you at the end of the month at three dollars per hundred. Is that clear? And (this we do mean) we want to hear from J. A. C. Meng more often. He will help to keep us on our toes.

"Have not seen or read a Socialist Party paper for over two years. The New Leader, I am informed, is successor to The New York Call. Would be pleased to see a sample copy or two."

George N. Falconer.

Denver, Colo.

Since the inception of The New Leader over two hundred thousand letters and sample copies descriptive of this paper have been mailed to every procurable list and still every week we hear of Socialists who have never heard of this paper. It's a big country so let every reader help spread the word.

Rufus Osborne.

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8 P. M.

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Also election of officers and three members of the Board of Management.

Members of the party who desire to join the New Leader Association are invited to attend this meeting.

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1700 Pitkin Avenue, Brownsville, Bklyn.

ARMY MACHINE FLOUTING CONGRESS

(Continued from page 1)

Waring was told in 1915 that unless he resigned, he would face dismissal, via the court-martial route, as a malingeringer. He received indirect threats that he would be discharged upon some trumped-up charge of insanity or obscure nervous disease, to be alleged Not in Line of Duty. The threats failed to bring the desired results and Dr. Waring was promptly sentenced to dismissal as a malingeringer, upon the sworn testimony of some twenty medical officers. This dismissal proceeding was too infamous on its face to secure approval against an officer of good record. It was disapproved.

To hush up the scandal which was beginning to develop, Dr. Waring was next made the victim of retiring board proceedings, where still another charge of physical disability not in line of duty was lodged. In direct violation of the law he was denied defense. The charge, however, was bungled by the retiring board.

Waring was then ordered back to an Army hospital, ostensibly for treatment. Here still another charge of physical disability was cooked up, again "Not in Line of Duty." The charge was secretly substituted for the unusable retiring board report and on this fraudulent basis Waring's discharge was effected.

Discharge Is Signed

The President signed the discharge in apparent ignorance of the fraud that had been perpetrated. Appeals to the War Department drew the reply: "The President's signature is final." Only Congress could rectify the situation, Dr. Waring was told. So he turned his efforts in that direction. And here comes the more important part of the affair. It shows completely how the Army machine has risen above the nation, flouting the people and Congress.

Six military committees of Congress investigated the case. All reported Dr. Waring's discharge from the Army as grossly illegal and without authority in law. By unanimous vote of both houses of Congress, a special act passed (through the Senate twice) to restore Waring to the Army retired list from the date of the fraudulently secured discharge, May 6, 1917.

President Harding signed this act, over the War Department efforts to secure a veto. Through War Department intervention, however, the late President took no action to enforce the law. Secretary Weeks had been a member of one of the Senate Committees which had cleared Waring. When Weeks had become head of the War Department machine, he did a volte-face and opposed all relief.

Law Is Not Enforced

President Coolidge has continued the same policy of inaction, apparently through Secretary Weeks' influence. Coolidge frankly stated he did not wish to carry out the law while Secretary Weeks was opposed. And Weeks has remained opposed. And there the case stands today. "The issue becomes simply one of whether or not the military establishment is above the laws of the country, and whether a President in office supports his Secretary of War right or

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:- Sparks and Flashes :-

WELL, well, the famous post-election committee on headaches and complaints is again in session here in New York City. The Socialist vote did not come up to expectations. It was small, woefully and damnably small. It would have been smaller, in fact, almost non-existent, if it were not for the few hundred loyal, hardworking and dauntless comrades who did such heroic work during the recent campaign. And they did it against the meanest odds that ever confronted a handful of battlers. Now, then, as to the vote we got—what in hell can you expect without an organization? Organization, do you hear? Organization!

In politics as in most human ventures you get returns only in proportion to what you invest. Invest nothing and you get nothing. Invest little and you get back little. Invest big and you cash in. Let the figures teach you. The Commonwealth Land Party with 4½ members got 485 votes. The 13 Progressives got 1399 votes. The Social Labor Party with 18½ members got 1886 votes. The Communists with 33 members (citizens) got 3388 votes. The Socialist Party with several hundred members (including the retired ones) got about 40,000 votes. The large Republican machine did not function and the Famous Fountain Pen went dry. But the huge Tammany outfit certainly did bring home the bacon. As the Riffians would say—Nu?

Let the committee on headaches sift the above cited data. Oh, yes, we have heard the news—a survey must be made—general party meetings must be proposed! Tell it to Tammany Hall, old scouts! The fact of the matter is that the fault-finders and new-scheme-proposers are the last people to help in the work of reorganization and party building. Too often these are loafers; creep-hangers; false prophets; retired radicals; G. A. R.'s, local 1917; lazy prima donnas; the intelligentsia and gifted spellbinders who are too far up in the world to address a street corner audience or afraid they may get dust on their pants attending a branch meeting. When these birds come around with criticisms and suggestions, tell them comrades . . . (the editor says we can't print it) . . . well, you know. Anyway, only those of us who were on the job during the campaign are the ones and the only ones that are going to rebuild our party. What say, comrades?

Note—for future historians, anthropologists and archaeologists—this phenomenon—68,382 votes for a Republican Assembly—man dead three weeks can be understood only when you know that in our age, 1925 A. D., the average voter made no fine distinction between mental and physical decease.

In the rural districts in New York State many registered Republicans vote annually from cemeteries. Planted, watered and tombstoned but they are on the job on election day. It's a great and wonderful country, this U. S. A.! Dead men elect so-called live men and apparently alive citizens

wrong, or whether he obeys the dictates of the Constitution and his oath of office," Waring states.

"I know it seems incredible that such a state of affairs can exist in this country. I will be glad to have others' views. I believe they will be a help to hundreds of other officers and enlisted men who have been or are the victims of a ruthless militarism in this country; a militarism that is as unscrupulous as it is ruthless; and a militarism that I am confident would be abolished overnight if the citizens of this country really knew what it was."

What will we do about it?
It is not merely a case of the persecution of one army officer or of a thousand.

The danger, real and immediately menacing, is a plain one. As our country grows to an Empire, challenging and outdistancing all the great predatory Empires of history, the military clique grows more arrogant and irresponsible. If we do not choke this growing Prussianism in its first beastly stages, it will become another vicious cancer on our American system.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)
legiance to the two big capitalist parties.

All this is a short way of saying that the hour of a big movement of the masses in an organized labor party (which is bound to be Socialist, whatever its name) has not yet struck. At present the workers of America are too afraid to lose the relative prosperity they feel they have in comparison with European workers to dare to think and act collectively in a labor party. The fear is unreasonable, but, given the general irrationality of human na-

Re-elected to the Assembly Although Dead 3 Weeks

Special to The New York Times
Orange, N. J.—Although Hunter Lindsay of this town, a candidate on the Republican ticket in Essex County for re-election to the Assembly, died nearly three weeks before election, 68,382 votes were cast for him, electing him to office by a margin of about 9,000 over his nearest Democratic rival. Because Lindsay died after the time limit prescribed by law for the filing of designations, it was impossible for the Republicans to name another.

elect a three-weeks dead candidate. Hurrah for the revolution!

The North Avenue State Bank of Chicago publishes monthly a leaflet entitled "Cheer."

I have before me their September "Cheer" in which is given a budget showing how a family of two adults and two children can save \$5.00 a month on a salary of \$100.00.

\$35 a month is allowed for food. (What's wrong with this picture? Answer: An additional four cents a day should be allowed for food, to bring this item up to ten cents per meal for each member of the family!!)

\$25 a month is allowed for shelter. My husband and I pay \$13 a week for our room and kitchenette, each without running water. The wolf at our door has kept the stork away—otherwise I don't know how four of us (or maybe more) would manage in these two rooms—and I wonder what kind of shelter a family of four could get for \$5.77 a week—\$25 a month as allowed in the budget.

No man is so ignorant that he doesn't know what he would do if he were in your place, and it was kind of these bankers to show working people how to "live" on \$95 a month.

What's Wrong With This Budget? Everything. Especially the two children! People who are forced to work for less than a living wage, shouldn't become parents.

Contributed.

G. E. L. sends us the following sweet meat and wants us to draw our own conclusion. "I just ran across the following in 'Facts about Sugar' a trade journal of the sugar industry in its issue of Sept. 26, 1925, on page 917. One James L. Rodgers, Jr., who regularly contributes news of the Cuban sugar industry, writes: Labor

conditions are quieter, and no important strikes have developed. The government is working hard on its roundup of foreign agitators, who are being returned to their native countries as rapidly as possible. As the majority of these are Spaniards they are apt to encounter difficulties with the compulsory military service law upon their arrival home."

Our "Critical Friend," of Pittsburgh, Pa., writes: "Why do you philosophy backwards? 'Better housing and transportation, more sunlight and health, more efficient schools and decent playgrounds, better markets' are the results of higher wages. The reverse is the result of low wages."

Our answer is—you are right and wrong at the same time. True, higher wages mean better living conditions. But it is also true that the knowledge of and the desire and effort to achieve better conditions arouse a demand for higher wages. That's what we wrote and, by gosh, we meant it. Evidently, you never heard a trade union agitator broadcast. That's his long wave length and it can be tuned in on any set with some brains at the receiver.

The ignorant and helpless immigrant who is incapable of appreciating a higher standard of existence makes little effort to get out of his mean environment. But, see what happens when his kids grow up and hunt jobs. They generally demand the American standard and they hustle wages to secure it. Furthermore, watch what will happen to the poor whites and blacks in Dixie when the coming great industrial development hits them. Better social and economic conditions will awaken in them new desires and demands and the necessity of labor organization will dawn on their benighted domes. They will get what they want as soon as they want it. We believe our philosophy is O. K. old top. You read it backwards.

We have lots more clippings and questions this week than we have space in which to answer. However, there are many more issues of The New Leader to come. In the meantime, quit belly aching. Get another reader. Another subscriber. And then a few more. These will soon help to get others and before long we will have the organization we should have and the vote and victory we deserve to have. Just now, we Socialists deserve a swift kick in the pants—or knickers.

August Claessens.

PIONEER YOUTH CONFERENCE

PIONEER Youth of America will hold a conference next Tuesday evening, Nov. 17, at Ethical Culture School, 2 West 64th street, for a discussion of the work of the organization and its value to the liberal and radical public.

Since its inauguration eighteen months ago, The Pioneer Youth has conducted an educational camp for two summers, in which it has accommodated more than 300 workers' children, has established 28 children's clubs, which hold meetings throughout the city in labor headquarters and public school buildings and is now branching out to other sections of the country.

Besides the speeches and discussion, a two-reel moving picture will be shown, giving a "close-up" of activities in a Pioneer Youth camp. Also, the Pioneer Youth orchestra will play a few numbers. Norman Thomas, representing parents and the liberal and radical public, will speak on "The Needs of the Growing Generation." Abraham Lefkowitz, Chairman of the Education Committee of the Central Trades and Labor Council, will speak

on "Why Labor Is Interested in Pioneer Youth." Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, of Columbia, an educational authority, will speak on "The Newer Education and Pioneer Youth."

Dr. Henry R. Linville, President of the Teachers' Union, will preside at the meeting, and Joshua Lieberman, Secretary of Pioneer Youth, will report on its work with children in clubs and summer camps. Labor unionists, educators and parents, as well as members of Pioneer Youth and the interested public, are invited to come to this conference meeting.

Thomas J. Curtis, Vice President of the New York State Federation of Labor, is the President of the organization, and Dr. Henry R. Linville is the Chairman of the New York Branch. Mr. George Creech, President of the Philadelphia Labor College, is the Chairman of the Philadelphia branch, and Joshua Lieberman, active in the workers' education, Labor and Socialist movements, is National Secretary. Many international and local unions have endorsed the movement and many of the leading modern educators are heartily co-operating in establishing its work on a sound educational basis.

ture, not unnatural. As European workers become more prosperous or American workers less prosperous, or as American workers gain the sense of security that strong union organization gives, this fear will pass. Well organized workers cannot be bluffed as were so many both this year and last into voting against what they want because they are afraid of their boss or of the local politician.

But if we Socialists cannot by ourselves create a labor party, we can hasten the day of its coming and, above all, we can do the preliminary work of education which will make that labor party immensely more intelligent and effective than otherwise it would be. Surely to perform this task is a thousand times better worthwhile for thinking men and women than forever to

be trying to choose the less of two evils as between the old parties. The Socialist Party appeals to men and women who are not afraid to wait, who would rather build the road over which others may ride to victory than themselves ride in hand-wagons along roads where they don't want to go. Our task is to organize a party which will intelligently help to shape the future without worrying too much as to the precise moment of victory.

If that party is to do its job properly in America it must speak the American language and deal with the American situation. Of course it must be international. But only an American Socialist Party can be effectively international in America. It ought to learn from every country and be on sympathetic terms with the workers of every country. But it cannot look with slavish dependence on the German Socialist movement or the British Labor movement and certainly it cannot take its orders from any Pope in Moscow. What I mean by making the Socialist Party American I shall discuss in the next article.

Brooklyn Plumbers' Ball

This Saturday Night

An enjoyable evening is promised to all trade unionists who will attend the annual ball of the United Association Plumbers, Gas Fitters, and Marine Plumbers, Local 1, which will take place this Saturday evening, November 14 at the Prospect Hall, Prospect and Fifth Avenues, Brooklyn. The entertainment committee has secured some good talent, and Walter Mulford's Band will supply the music.

For Your Child's Sake

Don't torture your child by making him swallow something that he does not like. When your child needs a physic, give him

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WHO HAS DESTROYED THE CONSTITUTION? :-

HON. GUY D. GOFF,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Senator:
Your article in the October number of the "National Republican," a monthly organ of the Republican Party, entitled "King or Crowd, Yet Tyranny Just the Same," is your contribution to the solution of current problems. You are indignant that there is unrest and a desire for fundamental changes in modern society. You are afraid that the sacred Constitution is in danger. You say that "Socialism is Kaiserism standing on its head and trying to rule the world with its feet."

You go on to say that those who do not believe in the Constitution "are against us." You are against "innovation" and believe that "this Government should stop conciliating those who talk against the Constitution. Which means that it should be illegal to change that document, because it is impossible to effect changes unless we talk about it. Yet you follow this with the statement that 'There must be candid and fearless judgment.' Now we will leave it to you, Mr. Senator, to tell us just how there can be such judgment unless we are permitted to talk about the things to be judged."

You can get away with such bad logic and absurd contradictions because you write for Republicans. They do not think. Your article is evidence of that. Moreover, you do not want them to think, and you could not help them to think if you tried. With you and your type thinking is as much a lost art as the making of Damascus blades.

The Blessings of Freedom In West Virginia

You regard it as "amazing how few of our very best men and women know either the history or the provisions of the Constitution." We think so, too. You represent the State of West Virginia. It is an interesting State and you want to preserve it and all other States against "Socialism, with its freestyle criticism and parlor Bolshevism." You are afraid that we Socialists will take away the blessings of freedom which your constituents in West Virginia now enjoy.

Well, dear Senator, compose yourself. We cannot do these things in your beloved State, for the very good reason that you and your Republican party, in alliance with the Democratic party, obtained power in West Virginia. You beat us to it. We cannot abolish all those blessed freedoms in your State because you and your crowd abolished them long ago. You may be amazed at the ignorance of some "best citizens" regarding the origin of the Constitution, but they are philosophers compared with your ignorance of what goes on in the State that you represent. Your colleague from Idaho, Senator Borah, appears to know more about your own State than you do yourself.

But let us be candid with each other. You really are not as ignorant of what has been going on in West Virginia as you pretend. You know all about it. Ever hear about the father of an illegitimate child who, under the cover of darkness, places the babe on the doorstep of an innocent man? Well, he reminds us of you, Senator. You talk of preserving freedom in West Virginia, charge Socialists with wanting to wipe it out, and yet you and your class wiped it out long ago. We hand the child back to you. It belongs to you. You and your class have taken from West Virginia what we would give it, and we would give it what you have taken away.

The Mercenaries of Old And of Today

Somebody is standing on his head, Mr. Senator, but I am sure he is not a Socialist. I am inclined to think that he is a Senator from West Virginia

An Open Letter to Senator Guy D. Goff of West Virginia From The New Leader Editor

who writes for an organ edited by the gentleman who was implicated in getting "evidence" against Senator Wheeler in Montana because the Montana Senator did not like the odor of petroleum that exudes from the Coolidge Administration.

But let us turn to West Virginia. You will remember, Senator, that in the Middle Ages the robber barons hired troops of mercenaries to do their will. Those were sad days for peasants and workmen, and you, no doubt, in your school days, wept over the tales of cruelty that have come down to us from that half-civilized age. As we became civilized, governments came into control of police powers and private mercenaries were outlawed.

Except in West Virginia. In that State this institution survives. What is more, Senator, if you will carefully search the Constitution you will not find that it permits this system of hired mercenaries. Perhaps you overlooked this important fact. While you were looking over the bodies of murdered miners at us Socialists, you could not see freedom bleeding at your feet, struck down by the hired mercenaries of coal corporations. Moreover, the Constitution also was lying there, torn to tatters and spattered with the blood of men, women and children, and you could not see it. What is the matter, Mr. Senator? Are you affected with blindness?

We outside your State could see the torn charter and the bleeding bodies

at your feet. So could Senator Borah. He was a member of a Senate committee that investigated the "freedom" prevailing in West Virginia nearly fifteen years ago. He said that miners were arrested without warrant issued by the civil authorities, were tried without indictment by a grand jury. The Governor and the courts, he said, in no respect considered themselves "bound to observe the Constitution of the United States, or the Constitution or the statutes of the State of West Virginia."

Rather a battered Constitution, isn't it, Senator? And where were you when this was going on? Were you even at that period looking for impious Socialists who might tear the Constitution to tatters?

The Baldwin-Felts Mine Guards

Perhaps you like what prevails in West Virginia and would like to have these things introduced in other States and are somewhat peeved that we Socialists do not like your kind of "freedom." Well, we are hard to satisfy. It isn't easy for Senators who represent coal, or steel, or railroads, or banks, to satisfy us, and we are not in the habit of accepting the illegitimate babies which they try to place on our doorstep.

But to return to the mercenaries. Ever hear of the Baldwin-Felts Guards? We have. Perhaps it never came to your attention that in the strike of 1913 these gentlemen were turned loose and armed

to the teeth. They invaded miners' homes and beat them up. Women and children were not spared. Perhaps you did not hear the case of Mrs. Jenina Seville, which is typical of others. The armed thugs entered her home and kicked her in the stomach. She was to become a mother in three months, but her baby was born dead shortly after the beating. Mrs. Molly Fish was grabbed by the throat and beaten by one of the mercenaries, who said: "God damn the lady; let her stay in her place." These were commonplace incidents, Mr. Senator.

The mine owners welcomed winter. It enabled them to turn thousands of families out into the cold. They lived in tents on the hillside to contemplate the "freedom" that you and your class have provided for them. Then the mine owners who have been substituted for the Constitution in your State accused the country for strikebreakers. Many came who did not know that there was a strike. They were imprisoned in rooms near railway stations, marched under guard to trains, locked in the cars like cattle, and delivered at the mines in West Virginia.

Many who learned the truth asked for their wages and were told that they owed the mine owners the cost of their fare. Some were driven out, others compelled to walk to Charleston with armed guards at their heels. Some escaped in the night and were fired at by guards as they swam the icy waters

in December and January. There wasn't any Constitution for them in West Virginia, Senator.

A Peace-Time Machine-Gun Raid

The mine owners tried another method. An armored train moved slowly up the valley one night until it came to Holley Grove, where miners and their families were sleeping in tents in the hills. That black night has never been forgotten by the survivors. Machine guns manned by the hired thugs poured a hail of death into the sleeping men, women and children. Small wonder that Senator Martine, who listened to the admissions of one of the hired murderers when this massacre was being investigated, turned white and exclaimed: "My God, can this be!"

Nor has West Virginia had any less of this "freedom" in recent years, Senator. Only a few years ago the thing that you stand for resulted in an armed march of the miners across the mountains to take vengeance on the mercenaries. You will recall that the state was on the eve of civil war when the Federal Government intervened. The miners were not warring against the Constitution. They were making war because the governor, the courts, sheriffs, mayors and senators permitted the mine owners to make a footpath of the Constitution.

What you do not know or pretend not to know about your own state, Senator, would fill many

large volumes. Not only do the private armies of mercenaries recall the old feudalism. The economic life of many sections of your state is also suggestive of it. In the regions where the coal companies rule through their dictatorship most miners own no homes. The coal companies own them. Winthrop D. Lane, a competent newspaper man, wrote that "No one conducts a store, runs a garage, sells groceries or furniture to his fellow townsmen, or amuses them in a movie theatre. . . . There is no independent family physician building up a practice by competing with other physicians. There are no local lawyers settling the community's difficulties over property rights, because the ordinary citizen has no property rights and can secure none. . . . The essential characteristic of a coal-mining civilization, in West Virginia as well as in some other parts of the country, is the extent to which the employer, the company, controls things. It is a paternalistic, in some ways a feudal civilization."

With the economic, social, civil and political life of these mining towns mastered by the agents of a handful of absentee capitalists we naturally have a dictatorship by gunmen. Therefore, to talk about the Constitution in West Virginia is hypocritical drivel. There was a time when a revolution overthrew a similar oligarchy in this autocracy of the hills. This region was once the western section of Virginia. When the knights of slavery voted Virginia in the camp of the slaveocracy this western region revolted and set up an independent state.

A New Oligarchy Enthroned

Since the end of the Civil War a new oligarchy has obtained control. Its infamous dominion is spattered with the blood of murdered miners and the tears of women and children. Its servile politicians chant a sanctimonious creed about "freedom" and then strike it down in the open streets. Crushing the most elementary rights of human beings, they turn to Socialists and assert that we would do what they have done and are now doing.

My dear Senator, go to the graves of the miners in the West Virginia hills. Turn to the women who have been bereft of husbands by the hired thugs of the mine owners. Approach the children of the miners who have spent dreary nights in tents because of the measureless cruelty of your capitalist regime in West Virginia. Go into the mining camps terrorized by criminal mercenaries. Consult the records of the dead and the living, the testimony recorded in a number of Congressional investigations, the newspapers and magazines which have reported the infamous rule of West Virginia gunmen and their political allies, and then tell us, Whom do you represent? Certainly not those whose brawn and genius clothe you, warm your fireside, produce your food, and make you contented with the world—especially that section of it known as West Virginia.

Yes, whose Senator are you, anyway?

James Oneal.

THE TRUE STORY OF WEST HAM :-

By Maurice Orbach

(Guardian of the Poor, Borough of St. Pancras, London County Council.)

In the October 17th issue of "Liberty" there is set forth what are purported to be the facts relating to West Ham and the conclusions to be drawn from them. Apparently the writer first agreed upon what he desired to prove, and then, by a process of suppression and adaption, introduced statistics and statements to justify his assumptions.

From this article the reader is asked to draw his own conclusions for none will be offered, and only such statistics as can be substantiated will be introduced. West Ham is situated in the East End of London, has a population of over a quarter of a million, and its inhabitants are almost wholly working class.

A main thoroughfare, bordered by shabby stores, colorful moving picture palaces, a town hall, a series of gaunt and gloomy buildings making up the borough's Workhouse, and the inevitable Ministry of Labor Employment Exchange, complete all there is of physical interest within the borough. From its chief street, run many narrow ones, all identical, with their tawny grey colored two-story houses, attached one to the other, with no variation of "architecture," impressing only with its deadly dullness. With the severe industrial depressions that have continued since the signing of the Peace Treaty, West Ham, has been visited with unparalleled unemployment.

Schemes to Aid Unemployed

The government of Lloyd George made certain provisions for dealing with post war distress, subsidizing the National Unemployment Scheme, and so allowing a comparatively generous scale to be paid to the unemployed. Successive governments have reduced these amounts, and the present Baldwin Administration has carried out a systematic tightening up of the Scheme, and limited the period during which the unemployment benefit is payable.

Apart from the charity organizations, who play very little part in Great Britain today, are the boards of guardians of the poor, set up under the Poor Law Acts, operated since Elizabethan times, and having as their duties, the relief of mental and physical distress in every parish,

"Happily for the Truth"

"Happily for us, American labor has not been seriously poisoned by the Socialist fallacies," LIBERTY (save the mark) observes in its issue of October 17th, after having dilated extensively on the "failure" of Labor-Socialist administration in the West Ham borough of London. West Ham's efforts to aid the unemployed are singled out as the particular "Socialist fallacy" to which our unesteemed contemporary refers.

Happily for the truth, we do not have to depend on LIBERTY for our information. Here are the facts about West Ham written by a well-known London laborite who has taken up his residence in this country. He is still a member of the board of the Borough of St. Pancras.

London seems to like these "Socialist fallacies" so much that at the election last week it re-elected the Socialist majorities in two borough councils and turned over to the Socialists two boroughs which they have not held before.

borough, town and city in the country. The work of the boards during the past five years has increased enormously and the stream of people applying to the West Ham guardians has very often brought the borough to near-bankruptcy. Ordinarily a board when faced with deficit levies a rate upon the house-holders in the district, or applies for a loan from the Ministry of Health.

Until the appearance of a Socialist majority at West Ham, both these means were used successfully, and up till May of this year £1,490,000, had been borrowed from the Ministry of Health, nearly all, while anti-Socialists, were in power.

The Actual Figures

On May 28, of this year, however, a deputation from the board applied to the Ministry for a further loan of £350,000, and the committee responsible for advising the Ministry on Loans, refused to grant it, unless certain reductions were made in the scale paid by the guardians.

"Liberty" gives the scale as sixty shillings or fifteen dollars per week,

falling to report whether this sixty shillings is paid to a family or an individual. In any case this figure is incorrect. Every case is treated alike, except invalids, and the scale paid is as follows: Nine shillings and sixpence for each adult person; five shillings for each child, and rent up to fifteen shillings per week.

The maximum paid to any family is fifty-nine shillings, and to obtain that mount, the family must be composed of at least two adults and five children. The Ministry in demanding reductions before granting any loan, desired the maximum reduced to fifty-four shillings, to sixpence per week less for each adult, a gradually reduced scale for children and abolition of the fifteen shillings, or any other allowance for rent.

The local Labor Parties, Trade Unions, and Socialist bodies, instructed their members upon the board to vote against the loan on these terms, and at a full board meeting on June 4, 1925, the refusal was carried by 29 votes to 11. This action of the guardians was backed by a petition signed by thousands of citizens. They

refused also to levy any further rate upon the house-holders of West Ham, claiming the unemployment, being a national problem, the distress caused by the unemployment should be a national charge.

Poor Law Funds Give Out

On September 5 the Poor Law Funds were, for all practical purposes, exhausted, and the poor of West Ham were faced with the prospect of starvation within a very short time. The Ministry of Health took control, suspended the board, and directed relief. The clerk of the board was instructed to relieve only cases of absolute hardship, such relief not to exceed 75 percent of the reduced scale previously suggested by the Goschen Committee of the Ministry and to discontinue paying any rent.

This has aroused amongst students of politics a discussion as to whether the action of the Ministry is constitutional, and some see the board winning one of the major points in its fight, the making of distress a national charge. Amongst the unemployed, tolerance of their condition has been aside, they hold meetings denouncing the Ministry, deputations are sent to Whitehall, and a very strong NO RENT LEAGUE has been formed.

The writer in "Liberty" suggests that Socialist schemes and in particular West Ham Socialists, by giving doles for work not done, encourage malingering. Facts, however, gathered at West Ham itself entirely disprove this slander upon the working class. In 1924, 67,543 people were in receipt of relief at West Ham; in 1925, when the Socialists were in power, this figure had been reduced to 60,092, a reduction of over 7,000 which is sufficient answer to any lying charge made in London or New York.

TOO MUCH CONSTITUTION :-

Scranton. WHEN the self-appointed protectors of the Constitution convened 36 strong in Scranton the other night to protest the holding of a meeting at which Eugene V. Debs was the chief speaker, they got a bit more of the constitution than they could swallow.

The story has just leaked out. It seems David W. Davis, an international representative of the United Mine Workers of America, took the super-patriots seriously. He had been worried for some time, as have been many of his fellow miners, about conditions in West Virginia, where the Constitution is deadlier than a door-nail.

When Davis heard that those at the protest meeting were going to be the greatest friends our constitution boasts, he figured immediately that here was the place to tell about West Virginia and get something done.

Mr. Davis tried it and is a much wiser man. He prepared the following

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resolution, which he never even got a chance to submit:

"Whereas, a public meeting is being held under the auspices of the American Constitutional League by direction of the United States government through its labor department for the purpose of offsetting propaganda advanced by the many elements seeking to affect discord among our people; and

"Whereas, the United Mine Workers of America, embodying almost 700,000 men, are in full accord with the program for the education of constitutional government. We feel that the United States constitution is an ideal document and when drafted by men of high character at the inception of the government they had in mind that it would be applied in every sense, generally and to every degree. We believe in its enforcement; and

"Whereas, in West Virginia men are now being denied the rights guaranteed to every American by its constitution. Men of the miners' and other organizations are denied the right of free assemblage and free speech due to every man, woman and child in America. It is useless to attempt to

enforce the constitution in any part of our country and close our eyes to its application in other parts. The constitution is intended to preserve the rights of good citizenship within our confine; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we ask this assemblage to petition the United States government to extend to those unfortunate people of West Virginia the privilege to exercise their lawful rights under the provisions of the United States constitution, which should stand for justice to all."

"It is to be regretted very much that a meeting of this kind should refuse a resolution which deals directly with the very thing the league advocates," Mr. Davis says.

"In West Virginia, at the same time the 'constitutional meeting' was being held in Scranton, men, women and children were being put out into the street and injunctions served against them, denying the right of free assemblage and the right to organize into a union whereby they can properly protect their constitutional right. The pages of West Virginia history is written with denial of constitutional government."

DR. EUGENIA INGERMAN

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THE SWEEP TOWARD INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

By Harry W. Laidler

AT THE Portland convention of the American Federation of Labor the organized workers of the country within the A. F. of L. recorded themselves unanimously in favor of the principle of industrial democracy, and opposed a system of industry run "exclusively for profit." This position was overwhelmingly endorsed at the El Paso convention. The struggle of American people in the past has been largely a struggle for political democracy. The struggle of the future, in America and abroad, as the action of the A. F. of L. party indicates, will be largely one against the autocracy of industry and in behalf of greater participation by the workers both in the ownership and in the control of the great industries of the country.

*What is Industrial Democracy? by Norman Thomas. N. Y. League for Industrial Democracy, 15 cents.

The Struggle for Freedom in the Future Turning From Politics to the Factories

In that great struggle the organized workers of the country are bound to take a leading part. Just what they are at present accomplishing toward that end, and what they bid fair to achieve in the future in this important fight, is vividly presented by Norman Thomas, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and a contributing editor of *The Nation*, in his concise volume, "What is Industrial Democracy?" just published.

What Democracy Means

The volume begins by a statement of the case. "Democracy means," says Thomas, "in Lincoln's phrase, government of the people, by the people, and for the people and industrial democ-

racy is the application of this same idea to our economic life."

The present economic order fails to live up to this ideal of democracy. 1. It lodges control in owners who are in great numbers absentees. 2. It is organized primarily for profit and not for service.

Trade unionists, Thomas continues, have been a force in the past against the complete subjection of the worker to the owner of industry.

"Any realist who examines the situation must understand that the substantial force that has kept the worker from abject slavery to the owner of the machine at which he is employed in his trade union. Labor's struggles for freedom constitute a tremendously moving and heroic epoch which has

never been properly recorded. It is a commentary on education that the children of the workers are taught to feel sympathetic admiration for politicians, generals and soldiers whose petty conflicts and bungling violence fill so many pages of what is called a history while the heroes of the labor movement go unnoticed and unsung."

The author describes the ordinary work of the unions in the control of shop conditions and follows this with an appraisal of such newer developments as the impartial chairmanship machinery, the B. and O. plan, the Plumb plan, the miners' proposal for nationalization, the labor education movement, labor banking, etc. An analysis of producers and consumers' co-operation, government ownership, employee representation plans, and the

more theoretical proposals of the syndicalists, socialists, guildsmen, consumerists, and communists, make up the remainder of this thought-provoking volume.

An Immediate Program

The more immediate program toward a finer civilization, Thomas believes, should include "(1) Public ownership of basic utilities with democratic administration. This will require continued development of labor unions and the growth of a political party consciously based on the interests of the workers as opposed to the owners. At this moment the transcendent issue for us is the ownership of super-power which is rapidly creating a new in-

dustrial revolution before our eyes. If super-power cannot be socialized, and that promptly, the whole cause of industrial democracy will be indefinitely delayed. (2) A steady development of workers' representation in private enterprises, but of workers given dignity and power by the backing of a labor movement bigger and more extensive than the organization of particular workers in particular shops." (3) The strengthening of co-operative enterprises.

"While the new social order must be a growth," the author concludes, "it must be based on great and truly revolutionary conceptions of human freedom and fellowship and truth. In the quest of these things is the joy of comradeship and the satisfaction of the deepest impulses in man."

This short volume combines the art of the skilled writer, the keen insight of the social scientist, and the vision of the social prophet. It should be in the hands of all those interested in the struggle of mankind for a nobler destiny.

A CAPTAIN OF COMMERCE

By Leland Olds

THE millionaire parasite energetically coining money out of other peoples' pockets through catch-phrase educational campaigns stands before you in P. A. L. Tangerman*. Tangerman, the leading character in Felix Riesenberg's very interesting novel, P. A. L., reflects in some degree the Wrigleys, etc., who have elbowed their way into the ranks of the rich by clever salesmanship.

Tangerman's Cuddey Vacuum Dome, his Vim Vigor pills, Glandula, Blue Bird Cigarettes, Mont Healy Institute and countless other enterprises seem uproarious burlesque and yet they provoke strangely similar echoes from the real world. Eat Grapefruit, Chew Spearmint for Digestion, Chesterfields for the Discriminating Business Man, not to mention the bluffs of LaSalle Extension University, all these slogans are not means for providing the public with valuable goods but for achieving some predatory business man's ambition for money leadership.

P. A. L. whirls you into the rush of these likable, energetic, vulgar American enterprises. When he succeeds in coining dollars everything is his, credit, fellowship and fawning publicity—yet P. A. L. generally glimpses the underlying fraud.

"Ethics," he remarks early in the story, "are elastic. My people back in Iowa believed it wrong for one man on a raft, let us say, to hog all the available provisions. But as the raft gets bigger, about the size of our earth, it becomes highly respectable to grab off tremendous blocks of the common sustenance, namely money."

"You see, Mark," he says later as he slides out from under a falling business leaving stockholders to hold the bag, "we incorporate our activities and at the same time we deincorporate ourselves. If the job in hand busts up, it's the corporation that's in bad. The legally deincorporated man walks away and leaves the corporation in the hands of the stockholders, where it belongs."

Explaining why he bothered to put some sheep gland in his worthless restorative Glandula he recalls the experience of Lafax with his 2c ground baked crusts called Fig Jewels, retailing for 15c thus: "The cover of his original package contained a marvelous story of dextrine, peptone and fig-sugar solvents. Later on the unimaginative government made him take this humorous descriptive matter off the labels; and then he annexed vitamins."

The author is P. A. L.'s confidential partner, useful but understanding little of all the high tension activity, except for a growing sense that it is all fraud. He comes up against the founder of the American Patriotic Chamber of Commerce with its "Whooop-Week" and attends banquets given by the "Influential national organization of business men," the Reciprocating Club. He considers how rich men endow the word of Christ and draw perpetual interest in holy works, how even the church is glad to be seen walking with Standard Oil on Sunday.

*P. A. L., by Felix Riesenberg; Robert M. McBride & Co., New York, \$2.

He reflects, "Take away the mails and 90 per cent of these people would have to earn their living by honest work." He touches the wheat pit "where maniacs gamble in terms of food and hunger, staking the product of an empire of grain against the need for bread, increasing the price per loaf in distant villages across the sea."

With the author, you both like Tangerman and despise him, but you stick to him right up to the minute when his career is suddenly terminated by a bullet from a woman's gun. You are aware of the boundless insincerity, yet baffled by the complete conformity to modern business ethics, the banker behind the scenes encouraging him and sharing the spoils. His wife, who is hardly his wife, realizes that this business magnate is "a milker, a full grown man pulling at the teats of life, always taking the real work of others, shouldering a burden on others, that is passed along. What he takes leaves a void, and so on down to the bottom, where we find the helpless and the starving. All parasites, Mark, subsist on the poor. Without men like Pal, and the thousands they create and support, we would have no slums, no starving children."

WRITES SOCIALISM FOR WOMEN



BERNARD SHAW, as Karl Capek sees him. From "Letters from England." Doubleday, Page & Co.

THE mere promise of a new book from the pen of Bernard Shaw is always something in the nature of a tonic, and the announcement that *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* will make its appearance during the autumn is no exception.

A representative of Messrs. Constable and Co., Ltd., (London), the publishers of the book, disclose, in an interview with the *Daily Herald*, some of the reasons why Shaw has written this book.

"With this book," he declared, "Mr. Shaw is responding to a demand for a clear explanation of the issues. This

OUT OF A JOB—NO PLACE TO GO

WHAT would you do, after twenty years of good service, in as responsible a job as those in control will allow you—which generally means head clerk or office manager, or factory foreman—you were suddenly told that bad business necessitated a lay-off, and that, while they appreciated your faithful services, and they deeply regretted, etc., etc. You were, in short, fired? What would you do?

In a score of years a man's life has worn a groove so deep that its sides are almost higher than his head; they cut off the sunlight of other interests and afford but a glimpse of the sky of full, free living; nor can they be easily climbed for fair escape. Most men are by that time too too content to work on within the walls of their narrow groove; disturbance would seem like uprooting a full-grown tree. Too many mature men are like full-grown trees, rooted to one spot, only without the hope of reflowering every spring. Dig up such a man, and the best you can do with him is to make lumber. Perhaps the matchsticks made of his twigs will some day kindle a fire to free the world.

Meanwhile, little as the workman benefits by the groove-like course of his daily existence, it seems hardly fair, when the path has been worn as smooth as his balding pate, to jerk him out of it and set him to dig all over again, when the youthful joy in digging has been replaced by an older desire for rest. To throw a man out of work in middle age, a man with a family responsibility, and ability limited by the very fact that he has held one post so long, is about as sorry a trick as society can play.

While statistics are not available as to how many middle-aged men are thus thrown out of jobs, the reactions of one of them have recently been interestingly studied in Harold Loeb's book. Doodab loses his position and in the stress comes to a climax at home, leaving his wife and his advancing daughter—whom he could have helped through the nearing crisis of her life—to become a shiftless wanderer, little more than a tramp, until a merciful train cuts short his weary days. The dream life, the pathetic ambitions of the man, and his fancied consolations in a mythical country of his mind, are well drawn, contrasting the hopes that such a person can entertain until the last with the increasingly unbearable reality. While the actions of Doodab are colored by the breath of fiction, what else in life is a man to do, when a job is lost and others are not forthcoming? What chance has a man of fifty, bookkeeper, out of a job, in the labor market against a bright woman of twenty? This is one of the many pathetic problems society as it is today has to face.

William Lee.

*Doodab by Harold A. Loeb. Bond & Liveright, N. Y., \$2.

demand his not come from Socialists, nor from women whose circumstances are likely to dispose them favorably towards Socialism.

The Socialist Objective

"It is the outcome of a request made to the author for a statement of the tenets of Socialism to be discussed by a circle of ladies living in a highly conservative and mainly rural county on the English side of the Welsh border.

"They are meeting together to study public questions, and practice the arts of public life sufficiently to get rid of the amateurishness and political ignorance and prejudices which are the bane of this otherwise very important and beneficent social activity.

Continuing, Messrs. Constable's representative declared that in his book Shaw has been compelled to define what exactly the central and characteristic objective of the Socialist movement is, as distinct from the items of the political, industrial, and financial programs by which it is proposed to effect the change from Capitalism to Socialism.

"No single book satisfied the author in these respects. There was nothing for it but to write the book himself in his own way.

"It is now necessary once more to explain Capitalism as carefully as Socialism."

THE MODERN QUARTERLY

THE October-December number of *The Modern Quarterly* comes out in a new and more attractive dress. Editor Calverton offers a second installment in an important series of historical interpretations entitled "Sex in Puritan Esthetics." The Puritan contribution to modern civilization had its origin in the revolt of the middle class against the aristocracy which condemned this class to a humble place in society. Released from its bondage and free to work out its views, it gave us the Dark Age of New England and its noblest modern creation is the cult of Babbitt. This article is devoted chiefly to its European type and is suggestive and informing.

Walter Long presents the third article in his series on "A Sociological Criticism of the American Drama," naturally considering his theme in relation to a developing capitalism and its effects on dramatic production and standards. In this installment the commercialization of the stage and its effects on dramatic art are subjected to a critical analysis and he concludes that "serious plays are as rare as good actors. The stock system, the medium of serious drama is dead. Industrially the theatre is in its most prosperous period in the history of American dramatics, artistically it is still approaching its nadir."

James Oneal contributes an article on "The Philosophy of the Slave Regime." This article is based upon a research into the development of two philosophies in the North and the South in the two decades before the Civil War, one rounding out a philosophy of bourgeois property and the other completing a philosophy of slave property which captured politics, religion, statecraft, social science and the small literary group in the South. The economic development of the two sections is traced to show how the changing forms of production brought about the intellectual changes resulting in an intellectual duel between northern and southern leaders and ending in the triumph of bourgeois property in the Civil War. The article is a contribution to economic interpretation of history which has been neglected by Socialists. A footnote gives some references to valuable sources which readers may consult should they wish to go back to these sources.

Another installment from a translation of Plechanov's "Monistic Conception of History" is presented and Socialists will appreciate what they have missed in not having had this notable work in English before. The rest of the contents include "In the Madhouse," a story, by David Plinski; "The Exposure," a poem, by Mark Van Doren; "Seven Years," an exquisite poem considering a phase of the class struggle, by H. A. Potamkin; "American Negro Art," by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois; "Three Poets of the Agrarian Revolution," by C. V. Boyer, and short book reviews. Copies can be obtained of the Rand School Book store.

NEWER ASPECTS OF POLITICS

PROF. CHARLES E. MERRIAM is the author of two important volumes on the history of American political ideas and his volume on "The American Party System" is a suggestive contribution to an understanding of the modern party system. In a new volume* he undertakes to survey the contributions made to an understanding of politics by psychology, and the social sciences and to present some views of his own.

The book is of a type that is becoming

TRUTH AND DIVERSION

THE series of which this little book is a recent issue has been designed to make people think, and to go directly at problems of great importance to individuals and society: It already includes such subjects as "Science and the Future" by J. B. S. Haldane, "The Future of Science" and "What I Believe" by Bertrand Russell, "The Future of Sex" by Rebecca West and a dozen others that are really provocative of thought. But why this one on dragons was included, it is impossible to understand. In England it has been called "a diverting little book." This is true but diversion is not the same as food for thought. A Charlie Chaplin film is after all not to be included in the same class with Hamlet, though the large footed genius may exhibit the animal called man in many interesting psychological phases. The author states that he does not know why he wrote it (we can see his tongue in his cheek). We will venture to guess that it was for the purpose of being published. It surely was not a secret diary or a posthumous work.

Beginning with an account of dragons (not dragons) as known in ancient Greece and early Christian history, he traces the story of the dragon through legend and rumor as well as belief right through modern Europe. He does not include, however, the yellow journal stories of serpents and sea monsters seen by bathers along the shores of the home of the spree and the land of the knave. He then goes on to narrate an explanation of the dragon myth and its probable origin in prehistoric Egypt. If dresses cover a multitude of sins, surely our book jackets hide more venal and dastardly crimes. Before opening this book, we saw on the jacket these encouraging words: "Finally he deals with the dragons, less material, but more dangerous, that are loose among us today in the form of bigotry, cant and other menacing forces."

On our word of honor as a reviewer, a 200 per cent American and a father of a large and growing ethical family of both sexes, there is nothing in the book treating of such dragons, except a scant paragraph in the epilogue, wherein he mentions religion. To our still greater surprise it is a defence of that institution against the charge that it has fostered so many errors. His defense consists in mentioning that science, in fact "every science under the sun" has also fostered innumerable errors, and "every doctor on earth practices pious frauds daily, seldom solely for his private ends." So here we were provoked not to thought but to exhibiting this sorry spectacle of a master of arts writing a book which pretends to belong to folk lore and sociology, ending with the most unscientific and bourgeois defence of the dragons of religion, and that by analogy. Shades of Frazer's Golden Bough should haunt the author till his dying day, and then into the lands of the dragons where his religion, safe, sane and conservatively British will land him.

Nevertheless, our readers are urged to read the various booklets in this series, so small in size and so big and wide in range of thought, and pick out for themselves, the scientists who tell the truth for truth's sake, and those writers who write for diversion, without purpose and wear jackets on their books to conceal the truths of science.

Samuel Chugerman.

*Persecution, or of Dragons. By F. Scott Stokes. N. Y. E. P. Dutton, \$1.00.

There is no borough-monger so corrupted, or office-seeker so base, or money-grabber so greedy, that he does not dub himself a patriot and everyone who differs from him a traitor to his country.—Joseph Chamberlain.

ing familiar. It would appear that in this post-war period a few of our university intellectuals have turned to contemplate the thousands of volumes that have been written on modern society and are beginning to ask, "What have we contributed to an intelligent understanding or a solution of the problems that face mankind? In this mood a few writers have made a critical survey of this output and have attempted to place before the layman a digest of what appears to be the more important conclusions of these writers.

In making this survey Professor Merriam draws no fundamental conclusions but a few observations are worth repeating. Of the tendency of some psychologists to consider individuals apart from society he observes: "To study them as if men existed in a vacuum is to study man as ineffectively as those who wrote elaborate but sterile treatises upon the state of nature and the natural man in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." (p. 88.) Of the Nordic and other racial chauvinists and their literary output he writes: "Most of what has been written thus far about race political characteristics is twaddle or transparent propaganda, which should deceive no one not under the spell of some form of political hysteria." (p. 82.)

There are a few very suggestive passages when he comes to consider the development of modern society and its maze of problems. For example, this: "The truth is that the race is rushing forward with incredible speed and equally incredible lack of preparation to a time when vast possibilities of social and political control are to be placed in its hands, to a period of conscious control of evolution, or many aspects of it." (p. 155.) Then there is the danger to further social progress by the obstruction offered by those who want a changeless society in a changing world. "If the new discoveries," he writes, "made either by natural science alone or by natural and social science in conjunction, are met by inflexible minds dominated by tradition and myth, the result may be disastrous. The new situation might place in the hands of medievalists the forces of the twenty-first century, with their tremendous possibilities in the way of thoroughgoing social and political control of individuals. This would be a calamity of the first order, and one from which the race might be slow to recover." (p. 160.)

One more fine passage which we select from his consideration of education: "It is distressing to observe that in the greater part of the world the education of the youth is not in the science but in the prejudices of government, steeping them in special hatreds and special forms of bitterness. If political education is a form of training in prejudice or even hate, the inevitable outcome will be a low state of governmental action and a low level of governmental attainment." (p. 204.)

If the book had no other merit than these few excellent passages which we have quoted it would be worth a place on the bookshelf of those interested in politics.

*NEW ASPECTS OF POLITICS. By Charles E. Merriam. Chicago. University of Chicago Press, \$2.50.

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Services for G. H. Strobell

Sunday Afternoon, Nov. 22

Memorial services for George H. Strobell, well known New York Socialist who died in Russia Oct. 2, will be held Sunday, November 22nd, at 4 p. m., at the Community Church, 34th Street and Park Avenue. Dr. John Haynes Holmes will preside. The speakers will include George H. Goebel, Mrs. Bertha H. Mally, Norman Thomas, Mrs. Darwin J. Meserole, Harry W. Laidler, Blanche Watson, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Algernon Lee, Mary Sanford and Harold Ware. The services are being arranged jointly by the Peoples' House, the Rand School of Social Science, the League for Industrial Democracy and the Russian Reconstruction Farms, in whose behalf Strobell was in Russia when he died. Clifford Demarest, organizer, will play.

"The Fountain," by Eugene O'Neill, will be produced by the Messrs. Macgowan, Jones and O'Neill, in association with A. L. Jones and Morris Green, at the Greenwich Village Theatre on Dec. 7. Mr. O'Neill's play will follow Rostand's "The Last Night of Don Juan," which is limited to four weeks at the Greenwich Village Theatre.

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-:- A. J. COOK: A Newspaper Made Labor Leader -:-

(The American press has not been far behind the English in its misrepresentation, deliberate and otherwise, of A. J. Cook, the leader of the British Miners' Federation. Cook seems destined to play an important part in British labor affairs of the immediate future. The New Leader is therefore especially glad to be able to offer the following article, the first in America, throwing some real light on Cook and his beliefs.)

"WHAT have I done wrong?" was Keir Hardie's usual comment when he saw a favorable reference to himself in the Capitalist press. If that is the test of a Labor leader's loyalty to his class then there can be no doubt at all that A. J. Cook has not taken the wrong turning. Ever since he became the secretary of the Miners' Federation, Cook has come in for more than the usual share of abuse reserved for a strike leader. Every capitalist hack has had something to say against Cook.

The Morning Post denounces him as the British Lenin, the dangerous enemy of the constitution and the Empire, bidding his time and waiting his chance to establish Sovietism and chop off capitalist heads. The Daily Mail went frantic when Cook announced that he was "one of the big five," and since then has devoted column after column to denouncing "Emperor Cook."

But all that does not perturb Cook. If he were J. H. Thomas he would say in the grand manner, "All this talk leaves me quite cold." Cook has no objection to this kind of publicity. He likes it. He takes it as proof positive that he is on the right path.

During The War

The first time I met Cook was at one of the South Wales Conferences called for the purpose of fighting conscription, early in 1916. Cook was a delegate from one of the Miners' lodges in Rhondda Valley, which had been a center of revolt since the strike against the Cambrian combine and the riots of Tonypandy.

At that time he was little known. Whether his Salvation Army days had been before that I know not, for by that time he had imbibed the economics of Noah Ablett and the teaching of the Central Labor College and had more reverence for Karl Marx and Daniel De Leon than for Moody and Sankey or General Booth. Very few, I should think, who would have been asked to pick out of the half a dozen or so miners' delegates present the one most likely to become the secretary of the Miners' Federation would have dreamt of suggesting A. J. Cook. Although Cook was an Englishman, from the West of England, Cook was more impulsive and emotional than any of the Welshmen, and would harangue the Conference at length on every resolution and amendment, and on every other occasion until the chairman managed to chloroform him and shut him up. And then the speeches that he failed to get in at the Conference he would get off his chest coming back in the train. Cook's policy was a miners' strike to prevent conscription. In the patriotic mood of the time, with three-quarters of the miners' leaders supporting the war, the prospects of in-

The British Miners' Leader Elected Through Hatred and Venom of the Capitalist Press

dustrial action to prevent conscription were remote indeed, and when the Government "starred" the miners, the move to get a strike against conscription fizzled out.

Three Months In Jail

But although conscription was accepted with little or no opposition from the Trade Union Movement, Cook went on advocating a general strike to stop the war. In the Rhondda Valley he made himself as big a nuisance as he could in the mine and out of it, and ultimately got prosecuted under the "Defense of the Realm Act," and was fined \$500. He either couldn't or wouldn't pay the fine and got sent to jail for three months.

In all subsequent agitations and attacks on the older school of leaders, Cook took a prominent part. Wherever there was a strike or any sort of trouble in the lower part of the Rhondda Valley everybody said "That's Cook." And so he came to the fore and was elected a Miners' Agent and a member of the National Executive.

There must be a few of the older

school of leaders whom Cook, at one time, or another, has not denounced as reactionaries.

Expelled by The Communists

The 1921 strike found Cook the spokesman of the ultra left, and after the Black Friday incident, he went up and down the South Wales valleys breathing fire and slaughter against Thomas and Hodges and everybody else suspected of compromise. When the strike was ultimately settled, Cook was singularly unfortunate. The Communists denounced him as a fakir and a twister for his share in the settlement and expelled him with bell, book, and candle. Then came the turn of the police authorities who had been waiting their chance.

Cook was prosecuted on a ridiculous framed-up charge of inciting a riot in a speech delivered on the mountain side at six o'clock in the morning, remitted to the assizes and once more sent to jail for three months.

But this did not damp Cook. Once out he set to work reorganizing the Federation in his district, and did as

much as anybody in the difficult task of getting his men back into the Union, and building it up again.

When Frank Hodges was compelled to resign the Secretaryship, Cook headed the ballot for South Wales and, as in the case of Hodges, became the Welsh nominee, and the big South Wales vote and his reputation as being of the ultra-left got him the job. Since then Cook has never been out of the limelight.

His onslaughts on Hodges and Thomas, his week-end speeches, and finally the dramatic decision of Baldwin have all helped to bring Cook right into the forefront, until today, he is the most talked of figure in the Trade Union world, and gets as much space in the Capitalist press as the Prince of Wales.

The Miners' View

The press is frankly puzzled. It does not understand the phenomenon of Cook. What on earth has brought Cook to the surface of things? What is to explain the fact that Cook, who is not like any other Trade Union

leader and who spends his time at week-ends making harum scarum speeches, the like of which have never been heard before, is the responsible Secretary of the Miners' Federation?

And a good many people in the Labor Movement are frankly puzzled as well. For Cook has not the personality of Smillie, none of the dialectical ability of Frank Hodges, nor the astuteness of J. H. Thomas, nor the eloquence of Ben Tillett, of Larkin, or Tom Mann. Cook is just Cook. That is why the South Wales Miners have backed him. Cook is the exact antithesis of the sane level headed Labor leader so beloved by the Capitalist press. Indeed that is the reason why the miners wanted him. The miners, especially the South Wales miners, have had their share of orthodox Trade Union leaders and believe they can do no worse if they try another kind. Mabon in his day and generation probably played his part in building up the Federation and when he resigned his seat the miners granted him a comfortable pension on which to end his days. Not long afterwards Mabon

Mr. William Brace was the successor to Mabon, and for many years presided over the South Wales Conferences and was held up by the coal owners' press as a model leader whose example the younger school would do well to imitate. But Brace left the miners when they most needed leadership and accepted a well paid soft job in the Mines Department at Whitehall. Then came Hodges, who had been regarded as the hope of the younger school and the intellectual of the left wing. But Hodges had not long been in London before the capitalist press began paying tribute to his talents and hailed him as the statesman of the future. It was not long after that that Hodges' popularity began to wane. The miners began to say: "Office has given Hodges swelled head." Black Friday saw the collapse of Hodges' reputation as an extremist of the left wing. The more the press commented on Hodges' policy of moderation and his evolution into a sane trade union leader the more he lost his popularity among the rank and file. When he arrived down in the Rhondda Valley one Saturday afternoon to play golf with the Duke of York that was the climax.

Nemesis came quickly and Frank Hodges had the surprise of his life when he found that he was not indispensable, and that his place could be filled.

Cook Not For Sale

And so the choice fell upon Cook. It was not because the man at the coal face believed that Cook was a genius, or an orator, or the greatest Labor leader since the time of Moses. It was because they believed that Cook was exactly the opposite of what the capitalist press meant by a trade union leader. To those who argued that Cook had not the brains of Hodges, the reply was that if golfing with the Duke of York meant brains they preferred Cook.

They believe that Cook will never become respectable and end up as a permanent official in Whitehall, that he will not be patted on the back by the press, but will shout on the house-tops the thoughts of the men at the coal face. They believe that whatever virtues Cook may not have he is not for sale, and that his fault will not be disloyalty to the men who have made him their spokesman.

Up to now nobody can say that Cook has been a failure. It may be that Cook bulks too largely in his speeches, that his utterances are not always models of wisdom or discretion, and that it would be well at times if somebody with cooler judgment took him gently by the hand.

But up to now Philip Snowden's rather alarmist predictions that the arrival of Cook meant catastrophe have not been justified. He has not let the miners down.

-:- Slave vs. Capitalist Property -:-

RESEARCHES of American historians in recent years are considerably altering our ideas of American history. This is especially true of the causes of the Civil War. The idea of a humanitarian crusade to abolish chattel slavery is no longer tenable. It was a conflict between capitalist property in the North and slave property in the South. The two forms of property came into conflict over which was to dominate in the great Western domain, the bloody struggle in Kansas in the late '50's being merely a prelude to the larger struggle of the Civil War.

The conflict between the two systems of property had become clearer each year in the last twenty years of the old order. The Southern ruling class became aware of it and worked out a complete economic, social, political and religious philosophy to justify its form of property. Virginia's great intellectual, Thomas Roderick Dew, first formulated this philosophy nearly 30 years before the Civil War. "The relations which the different classes of society bear towards each other," he said, "the distinction between high and low, noble and plebeian, in fact, depend almost exclusively upon the state of property. It may be affirmed that the exclusive owners of property ever have been, ever will, and perhaps ever ought to be, the virtual rulers of mankind."

Webster and Chancellor Kent, in the North, also believed this, but they advanced it in support of capitalist, commercial and financial interests. Madison, Gerry, Hamilton and others supported similar views in the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. While leading men North and South subscribed to this view, only differed on the question of which form of property should be supreme in society, and this constituted the fundamental conflict between the North and the South.

John C. Calhoun, the greatest statesman of the South, was a profound exponent of this philosophy. He perceived that the two forms of property were coming into violent conflict and a struggle was apparent for control of the Government. He proposed that the Constitution should be amended so that we would have two Presidents, one representing slave property and

the other capitalist property, each with a veto on acts of Congress in the hope of preserving a balance of power between capitalist and slave property.

Chancellor Harper of South Carolina suggested a more thorough reconciliation between the two forms of property. He pointed out that in many respects capitalist property was more cruel in its attitude towards workers than the Southern system. He and others denounced the capitalism of New England with its merciless exploitation of men, women and children, its long hours of labor and miserable wages. Moreover, this capitalism turned human beings adrift to starve when goods could not be sold.

He pointed out that the slave never had to worry on this score. If he was sick he was cared for. When he became old the slave never had to worry. His master provided for his wants. Harper therefore proposed an arrangement between North and South by which the advantages of the Southern system would be extended to Northern capitalism. He believed that the Western lands should be divided into great estates and the workers should be bound in perpetual servitude to the owners. A similar arrangement should be made for industry and that all owners should be required to care for their serfs just as slave owners cared for their slaves. In this way the two systems would be reconciled.

Others came forward with other suggestions to round out this new social order. It was pointed out that while the masses, black and white, would be guaranteed security of living, precautions would have to be taken against insurrections. Workers, of course, would not have the right to vote. The vote would be the privilege of gentlemen and their intellectual and religious retainers. To guard against serf and slave revolts a standing army should be maintained. This new social system was to endure forever.

So certain were the Southern philosophers that they had found the final solution of the question that they had troubled mankind for ages that they wanted to carry the new gospel to all the nations of the earth. But it was not to be. Instead of a reconciliation between the two forms of property, they clashed and capitalist property became supreme; but there are politicians, editors, statesmen and other intellectuals who are just as sure of the eternity of the present social system as the old slave oligarchs were of theirs.

Issue Warrants for Burns Detectives in Strike

JOLIET, Ill.—The sheriff of Will County is scouring Illinois with warrants for the arrest of five Burns private detectives implicated in the bombing of a Joliet garage where the organized auto mechanics have been on strike for 11 weeks. The Buick garage is the leader in the fight against decent pay.

The Burns frame-up, as charged by the attorney for the strikers, started in getting the confidence of a striker by a man who posed as an insurance solicitor. The striker and the supposed solicitor had a few drinks and walked downtown to the Buick garage where there is a 3 foot space to the next building. Here the solicitor persuaded the tipsy striker to stop in with him. The Burns man after lighting a bomb, according to the union story which led to the issuance of the warrants, told his companion to run away while he himself stayed in the background.

Just as the striker ran four other Burns men who had been planted pursued him and shot him, pursuing him in co-operation with the police. Unfortunately one policeman looked into the space where the bomb was dropped and seized the skulker in the shadow, who turned out to be the Burns agent. The police let him go the next day but when the union attorney got on the trail he had the sheriff take out warrants for all five Burns men in this bomb frame-up against the union. The detectives left town and at last accounts the sheriff was looking for them in Chicago.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

SWITZERLAND

Victory in National Election

The results of the election for members of the Swiss National Council on October 25 fully justified the hopes of the Swiss Social Democratic Party and its straight Socialist stand during the last few years. With a net gain of six seats, bringing their total up to forty-nine, the Socialists now form the second strongest party in the council, instead of the third, leading the Catholic Conservatives by seven and being only eleven behind the Radicals. The Communists gained one seat, making their total three. The other parties are the Agrarian-Industrial-Citizens group, with thirty deputies; the Liberal-Democrats, with three. There are three deputies acknowledging allegiance to no regular party. The Socialists popular vote showed an increase commensurate with the gain in the number of deputies. In the elections of 1919, the Swiss Socialists won only thirty-eight seats in the National Council. In 1922, they won forty-three. With this popular endorsement of their program, the Socialists are preparing to fight with redoubled vigor for the immediate reduction of the cost of living and against the militarist schemes of the bourgeois majority, all the time not forgetting to emphasize their ultimate objective—the co-operative commonwealth.

HUNGARY

Socialist Editor-Deputy in Prison

Almost coincidentally with the making public in New York of a letter alleged to have been written by Count Michael Karolyi from Paris to a friend in Budapest last summer in which the Count roundly damns the Hungarian Socialist leaders for what he calls their cowardice and compromising with the Horthy regime comes a report from Budapest to the effect that on October 26, Johann Vanczak, editor-in-chief of Nepszava, the Budapest Socialist daily, began to serve a jail sentence of six months. Apparently the friends of Horthy in the National Assembly do not appreciate the alleged co-operation of the Socialists, as they voted to suspend Comrade Vanczak's Parliamentary immunity, so that he might sit in prison beside Julius Barabas, another editor of Nepszava, who is serving a year's sentence for exposing conditions in the Budapest jails.

Other employees of Nepszava have also been jailed for articles showing up graft deals and the paper has been placed in financial difficulties through the imposition of huge fines. Emmerich Szabo, another Socialist Deputy, has been named responsible editor of Nepszava in Vanczak's place.

In the meantime the wholesale jailing of alleged Communists and Bolshevik agents by the Horthy police, followed by their abuse in prison, has aroused protests all over the world, but Premier Bethlen and his boss are standing pat and characterizing these protests as impudent interference with Hungary's domestic affairs. Evidently they feel confident that no protest by Socialists, Communists or Liberals will alienate the affections of the American State Department and President Coolidge so long as interest is being paid on the Hungarian bonds floated in the United States. The most hope for Matthias Rakosi, ex-member of Bela Kun's Government, and his comrades is found in a fresh report from Moscow telling of the arrest in Russia of a large number of Hungarians, ostensibly on charges of spying, but no doubt really for the purpose of forcing the White Terrorists to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners, as was done before in the case of the condemned members of the Hungarian Communist Government.

The Secretariat of the Socialist and Labor International has sent a letter to the Hungarian Social Democratic Party urging the twenty-five Socialist Deputies in the National Assembly to fight against the abuse of the arrested persons and for a fair trial for them and the cessation of White Terrorism. It is pointed out that while the International deprecates the disruptive tactics of the opposition in the Hungarian Social Democratic Party and the Communist intrigues, there is no justification for the reaction's terrorism. The International wants to know what the Hungarian Socialists are doing to defend political liberty, etc.

POLAND

Gains in Municipal Elections

Reports of the results of municipal elections recently held in the Polish provinces of Posen and Pommerania received by the London Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International show big gains for the labor parties.

The Polish Socialist Party is in front with sixty-seven representatives in a dozen cities where it only had six before. This seems to indicate that the German workers in these provinces are dropping the nationalist issue and uniting with their Polish comrades in an effort to capture political power and thus improve the condition of the racial minorities.

The organized German-speaking Socialists in Poland are now united in a single body called the German Socialist Labor Party in Poland, which takes in the German Socialists in Lodz and Kutowitz district, as well as some scattered groups and individuals.

In a series of mass meetings recently held in Lodz and other industrial cities, the Polish Socialist Party bitterly attacked the policy of the Grabki Government, pointing out that half the country's income was spent on the army, besides the huge sums appropriated for the police. Consequently, little was left for education or social welfare work.

LATVIA

Late Reports Increase Gains

Final returns of the general elections in Latvia, Oct. 3 and 4, received by the London Bureau of the S. L. I. show that the Socialists won thirty-three seats in Parliament, instead of thirty-two as previously reported. This makes their gain two Deputies. The Socialist popular vote was 260,000, or 33 percent, compared with 242,000, or 31 percent at the preceding election. In Riga the Socialist vote was 70,532, or 40 percent. The so-called Right Socialists (advocates of co-operation with the bourgeois parties in Government) lost three of their seven seats. The rest of the Parliament is made up of the Extreme Right (six small groups), with fourteen Deputies; the Conservatives (led by the Agrarians and embracing ten little groups), with thirty-three, and the Liberals (seven groups), with sixteen.

LITHUANIA

Good Showing in Memel Land

Despite the fact that about 1,000 German Socialists had emigrated to Germany during the preceding few months and that the bourgeois parties had placed popular labor men on their tickets, the Socialists of Memel Land (the tiny district with about 170,000

inhabitants detached from Germany by the Treaty of Versailles and turned over to Lithuania by the Allies in February, 1923, following its seizure by Lithuanian "irregulars"), polled 9,903 votes in the October election and won five seats in the new Diet. The Agrarians won twelve seats and the People's Party, eleven, while the pro-Lithuanian party elected only one Deputy. The Communists cast 1,602 votes, but got no seat. In the city of Memel the Socialist vote was less than in the municipal elections of last July, but they made a better showing than expected in the country districts. The Communists lost about 60 percent of their strength. All parties, except the small Greater Lithuania group, favor a large measure of autonomy and a plebiscite to decide to which country Memel should definitely be attached.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

On the Dullness of Murder

LET US consider murder.

If you have been reading the capitalist press much lately you must have come to the conclusion that the whole world and his wife are murdering each other. There seems to be a great popping of guns, banging of hammers, whanging of blunt instruments.

We have neither murdered nor been murdered as yet, though we number among our acquaintances many who would regard the latter happening as a not unmitigated crime. So we can't exactly pose as a murder expert. But we have attended several murder trials and we are here to say that they are not all they are cracked up to be in the old-line papers. In fact, if it were not for the way the papers do crack them up there would be almost as few attendants at the average murder trial as there are at sermons in Protestant churches.

For, despite the sob sisters, the photographers and fancy writers, the average murder trial is really a dull affair.

Some drab woman, described by the correspondents as a "beautiful and refined society belle," sits at her lawyer's table weeping for the benefit of as drab a jury. The "learned counsel for the defense" beats his chest, tears his shirt, and in bellows that can be heard across three counties asserts the spotless innocence of his client. His client, who a short time before had caved in her husband's skull with a fire-axe, then totters to the stand and tells how on the night of the murder, she was on her way to visit the local Baptist minister, and Number 6 on the jury breaks down into a handkerchief which he has been carrying around throughout the trial but never using.

The prosecuting attorney arises and rings the welkin with his plea to hang this "fiend in human form," the judge, who has been sleeping peacefully most of the time, comes to with a start and mumbles a lot of incomprehensible charges to the twelve perplexed men and blue, who then file out to play a quiet little game of pinocle prior to taking a vote. All the correspondents fall to writing furiously about this affecting scene. The telegraph wires begin to hum, and in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, and Gary, Indiana, the town drunkards make bets on the probable verdict.

These constantly recurring scenes afford a magnificent insight into the state of our capitalist civilization (if any). Most murderers, as Clarence Darrow and the two or three other intelligent criminal lawyers in America will tell you, are either feeble-minded or neurotics. Sometimes, of course, a sane man, bored stiff by the monotony of latter-day life, does get down his gun and go out and murder one of the bores. But these cases are rare. Again, it is imaginable that a woman might murder her husband in cold blood and with a clear mind for no better reason than that he snored or insisted on reading the speeches of Calvin Coolidge out loud, or spoke of her as "The Missus" in company.

But rank and file murders are as interesting as the Congressional Record report of Senate sessions. When you have sat in on one you know what the rest are like. Any one with the slightest imagination can think up much more engaging murders than those that happen in real life.

A friend of mine, for example, has started a murder story in which he, as the hero, returns home after a party, goes to bed in a locked studio and wakes up to find a murdered man in pyjamas lying next to him. He is having some difficulty in getting out of this imaginary mess, but you must hand it to him for having put a new sort of murder on the map.

After all, it's the writers who throw the glamour around murder. Soon after the appearance of Dostoyevsky's "Crime and Punishment" a Russian student went and killed his landlady in much the same manner as did Dostoyevsky's chief character. There is much to be said for this. An open season for landlords and landladies would be far more to our liking than an open season for deer. For our part, we'd sooner shoot a Senator than a squirrel, but in case this falls into the hands of the authorities we hasten to add that it is not our intention to shoot either. We once sneaked up with a huge shotgun and emptied its contents into an innocent and portly pigeon who was asleep at the time. The resulting carnage was on our conscience for a long time to follow.

The thing that those of us who are concerned about a new social order should attempt is to force the writing folk to make other things as interesting as they now make murder.

If they would write as thrillingly about social movements as they do about murder trials, the old-line press might be fit reading for an intelligent human being. Viewed from the strikers' angle, at any rate, a modern industrial struggle has all the elements of tense drama, even if a drop of blood is not shed. Suppose some good correspondent should go down to West Virginia right now, live with the strikers for awhile, get especially the angle of the women and come back with as detailed a picture-story as is now wasted on the doings of an obscure maniac with a hammer. Great sections of the public might then discover that there are other events as interesting in the current American scene as were ever enacted in courtrooms.

But to assume that anything of this sort is likely to happen is absurd. Most of the editors we have met get all wrought up when they hear about a good juicy murder.

There is the story of one city editor as hard-boiled as they come who was discovered sitting at his desk humming a merry tune as he fingered some intimate photographs of the latest murder victim. And this was the tune he hummed:

"Little girl with her head cut off,
Little girl with her head cut off—"
McALISTER COLEMAN.



Wisdom of the Poor Fish

The Poor Fish Says:

He wouldn't blame Capitalism for hard times. He thinks Congress is to blame.

The Revolutions of 1848

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

By Harry W. Laidler

THE spirit and contents of the Communist Manifesto can only be understood when studied in relation to the conditions of the times—the ruthless exploitation of men, women and children by the rising capitalists, described so vividly in Engels' "Condition of the English Working Classes in 1844"; the startlingly revolutionary effects of machine production on all relationships during the preceding 50 or 75 years; the economic crises, increasingly severe; the utter lack of organization on the part of the worker either on the industrial or the political field, except in scattered instances; the widespread disfranchisement of the working class in most European countries; and, finally, the many signs of rebellion and violence which were then in evidence.

The February Revolution in France

A few weeks after the manuscript had been sent to the printer the French revolution of February 24, 1848, broke out. During the previous eight years Guizot, who was constantly urging the King, Louis Philippe, to assume real power, ruled France as its Prime Minister. The political machinery reeked with corruption. Power was concentrated into few hands. Suffrage was denied to all except a couple of hundred thousand of the population. Open protests against social conditions were not tolerated. Discontent increased in volume, increased to such an extent that Guizot was forced to resign. This resignation failed to satisfy the people. A formidable demonstration was organized on the night of February 23 before the Foreign Office in Paris. Shots were exchanged. Several were killed. Before dawn of the twenty-fourth, the eastern part of the city was covered with barricades and the entire city was in a state of insurrection. Louis Philippe abdicated in favor of his grandson, and that afternoon the republic was proclaimed, subject to ratification by the National Assembly. Many workers welcomed this revolution as the forerunner of a social revolution when labor would be the dominating force.

The Revolution Spreads

On hearing of the Paris February revolt, Metternich, the Austrian statesman, declared: "Europe finds itself in the presence of a second 1793." As Metternich suspected, the revolt was not confined to France. On March 13, a few weeks after the Paris coup d'état, the students of Vienna marched to the assembly hall with cries of "Down with Metternich," forcing that statesman to resign and flee. In Austria the people had for long suffered under a cruel despotism, a despotism where laws were passed and taxes exacted without the consultation of the people; where peasants could not go from village to village without permission, where all newspapers and books were under strict police surveillance and where the powerful Metternich was able to boast that he had kept the scientific spirit even out of the universities. Two days after Metternich's resignation, the Hungarian Diet dispatched delegates to the Emperor re-

questing their own ministries of finance, war and foreign affairs, and freed the peasants without compensation. The Czechs followed with their demands for civil liberty and the abolition of serfdom.

These upheavals, in turn, provided the impetus in Italy for countless revolts. In a few days, Italy, as a result of these uprisings has caused the Austrian troops to evacuate a large portion of Lombardy, and had set up a number of city republics.

There were simultaneous uprisings in Baden, in Wurtemberg, in Bavaria, and in Saxony. In Berlin, the populace demanded that the King grant Prussia a constitution. The King replied by calling a national assembly, chosen by popular vote, for the purpose of drafting one. About the same time, the Swiss people were occupied in sweeping away their old constitution of 1814, while the British chartists were engaged in an attempt to wring from Parliament the right to vote. It looked indeed as if the revolution was on in earnest and that the people, obtaining the suffrage, would soon go forward to economic emancipation. But the pendulum was not then destined to swing in that direction.

The June Defeat

In Paris the Provisional Government, immediately after the revolution, decreed that the national workshops, advocated by Louis Blanc, should be established, that employment should be guaranteed to all, and that a committee should be set up in Luxembourg Palace to look after the interests of the working class. Blanc and Albert, at the head of this committee, saw in this gesture a new day for the workers. They convened a labor parliament, made up of delegates from the various trades, and, on the opening day of this parliament in Luxembourg Palace on March 10, Blanc enthusiastically remarked:

"On these same seats, glittering with embroidered coats what do I see now? Garments threadbare with honorable toil, some perhaps bearing the marks of recent conflict."

The business element in the provisional government, however, in their various decrees, had no intention of conceding Blanc's program to the workers. They passed these measures as a means of allaying unrest until the conservative rural population could be heard from and could elect their representatives to the National Assembly. While voting formally for

labor measures, they failed to make appropriations to carry them out. The work offered to the unemployed consisted largely of the digging of ditches and the building of forts at two francs a day. In May, the National Assembly was elected by universal suffrage. It was chiefly representative of the more moderate republicans who had little sympathy with socialist legislation. On meeting, it closed the national workshops and gave the discharged workers the alternative of joining the army or quitting the city. The people rallied to the cry of "bread or lead," and from Friday, June 23, to the following Monday they engaged in the most terrific fighting against government troops on the Paris streets. Half-starved and poorly equipped, the workers were easily defeated, however, by General Cavaignac, with his well-disciplined troops. In defeat, they were treated with severity. Four thousand of them were transported without trial; the leaders were imprisoned and their papers suppressed.

The June defeat was followed by the election of Louis Bonaparte to the presidency, and the transformation in 1852 of the republic into the Second Empire.

Reaction in Other European Countries

In the Austrian Empire, the republicans also suffered defeat. Race rivalry among them in Bohemia led to a division which gave to General Windesgratz a chance to bombard Prague and defeat the rebels. Flushed with success, he proceeded to Vienna, gave new courage to the monarchy, marched to Hungary, dissolved the Hungarian parliament, and took a terrible revenge on the rebels. He also assisted in restoring Austria's power over Italy.

In Berlin, the assembly, proposing a too liberal constitution from the standpoint of the monarchy, was dissolved, and a constitution finally adopted which gave little power to the people. The radicals found the country a difficult place for them and many thousands of them sought a refuge from political persecution in America.

Dissolution of Communist League

The defeat of the European insurrections drove into comparative obscurity the revolutionary movements of the European working class. For years thereafter the struggle was one between various sections of the own- ing class.

Columbia, the Germ of a Notion

O COLUMBIA, the germ of the notion,
We cannot have peace and be free,
The aim of each patriot's devotion

To gather in red cents from thee;
Thy dollars make heroes assemble,
Hide Liberty's form from our view;
Thy bankers make honest men tremble:
Two cheers for the *ump, white and blue!

Chorus.

Give cheers for the *ump, white, and blue!
If you don't it will be jail for you,
The army and warfare forever,
Two cheers for the *ump, white, and blue!

—Ida Nough.

*Deleted by the Loyal War Perpetrators as being too radical.

Tennessee Heard From Again

LOOK OUT. Here comes a professor. His name is Dyer, Dr. Gus W. Dyer, professor of political economy at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

And this is what he said in addressing the Missouri Press Association at St. Louis recently on "Americanism"—as reported by The St. Louis Times:

"Attempts to inject the idea of a 'human element' in the question of proper relations between capital and labor are dangerously radical schemes on the part of un-American Socialists who want to undermine the government and destroy the Constitution."

"Matters of wages all resolve themselves into problems of supply and demand. Abundance of available labor automatically lowers wages. If workers do not earn enough for their needs, employers are under no obligation to make up the deficiency in their employees' income."

"If you want to make a present to them, give them more money, but you don't have to if you can get them to work cheaply because men and women in their particular kinds of work are plentiful."

"There is no difference whatever between labor and any other commodity. You buy goods as cheaply as you can. Similarly, you buy labor as cheaply as you can. It would be ridiculous for you to offer to pay more for an article than the prices at which it may be purchased. Just so, it is unreasonable to pay higher wages than those for which you can get people to work."

"Dealing with human beings who sell their labor is just the same as dealing with human beings who sell their eggs, corn, wheat, or cotton. Rich men earn their millions by efficient brain work and are entitled to the fortunes they accumulate. It is unfair to want to take their millions away from them."

"Get my ideas over to the public instead of the Socialist notions which some of our editors preach when your editorials express the opinion that it is the duty of the government to look after folks."

Demands for legislation for minimum wages and other labor regulations were assailed by Doctor Dyer as "un-American" and "contrary to the spirit of the Constitution."

He said:

"Few Americans of today understand the great philosophy behind the Constitution. Everything else is subordinate to the guarantee of freedom of the individual. Leave the individual to battle for his own interests just as our pioneer forefathers did."

Thus Professor Dyer.

And what are we to say of this? I say:

Spooks of Rodbertus, Lassalle and Mill—this professor discovered your iron law of wages and the precious law of supply and demand seventy years after your departure to a better world—and the professor proclaims them as if they had come out of his bakeoven yesterday.

Moreover, he thinks that such an inhuman system is just and right.

Since Rodbertus and Mill, labor unions were born and poked holes in the iron law of wages from below. The co-operative movement evolved and mutilated the poor thing from above.

Trusts and monopolies made a kick ball out of the eternal law of supply and demand. Social legislation conquered every civilized country.

From a nation of frontier farmers we have become one of the foremost manufacturing countries on earth.

The blacksmith shop evolved into the steel mill; the grist mill into the flour trust; grandma's Dutch oven into the bread trust; the ox-cart into the railroad; Darius Green's flying machine into the passenger plane; the cowhorn to the radio, and the candle mold to the super-power plant.

Wherever we look, we find a tremendous development from the simple to the complex—from individual production to social production—from self-sufficiency to world-wide interdependence—from personal salvation to social salvation.

But here comes a sure-enough professor from Tennessee—where they had the "monkey trial"—and advocates that we return, legally and economically, to the good old times when Tom Jefferson tied his horse to the hitching post in front of Reilly's tavern on the way to the inauguration.

In those days when a fellow was smitten with smallpox, it was declared a visitation of Providence, and if the balance of the town caught it from the sinner, it was their own fault.

Why did they associate with a sinner?

Now we have compulsory vaccination in most countries, and sinners and saints alike escape.

Within the memory of most of us, typhoid was regarded as a purely personal matter. A person caught it or didn't. If he escaped, he was lucky, and if he didn't, they soaked him in ice water and called it square. Now we have social hygiene. The water supply of cities is carefully guarded against typhoid germs.

Individual wells are closed up. Dairies are shut down. The health of the individual has become the concern of all.

Illustrations like the above could be cited indefinitely. Living together in hives and herds, men have learned that the individual is but a cell in the social body.

And that the physical, moral and mental health of this cell is very dependent upon the well-being of the whole. And vice versa. They are all very much concerned in the welfare of the single cell. Hence social hygiene and social legislation.

As if defending himself in advance against accusations of being partial to "Big Biz," Dyer disclaims interest in any capitalistic enterprise, asserting he has not a dollar invested in any business.

He was brought to St. Louis by the Associated Industries of Missouri. He was introduced by Harry Scullin, president of the Scullin Steel Company and president of the Associated Industries, who acted as toastmaster.

No apology is required, professor.

Quoting yourself from above speech that "rich men earn their millions by efficient brain work"—that lets you out entirely as far as investing dollars is concerned.

Adam Coaldigger.

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PAUL AXEBROD, RUSSIAN PIONEER

His 75th Anniversary Being Celebrated the World Over

THE name of Paul Axelrod does not belong exclusively to the Russian social-democratic movement; it has long been closely associated with the Socialist International. Comrade Axelrod has been long acknowledged one of the great historic figures of international socialism amongst other equally great socialist veterans, like Karl Kautsky, Edward Bernstein, Guesde, Henderson, Adler, Plekhanoff.

Comrade Paul Axelrod is the oldest of the great founders of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. Since his youth he has been closely connected with all radical and revolutionary movements of his days. Born in a very poor Jewish family in a small Jewish town in Russia, Axelrod early came in contact with the problems of poverty. He educated himself, and when only 13, on a dark, rainy night, with but 35 kopecks in his pocket, left his birthplace in search of better educational opportunities in a government "Gymnasium" in a bigger city.

School, however, was for young Axelrod not the means of training himself for a better chance in life or for a practical career; it was for him purely an educational center, which he did not hesitate to leave as soon as his revolutionary ideas crystallized and he found himself closely connected with the revolutionary circles of the 60's.

The Standard-Bearer of the Russian Movement

Since then Paul Axelrod knew well his aim in life; he devoted himself wholly and exclusively to the cause of Socialism, and for over fifty years was the foremost standard-bearer of the Russian Revolution and International Socialism.

In 1874, after the wide arrests of his closest friends, Axelrod was compelled to flee from Russia. While in Western Europe, Axelrod became closely acquainted with the Socialist movement of Europe, and soon absorbed the scientific principles of Marxian teaching. Since then he remained a foremost exponent of scientific Socialism.

Together with the great Russian Socialist scholar, writer and leader, George Plekhanoff, Axelrod took an active part in Russian socialist circles in Zurich. He published a series of political and socialist articles, and devoted himself to studying the practices of German and other Western social-democratic parties.

In 1883, Axelrod, together with Plekhanoff, Zassoulitch, Deutsch and Ignatoff organized the Russian Social-Democratic Group. The Russian Social-Democracy was to a very large extent the creation of Paul Axelrod. Axelrod tried all his life to draw the Russian Social-Democracy closer to the currents of the Socialist International. He has been in close personal contact with all the great leaders of international Socialism and constantly studied the movement in all European countries; he has often represented Russian Socialism before the Socialist International. This is why the Russian Comrades have learned to appreciate Paul Axelrod not only as the veteran and leader in the Russian Social-Democratic movement, but also as an authority on all subjects pertaining to the political problems of Socialism: As a real internationalist, he could apply the methods and experience of the Western European comrades to the specific problems and situations of his native country in its peculiar political and economic environments.

For the socialists of today it is indeed comparatively easy to get "contaminated" with socialist ideas and socialist teachings, especially in the capitalist countries, where the very atmosphere is permeated with socialism. But one has to realize the backwardness and almost primitiveness of the economic and political status of Russia more than half a century ago to conceive the whole grandeur and strength of the intellectual mind and spirit that fifty years ago "discovered" for Russia the socialist movement and the principles of the social-democratic party.

Deep faith in evergrowing human progress, his faith in the final victory of the cause of Socialism, gave strength to Axelrod in those dark years of despotism in Russia. But, indeed, how profound and thorough must have been his theoretical erudition, and how keen and sharp his analytical power to foresee awakening Russian capitalism in a half-feudal country, the future development of the economic,

political and social forces, and to point out to the then only growing Russian proletariat its socialist road. This sharp analytical weapon Paul Axelrod acquired in Marxism. The mastery of Marxian teaching coupled with the thorough knowledge of the Western European labor movement enabled him to apply the same methods and practices to the entirely different social and economic situations in Russia.

This exceptional ability to apply the Marxian analytical method to political practices enabled Axelrod to discern some 23 years ago—and 14 years before the Bolshevik came to power through the October revolt—the menace of the Bolshevik conspirators and anti-democratic tendencies within the party ranks. With almost prophetic intuition, at the very inception of the Bolshevik centralistic and militaristic practices, Axelrod pointed out in his memorable articles in "Iskra" ("The Spark"), the official organ of the Russian Social-Democratic group, published in Switzerland by Axelrod, Plekhanoff, Martoff and other Russian Social-Democratic pioneers, that Lenin's leadership, if victorious, would ultimately bring about the most deceptive political masquerade, under the most revolutionary ("communist") slogans, guided by the so-called Marxian and "orthodox" revolutionary leaders of the Lenin school, the Russian proletariat, in its efforts to serve its own cause of political emancipation and socialism, would become but the mere weapon of the bourgeois revolution. With his extraordinary political foresight Axelrod foresaw in Lenin the new "Socialist" Bonaparte of the Russian revolution.

And after the February revolution of 1917 Axelrod became antagonistic to the conspiratorial and demagogic policies of the Bolshevik party. His clear mind and socialist conscience could not reconcile themselves with the anti-democratic and dictatorial tendencies of Lenin and his group. And up to the present day Axelrod has remained the most ardent opponent of the Bolshevik regime.

It is perhaps needless to mention that Comrade Axelrod was naturally against the political intervention of the foreign powers in Russian affairs, against the alliance of the Russian democratic forces with the foreign capitalist armies in opposition to the Bolshevik regime. But he was the most active advocate of the immediate moral intervention of the organized proletarian masses abroad and of the interference of international socialist parties and labor organizations in the bloody tyranny of the so-called "Labor and Peasant Government" of Russia; he incessantly worked to influence organized socialist public opinion, through the political resolutions of the Socialist International, through the declarations of foreign labor organizations and conventions and through the foreign labor delegations to Russia, to bring about pressure on the so-called "communist" government.

Briefly, Comrade Axelrod held that the "national" problems of the Russian working class should be as much in the political horizon of the foreign Socialist parties as their own "national" affairs; that it was the duty of the Socialist International, the duty of the European and American comrades before the international socialist conscience, not merely to stop the capitalist military intervention in Russia, but also to organize their own socialist moral intervention in the affairs of a country where the most bloody dictatorship paraded under the banners and name of Socialism.

Fearing that Russian Bolshevism, if it penetrated into the ranks of the Western European labor organizations, would be disastrous to the cause of the international proletariat, would demoralize the European working class and would tend to turn the proletarian masses of Europe away from the right road, Axelrod with all the strength of his logical mind and personal knowledge and experience, constantly warned the socialist and labor leaders in Europe against any communistic illu-

sions. It was not an easy task to dissuade the exalted European comrades and laboring masses, often suspicious and distrustful, often hostile, deceived by this wide Bolshevik propaganda, misguided and misled by the paid agitators and agents of Moscow.

And if after years of incessant Bolshevik propaganda, the "Russian Problem" became the ever-standing subject of the order of the day of every labor and socialist convention in every European country—we may readily say, that in a very great degree, it was Comrade Axelrod who was instrumental in this by his constant and untiring campaign.

Over fifty years of socialist activity, persecution, privations, life of a political emigre, political defeats and crushings by merciless enemies nursed in our own socialist ranks, did not break the spirit of our noble Comrade. Still active and alert, though 75 years young, Paul Axelrod, at present in Berlin, where he heads the foreign delegation of the Social-Democratic (Mensheviks) Labor Party of Russia, is continuing the task of his life: teaching socialism and guiding the proletarian masses in the true spirit of the socialist international.

August 25 (the birthday anniversary of Comrade Axelrod), was celebrated throughout socialist Europe: socialist parties of every country, all great socialist leaders, the recent international socialist convention at Marseilles—all commemorated Comrade Axelrod and congratulated him on his 75th birthday.

Our Russian comrades in New York—the New York Group of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, the Russian Branch of our own S. P., and other Russian socialist organizations of New York, have devoted special meetings to celebrating this great jubilee of their teacher and leader. They have sent congratulatory cables and letters to Berlin.

Our New York comrades, too, will shortly celebrate Comrade Axelrod's jubilee in a public meeting organized by the Russian Socialist Branch. Prominent socialists will address the meeting which will be held in the Rand School, Friday evening, November 20. Every socialist should pay his respects to the great international leader of socialism.

The New Leader Mail Bag.

A Real Play

Editor, The New Leader:
Once in a blue moon a "Real Play" comes to New York, stays a very short while and then, of course, makes room for the "Smut" variety in which the New Yorkers take such great delight.

Several weeks ago I witnessed a performance of the so-called hobo play, "Outside Looking In." Being a young radical it is seldom that a play is strong enough for me, being somewhat of a red-blooded animal. However, I can heartily endorse this as a real honest-to-God revolutionary play which will satisfy anyone inclined my way.

I wish you would give it as much publicity as possible so that fellow workers and readers of the Leader can if they desire get in on this treat. Wishing you continued successes and good health.

W. L. HENNESSY.

Brooklyn.

The Election

Editor, The New Leader:
Kindly allow me some space in The New Leader about the lessons of the last New York City elections.

I want to add to the several conclusions as pointed out in editorial of your publication of Nov. 7 and also in an article in the same issue by Comrade Shipiloff, and also in an editorial of the "Jewish Forward" of Nov. 7, that although most of those conclusions are correct, yet, in my opinion, there is a very vital reason why party workers lay down on the job this year, namely: a great many got disgusted with the policy of the "Jewish Forward" in regard to the union leaders and job holders of the Ladies' Garment Workers Union. It is no secret that a great many of the former job holders who pretended to be Socialists have grossly abused their power and the said publication knew of it, yet it didn't dare criticize their misconduct.

Maybe such criticism on the part of said publication would injure its circulation to some extent, but the Jewish Forward is first of all an organ for Socialism. Then shouldn't the Socialist Party's interest be placed above every other interest? Are not

a great many comrades sacrificing their private interest to the cause of Socialism?

Another conclusion I draw from the last election is that the Workmen's Circle is not a Socialist body, the claim of their active members notwithstanding. In the "Forward" of Sunday preceding election day I made an urgent request for election watchers for the Coney Island polling places; the place to meet was to be in the Workmen's Circle School of Brighton Beach. Nobody responded to the call. There live in Coney Island about 1,000 Workmen's Circle members.

In conclusion, I appeal to all sympathizers of the Socialist cause to rally under the banner of Socialism regardless of our past failures, for we are not in the movement for what we can get out of it, but for what service we can give to suffering humanity.

I. GARFINK.

Brooklyn.

America and Japan

Editor, The New Leader:
I have written the following letter to President Coolidge, which I hope you will publish:
To President Coolidge.

Dear Sir:
It would be difficult to imagine a more tactless speech than that reported (Aug. 24) from Honolulu by Maj.-Gen. E. M. Lewis in which he told the world that "the next war would be in the Pacific with Hawaii as the great outpost for American defense."

Why in the name of Christianity,

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common sense and international friendship must there be a NEXT WAR?

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Starting with the fundamental truth that "no nation has any right to monopolize any more of the earth's surface than its own people need and that the earth is given for the use of all men, we ought to see surely that

(Continued on page 9)

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Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council

MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING

Office, 166 East 56th Street. Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 108th Street Telephone: Lehigh 3141

Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, Regular Meetings Every Friday at 310 East 104th Street.

ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HEINENFELD, Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N.Y.

Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELD'S HALL, 31 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.

Phone Watkins 9158 LEON H. ROUSE, President John Sullivan, Vice-President John S. O'Connell, Secretary-Treas. Theodore F. Douglas, Organizer

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Hillwell 6394.

Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.

Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.

BENJAMIN A. DAVIS, President. WILLIAM PIPOTA, Financial Secretary. WILLIAM MEHRTENS, Recording Secretary. CHARLES McDAMNS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents.

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LOCAL UNION No. 463, of NEW YORK CITY

Office 2033 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4878.

Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 243 East 84th Street

MATTHEW J. MORAN, President. JOHN WALSH, Vice-President. FRED DEIGAN, General-Secretary. TIMOTHY HOPKINS, Secretary.

GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN BASSETT, PAT DREW.

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LOCAL NO. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK. Phone: Sterling 7125.

Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Regular Meetings every Monday evening, at 123 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn.

Executive Board meets every Friday evening, at the Office.

Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.

THOMAS F. OATES, President. CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

Amalgamated Lithographers

of America, New York Local No. 1

Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 250 WEST 14th ST. Phone: WATkins 7104

Regular

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

Mrs. White Absent on Leave

At the recent meeting of the National Executive Committee it was voted that as soon as she could at all get away from her office duties, Mrs. White should take a leave of absence due to her sorely impaired health. She has attended to her office duties for more than three weeks since the Committee meeting. However, her physician has imperatively ordered her to break off and go immediately to a softer climate for a recuperative rest. When Mrs. White left Chicago, she had not definitely selected a place to spend her several weeks leave of absence. All mail addressed to Mrs. White at the National Office will receive immediate attention.

Managing Editor Active

Murray E. King, managing editor of the American Appeal, visited the National Office last week. King is perfectly clear as to what the contents, methods, tactics, policy and general quality of the new national propaganda paper should be. He is a man of force and vision. He plans to pour his life into this enterprise. The editor-in-chief, Comrade Debs, will have a host in Comrade King. They are busy conferring, planning, preparing to give the American Socialist movement a double-edged sword for the world-wide war against capitalism.

NATIONAL YIPSEL NEWS

Massachusetts

Score for Gardner again! Although the League has been quicker than usual in resuming activities this fall, the chair town group up in Massachusetts leads the way. A very able presentation of the two act comedy, "Sally Lunn," made a hit with a large audience gathered in the Ash Street headquarters of the party, and marked the beginning of the season's work. Meetings are again reported well attended and the membership growing.

National Office

The national office is now issuing a weekly bulletin reaching all the circles of the League. The new bulletin combines a periodical news letter of interest to the League membership with educational features, special articles and organization material. The plan permits of further elaboration, for which preparations are being made, but in its present form is expected to be a valuable asset in tying the circles into closer contact.

New England District

Reports have been received from the Worcester circle of the League that the publication of the "Yipsel Mirror" has been resumed. The membership will remember well the "Mirror," which for quite a while was the recognized periodical of the New England Yipsels. Its popularity grew fast in the small space of time it reached the membership, and everyone missed it greatly when the committee was forced to suspend publication about a year ago. Now we find the Worcester circle, inspired by the renewed growth of the circle, again turning out for the district membership the much wanted "Mirror."

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.

Election Results

The vote for all parties was very tight in Pennsylvania except where there were bitter local contests. This was equally true of the Socialist vote. Owing to the failure to get the name of our candidate for Judge of Superior Court on the primary ballot the Republican candidate secured the nomination. As this was the only Statewide office voted for at this election it is a little difficult to tell the exact Socialist vote. Indications are that we held our own wherever there was any work done.

Westmoreland

Socialist vote in Westmoreland County for at least two offices was greater than the entire number of registered Socialists in the county. Bertha Tinney, candidate for Clerk of Courts received 3,082 votes. The Labor candidate for Judge of Superior Court received 578 votes. When it is considered that only a trifle over a half of the registered voters in the county went to the polls the showing of the Socialist candidates in polling more than their total registration is considered very good.

LYKENS

The mining town of Lykens, Dauphin County, cast the highest Socialist vote in its history at the recent election. The Socialist candidate for Auditor received 435 votes, and all other Socialist candidates, including the county ticket, did very well; one Inspector of Elections was elected.

The Socialist campaign is not over; our work of education goes on throughout the year; next year a governor and other State officers and Congressmen are to be elected. Now is the time to reach the people with our message. Every Socialist should be circulating literature and urging his fellow workers to vote better conditions for the worker. The State office will gladly supply literature and help in every way possible.

NEW JERSEY

The State Committee met November 8 with the following members present: Bohlin, Rambo, Goebel, Wittel, Gruppo, Hyman, Leeman, Hubschmitt and Miller. Reports of counties showed: Bergen: A good Hillquit meeting and a meeting arranged at the State Street School, Hackensack, for Rys Davies. M. P.; prospects good for a branch in that city. Camden: Considering the union of branches into one and selling old headquarters and buy a new one in a better location. Essex: Two good meetings in Newark, with Rennie Smith, Rys Davies and Morgan Jones, M. P.s, as speakers. Will follow up these meetings with organization work; arranging a dinner for Oscar Ameringer (Adam Coadigger) Sunday night in Newark. Hudson: Arranging a Forward Hall in co-operation with Jewish Socialist Verband and the Workmen's Circle. Passaic: A splendid field for agitation; James Oneal will lecture November 20 on "The Workers in American History," and a meeting for Norman Thomas is being considered. Report on Organizer Harkin's work was read and a bill of \$21.24 was allowed. The financial report showed: Balance October 18, \$209.98; receipts to date, \$740.75; total, \$950.73; expenditures to date, \$147.40; balance on hand November 8, \$803.33.

NEWARK

Oscar Ameringer (Adam Coadigger) often called The Mark Twain of the Labor movement, will be the principal speaker at a supper reception, tendered to him by the Essex County Socialist Party, to be held in the Blue Room of the Krueger's auditorium 15 Belmont avenue on November 15, 6:30 p. m. Reservations at one dollar per cover may be secured by calling up Dr. Louis Reiss, 188 Springfield avenue, phone Market 8350.

CALIFORNIA

District Organizer, Emil Herman, continues to push his work in California. He has organized an excellent local at Dunsmuir. Herman corresponds with prospects in advance of reaching a town, keeps up a correspondence with Locals organized, goes after the local press, is tireless in making calls, holds occasional meetings, rounds up the men and women who should line up in the new Local, organizes where there is sufficient suitable material, collects dues as far as possible in advance, never neglects the Organization Maintenance Fund, and insists that the American Appeal is the big best bet for the upbuilding of the Socialist movement. He insists on subscriptions and gets them. In the absence of Lena Morrow Lewis from the State Office on a speaking and organizing trip down state, Isabel King, always loyally ready to co-operate to the limit, is assisting in the work of preparing Herman's route.

INDIANA

The city elections in Indiana show a heavy decline in the total vote cast for the old parties. Politicians of the capitalist parties did their best to arouse interest but without success. The Socialist Party nominated tickets in Indianapolis, Kokomo, Clinton and Terre Haute but at the time of writing no reports of the Socialist vote have been received except from Kokomo. In that city the Socialists nearly elected their candidate for Mayor and a little more hard work would have been crowned with success. With some systematic work a number of Indiana cities can be carried for the Socialist Party.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

The Boston Central Branch held a supper at the Public High Grade Dining Room; Thursday, Nov. 5, for the purpose of having a get-together and to hear a report of the International

Socialist Congress by George E. Roemer, Jr., who was a delegate to the Congress. There was an unusually fine attendance at this affair. It shows that the local Socialists took a great interest in the deliberations at Marcellus. The complete National Executive Board of the Fur Workers' Union was also in attendance.

Clarence Darrow will speak in Infantry Hall, Providence, R. I., Monday, Dec. 14. His talk will be on "Crime, Its Cause and Treatment." Tickets for this affair may be purchased at M. Steinert and Sons, Steinert Building, 495 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.

Morgan Jones, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary of Education in the late MacDonald Cabinet of England, will speak in Worcester, Mass., in Washburn Hall, Mechanics Building, Sunday, Nov. 15, at 2:30 p. m. The party members in Worcester are working exceptionally hard to put over this affair. They are passing out circulars, visiting organizations and all the other work that is essential to a successful meeting. There will be no admission charged.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven

At an enthusiastic meeting of the local it was decided to start a house-to-house canvass for new members and to secure subscriptions for the party press.

James H. Maurer, president of the State Federation of Labor of Pennsylvania, will speak at the Labor Forum, Thursday evening, Nov. 19. His subject will be "Why Workers' Education?" It is expected that this meeting will be the largest attended of the series. The Central body was fortunate in being able to secure Mr. Maurer, who will also speak before a class of Yale students at 11 a. m. on Nov. 19.

NEW YORK STATE

The second of the debates between Locals Albany and Schenectady was held at Carmen's Hall, Albany, last Wednesday evening. The question debated was: "Resolved, That Socialism can solve all the problems of society." Albany took the affirmative and Schenectady the negative.

On Sunday evening there will be a debate at Cohoes between Comrade LaMarche and S. H. Stille on the Nearing-Darrow subject: "Is Humanity Worth Saving?" State Secretary Merrill will preside.

Reports indicate that good progress has been made in the sale of tickets for the several Debs' banquets to be held up-State in December.

State Secretary Merrill has urged locals that are not favored by Debs' banquets this year to grasp at the opportunity of striking strong blows for Socialism by applying for one of the open dates of Rhys Davies, British M. P.

The Debs' Liberty Bonds, authorized by the State Committee, will soon be issued. The bond is a work of art, and every Socialist should be inspired to possess it.

BUFFALO

Morgan Jones, Labor Member of the British Parliament, will be in Buffalo Friday and Saturday, Nov. 20 and 21. Friday evening he will speak at Pilgrim Evangelical Church under the auspices of the Evangelical Brotherhood of Buffalo. Saturday noon he will be the guest of honor at a luncheon at the Hotel Statler under the auspices of the Buffalo group of the New York State Federation of Progressive Women. Reservations can be made by notifying the chairman, Mrs. W. D. Blachier, 205 Potomac avenue. Saturday evening a Socialist get-together will be held, place to be announced later. Reservations can be made by notifying Robert A. Hoffman, 732 Brisbane Building, Phone, Seneca 3146.

Lecture at 8th, 8th A. D.

Dr. Leon Rossier Land will speak on race prejudice this Friday evening November 13, at the headquarters, 137 Avenue E. The lecture promises to be an unusual treat and comrades are urged to bring their friends with them. The Committee on the Branch Sunday School will submit its plans at the end of the lecture. Plans for the annual affair will also be made.

BROOKLYN

Central Committee

The Central Committee will meet Saturday, Nov. 14, at 8 p. m., at the County Office, 167 Tompkins avenue. All delegates are urged to attend, for there are matters of very great importance to be acted upon.

Borough Meeting

A special Borough meeting will be held on Sunday, Nov. 15, at 2:30 p. m. at the Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion place. The order of business will be the reorganization of the Party branches.

This is a very vital question, and upon the decision of the membership will depend the future of our Party organization in Brooklyn. All members are therefore requested to remember that this coming Sunday afternoon

they must be at this Borough meeting and nowhere else.

WILLIAMSBURG

This Friday, Nov. 13, August Claessens will lecture at Williamsburg Educational Alliance, 76 Throop avenue, Brooklyn, at 8:30 p. m. in the large hall on the subject, "Social Forces: Hunger, Sex and Safety." This lecture will be followed by three more lectures on Nov. 27, Dec. 11 and Dec. 25. Admission, 10 cents. Arranged by Branches 3, 4, 6 and 325 Workmen's Circle.

JUNIOR YIPSELS

The response to the appeal for directors has been gratifying. The names of the directors of the various circles will be announced next week.

Circle 6, Harlem, held its semi-annual elections last week. Louis Relin, Borough Organizer of the Manhattan circles, was re-elected organizer of Circle 6. The other officers are: Educational Director, Isidore Aronin; Recording Secretary, Eleanor Lefko; Financial Secretary, Sylvia Friedman; Social Director, Dora Wolinsky; Athletic Director, Wm. Bookbinder.

Congressman La Guardia is scheduled to speak to Circle 6 in the near future.

A schedule of lectures for the Juniors by prominent Socialists is being prepared by Alexander Schwartz, organizer of Local New York.

Meeting Next Friday To Honor Paul Axelrod

A meeting to celebrate the 75th birthday of Paul Axelrod, the great Russian Socialist leader, will be held Friday evening, November 20, in the Debs Auditorium of the Peoples' House, 7 East 15th street.

The speakers will be Morris Hillquit, Algoner Lee, B. C. Vladeck, Dr. Sergius Ingberman, who will preside; Levitus, I. Villatzer and Anatole Brailovsky. The meeting has been organized by the Russian Branch of the Socialist Party.

Admission will be free.

The New Leader Mail Bag

(Continued from page 8)
Australia (as large as the United States, with only 70 million people, has no right to say to the Japanese, "Keep Out.")

Japan is terribly over crowded and they must have more room for expansion. They want to come here but we also tell them to "Keep Out." Now, if American statesmen were broad-minded and far-seeing enough, they ought to realize that our true policy is to encourage the Japanese by every means, to look to Australia for expansion and then they would not bother us.

An English writer (Lovett, I think) in the Fortnightly Review, 15 years ago, declared that the Northern half of Australia could support 30 million people and it would suit the Japanese admirably and keep them busy for 100 years.

In view of the foregoing facts, it is truly amazing to see the American government sending our fleet to Australia to read that, and the Governor of Australia writes to President Coolidge and says, "In questions touching the great region of the Pacific I am sure that our aims will always be similar."

In plain English America says to Australia, "You may depend on us to keep the Japanese out of Australia." To put it bluntly, Uncle Sam offers himself as a cat's paw to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for John Bull. What sort of statesmanship is this?

F. A. BINNEY,
San Diego, Calif.

The normal condition of things in a capitalist and land-owning world is a condition of open or concealed struggle between wage-earners and wage-payers.—Grant Allen.

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.

FUR FLOOR WORKERS

UNION LOCAL 3, F. I. U. A. S.

Office and Headquarters, 649 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. BUck 5229

Regular Meetings Every First and Third Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Thursday.

FRANK BARROSI, JAMES CARUSO, President Secretary

NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.

1 E. 16th St., New York 10

Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street

President N. Ullman

Recording Sec'y J. Rosenzweig

Heavy Lett. Sec'y J. Rosenzweig

Vice-President E. WENNER, Fin. Sec'y

Bus. Agent G. Levine, Chas. Kassine, Treasurer

FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15

Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 22nd St.

M. SUROFF, Chairman.

L. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman.

C. REGER, Vice-Chairman.

J. HOFFINGER, Secretary.

A. COHEN, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS' UNION

LOCAL 1

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 22nd St.

M. SUROFF, Chairman.

L. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman.

C. REGER, Vice-Chairman.

J. HOFFINGER, Secretary.

A. COHEN, Secretary.

UNION DIRECTORY

HERE'S YOUR UNION, WHEN IT MEETS, AND WHERE

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148

MORRIS BLOMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

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

Office 221 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4189

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION

DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

DISTRICT COUNCIL

MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Office: 2 WEST 16TH STREET Telephone Chelsea 2148

The Council meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday. Telephone Chelsea 2148

The Board of Directors meet every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

H. GREENBERG, President, S. LEPROVITS, Manager.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 221 E. 14th Street, Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4840

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.

SECTION MEETINGS

Downtown—251 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.

Brooklyn—E. 14th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.

Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.

B'klyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—74 Montrose Ave.

SAVATTORE NINFO, Manager-Secretary.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS

UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the O.M.C. 551 E. 161st St.

Malrose 7499

CARL GRABHER, President.

M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

Italian Dressmakers

Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.

Affiliated with Joint Board of Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the O.M.C. 8 West 31st Street. Telephone 7148—Valentin.

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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

129 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.

D. GINGOLD, A. WEINGART, Manager, Sec'y-Treas.

United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.

7 East 15th St. Phone: STUYVESANT 1028

Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office.

LOUIS FELDHEIM, President

ED. GOTTSHEIN, Sec'y-Treas.

L. D. REGER, Manager

LOUIS FUORI, Bus. Agent.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 42 of I. L. G. W. U.

117 Second Avenue

TELEPHONE ORCHARD 7146-7

A. SYNDER, MOLLY LIPSITZ, Manager, Secretary

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS

UNION LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.

7 East 15th St. Tel. STUYVESANT 1027

Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the office of the Union

S. J. FRIEDMAN, Secretary

M. M. ESSENFIELD, NATHAN RIEBEL, Manager, Sec'y-Treas.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715

Telephone: STUYVESANT 6300-1-2-3-4-5

SYDNEY WILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

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A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."

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Regular meetings every Friday night at 8:15 East Fifth Street.

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.

PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

❖ ❖ DRAMA ❖ ❖

The Mermaid Dramatists

By Joseph T. Shipley

V—Homely Heywood

DESPITE the fact that Thomas Heywood could speak of "two hundred and twenty plays in which I have had either an entire hand, or at the least a main finger," his are among the most readable of our old English dramas. Seldom holding by the power of their dramatic structure, rarely rising to the fervor of poetry, they move with a simple sincerity and love of humanity, with a genuine interest in the characters displayed, that engage the reader's sympathy and carry him along with the dramatist. The rape of Lucrece, the Golden Age, may be far off times and happenings; like Shakespeare and Shaw, Heywood makes the men and women of those days English in thought and action. His characters are real to Heywood, their experiences such as he might share; he seems indeed to put himself—kindly, considerate, gentle—in the place of his heroes, to determine their acts by his impulses. Thus Frankford, instead of meeting out death to his wife and her lover, his own trusted friend, is softer than the stern code of his day; he sends her comfortably off to another of his mansions. But in his cry "O Nan! O Nan!" is concentrated the homely grief of a plain and honest man. If Heywood was unable to attain the cold peaks of high-born tragedy, he knew the warm passion and pain of simple English souls.

The plays of Heywood carry their English heroes on far journeys—as indeed in those days of exploration and privateering they sailed in life as well; but everywhere they bear the unaffected aspects of the plain-spoken man of honor. The modern poet, dying abroad, knew that where he was buried one spot of ground "shall be forever England"; the typical English traveler—"Where the king sits, there is the head of the table"—takes England with him wherever he goes; the characters of Heywood's dramas are no exception to this practice, but happily bring abroad the best of their homeland.

Yet it is when he never leaves his native shores that the playwright is most successful; the pageant of kings of Fes, bashaws of the Orient, Italian dukes and nondescript nabobs of "The Fair Maid of the West" is dazzling, perhaps, but has none of the simple reality of the townsmen and countrymen whom The Wise Woman of Hogsden smears in her prophet- (and profit-) house. She arranges them for the

final coup, incidentally, in perhaps Heywood's most effectively managed scene: the various injured parties, hid in chambers around the central room, one by one break in upon the lying villain, to front him in his falsehood till he falls. This play, and such others as "The English Traveler," yield excellent pictures of the customs of the time. Women and gaming are the young blade's chief delights; he gambles in hopes of winning funds to keep his favorite whore in silk garters; on her and for her he spends what his skill or his inheritance brings him. A gay feast is the usual prelude to these more serious affairs; Young Lionel orders for a single dinner duck, capon, turkey, green plover, snipe, partridge, lark, cock, pheasant, and widegon, caviar, sturgeon, anchovies, pickles, oysters, "yes, and a potato-pie. . . no butcher's meat; of that beware in any case."

Heywood is a little uneasy with these loose women, or with any women; he cannot hold them in check; he cannot, indeed, endow them with deep emotions. From a love that is pictured as devout springs a sudden lechery, and an equally unexplained repentance. Bess Bridges, the fair maid of the West, is most effectively portrayed when—in disguise or out—she behaves like a man. For the man, especially the country gentleman, is the spirit Heywood most fully reveals in his dramas. Usually a romance is gaily wrapped around the deserving hero, and carried to pleasant fulfillment.

The language of Heywood is simple and direct, perhaps nearest of the dramatists of his day to the spoken word. Without artifice, deeply sincere, it comes as vividly as actual conversation. The tavern scenes are invariably caught to the life, with a fidelity—and an accompanying carelessness of formal structure—that suggests they were written on an ale-house bench. We may picture Shakespeare sitting quietly at a table of livelier companions, joining more soberly in their riotous sport; and Heywood alone in a corner, tankered on table pen in hand, wishing he had the nerve to chuck the tavern wench under the chin as he jots down her response to his more daring—and therefore more fortunate—neighbor. This close association gave Heywood's songs the vigor that made them so popular. Some of these—"Shall I woo the lovely Molly," "I will show thee the way to know a dainty dapper maid," or, most popular, "The Spaniard loves his ancient slop"—have the pungency of street ballads; others—"She that denies me I would have," "Come, list and hark"—are as delicate as the dawn of a wedding day.

MARY GLYNNE



returns to Broadway in "The Offence," a psychological drama coming to the Ritz Theatre Monday afternoon for a series of special matinees.

A Colorful Comedy

Marjorie Rambeau Does Some Splendid Acting in "Antonia" at the Empire

THAT excellent American actress, Marjorie Rambeau, after floundering around for several seasons with mediocre plays, has at last rung another bull's-eye at the Empire Theatre with a play from the Hungarian of Melchior Lengyel, author of "The Czarina," entitled "Antonia."

Briefly the story concerns itself with a sort of Lillian Russell character, who, after triumphs in the capital as prima donna and the toast of the town, settles down to married life on a farm and for ten years proceeds to forget the gaieties of her past existence in applying herself vigorously to aiding her husband run the estate. Act one finds Antonia restless at the approach of fall, symbolic of the wane of her own summer, and the crisis is precipitated by the arrival of her young niece from Budapest to secure the aid of her aunt in winning the attention and love of a French officer, who is a cosmopolitan figure of note in the capital and with whom the niece has fallen desperately in love. At first Antonia is obdurate, but at last she relents and departs with her niece for the gaieties she has been trying to forget for years.

The following scene, laid in a gilded supper palace in Budapest, depicts the triumphant entry of Antonia into her old life with a former admirer more enamored than ever, and the French officer a prey to her charms instead of the niece's. Then follows Antonia's return to the farm early the next morning, quickly followed by the gallant old admirer and the French officer.

After a hectic scene of explanation everything turns out smoothly and Antonia, husband, old admirer, the French officer and the niece sit down to breakfast at the finish of the escapade.

As Antonia, Marjorie Rambeau reaches splendid acting heights. Lumsden Hare, as her husband, Philip Merivale, as the old admirer, Ruth Hammond as the niece, and Georges Renavent, as a French captain, contribute more than usually satisfying ensemble portraits.

The play has been not only ably cast, but sumptuously mounted with two excellent settings by Joseph Urban in his best manner. Arthur Richman made the adaption.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

Vaudeville's little buffoon, Sylvia Clark, in "Kavortings Uneek," will head the vaudeville bill at B. S. Moss' Broadway, beginning Monday. Other acts include: Alexandria and Olsen in "What's It All About?" assisted by Charles Johnson, Joe Bosser and Sammy Klein; John Barry; and Tommy Russell and Ernie Marconi.

The first New York showing of "Morals for Men" will occupy the screen next week. Conway Tearle and Agnes Ayres head the cast, which also includes Ailyn Mills, Otto Matieson and Robert Ober.

PALACE

Willard Mack will be at the Palace this coming week in his own playlet, "Kick In." Mr. Mack will be supported by Charles McCarthy, Shirley Ward, Beatrice Banyard and Joseph Sweeney. The other acts include: The Marvelous Lockfords, with Paul Tissen's Orchestra; Jay Dillon and Betty Parker and company; Mile. Juliette Dika; Harry Burns, assisted by Carlens Diamond and Vic Laurie; Miss Corinne and Dick Himber; Moss and Frye, and the Three Australian Boys.

Hugo Riesenfeld, managing director of the Rialto, Rivoli and Criterion theatres, announces that he has asked to be released from the many duties of his position and plans an extended rest after January first.

"Chivalry," by William Hurlbut, will be produced by a new producing firm, Shea and Bradshaw early in December. Violet Heming will play the lead.

❖ ❖ THEATRES ❖ ❖

WINTER GARDEN

EVENINGS, 8:30.
MATS. TUES., THUR. & SAT.
NOW, AS ALWAYS, THE
WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS REVUE



GREAT CAST
18 GERTRUDE HOFFMANN GIRLS
Holiday Matinee Thanksgiving Day

WINTER GARDEN

SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT
STARS FROM "ARTISTS AND MODELS," "BIG BOY," "GAY PAREE," "STUDENT PRINCE," "JUNE DAYS" and other headline acts
JACK ROSE, Master of Ceremonies

SHUBERT THEATRE

44TH STREET, W. OF B'WAY
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. and Sat.

The Continental Revue

GAY PAREE

A SUPER CAST

The World's Most Beautiful Girls

"A pert and peppery revue. A second 'Artists and Models'."—BURNS MANTLE in the News.
Holiday Matinee Thanksgiving Day

"CANDIDA" remains a play to be seen by those who haven't seen it—and those who have."
Ward Morehouse, Herald-Tribune.

Shaw's comedy masterpiece presented by Actors' Theatre with "an unusually capable cast" (Times), including Peggy Wood, Harry C. Browne, Morgan Farley, Richie Ling, Helen Tilden and Frank Henderson. Staged by Dudley Digges.

Comedy Theatre, West 41st St. Penn. 3558. Mats. Today & Sat.

ROSALIE STEWART PRESENTS
The DRAMATIC HIT
"CRAIG'S WIFE"
by GEORGE KELLY
author of "The Show-Off"
WITH
CHRYSAL HERNE
MOROSCO THEATRE, W. 45th St.
EVENINGS, 8:30
MATINEES, WED. & SAT. 2:30

AH-WOODS PRESENTS
The GREEN HAT
BY MICHAEL ARLEN
THE DRAMATIC SENSATION OF THE CENTURY
KATHARINE CORNELL
MARGALO QUELHORE
LESLIE HOWARD
Broadhurst
THEATRE 44 ST. W. B'WAY
MATS. THURS. & SAT.

The KISS IN TAXI
WITH
ARTHUR BYRON
JANET BEECHER
Bijou
THEATRE 45 ST. W. B'WAY
MATS. WED. & SAT.
49th MONTH IN NEW YORK

RALPH MORGAN



plays a leading role in the new Wagenhals and Kempers' production, "The Joker," due at the Maxine Elliott Theatre Monday.

LAST 3 WEEKS
AL JOLSON
"BIG BOY"
at the
44th ST. THEATRE
EVS. 8:30. MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30
MATINEE THANKSGIVING
FAREWELL NEW YORK PERFORMANCE SAT. DEC. 5th

JOLSON'S 30th ST. THEATRE
407th to 414th TIMES
Most glorious musical play of our time!
The STUDENT PRINCE
IN HEIDELBERG
with HOWARD MARSH
and ILSE MARVENGA
Staged by J.C. HUFFMAN
Symph. Orch. of 40 Singing Chorus of 60
Balc. Seats (Res'd.) 700 at \$1.10; 500 at \$1.65; 300 at \$2.20. Dress Circle Seats at \$2.50
MATINEE THANKSGIVING DAY
ANNIVERSARY PERFORMANCE DEC. 2nd

CENTURY Theat., 62d St. and Central

Park West. Evenings 8:30

MATS. WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY

"IS SET FOR A WINTER'S RUN."

—Burns Mantle, News

THE "PERFECT" OPERETTA

PRINCESS FLAVIA

Musical Version of
THE PRISONER OF ZENDA

Cast: Symphony Orch. of 60 Singing Chorus of 125
Balc. Seats (Res'd.) 700 at \$1.10; 500 at \$1.65; 300 at \$2.20. Dress Circle Seats at \$2.50
Holiday Matinee Thanksgiving Day

"DRAMA SUPERB IN THEME, ACTING AND DIRECTING."—Charles B. Davis, Herald-Tribune
"STOLEN FRUIT" ELTINGE
W 42 St. Evs. 8:40
Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40
With the Best Acting Cast in New York, Including
Ann Harding, Bello Peters, Harry Berensford, Felix Krembs
Good Balcony Seats Always at Box Office

CHANIN'S 46TH ST. Theat., W. of B'way
Evenings 8:15
Matinee Wed. & Sat., 2:30
11th MONTH of the LAUGH SENSATION!

IS ZAT SO?

By
JAMES GLEASON
and RICHARD TABER
Matinee Thanksgiving Day

HORACE LIVERIGHT Presents
HAMLET
IN MODERN DRESS
WITH
BASIL SYDNEY
"Audience came to wonder, remained to cheer."—E. W. Osborn, Evening World.
BOOTH Theat., 45th St. & B'way Evs. 8:20 precisely. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

The GLASS SLIPPER
A Comedy of MOLNAR
GUILD THEATRE 52nd Street, W. of B'way
MATS. THURS. and SAT., 2:30

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

ARMS AND THE MAN
Alfred Lunt, Lynn Fontanne,
Pedro de Cordoba
49th ST. Theatre, West of Broadway
Mats. Wed. and Sat., 2:30

GARRICK GAIETIES
Sparkling Musical Revue
GARRICK 65 W. 25th St. Evs. 8:20
Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30
NEW FALL EDITION

GUARANTEES
A thousand laughs
The comedy hit
of the season
APPLESAUCE
with
ALLAN DINEHART
and a distinguished cast including
VIVIAN TOBIN, William Holden, Jessie Crommette,
Walter Connolly, Clara Blandick and Jules Farny
AMBASSADOR
49th ST. W. of B'WAY
MATS. WED. & SAT.

"Candida" Returns

Bernard Shaw's Brilliant Comedy Reopens at Comedy Theatre for Three-Week Stay

"CANDIDA," Bernard Shaw's wonderful comedy of married life, has been brought back by the Actors' Theatre for a three weeks' engagement at the Comedy Theatre. The production is notable for the performance of Peggy Wood as Candida and Morgan Farley (the young man who played so brilliantly in "Fata Morgana") as Eugene Marchbanks. "Candida" is one of the few plays that can stand a second visit—and a third and a fourth.

Miss Wood is radiantly beautiful, and she is a perfect picture of the 33-year-old wife of the Socialist minister. Candor, however, compels one to report that during the first two acts her voice was a little high pitched and she spoke a bit hysterically. In the third act, however, one of the most poignantly written scenes in all English literature, she rose to the occasion and sent us from the theatre almost with tears in our eyes.

Mr. Farley is perfect as the poet. Where Richard Bird seemed a pathological case, Mr. Farley gives a picture of a modern, up-to-date Shelley, supremely sane and bewildered by the world into which he has been flung. The rest of the cast, an entirely new one from the group of players that the Actors' Theatre presented last spring, is more than adequate.

To friends of our late beloved Eugene Wood, the vision of the beautiful Peggy, his daughter, was a sharp reminder of their late comrade. Peggy's eyes and mouth and the expression of her face are a living memory of the dear soul who left us three years ago. If you haven't seen "Candida," see it at once. If you have seen it, see it again.

ALLEN JENKINS



plays the part of Corporal Kiper in "What Price Glory" coming to the Bronx Opera House next week.

Broadway Briefs

The new seventh annual Greenwich Village Follies will open at the Shubert Theatre, New Haven, next Monday night. Ida Sylvia, a lyric soprano who has been singing in opera in Italy, is the latest addition to the cast.

"The Balcony Walkers," a new comedy by Christine Norman, which Henry W. Savage is now casting with Flora Le Bretan as star, will open in Stamford on Nov. 13th, and play several New England cities before it is brought to New York.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"THE OFFENCE," the psychological drama by Mordaunt Shairp, with Mary Glynn and Dennis Neilson-Terry, the English stars, will be presented by Mr. Lee Shubert, in association with B. A. Meyer, at special matinees beginning Monday afternoon, at the Ritz Theatre. Performances will be given every Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday afternoons. The play is also current in London.

"TWELVE MILES OUT," a new play by William Anthony McGuire, will open at the Playhouse Monday night. The cast is headed by Mildred Florence, John Westley, Frank Shannon and Albert Hackett. The play was known on its out-of-town tour as "Somewhere East of Gotham."

"THE JOKER," a comedy drama by Arthur Goodrich and W. F. Payson, will be Wagenhals and Kempers' next offering and will open at the Maxine Elliott Theatre. The company includes Ralph Morgan, Leona Hogarth, Marjorie Wood, George Fauncefort, Walter Gilbert, Hope Brown and Walter Walker.

"SOLID IVORY," a baseball comedy by Theodore Westman, Jr., will open at the Central Theatre Monday night, presented by Graham Coleman Associated. The cast includes Lillian Ross, James Burtis, Marie Adels and Walter Law.

"IN A GARDEN," a new comedy by Philip Barry (author of "You and I"), will be presented by Arthur Hopkins at the Plymouth Theatre Monday night. Laurette Taylor is the featured player. Others in the cast include Frank Conroy, Louis Calhern and Frank Gottschalk. Robert Edmond Jones designed the settings.

FRANK CONROY



with Laurette Taylor in the new Philip Barry play, which Arthur Hopkins will bring Monday night to the Plymouth Theatre.

"Big Boy," with Al Jolson, begins its last three weeks at the Forty-fourth Street Theatre Monday night.

"What Price Glory" at the Bronx Opera House Monday

"What Price Glory" will open, beginning Monday, at the Bronx Opera House for a week's engagement.

The Maxwell Anderson and Laurence Stallings drama had a record breaking run of 442 performances at the Plymouth Theatre and his since been playing in Boston. The company of players is headed by Jack Roseleigh and Jack Carlyle. Others include Clyde North, James Devine, Keane Waters and J. Merrill Holmes.

Grace George in "She Had to Know" will be the following attraction.

The Theatre Guild has purchased two new plays by American authors, the first, "B. A., B. A., Black Sheep," a satire on modern educational conditions, is by Burdette Kinne, an instructor in the Romance languages at Columbia. The second is "Crack of Doom," by Victor Victor.

THEATRES

D R A M A

D R A M A

B. S. MOSS' THEATRES

GALES OF LAUGHTER
from delighted crowds are
rocking the Colony at every
performance

9TH WEEK STARTS

HAROLD LLOYD
in
"THE FRESHMAN"
also on the stage
CAMPUS CAPERS
(35 PEOPLE)

COLONY B'WAY & 53RD ST. POPULAR PRICES PERFORMANCES CONTINUOUS DAILY 10:30 A.M. to MIDNIGHT

CAMEO
42nd & B'way
BEGINNING SUNDAY

A Metropolitan Picture-Francis Marion Production
WILLIAM J. LOCKE'S absorbing drama of human
hearts, loves and lives
"Simon the Jester"
Directed by George Melford
Released by PRODUCERS DISTRIBUTING CORP.
with **EUGENE O'BRIEN** and **LILLIAN RICH**

B'WAY FIRST NEW YORK SHOWING
AT 41ST ST. **BEGINNING MONDAY**
CONWAY TEARLE & AGNES AYRES
in **"MORALS FOR MEN"**
A WORLD'S BEST VAUDEVILLE

Bronx Amusements

BRONX OPERA HOUSE
101ST ST. E. OF THIRD AVE.
POP. PRICES | MATS. WED. & SAT.
BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT
The World-Famed Comedy Triumph
WHAT PRICE GLORY
By MAXWELL ANDERSON and
LAURENCE STALLINGS
Direct from 54 Weeks at the Plymouth
Theatre
Its Laughter Has Echoed Around the
Globe
Week of November 23d
GRACE GEORGE
in "She Had to Know"

"Mayflowers" Will Open New
Shubert Theatre Nov. 23

"Mayflowers," a musical version of
"Not So Long Ago," with Joseph Sant-
ley and Ivy Sawyer featured, will
usher in the latest Shubert playhouse.
The Forrest, on Monday, Nov. 23.
The new theatre, named after Ed-
win Forrest, the actor, is on West
Forty-ninth street between Broadway
and Eighth avenue, and has a capacity
of 1,200 seats, most of which are on
the ground floor. The stage will be
large enough to accommodate musical
productions.

Herbert J. Krapp, the architect, has
designed the theatre, according to the
Georgian period, and the builder, M. J.
Kramer, is also constructing a sixteen-
story hotel adjacent to the theatre.

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

N. Y. SYMPHONY
WALTER DAMROSCH, Conductor
CARNegie HALL, Sat. Nov. 14, at 11
Symphony Concert for Children
Mecca Auditorium
Sunday Afternoon, November 15, at 3
ALL WAGNER
Excerpts from "Lohengrin," "Rhinogold,"
"Valkyrie," "Twilight of the Gods,"
"Tristan and Isolde." EMINENT SOLOISTS
Tickets at Box Office Mecca Auditorium
GEORGE ENGLES, Mgr. Steinway Piano

PHILHARMONIC
WILHELM MENDELSSOHN, Conductor
CARNegie HALL, Sunday Afternoon, at 3
20TH PHILHARMONIC CONCERT
Soloists: S. Guld and H. Lange, Violinists
BETHOVEN: FIFTH SYMPHONY.
Bach Double Concerto—Weber-Kalliwoda
Carnegie Hall, Thursday Eve., at 8:30
Friday Afternoon, at 2:30
TCHAIKOVSKY: FIFTH SYMPHONY
BRAHMS: DE FALLA
Arthur Judson, Mgr. Steinway Piano

Aeolian Hall, Tues. Eve., Nov. 17, at 8:30
SONG RECITAL IDELLE
PATTERSON
Concert Mgt., Dan' Mayer, Inc. (Mason & Hamlin)

Aeolian Hall, Thurs. Eve., Nov. 19, at 8:30
PIANO RECITAL CHARLES
NAEGELE
Concert Mgt., Daniel Mayer, Inc. Baldwin Piano

MUSIC

"Boris Godunoff" with Chaliapin
Friday Matinee at Metropolitan

"Der Barbier von Bagdad" and
"L'Heure Espagnole" will open the
third week of the Metropolitan Opera
season, the former with Rethberg,
Bourskaya and Laubenthal, Bender, the
latter with Boris and Errolle, Tibbett,
Didur.

Other operas of the week:
"Pelleas et Melisande," Wednesday
evening, with Boris, Howard and John-
son, Whitehill.
"Aida," Thursday evening, with
Rethberg, Matzenauer and Full (de-
but), Danise.

"Boris Godunoff," as a special mat-
inee on Friday with Telva, Howard
and Chaliapin, Chamlee.
"Tannhauser," Friday evening, with
Jeritza, Peralta and Taucher, White-
hill.

"Africana," Saturday matinee, with
Rosa Ponselle, Mario and Gigli, De-
Luca.

"Faust," Saturday night, with Alda,
Dalosay and Martinelli, Danise.
At this Sunday night's opera concert
a Wagner-Verdi programme will be
given.

"Tosca" will be given at the Brook-
lyn Academy of Music Tuesday eve-
ning with Jeritza, Bonetti and Marti-
nelli, Scotti.

Music Notes

Idelle Patterson, the lyric coloratura
soprano, makes her local appearance
this season in a recital at Aeolian Hall
Tuesday evening.

Charles Naegele, pianist, gives the
first of his recitals at Aeolian Hall
Thursday evening. His program in-
cludes a Chopin group, the Bach-Liszt
Fantasy and Fugue in G minor, Gluck-
Brahms's Gavotte, Guck-Sgambati's
Melodie and Weber's Perpetual Motion.

Marie Roemset Rosanoff, cellist,
will appear in recital at Aeolian Hall
on Thanksgiving Eve, November 25.

Frank Sheridan will introduce at his
piano recital in Town Hall Wednesday
evening two American novelists—Three
Silhouettes, by Daniel Gregory Mason,
and "The Master Class," by A. Chasins.
The latter work is a cycle of four nar-
rative sketches by various embryonic
virtuosos. The composer has won Juil-
lard fellowships in both piano and
composition and has been assistant to
Ernest Hutcheson.

The Letz Quartet appear at Aeolian
Hall on Thanksgiving night, November
25, with Clarence Adler, pianist, as
assisting artist.

Cecile Staub will give a piano recital
next Friday afternoon in Aeolian Hall.

Richard Crooks, tenor, will give his
recital at Aeolian Hall this Sunday
afternoon.

Katherine Bacon, pianist, will play
compositions by Bach, Brahms, Chopin,
Rachmaninoff, Bauer and Liszt at her
recital at Aeolian Hall Saturday after-
noon, November 28.

Dorsha presents The Art Theatre of
the Dance at the Booth Theatre on
November 22, featuring "The Rubaiyat
of Omar Khayyam," an original ballet
in four scenes.

Lucie Stern, the 12 year old pianist,
whose gifts have won her a scholar-
ship with Josef Hofmann at the Curtis
Institute of Music, reappears next Sat-
urday night at Town Hall.

Wilhelm Bachaus, who returned re-
cently from Europe, makes his first
New York appearance of the season in
recital at Aeolian Hall on Sunday
afternoon, November 20.

The New York String Quartet will
give their recital in Aeolian Hall on
Tuesday evening, November 24.

Channing Pollock's
Anti-War Play

"The Enemy" at the Times Square Theatre Is a Gripping and
Effective Drama on the Lunacy of Hate and War

CHANNING Pollock's new play, "The Enemy," now showing at the Times Square Theatre, is striking a gallant blow against war. It is a brave play, a courageous play, a play that would have been driven from the stage by infuriated "patriots" only a few years ago, and for writing it Mr. Pollock deserves the heartfelt thanks of all decent minded people.

The world has just gone through a terrible war. In every country decent men and women, people who hated war with all their hearts, said that this war was different. "Thou Shalt Not Kill" was all right, but the war against Germany or France or Russia or England or Bulgaria or Siam was somehow a little different. Germans ate babies and balled down corpses to make fat; Americans scalped their victims. Russians wore shirts outside of their pants. The British were lime-juice drinkers. The French were a harlot nation. And so on.

The strange thing, the sad and heartbreaking thing, was that in every country the same lies and slanders were repeated against every other country and honest and decent people believed and, believing, killed.

That ghastly thing is what impelled Mr. Pollock to write his play striking at the one and only enemy, which is hate.

The story of the play is easily told. The scene is laid in Vienna, a city that Pollock knew well in the lovely days before the war. A beautiful family scene. Paul Arndt (played with win-
some beauty by Fay Bainter) is in love with Carl Behrend, who is a poet and dreamer. His play, "The Enemy," is written in his heart's blood and in it he tells of his passionate hatred of war. Bruce Gordon (Lyonel Watts) is a gentle British friend who had been studying in Vienna. Bruce also loves Paul but he yields her to Carl, the dreamer, the idealist because she loves him. It is a heart warming scene. But Fritz Winkelmann, a journalist, telephones in that Archduke Franz Ferdinand had been murdered in Sarajevo that afternoon—and the hate begins to simmer.

Carl's father is a Vienna business man, a typical 100 percenter, and the words he speaks against Austria's enemies might very well have been spoken in New York and they would have been cheered as "patriotism." They heatedly talk about national honor and national aspirations. Paul's father, Professor Arndt (played with

deep and wonderful understanding by Russ Whytal), is against war. To the blatant assertions of the "patriots" he asks "why? why?" with maddening persistence until even the most blatant of the jingoes in the room is com-
pelled to admit that he didn't know what it was all about.

A month later. Mobilization. Cheers. "Gott erhalt zu uns den Kaiser, unser Kaiser, Kaiser Franz." Hatred. Glory. Even Carl glories in his uniform. Bruce is the friend, but his country is on the other side. His country is in-
sulted—he fights for its flag. Every-
one parrots the cheap lies of the jingoes except Paul and her father. They alone believe that killing human beings is a crime.

"I have a plan to do away with war," says the dear old man; "make those who make the wars fight them;" and the wild burst of cheering in the audience was a response to warm the heart of the firebrand radical.

Two years later. Vienna in war time. What a city! What a time it is, that gay and gemütlich community struck by the paralyzing hand of war. Paul's baby is dying for lack of food. Word comes that Carl had been killed. And still the men tramp, tramp, tramp on to war. Paul's baby dies. "Thank God! War will never get him!" she shouts hysterically.

The war is over. Carl's play is ac-
cepted and is a great success. "We're all pacifists now," says Paul, "es-
pecially the soldiers."

The play is pure propaganda, but it is gripping. The speeches are written with passionate sincerity. Pollock is against all war, all credit to him, and he makes no secret of it. What we said about the Germans the Austrians said about us. What we believed about the Huns the Huns said about the French and the French about the Turks and the Turks about the Bulgarians. Hate—there is the enemy, and at that enemy Pollock levels his shafts.

The actors seem to throw them-
selves into their parts as if they be-
lieved everything in the play. Let us hope that they do. A year ago John Wray captured the city by a wonderful bit of acting as a cornered rat in "Silence." In "The Enemy" he is Fritz Winkelmann and his bit in the last act as a shell shocked soldier confronting the fat, greasy Schieber (profiteer) with his anguish is fully as fine as his last year's bit of act-
ing. W. M. F.

CHRISTAL HERNE



gives a consistent and convincing per-
formance of the self-centered wife in
George Kelly's drama, "Craig's
Wife," now in its second month at the
Morosco Theatre.

Boston's Municipal Theatre
Opens With "The Rivals"

An interesting list of plays has been
selected by Henry Jewett for the first
season of the Repertory Theatre of
Boston, which opened Tuesday night.
The selections include many well-
known classic and modern works by
American and English authors, open-
ing with "The Rivals," Francis Wilson
playing Bob Acres and Emma Dunn in
the role of Mrs. Malaprop, while Henry
Jewett will return to the stage as Sir
Lucius O'Trigger. This will be fol-
lowed by the famous Joseph Jefferson
vehicle, "Rip Van Winkle," with
Francis Wilson as Rip. Next will come
"Mrs. Partridge Presents," "A Kiss for
Cinderella," the Sir James Barrie fan-
tastic comedy, and "Caesar and Cleo-
patra," by George Bernard Shaw.

These pieces will keep the Boston
Repertory Theatre busy until the first
of the year, and the productions from
that time on will be chosen from the
following works:

"Loyalties," "The Skin Game" and
"Windows," by John Galsworthy;
"Minick," by George S. Kaufman and
Edna Ferber; "The Swan," by Ferenc
Molnar; "The Legend of Leonora," "The
Little Minister" and "Half an Hour,"
by Barrie; "Heartbreak House," "A
Man of Destiny," by Shaw; "Much Ado
About Nothing" and "The Winter's
Tale," by Shakespeare; "Robert E.
Lee," by John Drinkwater; "The School
for Scandal," by Sheridan; "The Wild
Duck" and "A Doll's House," by Ibsen;
"Becky Sharp," by Langdon E. Mitchell;
"Sweet Nell of Old Drury," by Paul
Kester; "If," by Lord Dunsany (first
time in America); "The Circle," by
Somerset Maugham; "R. U. R.," by
Karel Capek; "The World and His
Wife," by Jose Echegaray; "The Goose
Hanging High," by Lewis Beach; "The
Dancing Girl," by Henry Arthur Jones;
"Mr. Pim Passes By" and the Truth
About Blays," by A. A. Milne.

EUGENE O'BRIEN



in William J. Locke's screen version of
"Simon the Jester," at the Cameo
Theatre beginning Sunday.

I. W. W. THROWN IN DUNGEON

(Continued from page 1)

any of them. However, the gun guard
high up on the prison wall thought
entirely different. He called down to
the lower guard and ordered him
to take three of the men to the
porch. Two of the men he named
were Mellman and Varella. The ground
guard obeyed. At the porch, the cap-
tain of the yard ordered one of the
men to work in the jute mill and the
other two, Mellman and Varella, were
ordered back to the ditch.

Upon their return they paused a
moment to tell a friend what had be-
come of the other man. As they
stopped, the gun guard again saw fit
to vent his animosity and ordered them
returned to the porch. The lower
guard expostulated that they had just
come from there, only to receive a re-
ply from the other guard, "To Hell
with them; run them over." He again
obeyed. This time the men were
thrown into the dungeon.

The following day three other work-
ers went to the captain of the yard to
determine why such dire punishment
had been meted out to these two work-
ers. They were informed that the cap-
tain of the yard was the sole and only
judge as to what punishment prisoners
should receive and why they should re-
ceive it. In other words, he is the su-
preme dictator of the institution, and
the warden, "Race Riot" Smith, has
nothing to say. Upon being thus in-
formed, nineteen of the prisoners de-
cided that they might as well be in
the hole for protesting against such
unjust conditions as to be thrown in
the hole because of not being able to
do as much work in a day as some
ignorant guard considered necessary.
Especially when they know that the

"Young Woodley"

Glenn Hunter Is Starred in a
Poignant Comedy of English
School Life at the Belmont

THE adolescent comedy of Eng-
lish schoolboy life by John Van
Druten at the Belmont Theatre,
with Glenn Hunter starred, should
prove to be one of the emphatic the-
atrical successes of the season.

To begin with, the play is such a
true transcript from real life, so
poignant, so tender, so true in its de-
lineation of a phase of growing young
manhood that the characterization
cannot fail to give one a heart-
straining tug. Moreover, the play fol-
lows the natural, logical course, and
neither in action nor dialogue gives
way to theatrical effectiveness when
such might have been the case, but
from beginning to end is developed
with a sense of reality which is com-
pelling in its sincerity.

The plot concerns itself with typical
English schoolboy life, the principal
character, Young Woodley, acted by
Glenn Hunter, who incidentally gives
a much finer performance in breadth
and scope than he did in "Merton of
the Movies," with that high outlook on
life and morals that many a boy pos-
sesses before he comes in contact with
the world, and his natural gravitation
towards the young wife of the elderly
schoolmaster due to the same long-
ings and ideals they have in common.
Invited to tea by the wife of the
schoolmaster, Young Woodley, in a
natural sequence of events, with a
boy's uncertainty, confesses his love
for the older woman, which scene is
interrupted by the entrance of the
schoolmaster himself, with the inevita-
ble result that Young Woodley be dis-
missed from the school and barred
from entering Cambridge.

In the scene between the school-
master and his wife, the wife, relying
on Young Woodley's honor, persuades
her husband to take steps not to expel
him from the school, and herself prom-
ises to break off the innocent affair,
which she does with that terrible dis-
illusionment to the lad that possibly
comes to us all once in this life.

Young Woodley is crushed by the
disillusionment and "ragged" by his
school comrades, who note his strange
behavior but are not sure of the cause
of it until the bully among his com-
rades makes a clever guess at the
source of the trouble and taunts Young
Woodley until he loses his temper and
makes for him with a knife that he
snatches from the table. This scene
is interrupted by the entrance of the
schoolmaster and puts the seal on the
expulsion of Young Woodley from the
school—not, however, before his father
has been sent for and he has said good-
bye to the old school life, taking leave
of his best friend in a scene that in
its truthness to boy life again tugs at
the heart-strings, and after the school-
master's wife has likewise taken leave
of him, also in a scene imbued with a
poignancy that is irresistible. At the
close of the play we see Young Wood-
ley leave the school with his father to
start work at once in the unpoetical
soap business.

With only nine people in the cast, all
of whom give ideal performances of
their parts, particularly Helen Gaha-
gan as the wife of the schoolmaster,
Herbert Bunting as the schoolmaster,
and, first and foremost, Glenn Hunter
as Young Woodley, the cast and stag-
ing of the performance would be dif-
ficult to better.

The Messrs. Shuberts' production of
"Hello Lola," the musical version of
Booth Tarkington's "Seventeen" had
its first presentation Monday night in
Newark. The cast is headed by Rich-
ard Keene, Madeleine Fairbanks, Mar-
jorie White, Nanette Flack, William
LeMaire and George Stone.

Alexander Woolcott will give three
talks on theatrical current events on
three Sunday afternoons in Novem-
ber, December, and January at the
Guild Theatre. The first will be
"Potshots at the Players."

CHARLES NAEGELE



will feature a group of Chopin at his
piano recital next Thursday night at
Aeolian Hall.

Max Jacobs' First Concert
Nov. 22 at Aeolian Hall

The Chamber Symphony Orchestra
of New York, Max Jacobs, conductor,
with Bella Katz, violinist, as soloist,
will give the first concert intine of its
second season Sunday evening, Novem-
ber 22, at Aeolian Hall, 54 West 43rd
Street. Mr. Jacobs enjoys a large fol-
lowing, not only because of his ex-
cellent musicianship, but, in the labor
and Socialist, because of his interest
in the movement.

Budish Urges Hearing
For Arthur A. Purcell

J. M. Budish of the Cloth Hat, Cap
and Millinery Workers' International
Union, urges the workers of New York
to attend the two Purcell meetings
which have been arranged for Novem-
ber 17. The Trade Union Committee
which is organizing these meetings has
hired two halls to meet the demand for
tickets to hear A. A. Purcell, the Presi-
dent of the International Federation of
Trade Unions. Both New Star Casino
and the Central Opera House have
been hired for the occasion. The next
conference of the Trade Union Com-
mittee has been called for Sunday,
November 15, at 8 p. m. at Beethoven
Hall.

THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1925

We call the attention of our readers to the column by Norman Thomas which begins with this issue on the first page. We are glad to have Comrade Thomas a regular weekly contributor to The New Leader and to also know that he is taking up questions of immediate interest to the Socialists of this country. A discussion of this character is timely and no doubt it will bring contributions from others. The New Leader has already spoken frankly of the election results in New York City, but much more remains to be said and we are glad that our late candidate for Mayor is taking the initiative in the discussion. It will certainly be fruitful of good results and assist in planning for the future. Comrade Thomas has the floor.

EXPLAINING EVOLUTION

JUDGE JOHN T. RAULSTON, who presided at the Scopes trial in Tennessee, came to New York to set us right on this here all-fired matter of evolution. We're all wrong. Do you know what evolution is? Well, the judge told John Roach Straton's flock about it. Read: "A couple of scientists wandered down to the seashore one day and found some old bones and fossils. This proved to them that all life is a result of a little accident that happened millions of years ago in the bottom of the ocean. Some atoms of carbon and hydrogen and oxygen got together down there and suddenly there was a little thing that swam around."

There's the all-fired thing in a nut shell. Those scientists found "some old bones and fossils." Know what those old bones are? They're fossils. Know what fossils are? They're old bones. Now ye know the difference 'tween 'em. Then a little accident happened many years 'fore Tennessee was admitted to th' Union and them city fellers said some things mixed together and then there "was a little thing that swam around." An' they call that evolution.

The Judge went on and he says, says he: "An evolutionist comes to me and says he has a proposition, and I ask him what he can give me. He says he can give me these bones and fossils, but I must abandon my belief." An' the Judge just up an' at 'em, just like that. "Take your doctrine," the Judge says, says he, "that teaches that my ancestors were monkeys and apes, and stick it in that hot place the Scriptures tell us of." Time, the twentieth century. Date, November 8, 1925. Place, New York City, church of John Roach Straton. This footnote is added for the benefit of the searchers for antiques a hundred years hence.

A PLEA FOR GITLOW

OVER six years ago Benjamin Gitlow attached his name to a document which the State of New York, through its public officials, considered a terrible thing. The only thing that document succeeded in doing was to materially weaken the Socialist movement. That it injured the ruling classes in the slightest degree no human being would contend. It did not even assist in building a Communist movement in this country.

Gitlow served over two years in prison for having signed that document, and after awaiting the results of an appeal which has finally gone against him he has again gone to prison to complete a sentence of from five to ten years. He was convicted under a law enacted after the assassination of President McKinley and which had been forgotten. It was revived to penalize revolutionary opinions after the United States entered the World War.

Much as the Socialist movement has been injured by Gitlow and his associates, we unite with the American Civil Liberties Union and others in urging his release. The State that keeps Gitlow in prison gave wider publicity to the Left Wing Manifesto than he or his associates did. Sweet, Lusk and Stevenson took care of this publicity, and they are not in jail. Governor Smith alone can act. Why not end the farce and the injustice of this, Mr. Governor?

JAEGER OF WATERBURY

THE development of capitalist production has brought standardization in the manufacture of commodities. Bolts, screws, nuts, wheels, levers and so on are produced in large quantities in accord with uniform patterns. The bourgeois view of free discussion is of the same character. You are free to speak and write if you write and speak according to the patterns prescribed by the agents of the capitalist order. The monthly reports of the American Civil Liberties Union are periodical reminders of this truth.

A Waterbury (Ct.) Alderman, John W. Jaeger, represents the type. An anti-free speech ordinance is on the statute books of the city. Meyer Kivelson, Socialist, asks for its repeal. Jaeger, former "Progressive," steps into the breach. "It isn't free speech this petitioner seeks," he insists. "It's license to preach and practice destruction." Now don't misunderstand him. "It is our great love for the spirit of toleration that prevents us from taking such as this petitioner by the nape of the neck and the seat of their trousers and throwing them out of our land."

Having thus proved his love of free dis-

cussion, he follows by the assurance that no person "will be refused the right to speak here when it is for the public welfare." Now it is all clear. And what favors the public welfare? The views of John W. Jaeger of course. Who knows? Jaeger. Who decides? Jaeger. The citizens are not to hear and decide for themselves what is for the public welfare. The Jaegers are benevolent fathers who are to decide for them. And now we know what is free discussion and what is tolerance.

Every accepted opinion today was at one time a heresy. Every former heresy now accepted as true, won its acceptance over the opposition of the Jaegers. Slavery, the slave trade, manhood suffrage, woman suffrage, etc. But the Jaegers are still with us. What became of the Jaegers of the past? History took them by "the nape of the neck and the seat of their trousers" and deposited them in the garbage can. There is a garbage can waiting for Mr. Jaeger of Waterbury into which he and his "tolerance" will finally be consigned.

CONTROLLING THE AIR

AT THE radio conference recently held in Washington, Secretary Hoover stated that there are too many broadcasting stations in many congested districts and that Congress should limit the number in order to avert ruin of the existing service. His view appeared to be generally accepted by other speakers.

The radio industry is one example of rapid development and concentration of a new industry within a few years. It also demonstrates how the economics of capitalism inevitably centers control of an educational agency in the hands of powerful groups of organized capitalists.

Some twenty years ago a radical bard wrote a fantastic jingle on the extension of capitalist property to the mastery of the air, reducing it to a liquid state, storing it into huge tanks, establishing pipe lines, and selling it to the whole population at so much per quart. This was rather absurd, but in the radio business we have witnessed a corporate mastery of the air with certain important consequences.

It is very difficult and probably impossible for any radical organization to obtain a broadcasting station while the rates for broadcasting made by the existing stations are so high as to practically make it a monopoly for reactionary views which can always command plenty of funds. Those who formerly had looked to the free air as a medium for the dissemination of a wide variety of opinions now find the air in the possession of the upper classes.

This development confirms an old truth asserted over and over again by Socialists that in a class society there can be no complete democracy. To be complete it must be rooted in industrial democracy, and this implies the abolition of capitalism with its class control of our industrial system.

AMONG FRIENDS

WHEN the second Adams was elected President by the House it was assumed by many that a "corrupt bargain" was the consideration and John Randolph denounced what he called the alliance between the "Puritan and the blackleg." We recall this incident of past politics at this time because of the reception of Mayor-elect Walker by Georgia Democrats.

This meeting of a representative of the corrupt squadrons of Tammany with the Democrats of a State that gave rise to the modern Ku Klux Klan, following the bitter war between the Klan and Tammany in the national Democratic convention last year, is an amazing example of the queer alliances permitted by capitalist politics. Just what it portends is not certain.

However, we may hazard a guess. The religious, sectional and racial antagonisms between the North and South have been mainly concentrated in the Democratic party. In the city and State elections these antagonisms are not so evident. It is only when Democrats of the whole country meet in national convention that the incongruous elements of the party become evident.

There is no hope of these elements ever capturing the Presidency so long as they knife each other, and that means a free gift of rich Federal appointments to the Republican wing of capitalism. It is a big price to pay, too big for hungry Democrats. So Walker becomes an unofficial ambassador to the Klan State. He is met more than half way, and Hoke Smith tells him, "You are among friends." The rotten boroughs of the South are ready to make peace with the rotten Democratic cities of the North. The Klan is ready to sleep with Tammany, with Smith probably accepted as the national salesman of Democratic merchandise in 1928.

AN ERA OF MERGERS

SIGNS are at hand that the higher nobility of our ruling classes are gathering many rich industrial prizes into great mergers while the lesser capitalists are making a losing fight in the Federal Trade Commission against this tendency. Coolidge has fixed this body so that it serves the great oligarchs, the powerful bankers, insurance executives and brokers. The merger trend is the most significant phase of contemporary economic history. One complaint is the custom of "mortgaging the whole previous face-value of a set of corporations," selling bonds and non-voting stock, and "retaining the voting stock for the bankers and promoting agents."

A pathetic phase of these huge consolidations is the hope of the farmer and trade union press that the minority members of the Federal Trade Commission may in some way be able to check the mighty economic and financial tendency towards industrial mergers. Our imperial masters of American capitalism squat on their mergers and grin at the pygmy efforts to prevent them from stripping the lesser capitalists beneath them. The sooner the lesser fry are hurled into the pit with the rest of us and the struggle narrows to a few at the top and many millions below, the sooner will we get on the job of taking over the mergers for ourselves and making them a part of a great industrial democracy.

The News of the Week

Capitalism's Dirty Sore

That the horrors of the early days of prison regime in this country still survive is evident from many sources of information. The articles of Kate Richards O'Hare now appearing in the Labor and Socialist press present some revolting details from her own personal experience. This week the Annual Congress of the American Prison Association meeting in Jackson, Miss., listened to a report showing that the Federal Government is boarding out more than 7,000 prisoners; that the jails are inhumanly overcrowded; that "abominable conditions," including lack of sanitary measures and cells infested with vermin, still afflict thousands of unfortunates. Masses of these prisoners "are unconvicted and a considerable portion are subsequently legally proved innocent" while others are "held for non-payment of fines." These victims are necessarily of the working class. Though innocent of crime, they are punished because they have no wealth! Such is the "democracy" of capitalism. Moreover, the system of allowing the sheriff or jailor so much for food for prisoners enables these officials to buy the cheapest of food and pocket the surplus. Prisoners are starved, health is undermined, the victims turn against society and the jails serve as schools for manufacturing confirmed criminals. It is an astonishing fact that the trade unions have not given this dirty social sore the attention it deserves despite the fact that it affects the working class alone.

Art and the Profit Motive

An interesting phase of the investigation of the film industry by the Federal Trade Commission is the complaint of a number of famous artists that the big combinations had reduced them to "factory workers." Mary Pickford and her husband, Douglas Fairbanks, objected to the production of films in bulk, mixing good and bad pictures and marketing them without regard to excellence. "One cannot make the bigger and better pictures under this method," said Miss Pickford. "One must have a free hand and free rein." Fairbanks also emphasized the conflict between the ideals of art and standardized production for profit. He pleaded for "the full expression of the individual artists in this business, unhampered by such commercial attitude as is taken by a great many of these combinations today." This conflict recalls the rebellion of John Ruskin, William Morris, Burne Jones and Walter Crane, the three latter becoming Socialists because they believed that genuine art tends to be smothered by modern capitalism and that the commercial motive must be completely eliminated. That Miss Pickford can see the tendency to reduce art expression to a factory regime and that Fairbanks can protest against the commercial motive is rather significant. Is it possible for these artists and others in their line to understand the economic and social significance of the trend in the film business and make common cause with the more advanced wage workers?

War and Peace in Boston

We may expect at every recurrence of Armistice Day that stupidity will manage to stalk to the front somewhere. This year we award

a pretzel to the American Legion at Boston. In that city a large parade took the form of a peace demonstration and the Legion members had to act as perfect asses on that occasion. Failing to get enough lunatics to prevent the parade, they charged up a slope on the historic Common and adopted resolutions branding the parade as "an unforgettable insult." They moved on to the meeting of the peace group and indulged in cat calls and jeers. At a veteran meeting earlier in the day Governor Fuller had to take into account the mental state of the khaki boys so he spoke of a "middle ground" between war and peace. That speech conceded war to the Legion and peace to the peace advocates. We favor some arrangement by which the former conscripts who want more war should have it. Why not divide them into two groups, arm them, and then let them enjoy themselves? We are sure that this will satisfy them and few peace advocates will object to this kind of war.

Russo-German Prisoner Deal

Although not officially acknowledged as such, a deal has evidently been made between the Russian and German Governments providing for what amounts to an exchange of political prisoners. On Nov. 5 a Berlin dispatch reported that, following receipt of news from Moscow that the death sentences imposed upon Karl Kindermann and two other Germans had been commuted to prison terms, the death sentences hanging over the heads of Alexander Skoblevsky, a Russian, and two German Communists convicted of conspiracy against the German Government last Spring, had been changed to life imprisonment. These preliminaries are expected to lead to the release of all the prisoners concerned in a short time. When Skoblevsky and a number of real and alleged Communists were put on trial last Winter in Leipzig Kindermann and his friends were arrested and charged first with industrial espionage and then with plotting against the lives of high Soviet officials. They were convicted, but sentence was withheld until July. While delegations from nearly every country in Europe are being invited by the Soviet Government to go on personally conducted tours of Russia, Louis Pierard, a Belgian Socialist Deputy and writer on Le Peuple of Brussels, has been refused admittance to Russia by the powers in Moscow, although recommended by Leonid Krassin, Russian envoy in Paris, and other highly placed Soviet officials. Pierard is said to speak Russian very well, and he intended to travel over the country on his "own hook." According to reports received by the foreign delegation of the Russian Social Democratic Party in Berlin, L. Gotz, one of the Social Democratic leaders imprisoned in Russia, is again on a hunger strike.

Plot Tales From Italy

Unitarian Socialist Party of Italy and the refusals of the Free Masons to stay "dissolved," Mussolini has seized upon an alleged plot for his assassination as a pretext for suppressing La Giustizia and other Unitarian, Maximalist and Communist newspapers, dis-

solving the Unitarian Socialist Party and raiding Masonic lodges. According to stories solemnly cabled from Rome, Tito Zaniboni, a former Unitarian Socialist Deputy with a brilliant war record, had hired a hotel room overlooking the Palazzo Chigi, where Mussolini made his Armistice Day speech on Nov. 4, with the intention of shooting down the Dictator, but through betrayal by Signor Quaglia, his secretary, was seized by the police in the nick of time, and the black shirt chief was deprived of the glory of dying a "martyr." When this news was given out the Fascisti went wild with rage and wholesale arrests and raids were the order of the day, some of the best known and most respected Italians being taken into custody. It was averred that huge sums of money had been raised abroad to finance a revolution for an Italian republic. In Trieste a gang of Fascisti attacked the Yugoslav Consulate and also wrecked the offices of Yednost, a Slovene paper, because that journal had ventured to deride the plot story. The Italian Government apologized, but not in time to prevent anti-Italian demonstrations in several Yugoslav cities. While not disputing the fact that there are plenty of Italians who think Mussolini's removal would be no loss to his country, skeptics point out that the Matteotti trial is about due and that it may easily be overlooked in the present excitement or, if held at all, the murderers of the Unitarian Socialist Deputy would hardly be found guilty. If, on the other hand, there are as many good Italians plotting against the Dictator as he alleges, it will be much longer.

Australian Elections

Today (Nov. 14) the voters of the Commonwealth of Australia will elect the seventy-five members of their Lower House of Parliament and eighteen of their thirty-six Senators. Stanley Bruce, the Premier who has held twenty-seven Nationalists and fourteen members of the Country Party together against the twenty-nine Laborites, with the five Liberals on the side lines, has been conjuring up the red specter of Bolshevism during the campaign. Matthew Charlton, leader of the Australian Labor Party, assisted by E. G. Theodore and other veteran campaigners, has been right on the Premier's trail exposing the hollow-ness of his charges and calling upon the people to put the Labor Party into power and thus insure peace and prosperity. Premier Bruce has been particularly exercised over the continuance of the unofficial seamen's strike. He has had many strikers arrested and has proposed the deportation of non-Australian-born agitators. This challenge has been accepted by the Labor Party leaders, who have denounced the Premier's policy and declared for an amendment of the immigration laws so as to prevent such deportations. In New Zealand on Nov. 4 the Government, or so-called Reform Party, won a sweeping victory in the national elections, seating fifty-five of its members, against twelve Nationalists (some of whom were formerly called Liberals) and thirteen Laborites. In 1922 the Laborites won seventeen seats, a gain of nine, so the present slight setback still leaves them in a relatively strong position. The New Zealand Labor Party is 100 per-cent Socialist.

THE CHATTER BOX

Autumn

You are the very soul of transiency;
You breathe upon and change each living thing—
Aye, dead things too! The glow that warm winds bring
You blow away; in diabolic glee
You slash away the bright robe of the tree—
Yellow, red, to the last brown leaves that cling
Like threadbare gloves. The parting wood-bird's wing
Is tinged with the grey of your bleak regency.
You are the chilly breath of some black god
That's come to wither streams, to place a seal
Of frozen glass where torrents leap and reel;
The root-veins strangle slowly in the sod;
So all things die, or like the trees that nod
They lie in deathly sleep, and cease to feel.
E. P. V.

All this week we have been going the rounds of business and bothersome drudgery on the wings of ethereal nuances. All because we wrote a poem for Bill Feigenbaum's English Page in the Sunday Forward on Gene Debs' seventieth birthday, and to which the grand old lad replied all the way from Indiana with a two-page letter to us personally. Did you ever get a letter from Gene? If not, then you have missed ecstasy beyond anything this dull world will ever afford you. What did he say? This is one time we are going to keep out of print. Gene is so divinely generous with his love and appreciation that we cannot really feel equal to one hundredth part of what he gave us in return. Gee—we are just so happy we are going to print three other poems by three other poets right here this week.

Bitter Sweet

She had hung all the room with bittersweet,
So bringing autumn into it, and forest air.
And they were burning leaves down in the street
And burning summer with them. She sat there
Right by the open window looking down.
"You must be tired, dear. Sit down and rest."
She listened to the rumbling of the town,
A sprig of bittersweet was at her breast.
It was not long since she had found this peace.
She loved to plumb it still, and find it deep.
She loved the bitter sweet of her release
And saw her sorrows burning to a heap
Of ashes. Leaves were falling from the trees,
And from the woods there came the autumn breeze.
DAVID F. BERENBERG.

Rondel of Lovely Women

Lovely women, true and tender,
Made to love by all the true men,
Who with ardor praise your gender:
Lovely women.

Praising you and God the sender,
For your love forever sue men,
While their hearts and souls surrender.
Lovely women.

Ah, indeed, this bard pretender
Loves you all with rare acumen;
Tall or small, or fat or slender.
Lovely women.

ANTON ROMATKA.

Came in Sam Kramer today into our emporium of hardware and inquired for information where dependable padlocks could be purchased well at wholesale. Our questioning brought forth the reply that a Palestinian relative of his had made inquiry of him for such. Whereupon we gave him such knowledge as we had, gladly, since Sam is a boon and boyhood comrade, of a minnesinging soul himself. But when he had left, tardy thought came—wherefore padlocks in Zion? Had the outlaw spirit of Gotham and the City of Wind already reached into Nazareth and Galilee? And tardier thought again: Since fund seeking for relief was still rampant here for Palestine, what had the settlers in the Holy Land to safeguard by the way of lock and key? Palestine must be expecting an invasion from the Great White Way.

Autumnal Love Song

Autumn has a fashion
Not unlike your own,
With a painted passion
Gown for pulseless stone....
Autumn has a fashion
To hide her wanton purpose,
So much like your own.

Autumn has a manner
Only with the dead;
Her vandal armies banner
All you coldly said—
When with autumn's manner
You stripped the love we planted—
And left it bare and dead.

S. A. de WITTE.