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Labor Movement

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STUDENTS REBEL AGAINST MILITARISM

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

THE party of Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and our own Gene Debs has never been so "foreign" as its critics have charged. Indeed, before the war, largely under the influence of "The Appeal to Reason," it looked as if America might develop a rather unique type of native rural Socialism, especially in middle and South West. Nevertheless, it is true that, by and large, Socialist strength in this country has been imported from Europe and not made in America. Our foreign language federations have bulked too large proportionately in the management and in the psychology of the party. The main streams of influence, especially in our industrial centers, have been first German and then Jewish. Other great immigrant populations have been less influential because their peasant economic origin and their Catholic religious affiliations have tended to hold them back from Socialism.

Now it was quite natural that the Socialist Party in the industrial centers should have a high proportion of immigrants in its ranks. Socialism was born in Europe and was originally closer to European conditions than to the pioneer conditions in the United States. Moreover, the great bulk of industrial workers have been immigrants. The country owes an immense debt to these immigrants, not the least part of which is their service to the Socialist movement.

Drifting Away Of the Young

The difficulty the Socialist Party has faced has arisen not from the presence of immigrants in its ranks but in its failure to hold a higher per cent of the sons and daughters of these immigrants to the faith of their fathers. Here, again, no criticism of the party can be fair which does not take into account the reasons why the second generation has tended to drift away. It is to the credit of Socialist fathers and mothers that they are usually more eager to sacrifice for the education of their children than their neighbors. Perhaps also they have given their children a better heritage of ability. At any rate, these boys and girls to a greater or less extent have "got ahead" in America. They have become Americanized in an intellectual and business environment where, alas, Americanization did not include even a decent understanding of what Socialism meant. So the children drifted away from Socialism as a foreign thing, somehow inimical to their progress in the new country. Many of them might continue to vote the Socialist ticket in whole or in part. But Socialist affairs and Socialist activities bored them.

Here I think the Socialist Party must confess some responsibility for failure in that it has so imperfectly adapted its machinery and methods to the task of holding these second generation Americans. And for that failure native born American Socialists are perhaps more responsible than their foreign born comrades. The truths of Socialism are the same in America as in Europe. But we have not learned how properly to put those truths. Socialist branch meetings in a city like New York have had a curious resemblance to meetings of some small religious sect. Time is wasted on wrangles about nothing in particular and such intellectual interest as exists is nearly always keener on European than on American problems. It takes an immense lot of enthusiasm for the Socialist cause to survive more than two or three of these meetings. The only reason I could stand my own first year of membership in the party was because I was brought up in the church and was used to church prayer meetings and church quarrels.

The Problem

Of the Jewish Unions

There is another and perhaps more important aspect in which the wrong sort of Americanization has hurt the Socialist party. Consider the history of the Socialist unions, mostly in the needle trades and under Jewish leadership. There is nothing finer in American history than the accomplishment of these unions in bringing to some standards of decent pay, self respect and self government the classical examples of sweated industry. There has been no finer idealism, no greater devotion to the working class than has been intelligently invested in the organization of these unions. This intelligence and devotion still persist. But in recent years they have been sadly diluted with so-called practical tactics which are anything but practical in promoting the true interests of the unions and the workers. Some leaders and would-be leaders have learned that our American city life is cursed with the gangster spirit and they have found it easier to rest their power upon gang tactics than upon idealism or Socialist fervor for the working class. The minimum

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OUR INVISIBLE ECONOMIC LORDS

Income Tax Returns
Reveal a New Feudal Nobility—Some Instances

By Leland Olds

WHO'S who in the new feudal nobility? Their ownership of great financial estates in the industrial order gives them the right to live off the work of others. But, although you may be working under their managers, you don't know who the overlords are.

Who is Lela A. Anson? She must be pretty important. Her 1924 tax was \$105,438, giving her an income of about \$300,000. That income gives her the power to command the service of 2,000 workers. She can live in luxury and splendor beyond the dreams of the average citizen, without doing a stroke of work herself. Yet her name does not appear in Who's Who in America or in the Directory of Directors. The tax returns suggest that the Girard Trust of Philadelphia is her agent.

Who is Kate W. Winthrop with an income tax of \$317,634, establishing her 1924 income at about \$750,000? This income enables her to use the services of 5,000 workers. Yet neither Who's Who nor the Directory of Directors mentions her.

Who is Jerome K. Hanover with a 1924 income of \$600,000; or R. V. Twombly with an income of \$500,000; or A. C. Strong with an income of \$400,000; or Paul Berwald with \$400,000? These are men who live off the labor of thousands and are responsible for large blocks of ownership in the country's productive enterprises. Yet they hide behind their agents. Only through the income tax returns are they forced into the open and even then society cannot trace just where their power takes concrete shape in controlling wages and conditions in the industries that produce this income.

These names are picked from a single page of tax returns for New York City, published in the Wall Street Journal. The page shows 37 incomes of more than \$300,000. But less than half were names whose thrones in our economic order could be even partially located.

Among those better known are Pres. Farnell, of U. S. Steel, \$300,000; Charles Steele, J. P. Morgan partner and director of the Santa Fe, Great Western, International Mercantile Marine and Cerro de Pasco Copper, \$1,000,000; Pres. Ford of U. S. Rubber, \$600,000; Pres. S. Z. Mitchell, of the 35 or more public utilities controlled by General Electric interests, \$700,000; Thomas Cochran, of J. P. Morgan & Co., Bankers Trust, N. Y. Trust and a number of copper companies, \$700,000; C. H. Dodge, copper magnate and director of National City Bank, \$300,000.

These men, only slightly less than Rockefeller, Morgan, Gary, Baker, Ford and their like, stand out as active leaders in the class of absentee owners by whose consent they rule. But A. Rockefeller Prentice, controlling a \$900,000 income, is apparently only an heir. The Henry Phipps family with a combined income of more than \$300,000 got their fortune from association with Carnegie and Mellon in the days when the steel barons broke the Homestead strike. Now they live lavishly on their huge incomes without the public knowing much about them.

NEW ITALIAN LABOR DAILY WILL FIGHT FASCISTI

Pro-labor, anti-Fascist and anti-capitalist is the policy of Il Nuovo Mondo, the only Italian labor daily in the United States, making its first appearance November 16 with two afternoon editions. The paper is owned by a stock company whose shares are held by labor unions, fraternal societies and individuals. Both the general offices and local unions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and International Ladies Garment Workers' Union are leading shareholders, and the current issue of Advance, the Amalgamated organ, carries two columns of good wishes for the success of the enterprise. John di Gregorio, managing editor, says the defense of the workers against the Fascist movement in America is one of the immediate reasons for starting the paper. Fascism he and other Italian labor men here see as the menace not merely of the workers in Italy, but in the United States, where many groups have been organized for the same nefarious purpose of smashing the labor organizations. The Italian capitalist dailies support the Fascist and encourage workers to act as strike-breakers and in general are lined up on the side of the "padrones," as the Italians call the masters.

'Break Neck,' 'Gouge Eye' Items in Text Book Used; Referendum Is Demanded

Meeting Voices Objection to Compulsory Training at N. Y. City College.

THE students of the College of the City of New York have again protested against the two-year compulsory military training course. At a mass meeting recently nearly all the students voiced their utmost disapproval of the military course. Members of the faculty and military training staff were invited to the meeting, but not one appeared.

The students who spoke showed that the military course was being taught for its own sake, and not for the value of training the students to be courteous, disciplined and strong. They also said that the time spent in training students to be good killers could be spent to better advantage in other lines of endeavor. It was also brought out that the students had no choice but to submit, as City College is the only free college in New York city for men.

War and militarism were denounced as being a curse to culture and civilization, and appeals were made to the students to register their protest against the form of militarism prevalent in their college.

The Object of Military Training

In the text book used for the military classes, called the "Manual of Military Training," appears a statement in which the authors of the book have unwittingly given the most damaging evidence against the military course:

"The object of all military training is to win battles. . . . The principles of sportsmanship and consideration for your opponent have no place in the practical application of this work. . . . This inherent desire to fight and kill must be carefully watched for and encouraged by the instructor. . . . America needs invincible infantry."

The book is the 1923 edition of the Manual of Military Training, written by Col. James A. Moss, U. S. A., and Major John W. Lang, U. S. A.

"Bayonet fighting is possible only because red-blooded men naturally possess the fighting instinct. This inherent desire to fight and kill must be carefully watched for and encouraged by the instructor." These instructions are given on page 1, Chapter XXVII, of the manual.

'Break His Neck'

On page 24, Appendix 1, the manual gives instructions in killing holds and kicks. It reads: "Force him (your opponent) to the ground and break his neck by suddenly throwing the feet well to the rear and falling forward, tightening the arms and pressing the shoulder tightly against the back of his head. This hold when properly executed will break the opponent's neck, or, failing, is still effective as a strangle hold."

"Raise the right knee until the thigh is horizontal and at the same time slightly bend the left knee. Kick out viciously, then bring the foot back to the original position in order to avoid its being caught in a leg or toe hold. If the opponent is down, attack with the usual type of kick to his vulnerable parts."

In instructions on "Defense Against Attacks," the manual reads:

"When the opponent secures a hold from the front, dig the thumbs into his eyes, forcing his head back, and follow up by driving the knee to his crotch."

'Gouge His Eyes'

"When the opponent secures a rear body hold, drive the heel into his instep and at the same time butt his face with your head. Also attempt to grasp one of his fingers and either twist or break it."

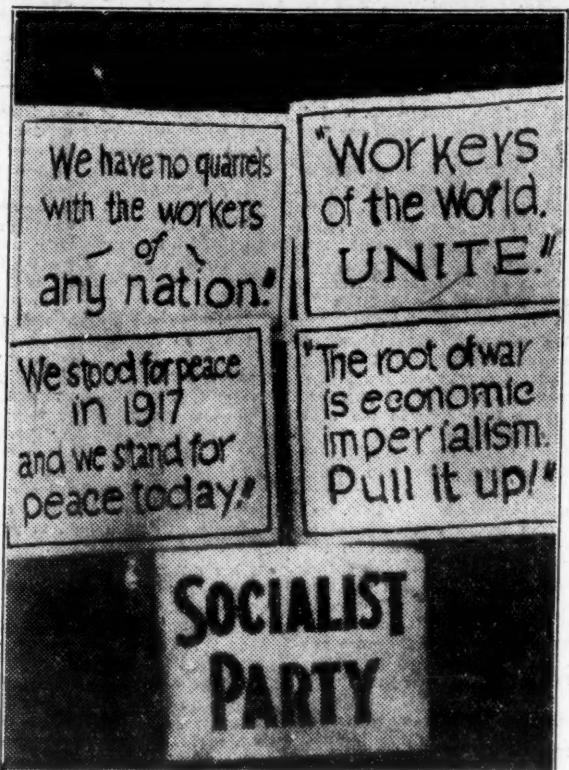
"NOTE: To finish an opponent who hangs on, or attempts to pull you to the ground, always try to break his hold by driving the knee or foot to his crotch and gouging his eyes with your thumbs."

Instructions in hand-to-hand fighting on page 23, appendix 1, read:

"The principles of sportsmanship and consideration for your opponent have no place in the practical application of this work. In a

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THEY HURT JINGOS' FEELINGS



"We Stood for Peace in 1917 and We Stand for Peace Today." This was the banner the Socialists of Boston flaunted in the face of the war-mongers Armistice Day. The reaction came immediately. Legionnaires and others longing for a return of war made violent gestures which, fortunately for law and order, came to naught.

Governor Fuller, who reviewed the parade, said he liked it all but the Socialist party banners. He expressed the wish that "three banners had been eliminated." They were all Socialist party banners, pictured above.

Coolidge Agent Gives Aid In Attack on Porters' Union

IN the American Railway Union strike of 1894 the Pullman Company ran the Government of the United States as it did its cars. It acted through the organization of the railroad managers who had united to fix wages of railroad workers. By its interstate secret wage-fixing and joint action of managers in such matters as wages, hours and strikes, this combination was in violation of the anti-trust laws. The railroad workers followed its example by inter-state organization and Debs and his associates went to jail. The Federal Government never brought action against the railroad managers while Attorney-General Olney appointed Edwin Walker, railroad attorney, to represent the Government during the strike. Olney and Walker turned the laws against the railroad union while the railroad managers wiped their feet on those same laws.

The Pullman Company is the same merciless exploiter that it was thirty years ago. It is one of the largest single employers of Negro labor in this country the Pullman porters. For many months they have been quietly organizing into a trade union of porters. The Pullman Company wants no organization of the porters. It has a "company union" which it controls, which is of no use to the porters but of much use to the company. The company desires help to break the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Has the Government again stepped in through the Department of Justice, this time to destroy the organization of the porters? On Wednesday the press carried the story that Perry W. Howard, a Negro Republican of Mississippi and special assistant to the Attorney General, is directing a campaign against the organization. This black Judas asserts that it is "inspired, fostered and promoted" by Communists. Even if so this would not constitute a cause of action against the organization.

On Thursday press dispatches from Washington carried a confused statement regarding Howard's relations with the Department of Justice. The Attorney General knew nothing of an assignment of Howard to this job while another official of the department asserted that Howard had asked for a leave of absence which was granted but that as special assistant he "works on assignment and when not thus engaged practices law."

This at least establishes Howard's connection with the department. Now it turns out that Howard had also been retained by the Pullman Company. Negro publications in New York had received press statements to this effect but shortly after had received telegrams urging that the announcements be not printed. One publication printed the statement before receiving the telegram and it is known that Howard defended the Pullman Company in a debate with A. Philip Randolph, Negro Socialist, who defended the union in Chicago.

A repetition of the Government-Pullman alliance of 1894 thus appears to be established. The black Judas appears to be the successor of Edwin Walker of 1894. The Pullman Company is the same merciless exploiter it was thirty years ago and the Bolshevik spook is used to aid the Pullman heirs against the low-paid Negro porters.

The Negro porters are responding to the call of labor organization. Their success will encourage others of their race. We urge the labor organizations to range themselves with the porters and protest against any alliance such as that implied by the action of the apostate Howard. Protest now!

FURRIERS' UNION ELECTS NEW OFFICERS

Schachtman, Non-Partisan, Succeeds Morris Kaufman as President

THE special convention of the International Fur Workers' Union adjourned Tuesday after an 11 days' session. The convention, held in Boston, was marked by the retirement of Morris Kaufman, for many years president of the International. Oizer Schachtman, secretary-treasurer of the N. Y. Joint Board of the Union, was elected, as a "non-partisan" candidate, to fill the office.

At his office in the New York Joint Board, following the close of the convention, Schachtman outlined to a New Leader representative the outstanding developments of the convention and his plans and hopes for the future. One of his cardinal principles, he said, is "keep politics out of the union." When a strong, unified labor party is formed, Schachtman said, the Furriers' International will gladly lend its support.

Among the resolutions adopted at the convention were ones endorsing the principle of amalgamating all the needle trades unions and urging the A. F. of L. to further such an amalgamation; for the diplomatic recognition of Russia; for a united Labor Party; for a 40-hour week; for the holding of a membership referendum on all decisions of the International conventions; for the abolition of overtime; for the release of labor's political prisoners in "all countries."

Monday to Saturday of the week before last was taken up entirely with the main purpose of the convention—the ironing out of differences between the N. Y. Joint Board and the International.

"The convention compromised on a resolution which liquidated all the so-called constitutional violations which had been charged to the joint board," Schachtman said. "No incoming G. E. B. may revive this dispute in any shape or manner. For the future, the Joint Board, since the ground for dissatisfaction no longer exists, pledges itself to work in harmony and obey decisions."

"There was a great desire for harmony expressed. I have every reason to believe the International will proceed to work in harmony with all parties concerned. Although B. Gold, manager of the Joint Board, is an outspoken Communist, he pledged himself to co-operate for the best interests of the union."

"In May, 1923, I withdrew participation in the Furriers' union affairs because I believed the general tendency being followed was not a wise one. Things did not appear to me to be going for the best. I couldn't do anything to help; obstruction is not in my nature. So I stayed away."

"Early in 1924, various partisans, including Kaufman, the 'League' and the Communist Party followers, urged me to assume activity again. I decided to try and was elected to the Joint Board, where, I believe, by non-partisan, or rather bi-partisan, action, we have done much to help the union. It is this non-political policy I intend to follow as International President."

"I believe I will be able to unite or keep united the different factions to the extent that they will not bring their political beliefs into union councils. My candidacy was promoted only as the medium of various groups who were of the opinion that, being a non-partisan, I could intelligently and tolerantly, listen to the claims of all groups."

Schachtman has now held every job in the union "from doorman to president." He is 36 years old. He came to this country in 1910 and settled in Minnesota. He soon was instrumental in organizing the St. Paul furriers. From 1919 to 1922 he was an International vice-president. He has no political affiliations at present, but is a staunch supporter of the Socialist philosophy. Until the split occurred in that organization, he was a member of the Socialist-Zionist organization.

Other vice-presidents elected at the Boston convention were: 1st, I. Winick; 2d, H. Sorkin; 3d, S. Del Signora; 4th, N. Kolnikoff; 5th, Aaron Gross; 6th, Milton Corbett; 7th, S. Budkowitz; 8th, Ida Weinstein; 9th, Jake Dissan; 10th, Moe Harsine; 11th, Harry Englander. Isaac Wolf will be the new general secretary treasurer. Sorkin, Schachtman and Gold were elected as delegates to the A. F. of L. convention for 1926 and Miner, Gross and Millstein, for 1927.

PRISON LABOR---YOUR PROBLEM

By Kate R. O'Hare

THE greatest crime that prison labor for private profit commit against the citizens of this country is that it closes the doors of the prisons to all the achievements of modern science, and retains the conditions of the Dark Ages. The most generally accepted standards of common decency, physical and mental hygiene, psychiatric and medical treatment, are lacking in practically every prison in the country where prison labor contractors rule. They simply will not permit scientifically trained men to enter the prisons to make necessary surveys and do important research work, nor will they permit sane and rational treatment of physically and mentally diseased convicts.

They know that only in secrecy and darkness can they exist, for their methods will not stand intelligent study. So they see to it that all intelligence is shut outside the prison walls.

There is nothing in my prison life that I remember with so much loathing as the inexcusable methods of handling communicable diseases. The bathing facilities gave me my first introduction to prison horrors. At the time I entered the Missouri State Penitentiary there were but two old, cracked, rusty bath-tubs in the women's department, which we were all forced to use. Naturally among women so largely recruited from the underworld, venereal diseases were common. There was no effort to segregate the clean women from the infected, and no treatment was given. I found that we were all expected to use the same tubs, and I was ordered to use one just vacated by a woman who died shortly after with syphilis.

When I protested that it was a social crime to expect me to use the tub without any sort of sterilization, the matron, shrieking and cursing, told me I would use what was provided or she would "break me in the hole." I knew she had the power and the temperament to do it—she had "broken" Minnie Eddy a few days before, and Minnie had been carried out in a pine box. I stepped into the bathroom and turned on the taps—but I did not bathe. That night I got a letter out underground telling my husband of these conditions. He reproduced it and sent it to a thousand influential people. It was published in newspapers and magazines, and a storm of protest was raised all over the country. In less than two weeks we had shower baths.

I was able to rout the common bathtub, but I was never able to prevent the diseased women from handling our food. Every woman in the dining-room was tubercular or syphilitic, and were used in the dining-room because they were too ill to work in the shop. I have seen the food the women were forced to eat handled by women with

A Letter from 'Gene Debs

Office of
THEODORE DEBS
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

November 11, 1925.

To the Editor of the New Leader,
New York City:

Dear Comrade Editor:

Please allow me space enough in your columns to express the deepest thanks to the comrades and friends who read the New Leader for their very kind and precious remembrances on my birthday. There were so many letters, telegrams and other testimonials on that day that it is impossible for me in the limited time I have to make personal acknowledgment of all these kind, thoughtful and heart-warming tributes. My birthday was made glad indeed by these precious messages of love and devotion and I wish to thank each sender deeply and sincerely, as also the New Leader and its loyal staff for their generous and whole-hearted participation in the celebration of the day. May I show my appreciation in some measure at least by the renewed resolve to more than ever give myself with every pulse-beat to the service of the cause?

My wife and all of our family join sincerely in this expression of our gratitude and appreciation.

Yours for Socialism and the future,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

(Signed)

pus oozing from open sores, and it was a common thing to have our food sprayed with tubercular germs by coughing convicts. The great majority of the women needed hospital care, but absolutely none was provided. There was an empty hospital room, but neither furniture nor equipment. Five hundred dollars intelligently expended would have equipped the room fairly well and provided the facilities demanded by common decency. The women convicts had earned hundreds of thousands of dollars in the workshop, but not a penny of it had ever been spent to make them physically fit to make their way in the world when they were released.

But we have nothing to do with these degraded creatures, they are nothing to us, you say. But you simply cannot escape responsibility so easily. They are human beings and no one ever did or ever will build a wall high enough, or make bars strong enough, to break the tie that binds us all together for better or worse. Their lives are what we in our ignorance and indifference permit, and they are generous, these convicts. They will return to us all we give—and with usury. It is scientifically true, as well as ethically true, that we are our brother's

Men are never so likely to settle a question rightly as when they discuss it freely.—Macaulay.

The day is coming when no man will be grateful for the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table.—Duchess of Sutherland.

keeper, but, what is more important to us, he is ours. And surely, as night follows day, whatever we send into the lives of our brothers will come back into our own.

We dare not forget that the convict can strike back at us by what he sends to us through the avenues of commerce. Prison made goods are practically all made in surroundings that reek with the vilest diseases known to medical science. The girl who sat next to me in the shop had both syphilis and tuberculosis. There were great open sores on her mouth from which the pus dripped continually, and she coughed and sprayed her work with tubercular germs all the time. She made children's play-suits and used them to wipe her lips, then tossed them in the pile of finished garments. Other women suffered with all sorts of diseases that are bred in poverty, ignorance, squalor and filth.

These filthy and disease-laden garments went to great wholesale houses and were labeled with the names of respectable firms, and were then distributed to merchants all over the country. These merchants might have been deceived by false labels, or they might have been willing to sell convict-made goods for the few pennies extra profit. But in either case they were handled by clean salesgirls, purchased by clean American mothers, and put on the bodies of helpless and innocent children.

You do not like to think of that sort of stuff coming into your home, do you, Mr. Farmer and Mr. Wage Worker? Well, the only way you can be sure that it is not is by being very sure that every garment that enters your home carries the union label.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

ute this happened these leaders and the unions, so far as they controlled them, drifted away from any real Socialist allegiance to the service of political machines like Tammany Hall or the Republican machine in Philadelphia.

It is coming to be the fashion nowadays to claim that these American political machines are benevolent organizations. Maybe. And so were the robber barons to their own favorite followers. But it takes more than benevolence to hold Tammany Hall together. There is plain intimidation. There is the little storekeeper who has to be an enrolled Democrat because otherwise the cop on his beat by legal or illegal tactics can put him out of business. There is the taxi-driver who told me that he could not last two weeks on the streets of New York if he were not an enrolled Democrat. And to these harassed, hard-working members of the lower middle class have been added in our great cities some labor leaders and their personal followers who may outwardly profess Socialism but do not dare to practice it for the disgraceful reason that their power, even perhaps their immunity from prosecution, depends upon a certain degree of favor in the political machine and their friendship for a man with political pull who can act as "fixer" in the courts.

The Party And the Unions

I do not deny that even the honest labor leader, sincerely interested in the working class, finds at times that legitimate union interest make it hard to stick to Socialism or a labor party instead of supporting the less bad of two old party candidates, one of whom is bound to be elected anyhow. So far the Socialist party has failed to make even honest labor leaders realize that a big Socialist or labor party vote will get more out of any successful old party candidate than can be got by always choosing the less of two evils. Now, however, I am not speaking about this honest difficulty, but about the shameful fact that in the process of Americanization some prominent individuals in our Socialist unions have adopted gangster tactics—and that not merely against scabs—which compel them, openly or secretly, to side with the local political boss.

Against this sort of thing the Socialist party, at least in New York, has been quite ineffective. I am not suggesting that it is the business of the Socialist party to run the unions. Far from it. But it ought to have a wholesome influence on Socialist unions. Certainly it ought not to have put itself in a position of treating union leaders as good Socialists who were neither good Socialists nor the right sort of labor leaders. Here has been felt one of the worst effects of the Communist split. In their zeal against the indefensibly subversive tactics of the Communists some prominent Socialists acted as if any one who fought Communists was therefore a Socialist, worthy of confidence and quite uncritical adoration. The disastrous consequences of this policy are only too evident in the recent history both of the party and the unions. To this point we may have occasion to recur later. For the present, I want to drive home the fact that in a very difficult situation the Socialist party has not succeeded in Americanizing itself properly and that in the process of so-called Americanization many Socialists or children of Socialists have been lost not only to the Socialist party, but to any loyal devotion to the working class.

The man is mechanically turned who is made for mere money-getting. . . . We may learn the little value of fortune by contemplating the persons on whom Heaven is pleased to bestow it. —Stoel.

The New Leader

Association

GENERAL MEETING

Friday, November 27th

8 P. M.

PEOPLE'S HOUSE

7 East 15th Street

At this meeting a detailed report of the condition and plans for improving The New Leader will be presented.

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.

PEOPLE ARE LIKE THAT

WANDERING into the Peoples House Cafeteria the other day we munched our lunch at a table with three members of the Society for Tired Radicals who were holding the usual requiem over the Socialist movement. Although the major portion of their conversation was the extolment of their own former activities, time was occasionally taken out for a left-handed jab or two at those who are active in the Socialist party today. They agreed that if the party had followed their program since 1912 Debs would now occupy the seat that Coolidge is trying to fill and pointed to the dances held Saturday evening in the People's House and by the Y. P. S. L. as signs of the deterioration among Socialists. It was made plain that this time could be better used in study of Carl Marx's Capital and that every Socialist should be able to recite verbatim at least one chapter of the famous book.

At this juncture they were approached by a pretty brunette to purchase tickets for Dorsha's recital (Dorsha by the way, is that beautiful dancer who gives so freely of her talent at Socialist affairs). So they left the chairs they had been occupying for three hours to cast their gloom in new fields.

Speaking of the Peoples House Cafeteria, here the food is good and you will always find congenial company. It's the eating place for optimistic as well as tired radicals. This also gives us an opportunity to mention the Saturday night dances at the People House, 7 East 15th street, under the management of Ben Josephson, impresario. The music, the floor and the crowd are just dandy.

"As my subscription has about expired, kindly discontinue The New Leader. I have been getting your paper for some time and must say that I do not like it because of some of the matter you print. I was especially disgusted with the evolution stuff. A number of you people are more harm than good to the Socialist movement. You do not realize how many people object to certain matter in your writings and speeches and to such things like Sunday political meetings, Sunday picnics, etc. Look at the returns of the last election and profit by them."

"Allentown, Pa. S. D. Tshudy."

The above letter was received by the business office and we print it as still another point of view. We don't feel in the mode today, but very shortly its our intention to say something in this column about "tolerance," which should hold true for Socialists as well as others.

"Dear Rufus Osborne:—

"Enclosed find check for \$2.00, for which send The New Leader for a year to the enclosed name and address. You can give yourself credit for this sub. It is entirely due to your article in the last issue of The New Leader. I had written you a frank expression of my feelings toward The New Leader in general, and you in particular, and after the words had gone forth and were irrevocable my conscience smote me. I was overwhelmed with fear that my words, like all frank expressions, might look harsh in cold print, lacking the gentle tones of friendly conversation. Then my New Leader came, and the first glance revealed the startling fact that your column had been cut in two. O the baptism of suffering endured by those who are misunderstood! I said to myself, 'Rufus has taken me seriously, and I have defeated my own purpose.' I sat down immediately and wrote a letter of explanation. Then I said to myself again: 'I will read what Rufus now says people are like before I mail this letter.' I found to my joy the article was written before the receipt of my letter. At least my letter had nothing to do with the abridgment. The article was from first to last a call to arms. It said, in effect: 'Arouse, ye brave. Preach the gospel! Get subs for The New Leader! Begin your letters 'Enclosed find money for which send The New Leader.' I tore my letter up and sallied forth and got the enclosed sub."

"Youngstown, Ohio,

J. A. C. Meng."

On Sunday evening, November 22 (that's this Sunday evening), Dorsha is to give her annual dance recital at the Booth Theatre. Those who have seen Dorsha dance need not be told that this will be a treat. Dorsha is not only a true artist, but a warm-hearted human being, a friend of the Socialist movement. Come to the Booth Theatre Sunday evening and have a wonderful time with Dorsha and her dancers.

"Just by good fortune I was handed a copy of your paper of November 7. I just want to follow the impulse of my heart and am enclosing the money for one year for The New Leader. Springfield, Mass. Mary Pulvirenti."

If we would all try and follow our impulses this would be a world of much happier men and women. And when the impulse tells you to get a sub for your paper, don't hesitate.

P. B. Flanders, the second Socialist mayor of Haverhill, Mass., sends in two dollars for a year's renewal of his subscription and says: "Keep up the good work. I have been at it since 1873. Am still going strong. Your New Leader is fine—long may it wave."

"I believe The New Leader is the best paper in the United States for international news. All Socialists should take it." Independence, Calif. S. C. Yandell."

We surely will not quarrel with the sentiments expressed in the letter from our California reader, but we just want to mildly say that The New Leader (in our opinion) is also a mighty good paper for non-Socialists as well.

"Dear Rufus:—Last Saturday I took three copies of The New Leader over to Henry Snodgrass, who keeps goats and lives just out of town on the Dingman's road. While we sat in the barn talking the papers laid on a bench, and the first thing I knew they had disappeared. Looking around, we found one of the goats just chewing up the last copy, and would you believe it, she died in a half hour. I just feel that it was your column that killed the poor animal. Here I thought these New Leaders would do Henry a lot of good, and instead of that they did the goat the worst kind of damage. There is going to be a dance in the town hall Saturday night, so why not come home and leave the editors get out a 100 percent good paper?"

"Branchville, N. J.

Bartholomew Depew."

What space is not monopolized in the papers with murders, holdups and divorces is being given over to the Mitchell trial. Among the masses the doughty Colonel is very popular and his picture flashed on the screen brings much applause from the movie audiences. His audacity in attacking the Washington powers makes him a popular idol. But it's only temporary, for if Mitchell stays in the army the machine will get his scalp. Right or wrong, you can't buck organization. For the moment it may appear licked, but in the long run organization always wins. That's why Mitchell will eventually lose.

This brings us to the truth that only through organization can Socialism triumph and the first step is a powerful press. So again we say, you like The New Leader, or you would not be reading this. Don't be selfish; get a subscriber or two today.

Axelrod Celebration

The Russian Branch of the Socialist Party will hold a jubilee meeting to celebrate the seventy-fifth birthday anniversary of Paul Axelrod, the founder of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. The meeting will be held Friday, Nov. 26, at 8 p. m., in the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. The following organization will participate in the celebration: The Socialist Party, Russian Branch; Auxiliary Group, Russian Social Democratic Labor Party; Plechanoff's Russian Social Democratic Group, and the Jewish Socialist Verband.

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AN HOUR OUT IN EUROPE

By J. Ramsay Macdonald
M. P.

Budapest.
I HAVE gone East so far that I am back to the hour of summer-time, and six o'clock (time for getting up) has become five, and midnight (the time for going to bed) has become one in the morning. I believe I lose at both ends, as I do on the exchange, but the mathematical calculation is too complicated for me to be sure.

In any event, I am in the lands which we fought to liberate and took the Majestic Hotel in Paris to settle. For our success in this, I have had to look as Abel looked for a father and Judas Iscariot looked for peace. The journalists come and tell me that the Labor Government did something for peace, and ask when it is to come; when terms are to be lowered and when there is to be liberty. They ask these things as I wander round art galleries and walk in the loggias of the operas, and I tell them that for three weeks I have left the world of politics—that explanations about Liverpool are jarring to the enjoyment of Bruegel's "Way to Calvary," and prophecies about the return of the Labor Party to office, or reasons why France has become within the last year the leading influence in Europe, disturb the haggling over the price of a Romyne landscape. Oh, one gets tired of it and, for the sake of one's cleanliness of mind and invigoration, one wants a short rest amongst the beautiful and good things that men have done.

I cannot get away from it, alas! and, though my friends may object, the gold brad of 1924 will have to come to the grave with me. But when Huberman asks me to come to his rooms and he plays Bach and Chopin for my private ear, and when a choice little supper where the Nine sit follows, it is hard (for three weeks) to turn to discussions which bring our company, the Mace, the Speaker in his wig, the long bench of the Government so devoid of temperament. Like a miserable hunted hare I have tried to flee, but have had to give up a hopeless task, and now I meet them all, saint and sinner—red and blue, black and white. When I tell them that I came to see and not to hear, they praise my task and continue their speeches. For it is still true that whether this country was victor or vanquished, material life is worse than before the war, especially to the workman, and liberty is far more circumspect.

Communism following the war, as a tidal wave follows an earthquake, has added to the destruction. I have asked about some of the prison stories that have been going the rounds of our press in England. Even if every bit of color on them were justified they are in the greater part as reaction against the deeds that the Communists have done and the fears that they have raised. We cannot have it both ways. We cannot fill prisons with political opponents one day, shoot them for their opinions, and suppress democracy, and, when the Wheel of Fortune turns the next day, expect that the people whose blood we have heated to boiling point are to treat us with consideration and generous justice. The Fascists in Italy and the Whites in the parts where I now wander are nothing but a reaction against Communism.

MacDonald writes from Hungary:

"Where has Socialism ever been tried?" shouts the human ledger of civilized superficiality, feeling that he has cornered us hopelessly, and that nothing can happen but that we display the white flag of surrender. By the banks of the Danube and the Moldau I can introduce him to a world of wisdom and vision where Marx is not quoted, but where the proofs of the inevitability of Socialism rise every morning like a hymn of praise for the promise that is yet to be fulfilled."

employing not a single weapon that the Communists did not employ, but using them with more power. The moral turpitude of both are precisely the same, the difference is in the muscular development of the reaction. It is all wrong, hateful, abominable, but as a White leader to whom I was expressing plain truths remarked: "You have a right to be heard, the others have not."

It rained all the way across Europe, and through the dimmed windows of the train everything was blurred and sorrowful. Even the autumn glories looked tattered and stained and were like the rags of an ancient garment of beauty that afforded but scanty protection from the cold wind and rain to the skeleton forms underneath. As you run eastwards at a point beyond Vienna, a miracle happens. You know that you have crossed the borders of one world and have entered a new one. You change yourself. You become of the new world. Life comes nearer to the realities. Its toils are with nature; its cruelties belong to the primitive conflicts; its beauties and its ceremonies are of other times. The value of time falls like the currency of the countries. You go into the primitive and where you come across cultivation, the archaic whinstone, the glacial boulder, and untamed patch, break it up and remind you that the efforts of ruling and designing

man only put a veneer upon the mighty creation in the midst of which we are and have our being.

White villages lie on the slopes of hills that are purple and red and yellow in their autumn covering; tall, thin spires tell of the spirit that shares with the bright sun the ruling of life, the flocks in the fields multiply and are crowded and massed as in the East; the people are more of a piece with the soil where they labor; the woods and the trees like the houses have taken on new shapes; in the evening there is wine in the sky and the shadows in the valleys are deeper and sadder; the striving after vanities, the progress that is no progress but a bustle after things that are never caught and gains that are but Dead Sea fruit, do not intrude. The West is left behind—is over the hills below the horizon like the reminiscence of a past existence that has ended in death.

The train journey ends. Stiff men in uniform at the stations have given their salute to speed us on; the high walls, pierced by windows, row upon row, one above another, have come, and we are back into the clearances where men have gathered to try to create things. Shops blaze and flash in glittering and colored displays, trams crawl, taxis rattle and dash, men and women hurry, gaze, stand, lift their

hats—and we wonder what is the meaning of this phantasmagoria. It is the world.

But in the old days they made beautiful towns. The poor, peevish materialist can never get away from his ugliness and his logic. He is always bringing up his beggars and his rage and his empty plates. To him all the world is that, and nothing more. But the pains, the tyrannies, the fears and superstitions, the filth and the equal of these past generations have blossomed into a precious beauty. The Socialist sees the creating good and loveliness in things.

In our bedroom in the morning we can read over our frugal meal of the terrible history of Budapest or Prague, of Attila, the Turk, Maria Theresa, John Huss, and shudder; but half an hour afterwards, standing on the low bank of the Danube or the Moldau, and beholding in the pink light of the dawn, when the air is clear but for the blue smoke rising like incense from the chimneys of those who go out early to their labors, the forts, the palaces, the churches that have for centuries crowned the ridges on the other side, that same person sees nothing of what made him shudder, but only the peace, serenity, dignity and faith that always return to the earth when the follies, the hates and the pride of men have been overwhelmed in their own vanities and crimes.

"Where has ever Socialism been tried?" shouts the human ledger of civilized superficiality, feeling that he has cornered us hopelessly, and that nothing can happen but that we display the white flag of surrender. By the banks of the Danube and the Moldau I can introduce him to a world of wisdom and vision, where Marx is not quoted, but where the proofs of the inevitability of Socialism rise every morning like a hymn of praise for the promise that is yet to be fulfilled.

ON SHARING OWNERSHIP

By George H. Soule, Jr.

I AM a profound skeptic of the movement to encourage stock ownership among employees. Just as an indication of my starting point, let me draw a little caricature. Caricatures are unfair, but they are often useful in illustrating a point of view.

Why has the movement for participation in stock ownership been initiated by those who already control and reap the profits from a large share of industry?

Let us consider one of these men thinking it over and saying to himself, "My share of this industry is being menaced on two sides; by the encroachment of the public through legislative enactment, and by the encroachment of Labor through labor organization. My purpose is to keep as much of my control and my share in this industry as I possibly can. I shall have to do something about it. I don't want to have the public legislate. I don't want to have to deal with commissions. I don't want to have to negotiate with labor unions. Therefore, why don't I encourage these people to buy stock? Stock owners are not troublesome. They have little power. Their ownership means only the receipt of a dividend over which they have no control except by the purchase and sale of their stock. As we all know the minority of stockholders of most institutions control their management."

Now that is probably a caricature of the motives of most people who have described the advantages of this movement, and yet I think it does point to a real difficulty. We need to increase the interest and the responsibility of the majority of people in the conduct of our industries, for their better management—their better management not only in producing material things, but in producing happy citizens. But we are not going to do it very effectively, in my opinion, if we confuse technical or legal ownership with the actual object which we want to bring about, or if we proceed in any other way than a practical, functional way to develop the control and the responsibility where they can be effectively exercised.

If an employer wants to give the workers in his establishment more interest in it, more effective control over its policies and a greater share of responsibility, there is one easy and logical way to do it; that is to recognize and deal with the organization which they have formed for that purpose. A company which refuses to take that simple step

Clearing Up Some Illusions Concerning the Selling of Stock to Employees

but puts forward as a substitute some such scheme as profit-sharing or stock ownership is seeking a false way of escape, much as a neurotic person tries to avoid recognizing and dealing with reality by substitution of an imaginary compensation which really doesn't mean anything.

In the same way if employees want to deal with the increasing tendency of the public to demand a share in industry in order to bring it closer to the ideal of service, it does not seem to me that they can do so by avoiding the consideration of the part that must be played by the public in its organized political capacity. Political organization is a deep-rooted institution and will exist for many years to come. You can not distribute power by scattering shares of common stock in a hit-or-miss way over the country but not including a very large proportion

tion of the users of the respective services.

I happen to have noted the figures which have been presented by Mr. Harrison of the New York Central Lines. He says that eight hundred thousand people now own shares of railroad companies. He says that the ideal would be reached when all the people owned railroad shares and that this condition would be a very good substitute for public ownership.

Eight hundred thousand people comprise just two percent of the forty million gainfully employed persons in the United States, and that is a pretty small minority. Even if the increase of railroad share ownership should keep up at the same geometrical ratio as during the past twenty years, it would take between seventy-five and one hundred years for all the gainfully employed population to become railroad share-owners. By that time our railroad problem will have become an entirely different one.

So it seems that neither qualitatively nor quantitatively are we justified in placing much importance on this special means of solving the problem of control and of sharing the fruits of industry.

LAUNDRY DRIVERS ORGANIZE ALL N. Y. CITY

Upon the initiative of the Brownsville Laundry Drivers Union Local 810, a vigorous campaign to organize the laundry drivers throughout the city is now well under way. The drive is being conducted especially in the Bronx, Williamsburgh, and Brooklyn.

Many members have already been secured in Williamsburgh, Brooklyn, and in the Bronx a number of concerns have already signed up agreements with the union, among them one of the largest laundries in the Bronx, The Ready Laundry at 1463 Crotona Place.

Many mass meetings are being called in this drive, and one of them will take place this Friday evening, November 20, at the Bronx Lyceum at 170th street and Third Avenue, where prominent speakers will address the gathering. Laundry drivers not yet members of the union are urged to come. The public is urged to patronize Union wet wash laundries.

5,000 SHOE WORKERS VICTORIOUS IN STRIKE

The strike of five thousand shoe workers, members of The American Shoe Workers' Protective Union, has ended with a victory for the workers. The strike ended when the workers, by a referendum vote, decided to accept the agreement as worked out by a committee of the workers and representatives of the employers.

The workers gained all their demands except the one which calls for equal division of work in dull seasons. The majority of the workers, however, voted favorably to accept the agreement, realizing that for a comparatively young union they have gained a number of other concessions of equal importance, and that at the first favorable opportunity they will gain this important measure as well.

3,000 Pants Makers Are Locked Out

Three thousand pants makers, members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, have been locked out by the New York Pants Contractors' Association because the workers refused to go back to the old sweatshop conditions and work again on the piece work system.

More than twenty manufacturers, members of the employers' organization, have broken the bosses' ranks by signing the union agreement. The industry is completely tied up, and the union feels that these employers will have to yield to the union in the same manner that the largest clothing concern in the country, the International Tailoring Company, was forced to after a nineteen weeks' lockout.

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THE KOUMINGTANG OF CHINA--WHAT IT STANDS FOR

Two Government Headquarters Declarations; Communism in China--The Shanghai Massacre

THE NEW LEADER has received from China the interesting documents printed below. For about a year the press has carried occasional items regarding the "Koumintang," the party of the late Sun Yat Sen. The Communists through their weekly press service in Vienna and their press in this country have claimed the Koumintang as a Chinese Communist organization. These two documents set at rest all such claims. The first one expressly disclaims Communist principles and gives certain reasons why Communism is not acceptable to the party. The second document is a protest against the Shanghai massacre. Hu Han-Min, the author of these declarations, appears to be the successor of Sun Yat Sen as the chief official of the Southern Government. We have left the quaint English of the originals practically intact. Editor, The New Leader.

GOVERNMENT HEADQUARTERS DECLARATIONS

By Hu Han-Min
Chief Councillor, Acting Generalissimo & Civil Governor of Kwangtung

Declaration Refuting the Rumour of Communism

THIS Government is a People's Revolutionary Government formed solely for the welfare of the people. What it believes is the late Generalissimo's, Dr. Sun's Three Principles for the people, and its acts are in accordance with the program of Kuomintang, for which declarations have constantly been issued to display its aim.

Unfortunately of late, a sort of villainess attaches itself to Militarists of the county, and traitors in the service of Imperialists widely spread rumours, if not saying, that this Government has the taint of Soviet Russia, and that Communism is about to be put in practice. Furthermore they co-operate with the foreign press and private institutions to propagate untruth, with the view of destroying the Government, creating disturbance, suppressing revolution, and putting the country into a hopeless state. The Government, in order to adjust public information and refuting false rumour, strictly declare the following for publicity.

Communism was founded by Karl Marx of Germany, who on seeing the defects of Industrialism, thought of the natural destruction of Capitalism, which he regarded as excessive surplus value extracted by Capitalists and producing a class of poor people. The struggles against the rich give rise to social revolution; hence countries behind in economic condition have no possibilities of practicing Communism.

The Chinese, whether rich or poor, are being internally embarrassed by Militarists and externally oppressed by foreign powers. Even the people's revolution is not yet a success. How can Socialism be started? Communism is rooted in the excess of private properties. Has China any extensive railroads, thick forests, large steamers and mines or other property, or productive factories suitable for public ownership? Since China is short of productive sources how can Communism be applicable here?

Moreover the wealth of the country and the existence of the people are in the grip of foreign powers. We should therefore need to create property and not to practice Communism in order to destroy property. Hence our late Generalissimo, on internally inspecting the economic condition of the country and externally following the tendencies of historical changes of the world, discovered the principle of the People's Existence to restrict capital and to apportion land rights equally, which will not only be able to reconcile public economy, but also prevent social revolution. Any one who reads the principles of our Party or has a little knowledge of the history of the world may know that this Government is a Government to create property and not a Communist Government, which our people should not misinterpret.

The rumour-mongers further say that the existing friendship between our Government and Soviet Russia is proof of the "Red." Nevertheless, do they understand that the principle of our Party is chiefly to achieve independence of the country, and that countries which have no aim of aggression but afford us equal treatment, shall be our friends? This not only refers to Russia but also to England, America, France, Japan and other countries who, if they really afford us equal treatment, shall be our friends too. Not the Revolutionary Government but traitors will keep away from

those who treat us equally and adore those who oppress us, for this Government strictly obeys the late Generalissimo's will, and only knows the truth and benefit of the nation regardless of any close or distant relations with other countries.

If it is said that Soviet Russia, being a form of Communism, should not be given intimacy, why should England, France, Japan and Italy sign treaties with Russia, exchange ambassadors and make commerce with her? The nations of today cannot close their doors. Anyone, if not in extreme stupidity, may understand that to stand alone is an impossibility.

In the case of Russia, she is applying her new economic plan. However, the principles of Communism have not yet been carried out. Since Russia, being governed by Communists, still expects hundreds of years to make it perfect, how can a Government which applies the Three Principles of the peoples employ Communism? This sort of rumour is absolutely ridiculous, and yet there are some senseless people who believe it, for which the Government again draws the attention of our people lest they misinterpret.

Those who have the idea that the alliance of the Communists with the Kuomintang is proof of the Government being tainted red, are perfectly ignorant of the fact that the Communists, in following Dr. Sun's Principles and the program of Kuomintang, are just helping us to finish the people's revolution, for they are quite aware of present China being not in a Socialist stage and therefore must strike hard in the task. The fact that the Communists adopt the program of the Kuomintang instead of the Kuomintang accepting the principles of Communism, evidently proves that this Government have not the least desire to practice Communism.

If it is again said that this Government has long been planning to practice Communism and it is simply because of a certain fact that the Government dare not declare it openly, then our Government is not like those treacherous and artful Militarists. We are under the direction of our late Generalissimo to work for the people's revolution, and have a remarkable history of more than forty years' standing. We unfurl our standard of the revolution of the people and lead our

hosts to fight against our opponents. If we were afraid of anything, we would have yielded to the Militarists and worshipped the leaders of Imperialism. Is there anything in our history to prove that we gave up our principles and employed secret plots, or went beyond our Party principles to get reconciled to others? This is the third point that the Government desire the people not to misinterpret. What the Government know are the Three Principles of the people and nothing else. In other words, the Government are fighting for our principles and hereby declare that they have no idea of Communism nor can any Communist system be worked out in China, for it is not permitted by the economic condition. This is why we reiterate that our people should sweep away all such mean rumours.

(Sd.) HU HAN-MIN,
Chief Councillor, Acting Generalissimo and Civil Governor of Kwangtung.

Declaration of the Revolutionary Government Re The Atrocious Actions in the Foreign Concession at Shanghai

AT the instigation of the Authorities in the Foreign Concessions at Shanghai, the foreign police recently shot down many unarmed students during a demonstration procession. Not a few were shot dead on the spot, and several of the wounded died afterwards. Similar acts were committed a little later against the absolutely unarmed labourers during their processions. In the course of a few days, the total number of deaths amounted to several scores, and that of the wounded, several hundreds. Such atrocious outrages of the Imperialists evidently show that they are outside the pale of human beings. With their artful tongues they strive to divert attention by complaining that the students and labourers were propagating Bolshevism.

It goes without saying that the object of the demonstrations has apparently nothing in the least to do with the propaganda of Bolshevism; but, granting that it has, such propaganda is as a matter of fact not infrequent in the countries of the Imperialists. Now, though they are extremely hostile to this, they do not, as far as we know, direct armed police to slaughter wantonly in their own countries, the unarmed demonstrators, even those regarded by them as Bolshevist propagandists. If any such atrocity were to occur in the countries of the Imperialists, it would have aroused the indignation of their own people who, consequently, would have been up in arms in a common cause with other countries against their own governments. The governments responsible for such atrocities could not then remain in existence nor retained their international moral standing among the nations. Now, such atrocities were successively perpetrated, as if there was nothing strange, in places which the Imperialists looked upon as their colonies and semi-colonies.

From the biased misrepresentations made in connection with these atrocities, by the press which used to praise each other for their justice and humanity, it is evident that the Imperialists have never given equal treatment to the people residing under the jurisdiction of the so-called colonies and hyper-colonies. What they know is only to extort wealth by force and by schemes so as to satisfy their greed for economic aggression. They have not the least care for the lives and moral welfare of the people. All these atrocities will undoubtedly cause deep and remarkable impressions in the minds of all the oppressed people of the world towards the harshness and fury of the Imperialists, and, at the same time, serve to recall to the Chinese the miserable sufferings they sustained after the Opium War, for which they would confirm their determination to seek vengeance by sleeping on firewood and tasting gall (a Chinese expression corresponding to unrelenting efforts for revenge).

This Government has hereby to declare solemnly that the atrocious acts of the Authorities in the Foreign Concessions at Shanghai are extremely opposed to humanity and destructive and insulting to the Chinese Republic and to international relations as well. To bring about a remedy, our attention should not be limited to such insignificant questions like apology, punishment and compensation. We should take steps to arrive at a radical settlement by the abolition of unequal treaties and the rendition of the concessions. This Government further declares solemnly that the boldness of the Imperialists in instigating their hired bravados to slaughter people in broad daylight and in the public highway, is the outcome of the timidity and adulation of the Peking Government towards the Foreign Powers. Until quite recently, Tuan Chi-jui, in exchange for the Provisional Regency, showed great respect for the unequal treaties. This, as a matter of course, increases to a great extent the pride and arrogance of the Imperialists who now have nothing to care for. Again, Chang Cho-lin, after his victory, places stronger confidence and reliance upon the Imperialists, which explains also the reason for the occurrence of the present atrocities. It now appears that the Militarists have formed a clandestine and illegal connection with the Imperialists. This Government, swearing to follow the late Generalissimo's former instructions, will use every endeavour to conduct the struggle until such connection is wholly removed. We hope that our people will unanimously try to do all that lies in their power to do.

BAKERY WORKERS BEATEN UP WHEN BOSS ATTEMPTS TO SERVE AN INJUNCTION

A number of workers were beaten up and three were arrested when A. Fogel, president of the Public Baking Company, 175 East 2d St., accompanied by a number of detectives attempted to force his way into a meeting of the Executive Board of Local 100 of the Bakers' Union to serve them with a temporary injunction issued by Judge Proskauer.

The union has conducted a strike against this concern for a number of months, and has succeeded in securing a good deal of public support, the consumers insisting on the union label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.

The injunction is as sweeping and arbitrary an injunction as was ever issued in the history of the labor movement in New York. It absolutely prohibits the union from peaceful picketing, or in any way to appeal to the public for moral support in its struggle.

(Sd.) HU HAN-MIN,
Chief Councillor in Charge of the Generalissimo's Headquarters and Civil Governor of Kwangtung.

LUNCH-CART MEMORIES

(The death of Samuel M. Jones at Springfield, Mass., recently, removes another Socialist who was conspicuous in building the Socialist Party twenty-five years ago. The Springfield Republican carried a column regarding Jones in a recent issue, and we take pleasure in passing on to our readers this delightful bit of reminiscence.)

THE death of Samuel M. Jones, inventor of the lunch cart, is a reminder of how recent is the development of the tabloid restaurant that caters twenty-four hours a day to the gastronomical needs and impulses of the multitude. When Mr. Jones came to Springfield in 1889, after having successfully launched his now famous invention in Worcester, only the "depot restaurant" or a hotel was available for those who wanted meals "out of hours." The late "Billy" Clough's pioneer restaurant on Main street, near State, was begun in a small way on an all-night basis three years later. Mr. Clough had worked in one of the "cake and coffee rooms," which the

They shall beat their swords into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.—Isaiah 2, 3.

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The Recollections of Samuel Jones, the Late New England Socialist

Little stalls operated on the streets of New York were called, and when they were ousted by city ordinance in 1874, had followed his trade on the Bowery.

Clough's restaurant was decidedly a step of progress, but it is a far cry from its primitive layout to the marble and tiled splendors of today. The development, however, proceeded rapidly after it had once begun. By 1899 there were eight restaurants in Springfield open all night. The numbers, the equipment, the menus—and after the war began, the prices—developed apace. Soon the chain restaurant appeared, with "stores" in many cities. At least two of the best known and most profitable chains began in Springfield, and are still going strong. Whether, on the whole, the supply of the quick lunch restaurant—"dairy lunches," they used to be called—hasn't surpassed the demand is another story.

But to return to the man who began it—"Sam" Jones, as he was familiarly known without belittling his dignity. Before he retired from the lunch cart business he had a fleet of 20 or more in various cities and towns, and there were hundreds of others throughout the country inspired by his example. Perhaps they still thrive here and there, but in Springfield there

are only reminders—carts with the same stained glass windows and interior fittings and service, mounted not on wheels that turned twice a day, but on permanent brick or concrete underpinning.

Mr. Jones's interest in Populism and Socialism has been referred to. It began at a particularly interesting period in the radical political history of the United States. Three Springfield names in the Populist movement stand out—George M. Stearns, the banker, the lawyer; Charles R. Haradon, the bicycle dealer, and Mr. Jones. Mr. Jones had something in common with each of the two famous contemporaries Samuel M. Joneses (both called "Sam")—the "golden rule" mayor of Toledo and the rough-and-ready evangelist of Georgia. The Springfield Jones's spiritual relation to the latter is less obvious, perhaps, but both were ardent in the propaganda of their ideas of what was good for the race.

It was during his activity as a Populist that Mr. Jones became acquainted with James F. Carey of Haverhill, who was one of the People's party's young spellbinders. Carey was a shoemaker. The shoemakers, in 1896, went on strike and, as a result of his activity in their leadership, he found himself out of a job. Mr. Jones offered him a job in one of his Springfield lunch carts and he took it. Carey was a Socialist before Jones was, and the lunch cart rostrum became livelier than ever upon his advent. Carey afterward served five terms in the Legislature as representative from Haverhill, elected as a Socialist.

Trade unionism was another fruitful topic of lunch cart discussions, and George H. Wrenn, veteran labor leader in state and city, was one of many who had the Jones lunch cart habit. Both Mr. Carey and Mr. Wrenn, it will be remembered, were several times nominated by the Socialists for governor. Mr. Jones had also been a disciple of Edward Bellamy and the one-time "Nationalists" found here many kindred spirits. There was a less acute suspicion of social radicalism in those days than there has been since. Communism as it is now known had not arisen; the World War was far in the future; the Utopia of "Looking Backward" sent no shivers down conservative backs.

IN DEFENSE OF FIRE

By Benj. C. Gruenberg

THE Olympians were wiser in the ways of their twilight than were the sons of man in their successive generations. The former saw only too clearly that they were doomed when the Fire of Heaven was placed at the disposal of the latter. The poor human things, on the contrary, insisted from the very first (to change the figure) upon looking the gift in the mouth, and upon objecting to the teeth that they found there.

The use of fire by human beings obviously involves serious dangers, not so much because fire is destructive of life and property, as because its use is contrary to the manifest laws of Nature and sure to bring about the physical deterioration of the race. Consider a moment. People without fire must either remain in the tropics, where by nature they belong, or they must move into colder regions at the risk of rapid elimination of the unfit—that is, of those individuals who are least capable of keeping warm by growing adequate hairy coverings, by depositing layers of fat under the skin, or by accelerating their metabolic processes and so generating enough heat to compensate for the radiations from the body surface. The use of fire makes possible the survival of weaklings. Again, its use must lead to the deterioration of the teeth, and of the jaw muscles—universal symbols of virility and native power—since cooked food is more easily masticated than is raw food. The use of fire led, as we now know, to the eventual discovery and mastery of metals, with results that were still further degrading. What has become of man's teeth and claws since he substituted knives and forks for the former, and swords and bayonets for the latter?

One could go on indefinitely elaborating upon the certain decline in the vigor and general fitness of the race through the application of the divine fire to the combating and mastering of our material environment. Somehow, the danger seems always to lie immediately ahead. During the centuries of the past man has made one application after another of the heavenly gift, each in turn greeted with dire forebodings, and each accepted at last as a matter of course by the sons of

A Defense of Science as An Instrument of Man's Advancement

The prophets, and without any serious disaster.

In our own time, the holy horror is directed toward the racial catastrophe that must come from our attempts to thwart Nature in her lust for infants, in her preference for Nordics, in her discriminations against highbrows, in her affection for ignorance, in her general predilection toward letting well enough alone. Concretely, the great fear is that the use of biological science in curing and preventing various diseases, in lowering infant death rates, in making two or three blades of grass grow where none grew before, in extending man's sway to previously unoccupied regions, in adapting the environment to man instead of forcing man to accept the environment on pain of extermination—that the use of reliable knowledge in altering the course of events must inevitably lead to disaster.

A Defense of Science

Professor Jennings devotes the larger part of this little book* to "the biological background," showing the importance (if we mean to think straight) of recognizing the inseparability of "heredity" and "environment." Every organism has innumerable constitutional capacities; what becomes of the individual is quite as much a question of the medium in which capacities develop as it is of the native constitution. Man's educability exceeds that of any other species; and since all native capacities can never be realized, the practical problem becomes one of

finding conditions favorable to the development of those that we value. It is only in a statistical sense that a eugenical program of selective reproduction (or infertility) has any meaning; and there is always involved the question as to which class does the selecting. The fact of biparental reproduction in mammals is the greatest limiting factor in any program, since it insures in perpetuity wide ranges of individual variation. "Capitalists" will continue to produce artists, poets, sociologists, laborers; laboring men will give birth to capitalists, to philosophers, to men of science; fools will produce wise men, and wise men will produce fools.

This is by no means a negative gospel, notwithstanding the author's insistence upon recognizing the limitations of our actual knowledge. It is rather a defense of science as an instrument of man's adjustment and of his further advancement, a warning against the use of fragmentary or partial knowledge as a basis either for fear of the future or for plans for the future.

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THE RIGHT TO THINK

By Joseph T. Shipley

Men dislike what interferes with their desires. Man's fundamental desire is for sustenance; out of his fear that he may not be able to keep alive springs his further desire for saving, for the accumulation of wealth. Since Darwin didn't have to tell our primitive ancestors that the fittest survive, since, in other words, power was the surest means of securing food, man developed beyond his immediate needs a love of power and—as the sign of that power—luxurious display. At first this show was merely the manifestation of effective force, the constant maintenance of a body of trained soldiers ready to impose their ruler's power; later it took many curious turns. For by a natural psychological process, whatever is essential to the attainment of a desired goal becomes of itself desirable; the original fear has long disappeared from the accumulative impulses of our millionaires and the lavish waste of their sons. For those to whom the struggle for existence is still a present urge, the fear, of course, remains; in everyone it is easily revived. And in most it also leaves a trace, the weapon held after its use is required: intolerance.

The Attitude Of Intolerance

Intolerance is an attitude of hostility toward, of unwillingness to have around, those whose presence might interfere with one's well-being or self-satisfaction. It follows that the less well-off or the less satisfied a person is, the more intolerant he will prove toward his neighbors. Tolerance implies power; the weaker man may hate his superiors; the man in power may refuse to tolerate those who seem dangerous to his power or prestige. His superiors he will seek to placate, his equals to outwit; his nearest inferiors he will endeavor to remove; the insignificant feeble he will tolerate. Between the intolerance of the Ku Klux Klan and that of the Inquisition there is no difference save degree of organization and power. Van Loon, it is true, calls the activity of the Klansmen "merely manifestations of bad manners and a lack of decent public spirit"; but the "public-spirited citizen" is merely the one who shares the popular intolences. Van Loon also suggests as causes of intolerance, laziness, ignorance, and self-interest. The first of these is obviously the self-interest of the comfortable, who do not wish their comfort disturbed; the second, misdirected self-interest; both spring directly from the third, the one basic element of intolerance. Perhaps ignorance is more fundamental; for intolerance is also based on self-interest, when the tolerance is not that usual passive lack of concern, it is based on love and the wisdom that recognizes the interests of everyone are promoted most successfully by freedom.

Indifference

The Basis

Since tolerance, however, fundamentally rests on indifference, i. e., on a feeling that one's life, one's welfare, are not intimately involved, intolerance is naturally exercised in the fields of chief concern to man: the social and the economic. This might seem strange to those for whom the word always carries a trail of religious zeal and persecution; yet little study of psychology and history is required to make it plain that "every war is a holy war." Man always endeavors to build about his actions as high-sounding a justification as possible; the more selfish they are, the more he needs this external bolstering; and the easiest to twist into a semblance of truth and the least annoying when not required is that device which makes man's actions only the carrying out of the will of a divine being. Van Loon's study of tolerance is most effective in emphasizing the economic aspect of the supposedly religious persecutions of the Christians by the Romans, and again of the dissenters by the Catholics. No doubt some of this was sincerely based on purely "religious" motives, for the sake of the victim's soul; on the earlier mentioned principle of transference, that which was a means to an end becomes the end itself. For the persecution that hid its nature under the guise of a holy act was based on the discovery by the Christians and by the Romans before them, that when interest in the Church falls off the revenue

*TOLERANCE, by Hendrik Van Loon. Boni & Liveright, New York; \$2.

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Van Loon Turns His Attention to the Struggle for Freedom

of the Church suffers a corresponding decline. The Holy Roman Empire, the Catholic Church of the middle ages, were powerful political (which means economic) bodies; the information Van Loon gives of their early chicanery and maneuvered growth might be read to advantage by the head of any large international financial group today; and the Popes knew that any attack on their divine authority was a step toward the weakening of their temporal power. The first attacks on the church of any popular appeal were directed toward the corruption of the clergy, toward their interest in amassing funds for the pleasure they supposedly denied themselves. No pictures of fouler corruption and immorality exist than those satires of Areline and others against the medieval clergy.

Where the Mob Comes In

Intolerance is, therefore, not primarily due to any difference in thinking or in religious belief. Set one Jew down in a midwestern community and he is accepted readily, with no more question than any other citizen. But if two of his cousins follow him, open stores, and thrive, at once a problem arises: the townsfolk become conscious of economic intrusion, and religion furnishes an obvious point of attack. So they remember that the ancestors of these Jews were somehow connected with a legal murder involving the body assumed for a time by the Christ, and the Ku Klux Klan or some handy group drives them out or, in more orderly sections, or where they are more numerous, applies some form of social ostracism. In a similar fashion political opinions are tolerated, especially in a democracy, so long as their novelties seem unlikely of attainment, the idle words of godly or ungodly dreamers—as soon as there is any indication that the adherents of these parties may become dangerous to the well-being and comfortable livelihood and profit of those in power, the fact that the peaceful methods and democratic procedure of the dissenters have not changed in the least does not save them from special laws and harsher treatment and mob violence. (The mob is always on the side of

the powerful, because it expects its reward; only when the present pain is too great and the prospect of dangled bait or reward too remote, does the mob change sides and grow into a revolution). Tolerance is the result of indifference, of the feeling that the matter on hand is of no great concern.

Van Loon's Advertising Style

Unfortunately the excellent picture that Mr. Van Loon gives of the story of tolerance through the ages is largely in spite of Van Loon. The author developed two traits in his first outline, *The Story of Mankind*, that in the *Story of the Bible* he carried to excess and still abuses. The first of these is his pert advertising style of writing, that substitutes slogans for epigrams, and flippancy for cleverness. "A book without a crisis is like a child that has never had the measles. There probably is something the matter with it . . . If that school in the days of Erasmus was as bad as when I visited it four centuries later, I can only feel sorry for the poor kid." Such attempts to get on familiar terms with the subject and the reader imply that the author thinks he is writing for those whose intelligence level is that of the colored comics. Van Loon tells us he wrote the *Story of the Bible* for his own children; in the present book he continues—"encouraged drunkenness and many other things that were even worse . . . a few other things which common decency prevents me from repeating on this page"—the attitude of the wise adult winking over the heads of some innocent children while he tells a smutty story. Incidentally, the supposedly silly slaps at Christianity which Van Loon attempts show that he has reached the stage of emancipation at which boys throw stones at their teacher—from a safe corner. The plain road of intellectual tolerance, even of believers, even of those less informed and less trained than himself, this author of *Tolerance* has not achieved. Which may serve as a pointer to his book, a warning as to how patient we must be, how guarded ourselves against intolerance, before we see the note in our fellows. Perhaps the only tolerant condition in life is the ultimate indifference of death. Perhaps indeed progress is due to the vehemence and the drive of conflicting intolences, so that tolerance is not an ideal but a fictive, illusory mirage. Even to this attitude we must be tolerant.

A Critic of Parliaments

By James Oneal

I HAVE recently enjoyed reading a book * on the life and work of Guillaume De Greef, an early Belgian Syndicalist, who was born in Brussels in 1842. Interesting as his theories and his relations with the First International are, his view of representation of the people in legislative bodies captivated me. Some of his observations throw much light on the archaic system which we have in this country.

In the first place it should be remembered that the representative or parliamentary system had its origin in a frank representation of classes. The nobility, the land owners and the merchants, each as a class, elected their own representatives. It was accepted as a general truth that a representative could not really represent all classes because their respective interests are not the same.

In these early parliaments the artisans and peasants were not represented at all. They constituted the majority of each nation but they were considered mudsills in society who had no business in politics. With the working classes eliminated from consideration and only the property owning classes exercising the suffrage, these classes never thought of electing one man from a geographical district to represent all. The ruling classes knew that this was absurd, that such representation is impossible. Not until the modern period, that is, not until workers and peasants began to acquire the rights of citizens, did election from geographical districts become general. The workers were then required to join with all other citizens in a district to elect a representative.

Antagonism of Classes Obscured

The modern system has tended to obscure the antagonism of classes. For this reason the ruling classes accept it and defend it. By clever perversion of the minds of the masses the latter are persuaded to elect representatives who in reality represent the ruling classes. Traditions, prejudices, patriotism, veneration of historical characters and habit tend to bind the workers to the parties of their enemies in electoral districts. In this way misrepresentation

*GUILLAUME DE GREEF: *The Social Theory of an Early Syndicalist*. By Dorothy Wolf Douglas, Ph.D., New York: Longmans, Green & Co., \$4.

An Absorbing Volume on the Life of De Greef, the Belgian Syndicalist

tion is assured under a false system of representation and the workers lack power until they organize a party of their own and elect their own representatives. Then they obtain a real representation of their class.

De Greef understood this well and he was one of the first scholars to urge occupational representation rather than a general representation on the basis of geographical districts. If occupational representation were adopted it would immediately expose the deceptive character of our present system. If the workers in their various trades and occupations in rural and urban life elected their representatives; if capitalists, bankers, lawyers and so on elected theirs, the workers being in the majority would control all legislative bodies. That this would be dangerous to capitalism is certain, especially if representation were in proportion to numbers.

De Greef goes into this matter in detail and we cannot follow him in all his criticisms, but he reminds us that it is a "practical error to believe that universal suffrage necessarily and of itself involves the sovereignty of the greatest number. Unorganized, it is perfectly compatible with the dominance of a minority."

He believed that the system of representation "should be a faithful photograph of the social organization." He assumes a coal trust employing vast numbers of workers, this industry having the largest representation in Parliament, and says: "Argument will arise in Parliament not only between the trust and its workmen, . . . but between it and all the other great social interests which would all suffer from the absolutism of an industry upon which they all depend. . . . I prefer an exact representation to one which is fictitious and deceptively democratic. What matters it if the mirror that reflects our social system gives back an ugly image? Is it the fault of the mirror that Society is not beautiful, and should we in anger throw down and break the mirror?"

Of course, a real and faithful system of representation of interests would bring to the surface all the class antagonisms of modern society and our bourgeois classes have every reason to avoid this. They want no mirror to reflect what they desire to conceal. The geographical system tends to conceal the classes under the general term of "citizens." At the same time, to concede a real system of representation would place power in the hands of the whole working class population and representatives coming direct from economic groups would tend to represent their interests and eventually do away with capitalism itself.

Of course, this work covers a much wider field than De Greef's theory of representation. In fact, it may be considered a contribution to the social history of Belgium for the economic, political and social conditions of the Belgian working class serve as an interesting background for the life of De Greef and the political exiles who

HODGES' STORY

FRANK HODGES of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain has written a book called "My Adventures as a Labor Leader."

Hodges has taken part in many exciting events in the world of labor—events which he narrates with no inconsiderable skill. American workers will be especially interested in his comment on the movement this side the water. He gives accounts of his travels in Canada and America and the personalities in the labor movement whom he met here. He tells the inside story of the famous "Black Friday" when the Triple Alliance went to smash in England; gives intimate stories of the lives of coal diggers, and concludes with his appointment as a Minister in MacDonald's Cabinet.

McAlister Coleman.

"MY ADVENTURES AS A LABOR LEADER." By Frank Hodges. London: George Newnes, Ltd.

REAL TEACHER; REAL SCHOOL

"NON-fiction" as absorbing and gripping as this? I have not read five of since the war. Boni & Liveright have again secured by setting before the parents (and unarmored teachers) of this Prussian-drifting land of ours some-

THE REAL BOY AND THE NEW SCHOOL. By A. E. Hamilton. Boni & Liveright, 1925. (\$2.50).

MYSTIC EAST IN A VICTORIAN BONNET

HERE are five tales of old, but ever new allure. They are tales of the Orient, with all the savor of that much fabled locality. They are romances, romances of the good old Victorian variety, as full of thrilling adventure and self-sacrificing love as a pudding is of plums. They are the tired business man sort of stories, the type that makes the weary banker forget overdue notes, the bond salesman forget unpaid dividends. Also, they go with a dainty boudoir, a fluffy head, and a box of chocolates. It is the sort of fiction that America prefers, holding as it does, a kaleidoscope of dainty unreality before the grey of actuality.

Gobineau is without a doubt a master romancer, with the added grace of a keenly philosophical mind. Even

FIVE ORIENTAL TALES. By Comte de Gobineau. Translated from the French. The Viking Press, New York.

flocked to Brussels from other countries. One of the most interesting chapters is "The Epic of the International" with some of the veteran revolutionaries of the period appearing in the narrative while the influence of Marx is also there. This is followed by a chapter on "The Political Exiles and the Tradition of Revolution" which, though short, is informative. Many interesting sidelights are thrown upon this period of origins of the continental Labor and Socialist movement, Syndicalist, Anarchist, Communist, Socialist and Trade Unionist phases are found here in embryo, more or less agreeing in opposition to the landed gentry and rising capitalist cliques but later to separate into the respective movements known by these names. The author traces the literary influences that contributed to the work-

Short Reviews of Books of More Than Passing Interest

thing sincere and nourishing and vitalizing to read.

As for Mr. Hamilton, "glory" and honor (and, plausibly, renown) must eventually come to him in greater and greater measure as time goes by. Like some of the great names historically of teacherhood, he has firm hold on several flaming convictions and of some crystalline psychological truths that ought to make of him a leader among those who still fight the American (or World) Prussian with that Prussian's own cannon-fodder—youth.

If you have a boy (or girl) read this book! It is humble, human, direct, courageous, first-hand, blinkless, wise. You may meet your son in its pages—you will surely meet your neighbor's. If there is such a thing as wisdom, it's probably about like young Mr. Hamilton's. For, thank his red gods, Hamilton is still young—in years, as he would always seem to be able to stay in heart. He has, he admits, put nothing novel educationally into this book. But what he has done is to do something about it. And, after all, isn't that the big thing? In the working world we have a respectable amount of knowledge available about education, social improvement, and the

like, but nothing is done to use that knowledge. Why, so far as that goes, a cool, sensible Sermon was once delivered on a Mount by an unshackled thinker—but what has mankind really done about it—except to admit every day that it was good theory?

Raymond Fuller

ITALIAN MARSHES

IN "The Cities of Romagna and the Marshes," Edward Hutton (Macmillan) tells of Ravenna Bologna, Rimini and other romantic cities of the marshes of Italy. With a wide canvas for his picture, with a country colorful with history and romance, he often wastes pages telling of old churches and their stained glass windows.

Ravenna and Dante, however, is an inspiration to him and he gives an entertaining account of the Ravenna of the time of the poet and of the present city, grass grown and going more or less to ruin.

The marshes have been for ages a protection to Italy against invasion, and Mr. Hutton tells of towns so old that all records of their founding have been lost.

If you are interested in Italian history, old paintings and ancient churches "The Cities of Romagna" may be of interest but otherwise the book has very little to recommend it.

Ryan Walker

Making Figures Talk

A report by the National Industrial Conference Board stated that the index number representing the purchasing power of the weekly pay envelope had receded only one point from 139 in April to 129 in May. "This," remarks the board, "to the individual worker, would be about as noticeable as the difference between 72 and 71 degrees of temperature or less so." Is one to infer from such a comparison that if a worker's wages were reduced 50 points all would be well with him if he were a pair of mittens?

THE BRITISH REPORT ON RUSSIA

INCIDENT in the international Socialist movement this year has caused more controversy than the official report of the British Trade Union delegation to Russia. The New Leader devoted a special article to this report in the issue of July 11, in which quotations from the text of the report were contrasted with the opinions expressed to show their fundamental contradictions. In the meantime Fritz Adler published a keen analysis of the report, one section of which was devoted to a review of the heroic struggles of the British working class in the Chartist days for the extension of the franchise and the release of trade unions from the bu-

*RUSSIA TODAY. The Official Report of the British Trade Union Delegation. New York: International Publishers. Cloth, \$1.75; paper, \$1.25.

ing out of De Greef's philosophy, notably the writings of Proudhon, Ahrens, Reclus, Comte, Spencer and Quetelet. The reader is presented with an outline of De Greef's literary work and theories, followed by a critical examination of his contributions to sociology. Rarely have we come across a more charming and informative volume which combines biography, social history and sociological criticism.

reocracy of bourgeois legislation which penalized them as unlawful. With this historical background confronting the reader, Adler asked how the British working class can accept a report admittedly written by former British bureaucrats in the diplomatic service, a report that apologizes for those things in Russia which British workers had suffered martyrdom in England to abolish. The contrast was deadly, and Adler has never been answered.

Only a small quantity of the British edition of this report arrived in this country, but an American edition* has appeared which makes it more accessible to American readers. We note that the eighteen illustrations, including two in colors, are left out of the American edition, but in other respects the publication is the same. Those who were unable to get a copy of the British edition will be thankful of the opportunity to get a copy of this one. American Communists rejoice over the appearance of the report, and we share their happiness. All that is required to understand it is to keep in mind the guarded admissions of what prevails in Russia in regard to the press, meetings, publication of books, organization of the workers, etc., and contrast all this with what the British working class has fought for during a century.

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Name

Address

Representative(?) Government: Learning How to Read

By Irving Newman

THE newspapers have made much of the fact that not a single Socialist candidate was elected in the recent election in New York City and New York State, but not a single newspaper mentioned that this was in a large measure due to our system of unrepresentative government.

About 1,103,000 people in New York City voted for Assembly candidates, the result being as follows:

	Candidate's	Votes	Pct.	Elected
Democratic	...	698,000	63	56
Republican	...	360,000	33	6
Socialist	...	45,000	4	0

In other words, the Democrats, with 63 per cent vote, secured 56 of the 62 Assembly seats allotted to the city, or 90 per cent of the seats. 45,000 voters did not secure any representation in the Assembly; these votes plus 40,000 votes upstate for Socialist candidates, gives us a total of 85,000 Socialist votes, and yet, in the next Assembly there will not be one representative for all these voters.

In the Board of Aldermen

The Democratic candidates for the Board of Aldermen in New York City, received 63 per cent of the total vote, but, however, got control of 60 of the 63 Aldermanic seats, or 95 per cent of the seats. 47,000 voters who voted for Socialist candidates for Aldermen did not secure any representation whatsoever.

What is true of New York City and New York State is also true of the United States in general. Scores of thousands of people vote for Socialist candidates to the different State legislatures, but we hardly find any Socialist Assemblymen or State Senators outside of Wisconsin. In the Congressional election of last year, about 350,000 people in 13 states, voted for Socialist candidates to Congress, but in our present House we find only one official representative of the Socialist party—Victor L. Berger.

Under our present election laws, it is necessary for a candidate to receive a majority, or plurality of the votes cast for that particular office; and under this system it is exceedingly difficult for any minority party to secure representation in the various Legislatures. Even if a minority group does succeed in electing any candidates, after years of agitation and effort, it is an easy matter for the two old parties to gerrymander the districts and make it impossible for any more opposition candidates to be elected.

This difficulty of minority parties to elect candidates is no doubt one of the chief causes why hundreds of thousands of people do not exercise their

Thousands of Children Freezing "in the Beets"

"There are thousands who've been in the beets since early spring, who work long hours through these chilling days, who won't get to school till they're far behind their classes—maybe they won't go at all," begins the appeal for contributions to the National Child Labor Committee that is sponsoring legislation and enforcement of same, is sending out from its offices at 215 Fourth avenue, New York. The committee asks funds for its work.

franchise. Many sympathizers of these parties refrain from voting because they know it is next to impossible for them to elect any representatives to the City, State or National Legislatures, and so they get that "what's-the-use" attitude. Many Democrats in the Northern and Western states refrain from voting because they know there is very little chance of electing any representatives, and the same is true of Republicans in the Southern States. When it comes to the minor parties, they have so little chance of electing anybody, anywhere, that many of their sympathizers simply do not vote.

The figures and facts shown above clearly indicate that our claim of a representative government is a myth, for people whose views do not coincide with the views of the two old parties are not represented in the various legislatures in proportion to their voting strength.

Under a truly representative system all minority groups would be allowed representation in direct proportion to their voting strength in large geographical units. Besides seeing that minorities are represented, a just system of proportionate representation would do away with the possibility of a candidate being elected by a minority of the votes cast at an election. At the recent city election two Assemblymen and three Aldermen were elected in exactly this fashion. Last year, four State Senators and three Representatives from New York City were also elected in the same manner.

The Only Effective Remedy

The only effective remedy to this evil of unrepresentative government

would be to introduce some system of Proportionate Representation.

In Brooklyn in the recent election, the apportionment of seats would have been altogether different:

The Democratic Assembly candidates in Brooklyn received 222,000 votes.

The Republican Assembly candidates in Brooklyn received 145,000 votes.

The Socialist Assembly candidates in Brooklyn received 19,000 votes.

As there were 386,000 votes cast, and as there were 23 Assembly seats allotted to that borough, it would mean under this proposed system, that 16,783 votes could elect one candidate. The apportionment, therefore, would result in the Democrats electing the first thirteen candidates on their ticket, the Republicans the first nine, and the Socialists, having 19,000 votes, would secure one Assembly seat. But under our present system of apportionment, the Democrats secured 19 seats, the Republicans, 3 seats, and the Socialists did not secure any seat.

The above system could also be used in the election of Representatives and State Senators. The remainder of New York State could be divided into four large districts, each district being entitled to 4 to 5 Representatives, 19 to 20 Assemblymen, and 6 to 7 State Senators. The election in each of these districts could be carried on in the same manner described for the boroughs of New York City.

Until some system of proportionate representation is introduced into the United States we cannot say that our system of government is truly democratic and representative of the different shades of political and economic beliefs.

Davies in Brownsville

Rhys John Davies, M. P. will lecture at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum Friday, Nov. 20, on the subject "Is British Labor Going Left?" The meeting is being held jointly by the Brownsville Socialist Party and by the Brownsville Educational Center. Charles Solomon will preside. Leon Goldman, violinist, will play.

By M. B.

I know a fellow who has passed his minority legally but still cannot boast of much majority in the way of economic sense and knowledge. And if I tell you that he is an embryo lawyer your astonishment will jump a few notches, especially in the face of the fact that talks are constantly given by men of "distinction" about the legal profession being the "most noble and cultured one."

This chap prettily claims that The New Leader of October 31 was thrust into his hands by some unknown character. The day after he came into the office highly excited and perturbed. Turning to me he burst out into a tirade of abuse of The New Leader, the strain of which is something like this:

"I tell you that the Leader is nothing more than pure, unadulterated bunk. I read it yesterday and to my amazement (here is where his economic knowledge becomes most glaringly obvious) an article appeared in that issue which said that LABOR SAVING DEVICES SHOULD BE DESTROYED; that they are a menace to society. How in the world can any sane person give credence to such asinine and ludicrous statements?"

This concluded his initial clamor, and he sat down still laboring under intense disquietude.

I have always considered this worthy as being intelligent, but it seems that his legal training has made him oblivious to the real facts of life.

I remonstrated with him by saying, "Joe, I cannot believe that that article contains what you state. Possibly the writer did say that improved machinery intensifies the hardships and misery of the working population, but it is inconceivable how any writer whose brain remains untouched by the excitement of his day's work, could ever make the bold and irrational statement that MACHINERY SHOULD BE DESTROYED." This explanation seemed to touch him all the more to the quick, and was responsible for his rejoinder that I did not know what I

How the Army's Gas Would Work

SINCE the story of the U. S. Army's preparations to use gas on "mobs" of American citizens became known, there has been much speculation as to the exact effect of such gassing. Here is a picture of how the gas does its work. It is drawn by Pierre Van Paassen, who saw the gas work at close range. He says:

"This writer recalls the memorable day when the Germans loosed the first poison gas attack before St. Julien in 1915. The terror and anguish of that day surpasses Dante's Inferno. The first troops to encounter the whitish vapor that smelled like pineapples were Algerian and Moroccan regiments, stationed between the Belgians and British. These men, choking, gasping, with their eyes bulging out of their sockets, came racing down the roads, throwing rifles and munition away and tearing the very clothes from their bodies. To see men in the throes of such overwhelming agony would have softened the heart of a stone. We recall one lieutenant, as we marched past to fill the gap left by the Algerians, who lay on the ground. He was but a boy and his epaulettes were new. His face was greenish yellow. His eyes two bloody balls. Foam stood on his mouth and he tore at the ground and the grass with his teeth like a wild beast. Others we saw later were in a worse plight, a plight that cannot be described because of its diabolic and loathsome character. Yet there are people who say poison gas is humane and merciful."

was talking about. He explained to me, "Do you mean to say that I did not know what I was reading? I MAY NOT KNOW THE SUBJECT, but I do know how to read."

Knowing The New Leader as I do, and the principles it endorses, I said to myself that this bird may be cocky of what he read, but it will certainly take more than his confidence and braggart-like ebullitions to convince me that the writers for The New Leader could ever resort to such rashness to put over a point. I then took up The New Leader and discovered that the article to which Joe referred is the one written by Adam Coaldigger, and entitled "Loose Screws and Nuts." I read the article in its entirety, and noted something which "hot-headed Joe" did not, namely, that it is a satirical comment, as Mr. Coaldigger's articles generally are. Mr. Coaldigger

unquestionably contends that the lives of the workers are made more painful by labor saving devices. This truth any half-wit or dull-wit will concede, but in vain did I look for that portion of the writing which is supposed to URGE THE DESTRUCTION OF MACHINERY FOR THE MATERIAL GAIN OF THE WORKING CLASS. Just as I thought, the redeeming statement is contained on page 5 of that issue of The New Leader where Mr. Coaldigger remarks:

"Well, Professor Adams, what would you do with labor saving devices? I ONLY SUGGEST HOW NICE THINGS MIGHT BE IF MANKIND HAD SENSE ENOUGH TO EMPLOY LABOR SAVING DEVICES TO SAVE LABOR."

And this in spite of Joe's furious exclamation that "he knows how to read."

One of the chief duties which Socialism has set out to perform is to educate the masses to a full understanding of the flagrant condition under which they work. I am absolutely certain that the subject of this article does not and would not under any circumstances, include himself within the purview of this unpopular term, "masses," but I believe that the Socialists ought to start to teach some of these "self-styled educated," not for the purpose of educating them in the real sense of the word. Bless their souls, not that, but "How to Read."

ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

GERMANY

Graft Charges Disproved

During the last couple of years the German reactionaries, aided by the Communists, have been busy flinging mud at Socialist Party public men and office holders in the hope that some of it would stick and thus discredit the party in the eyes of the voters. In practically every case where a show-down has been had in the courts it has turned out that there was little or no foundation for the graft charges.

The most sensational of these attempts to blacken the Socialist Party's reputation was the famous Barmat case, which broke into the news early last Winter and filled many columns of the German and foreign press. Julius Barmat and his brothers, at one time successful speculators in commodities, had managed to obtain credits from the Prussian State Bank amounting to about \$3,500,000 and when they got beyond their depth and were arrested for alleged fraud the Nationalist and Communist papers raised the cry that practically all the Socialist Deputies and other public men from President Ebert down had been bribed by the Barmats to use their influence in the latter's behalf. But the report of the investigating committee of the Prussian Diet that has been looking into the case since last Winter came out a few weeks ago and showed that none of the Socialists involved had profited through any connections with the Barmats and that even where Socialists like ex-Chancellor Gustave Bauer and Wilhelm Richter, ex-Chief of the Berlin Police Department, had recommended the Barmats to State officials they had done so merely out of friendship and had not tried to apply any pressure upon the officials. The report says that most of the credits advanced by the bank to the Barmats are lost forever. Their friends say that if the Department of Justice had not been in such a hurry to arrest them the Barmats might have weathered the storm, or at least saved a large fraction of their business. In the meantime, the charges against them have not yet been put in the form

of an indictment. The mere suspicion of having been too close to possibly dishonest financiers has been enough to end the political careers of several of the Socialists involved, as the party members are determined to tolerate nothing savoring of the use of Socialist prestige in favor of speculators of any kind, even if they do contribute to the party's campaign funds.

Another instance of reactionary persecution was the trial of Walter Loeb, Socialist and former President of the State Bank of Thuringia, on a trumped up charge of perjury. Comrade Loeb was acquitted at Weimar on Oct. 31 and was made the object of an enthusiastic demonstration by the crowd in the court room. At about the same time the Supreme Court rejected the appeal of the Thuringia District Attorney against the acquittal several months ago of Comrade Hermann, ex-Minister of the Interior of that State, of charges of malfeasance made by the Nationalists.

Little Change in Baden
Details of the election in Baden on Oct. 25 show that there is little change in the make-up of the Diet, although the total number of Deputies has fallen from 86 to 72, due to the failure of the citizens to go to the polls in as large numbers as at the previous election. The old governing coalition of Socialists, Centrists and Democrats holds 50 seats against 62 in the former Diet, so it is relatively almost as strong as before. The new Diet is composed of 16 Socialists (formerly 21), 28 Centrists (34), 6 Democrats (7), 9 Nationalist-Agrarians (14), 7 People's Party men (8), 4 Communists (4), and 2 Economic Unionists (1).

Communists Strike Lower Note
Prospects for practical co-operation between the Socialists and Communists who together hold the majority in the new Berlin City Council seem to have been improved by a national conference of Communist leaders held the first week of November. It was decided to try to work with the Socialists as much as possible in the city government and also to invite them to form joint lists of candidates for the coming provincial elections in Prussia. The program of municipal demands laid down by the Central Committee immediately after the election of Oct. 25 contained many points upon which Socialists and Communists agree. But, as the Berlin Vorwaerts points out, it remains to be seen to what extent the Communists' promises are sincere and how long the present moderate policy, ordered by Moscow,

will continue. That the Berlin Socialist aldermen will co-operate with Communists, or with anyone else for that matter, in putting through legislation in the interest of the workers may be taken for granted.

LUXEMBURG

Shop Councils Restored

Due to the increasing influence of organized labor in the tiny Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, where the number of Labor Party men in the Diet was raised to eight out of a total of forty-seven at the election of last March, the Government has re-established the shop councils that had been set up in 1919 and suspended in 1921 by the reactionary Government. All enterprises employing twenty workers or more must have shop councils elected by the workers and with power to supervise the workings of collective agreements, welfare institutions, wages, etc. This gain is expected to increase the prestige of the Labor Party (which is really a Socialist Party) and work to its advantage in the future.

Students Fight Against Militarism

(Continued from page 1)

fight with a bigger and stronger man, avoid aimless struggle and work deliberately to disconcert him by butting with the head, kicking his shins, grabbing his gas-mask, etc., so as to make an opening for a disabling blow or blow."

On the first page of this book it is stated: "Everything that you do in military training is done with some immediate object in view, which, in turn, has in view the final object of winning battles. The object of all military training is to win battles."

Pres. Mezes Justification

The president of City College, Sidney E. Mezes, in an attempt to justify the military course, gives the two following reasons:

First, that it is beneficial for students to perform some patriotic service, and second, that the students benefit physically from the course.

One feels like asking since when is learning how to most effectively kill other human beings patriotic service, and why the three hours a week of physical training that the students are receiving are not sufficient to develop them physically without the aid of military training.

The students at the protest meeting voted that the Students' Council should conduct a referendum among the student body to determine their position on the subject of compulsory military training. Should the majority of the students declare themselves against this form of militarism, as no doubt they will, the faculty will have a difficult time explaining to the student body why their wishes should not be carried out in a supposedly democratic educational institution.

GREATER NEW YORK

City Committee
Saturday, Nov. 21, at 4 p. m., 7 East 15th street, room 409. Emergency meeting.

LOCAL NEW YORK

Central Committee
Tuesday, Nov. 24, at 8:30 p. m., at 247 East 84th street. Final action will

be taken on the referendum for the reorganization of the local. Also, the resignation of Organizer Schwartz and the relation of the local and the City Committee will be taken up.

4th A. D.

Sunday, Nov. 22, at 8:30 p. m., 8 Attorney street, Jean Jacques Corneil will lecture on "The Industrial Revolution."

3d-5th-10th A. D.

Monday, Nov. 23, at 8:30 p. m. Important branch meeting at 7 East 15th street, room 402. Referendum on reorganization of Local New York and other important matters. Organizer Schwartz will address us.

22d-23d A. D.

Wednesday, Nov. 25, at 8:30 p. m. Dr. Harry Laidler will speak on "Waste and Wealth," 3785 Broadway, corner 15th street, room 8. All welcome.

Y. P. S. L., Circle 6

Friday, Nov. 27, at 8:30 p. m., 62 East 106th street, Rev. Leon Rosserland will lecture on "Race Prejudice."

The revolutions that come from new knowledge are permanent, universal, and effective; those are destructive which are brought about by the blind force of powerful men or an infuriated body of people.—Sir Robert Falconer.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

The Inside on The World Court

ROUND and round in weaving circles they go, eyeing one another with hostile glances, their hands at their hips ready to shoot at the drop of a hat. And always the fear that the other may have some weapon of a more deadly character than any known before holds them back.

And then on the other side of the street these gunmen see several respectable and highly inoffensive citizens hurrying along about their respective businesses. Of a sudden the selfsame thought comes into the bullet heads of the leaders of the opposing gangs. "It is getting most unhealthy to fight each other. Why not get together and gang on those little fellers across the street? They have plenty of jack on them and we can get it away easy because they are unarmed and hate fighting. Afterwards we can decide on how the swag shall be divided up."

No, little children, this is not an excerpt from a Street and Smith or Grosset and Dunlap seventy-five cent thriller. It is an accurate picture of what happened at Locarno. From the moment we read in the capitalist press that England and the great European powers had fallen on one another's necks and slobbered all over the lot about the ending of war at Locarno we had a hunch that something was rotten in that Swiss cheese. And now events in Syria, Africa, China and points East are confirming that hunch. It is evident that for some time to come the so-called Great Powers will not risk another European War. The hysterics of the league over the squabble in the Balkans is proof enough of that. Who knows what the chemists of England, France and Italy have discovered in the way of new gases, death rays, etc.? Another war might well make Europe and England, too, a desert waste. Nothing to be gained there. But here is all the East, the dreamy, non-resistant, mystical East with its oil and coal and mineral wealth awaiting intensive exploitation, with its cheap and abundant labor and the opportunities for fat profits for Occidental investors. Let's get together then at Locarno, make a noble gesture, get our pictures in the papers clapping hands in vows of eternal brotherhood and announce that the dove of peace has returned while our hawks are out behind our backs harrying the Oriental chickens.

So the French bombard Damascus, the English shoot down Chinese strikers, the White Man's Burden is again taken up and the good people of our churches raise hosannas over the Locarno achievement.

Speaking of these same good people we ran into a bunch of them the other night when we were suddenly called upon to debate the subject of the World Court with a New York lawyer in a Baptist church. We had naturally expected that a lawyer would favor braving another court, the more the merrier and how much more fun to practice in a great big World Court than a mere magistrate's tribunal. But what surprised us was the way this audience of church people had been fooled into thinking that the World Court, whose official title is the Permanent Court for International Justice, had something to do with helping make peace between the nations.

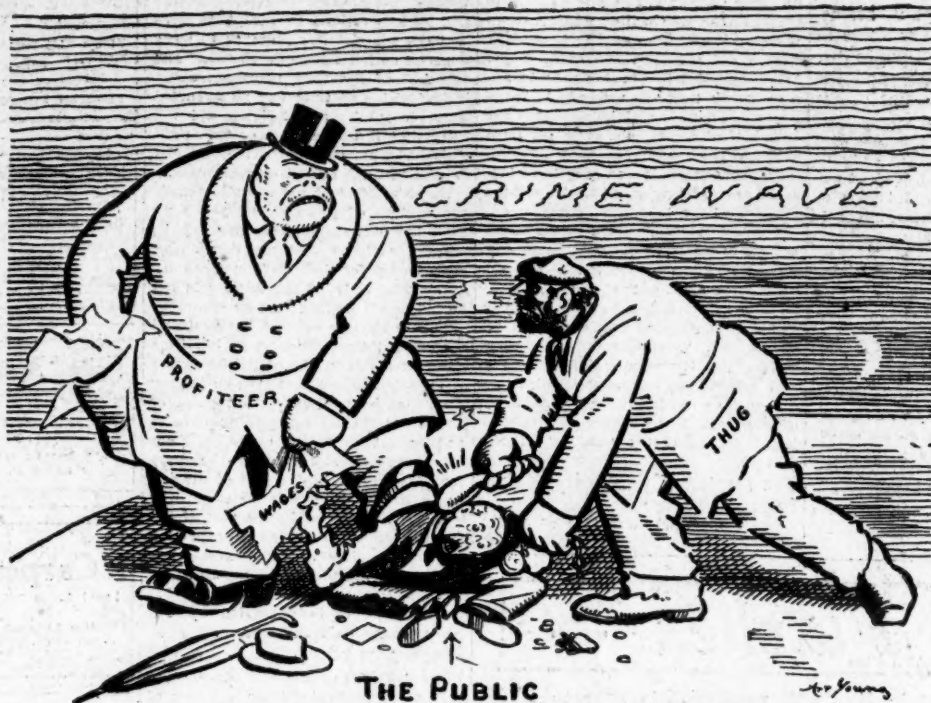
Our opponent spent a lot of his time telling his awed audience about all the great men who were in favor of America's participation in the World Court. With bated breath he mentioned the late Warren Harding who first heard about the court when Hughes busted into a poker game on the back porch at Marion, O., then he spoke of Hughes's support of the court and perorated with the sacred name of Elihu Root. This knocked his hearers for a loop. Apparently they thought that we should join up with the court because it is a pet idea of Elihu's.

Remarkable how short are the memories of Republics and Baptists. Here were obviously sincere, honest Christians applauding the mere mention of the name of the old Grey Wolf who began his career by defending the notorious Boss Tweed, who devoted all his fine talents all his life to the defense of as disreputable set of clients as any corporation lawyer ever got together, who never dared run for public office because of his fear of overwhelming defeat at the hands of the people, who stood in tears at a Republican convention and made public confession of his sins and who now comes around peddling the World Court as a panacea for all our ills.

We have been so busy of late running for Assembly and settling the coal strike and so weiter that we haven't paid a terrible lot of attention to the World Court. But when it is forcibly brought to our attention we find that this cute plan for legalizing the loot of big nations and institutionalizing imperialism has been very energetically pushed by interested parties through all the church circles of the country. They must have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars, these disinterested Friends of Peace, our investment bankers, Open Shoppers, Legionnaires, Y. M. C. A.'s and the rest. And they have sold their product well. They can show you resolutions urging our membership in the court from almost every conceivable sort of organization: Daughters of Dorcas, King's Messengers, Friendly Sons of St. Vitus of Crete, Federations of Women's Clubs, Brewers' Marching Associations, Amalgamated Wheelmen of Chicago and the South Newark Branch of the National Eccentric Firemen.

They have been up and down the land with speakers and pamphlets and paid "organizers" asking poor devils if they don't want peace. When said p.d.'s respond with emphatic "yesses" they pounce upon them with their phony court and tell them that if they will

The Crime Wave



Thug: "You've had them long enough. It's my chance now."

Marx's Career After 1848

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

THE European upheaval, followed by the reaction, had a profound effect on Marx's future career. The first result of the February revolt on his personal fortunes was his banishment from Belgium by a government fearful that the revolution might spread northward. The French Revolutionists, however, at that time extended a cordial invitation to him to visit Paris.

"Brave and Faithful Marx," writes Ferdinand Flacon of the Provisional Government, in a letter dated March 1, 1848. "The soil of the French Republic is a place of refuge for all friends of freedom. Tyranny has banished you; France the free opens to you her gates—to you and to all who fight for the holy cause, the fraternal cause of all the people. In this sense shall every officer of the French government understand his duty."

In France Marx gathered together some of the members of the League of Communists and assisted them in returning to Germany to take part in the German revolution. Marx and Engels also proceeded to the Rhine-land, and the former became editor in June, 1848, of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, a paper which passed through a stormy career during the next year or so.

In his Rheinische Zeitung articles, feeling that a peaceful path to the

write to Congress urging our membership, everybody will be sitting pretty and it will tickle dear Elihu most to death. And if they don't write they are left with the uncomfortable feeling that that one letter to the Congressman would have ended war forever.

Of course the organizers don't say anything about the fact that the court has been in existence for three years and more and in the course of those three years has handed down three decisions affecting such weighty matters as wood-cutting in Silesia and the hoof and mouth disease of Austrian cattle.

The catch in the constitution of the World Court is that it can consider no disputes unless both affected parties call the court's attention to the argument. So if Ab-El-Krim should decide he had a nice little case to present to the court and should hurry up to the Hague to start suit against France he could grow a much longer beard than the one he now sports before any Frenchmen showed up.

No, brothers and sisters, peace doesn't come that way. It isn't a matter of neat formulae, Leagues of capitalist nations and the rest of the high-flown hokum. Peace is a matter for the hardest sort of hard work.

You can't get peace like a magician's rabbit out of Elihu Root's high hat or Charlie Hughes's whiskers.

McAlister Coleman.

revolution was closed to the workers—as they had not at that time created any powerful agencies on the political and economic field through which to express themselves—and that the workers were ripe for another revolt in the not distant future, Marx advocated the disarming of the bourgeoisie, the erection of revolutionary terrorism "to abridge and concentrate the hideous death agonies of society," and the creation of a revolutionary army.

In his last issue, in May, 1849, he showed his anticipation—despite reaction then prevailing—of a speedy victory for the workers. "Already in the East," he declared, "a revolutionary army composed of warriors of all nationalities stands confronting the old Europe represented by and in league with the Russian army, already from Paris looms the Red Republic." . . . Ibid., p. 50. His hopes, however, were not to be realized.

Engel's Change In Tactics

Years after, in 1895, six months before his death, Friedrich Engels thus acknowledged the mistake made by Marx and himself in judging the time of the revolution and the tactics that the workers should adopt in bringing about the great change:

"History proved us in the wrong, and revealed our opinion of that day (1848-50) as an illusion. History went even further; not only did it destroy our former error, but also transformed the conditions under which the proletariat will have to battle. The fighting methods of 1848 are today obsolete in every respect."

"History has made clear that the status of economic development on the Continent was then by no means ripe for the abolition of capitalist production; it has proved this by the economic revolution which since 1848, has affected the entire continent and has introduced large industry in France, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and, more recently, in Russia, and has made of Germany an industrial nation of first rank—all this upon a capitalist basis which, reckoning from 1848, implies great expansive capacity."

Continuing, Engels declared that the workers were learning how to change the ballot from a means of duping into an instrument of emancipation.

The franchise had increased the feeling of the certainty of victory and had permitted them to ascertain their own strength and that of their evenness. It had furnished the workers during election times with a means of getting into touch with the masses, of forcing all parties to defend their views. It had furnished their representatives with a tribunal from which they could address their opponents in Parliament and the masses outside with freedom. "And so it came about that bourgeoisie and government feared far more the legal than the illegal action of the workers' party, more the successes of

the elections than those of rebellion." . . . (page 19).

"The rebellion of the old style, the street fight behind barricades, which up to 1848 gave the final decision, has become antiquated."

Barricade Fighting Days Over

He declared that barricade fights, utilized in 1848, were in 1895 quite antiquated. "Let there be no illusions about this: the real victory over the military in a street battle, a victory as between two armies, belongs to the greatest rarities. . . . The utmost the insurrection can accomplish in a tactical action is the proper erection and defense of a single barricade."

On the side of the military is the control of large ordnance and of fully equipped and thoroughly trained engineering troops. Already, by 1849, the chances of success were small. The bourgeoisie had gone over on the side of the government. The barricades had lost their charms. The soldier saw behind them no longer the "people," but rebels. The officers had become familiar with the tactical forms of street fighting. Since then all had been in favor of the military. Armies had become larger. By means of railroads, garrisons might be doubled within twenty-four hours. The armament of the enormously augmented troops had become incomparably more effective. Solid projectiles and case shot of the artillery had given place to the percussion shell, which sufficed to shatter the best barricade.

"The time is past," he continued, "for revolutions carried through by small minorities at the head of unconscious masses. The irony of history turns everything upside down. We, the 'revolutionists,' the 'upsetters,' we strive much better with legal than with illegal means in forcing an overthrow. The parties of order, as they call themselves, perish because of the legal conditions set up by themselves." (page 27.)

Thus Marx writes on the revolutions. Engels wrote 45 years after he and Marx started their clarion calls to immediate revolt in the columns of the Rheinische Revue. The workers failed, however, to heed their call and the paper suspended after a year and a half of struggle. Following the suspension of the paper, Marx paid out of his own pocket no less than 7,000 thalers. To obtain this amount he sold practically all of his possessions. With his paper gone, he traveled to Paris to witness the Red Revolution, but instead came face to face with the counter-revolution. In July, 1849, he was banished from Paris and went to London, where he spent practically the remainder of his life.

The greater portion of the misery of this world arises from the false opinions of men whose idleness has physically incapacitated them from forming true ones.—John Ruskin.

All About Cyclones

IT'S ABOUT time for somebody to say something sensible about Russia. So let me say it.

To start with, I never was in Russia, but I was in a cyclone once and that's about the same thing, for cyclones act contrary to all the laws of God and man. When the cyclone hit the particular spot I was standing on with one foot on a brass rail it sucked me through a yellow pine door and then deposited the building from which I had so suddenly departed on the small of my back. The building was only a one-story frame saloon, but it was the heaviest piece of real estate that was ever on my mind.

The first thing I saw was the barkeeper trying to give an imitation of an archangel with a bung-starter in his hands in place of a palm beach. When I saw him last he was making a nose dive in a prairie-dog hole about a mile away with two of his customers following right behind. In another corner of the firmament I noticed two mules on their backs kicking frantically at the upper half of a church steeple which was floating above them like a Zeppelin. A few feet from me stood one of the most surprised looking saddle horses that I ever met. The surprise was due to the fact that the hitching post had torn itself loose from the bridle and at that moment was performing a black-jack oak assisted by the saddle. A couple of rods above me was a calf bawling for its mother, who was giving a St. Vitus dance over a grove of cottonwoods, while its father was trying to steal the laurels of his grandmothers by jumping over the sun.

Down the road came three miles of barbed wire neatly rolled on their supporting poles and growing bigger every second. I hated to see barbed wire act that way, so I closed my eyes and poured out the most fervent prayer that ever fell from human lips. But I could have saved the exertion, for when I opened my eyes again, those three miles of barbed wire were embracing a chicken house across the road, while the liberated posts were going through some military convulsions in the hazy distance. Of course, I didn't measure that barbed wire, but the fact that one of the best paying barbed wire mines is now located where that chicken house used to stand is ample proof that it was a devil of an amount of wire.

There were a lot of other features of that cyclone that were contrary to all traditions, beliefs, and notions. For instance, not a single guest in that frame saloon had more than a few scratches and bruises on his "ornery" hide. Even the barkeeper escaped with only his hair ruffled, while the lower half of the church steeple, whose upper half was playing with those mules, fell on the parson and killed him dead than a mackerel. And he was one of the best men that ever walked in shoe leather.

Here is another prank of this playful zephyr. When it struck the only general store in the village in which everybody traded and everybody owed, it spilled building, fixtures, and contents, including beans, over sixteen townships. Nothing belonging to that store was ever found again. Not a roll of calico, jug of molasses, ax handle, ham or slab of bacon. Nothing but a rickety old table, standing serenely in the buffalo grass about three miles away with the account book of the storekeeper laying on top of it as if nothing had happened.

Talk about hard luck. Talk about the mysterious way of Providence. But here was a community that had lost nearly all and the only thing that everybody would have gladly lost was that account book.

So, I say you can't put any confidence in cyclones. They never do what you want them to do. They pay no more attention to the ten commandments than to traffic regulations. They violate every law from the curfew law to the law of gravitation. They make no more distinction between right and wrong than a sheep-killing dog. They will kill mother and baby and let the father sleep off his jag on the same bed without pulling the covers off his carcass.

Well, then, revolutions are human cyclones, and the Russian revolution was the most terrific human cyclone in history. Compared to it, the French revolution was like a barroom brawl and the American revolution like a petting party. Neither was that revolution made by Trotsky or Lenin. They may think they made it, and if so, they are as badly fooled as their friends and foes who believe them.

The Russian explosion was the inevitable outcome of centuries of misery, woe, and oppression. It was not even caused by war. The war only hastened its coming. It piled ten million corpses on top of the hundreds of millions of corpses which had gone to their graves by way of starvation, hangman's rope, and bullets in the centuries preceding the revolution. The war was the straw that broke the camel's back, but the revolution would have come without it, and here are the reasons:

When serfdom was abolished in Russia, the liberated serfs were given about one-half of the soil. The other half was retained by a few hundred thousand noble and ignoble land owners.

Each village received so much land in common. The land did not increase as time went on, but the village population did. Thus the acreage available for each family became smaller and smaller until the parcels became too small to support those who tilled them.

There was plenty of good land in Siberia, but the peasants were too poor to migrate. Their only property was their share in the communal village land, and the village was too poor to buy them out. So they remained and vegetated on cabbage soup, potatoes, and black bread until famine, God, or Cossack bullet made an end to their misery.

(Continued on page 11)

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Leo E. Saidla

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Public Speaking

August Claessens

Tuesdays, 8:30 p. m.

THE REWARDS OF INSANITY

The Fortunes of a Lunatic—The Matter of Brains

It takes brains to acquire a big fortune. Never forget it, brains. That's why you are not a trust magnate with a summer home in Maine and a winter home in Florida. Brains. A small portion of the population of the United States has the great fortunes—and the brains. The rest of us have no brains or, at least, little brains or we would have more than the weekly wage to prove it.

That's clear, isn't it? The professors of political economy tell us so. So do the editors and politicians. Every man and woman in the United States have ample opportunities to accumulate wealth. It's a free country. No idle nobility to support. Wealth is the reward of ability, thrift and brains.

Do you know of Rockefeller? Ford? Morgan? Brains men, all of them. They saved the nickels that you squander on tobacco, movies, and other trifles. Went to Sunday School instead of to Coney Island. They had brains to look forward to the future. You squandered your opportunities. Now look at them and then look at yourself. Aren't you proud of them? Are you not ashamed of yourself? And while you admire them and deplore your own lack of brains, think of those

disturbers who try to excite envy of the rich. Let us resolve to defend our Americanism which brings brains to the top and keeps laziness where it ought to be—at the bottom.

The Fortune of An Insane Woman

Having turned from the Sunday supplements, the Saturday Evening Post, Calvin Coolidge, and others that expound these views over and over again, let us consider an important item of news. Recent press dispatches report that an aged woman in Massachusetts died after being an inmate of an insane asylum for 56 years. She had also been blind for many years. When she entered the institution she possessed a fortune of \$365,000. As an insane woman she was irresponsible

and her blindness made her helpless. Now here is a mystery. The fortune this woman had 56 years ago when she entered the asylum did not decrease although it cost something to keep her there. On the contrary, when she died it had increased to \$2,000,000! Where did this increase come from? What part did her brains play in accumulating this extra wealth? In 56 years of idleness and helplessness her fortune had increased nearly six fold! What is the answer?

In former ages it was easy to understand that society was based upon the robbery of the laborer. When workers were slaves, when they were bought and sold as chattels, there was no attempt to conceal the slavery. They were doled out rations and clothing and were required to work for their owners. The products were taken by the owners. The transaction was clear and because it was so plain, philosophy and religion openly sanctioned it as a necessary condition for the majority of mankind. There was no sanctimonious talk about the "brains" of the owners.

The Matter of Superior Brains

The same thing was true of feudal

society. While the ruling feudal class did not own the bodies of peasants these peasants were attached to the land and were not permitted to leave without the consent of the land owners. While conditions varied, in general the peasant was required to work a portion of the time for himself and the rest of the time for the master. This division of time was so apparent that philosophy and religion did not deny that it was a form of servitude. There was no talk about the superior "brains" of the feudal owning class.

But it's different now. In the modern system of payment of wages we have the first social order where philosophy, religion and politics assert that production is based on "free labor." The body of the laborer is not owned nor is he told that he can work a certain time to produce his food and shelter but that the rest of his time must be given to the capitalist owner of industry. He is told that he is free. He believes it because the receipt of wages for his labor power appears to be payment for all the hours he labors during the day. In reality the wage conceals the fact that a part of the day he is producing values equal to the wage he receives while the rest of the day is surplus labor time appropriated by the employer. The extra time worked by the peasant for his master is worked by the wage worker for his master, but it is concealed by the money wage paid the laborer.

The Brains of Workingmen

Now we understand the mystery of the insane woman whose fortune increased from \$365,000 to \$2,000,000. If an insane person can accumulate surplus wealth without working for it, it is certain that sane persons can. In other words, it is not necessary to be crazy to accumulate wealth under a crazy system. Both the sane and the insane can accumulate because a majority of the workers believe in a cleverly concealed system of labor exploitation. All the great fortunes in the United States represent not the brains of the owners, but the crystallized labor power of millions of workers.

Vest part of the ownership in a great industry in a man of genius, or one of mediocre talent, or a baby, or an idiot, and the result is the same. Regardless of brains, ability or anything else, the workers in the industry will produce extra values in the surplus labor time concealed by the wage they receive. These extra values will go to the owners. The owners may live in Florida and the industry be in Pennsylvania. They may never see the industry or know anything about its management. They may make their homes in Europe and yet the extra, or surplus, values will go to them.

This is how the \$365,000 of an insane woman 56 years ago finally became \$2,000,000 when she died a week ago. She couldn't help it. Neither could Harry Thaw whose fortune also increased during the years he spent at Matteawan.

Workingmen have brains but do not use them as they should. If we employed our brains to serve us and our families we would work to end a crazy social system that produces such absurd results. Whatever may be said of Socialism, it cannot be said that it could produce anything so utterly absurd as lunatics absorbing the wealth produced by others while politicians, editors and statesmen assure us that brains alone account for the great fortunes of today.

isted, but it is inevitable." HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER, Ph.D.

"In the Dutch elections of July 1, there were only 32 political parties in the field. One of them—the Rapaille Party of anarchists—had as a candidate a picked idiot. The idea was that if he were elected his conduct in Parliament would make it ridiculous in the eyes of the world." Comment—not so in this Coolidge country. A picked idiot is the average-sized and standardized Republican and Democratic statesman.

You heard about the guy who stood so straight that he fell over backwards. Well, here is one: "Bordigia is so ultra left in Italy that on the Trotsky question he not only opposed the Executive but he opposed Trotsky himself." This Communist has gone so far left that he has reached the right.

"What earlier century has even a presentment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor." Marx, quoted by Laidler. The word "social" is out of place. It is confusing. It destroys the sense. Society does not labor. Men, women, children, horses, oxen and even dogs may do labor; but society, never.

"In nearly everything Marx wrote he introduces these confusing words. That is the principal reason for so many 'schools' of Socialists. Marx has whole sentences that defy the mind's understanding. Sonorous but meaningless. A CRITICAL FRIEND."

Marx speaks of social labor, and we believe, speaks correctly. He does not mean, however, that society labors. As a whole, it certainly does not—if you count the loafers and idlers that are in it. Also the young, the aged and the infirm. You get into trouble, my "Critical Friend," when you reduce the word "social" to "society." Please thumb your dictionary again, old scout, and you will find that among the numerous shades of the term "social" is the word "aggregate." Now then, aggregate or collective labor is a universal process throughout the capitalist world. In simpler terms—one laborer produces anything by himself alone. He only assists in one of the numberless labors to produce the materials, or shape a part, or assemble parts, or distribute the product. And again, the time required in doing any of these operations is not gauged by one worker's speed or slowness but by what the average worker does or can do under average conditions. That is one thing that Marx meant by Social Labor. If you can furnish a simpler term, please send it along.

Another side to social labor, we quote Marx: "As a general rule, articles of utility become commodities, only because they are products of the labor of private individuals or groups of individuals who carry on their work independently of each other. The sum total of the labour of all these private individuals forms the aggregate labour

of society. Since the producers do not come into social contact with each other until they exchange their products, the specific social character of each producer's labour does not show itself except in the act of exchange. In other words, the labour of the individual asserts itself as a part of the labour of society only by means of the relations which the act of the exchange establishes directly between the products, and indirectly, through them, between the producers. To the latter, therefore, the relations connecting the labour of one individual with that of the rest appear not as direct social relations between individuals at work, but as what they really are, material relations between persons and social relations between things." Pages 33-34. Capital, Vol. I. Chas. H. Kerr & Co.

Our "Critical Friend" writes us each week (bless him), and last week he sent us a magila (Spanish—long tale) six pages long and therein he belabored Geo. R. Kirkpatrick about something George wrote about Sears, Roebuck & Co. To get this six-page argument into this column our "C. F." added a line, "I had one love, Coolidge. Now I have two, Claessens, too." Nix on that stuff! You can not

Pin a rose on a bale of hay
And hand it in as a bouquet.
August Claessens.

YIPSELDOM

Claessens at Circle 6, Brooklyn The third lecture on "Race Prejudice—the Social and Economic Factors" of the series of six lectures on Prejudices that is being given by August Claessens will be continued Sunday, November 22, at 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn, at 8:30 p. m.

The club rooms may be reached by the Tompkins or De Kalb avenue cars or by the Myrtle avenue L. The lectures are under the auspices of Circle Six, Brooklyn, of the Young People's Socialist League. The admission is 25c.

A special meeting of Circle 7 will be held this Saturday evening at the headquarters of the Circle, 8 Attorney street. A report of the affair committee of the Workmen's Circle will be rendered by Comrade Hyman Hochberg. All members are called upon to respond to the appeals of the Educational Director. Two delegates to the Central Committee will be elected.

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Executive Board meets every Monday.

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TOTAL ASSETS—Dec. 31, 1924: \$2,249,952.89

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

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JOHN TIMMINS, Treasurer JOHN TIMMINS, Treasurer
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Office: 62 East 100th Street Telephone: Lehigh 5141
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Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.
ISADORE SILVERMAN, Financial Secretary & HENNEFIELD, Recording Treasurer

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

Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

Nathan Chanin, now making a tour of the country under the direction of the Jewish Socialist Alliance, reports from all points visited a steadily increasing interest and activity in the Socialist movement.

NEW ENGLAND

Italian Socialists have organized a new local in South Boston. Comrade Lewis reports the revival of the local at Providence, where he has lately been busy. The reorganized local will have a study class based on the Rand School correspondence courses. He has sold 145 subscriptions to the American Appeal and 10 for the New Leader. Lewis and his co-workers are busy on the draft of a bill for unemployment insurance.

Morgan Jones spoke in Worcester in Mechanics Building, Sunday, Nov. 15, at a very large meeting. This meeting was the means of giving the party branch at Worcester some wonderful contacts which they had not had heretofore. There were a large number of English born people present at the meeting and a large number of Clark University Students.

Application for a charter for an Italian Branch in South Boston, Mass., has been received. Also an application for a charter for a Jewish branch in Lawrence, Mass.

Socialist Party members took an active part in organizing the meeting for A. A. Purcell who spoke on "World Trade Union Unity" in Ford Hall, Boston, Sunday, Nov. 15. The chairman of the meeting was Sylvester J. McBride, a well known and active party member.

The District Office is organizing study classes throughout the District using Algonquin Lee's courses on "Social History and Economics" as a basis.

All party members and sympathizers in Providence and environs who desire to attend the Clarence Darrow lecture in Infantry Hall should purchase their tickets at once, as all indications point toward a packed house. Tickets may be secured from M. Steinert & Son, 495 Westminster St., Providence, R. I. Mail orders should be sent to the Forum For Public Discussion, 141 Benefit street, Providence, R. I.

CALIFORNIA

The very best news that has come into the National Office in a good while is from Emil Herman, who reports that it is every week now becoming easier to organize or reorganize locals. He has just organized a local at each of the following places: Red Bluff, 14 members; Los Molinos, 7 members; Corning, 9 members. Another sign of rapidly improving morale is the fact that a considerable number of locals have signed up for big rallies in the form of joint debates. With Walter Thomas Mills as the defender of Socialism, Walter will treat 'em rough and make 'em laugh and want more, and the locals will be strengthened.

After six months of heroic work all over the State, Herman feels he will be entitled to Christmas at home with his family in Seattle, and his route is now being arranged accordingly.

PENNSYLVANIA

Comrade Birch Wilson made good on his amiable threat to capitalize the revival of sentiment produced by the Debs meeting at Scranton. He finished his work with four new locals following the Scranton meeting. The Jugoslavians have organized two new locals—one at Meadow Lands with 13 members and one at Latrobe with 9 members. The prospects are good for another local at Bridgeville. They have also organized a new local at Warren, Ohio. Comrade Pogorelec of Chicago, editor of "Proletarec," has just begun an organization tour to last a month in Ohio and Pennsylvania. He will promote the American Appeal as well as his own federation paper. The Finnish branch at Pittsburgh will contribute monthly 50 cents per member to the Organization Fund in addition to their regular dues. Their latest remittance of this voluntary assessment was on Nov. 8—\$27.50.

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.

Pittsburgh

Meyer London, Socialist ex-Congressman from New York, will speak

An Urgent Appeal from W. Virginia

THE Socialist Party of Greater New York has received the following letter. It is obvious that action is needed and that immediately. If you are near the headquarters of the party, 7 East 15th street, bring your clothes or other contributions in. They will be packed in cases and sent post-haste to West Virginia. If you are not near the New York headquarters mail your contributions directly to the United Mine Workers, Charleston, West Virginia.

United Mine Workers of America
Charleston, W. Va.

November 17, 1925.

Mr. A. I. Shipiloff, Ex. Sec'y,
c/o The Socialist Party,
7 East 15th Street,
New York City.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 14, relative to some clothing for the striking miners, for which kindly accept my sincere thanks. In reply to your inquiry regarding need of clothing or special articles of food, I wish to advise that there is dire need of clothing. Our International Union is appropriating considerable money for the conduct of this strike, yet

that is being spent for food, which is distributed twice monthly on a unit basis. While the amount we distribute is rather meagre for the entire support of a family, yet it alleviates any real suffering in that direction and our intention at this time is directed towards securing clothing, as we deem it inadvisable to spend any of the appropriation which we are receiving from our International headquarters for anything other than food. As stated above, possibly the meagre amount of food now being distributed would make an addition desirable, yet not so much as clothing, for winter is almost here. In behalf of the men, women and children in the locked-out camps, I wish to thank you for your interest and in advance for anything which you can do by way of collecting or having sent to us clothing for distribution amongst them. I might add that more food can be used to a very good advantage, especially milk for infants, but our great need is for clothing.

Wishing you and the Socialist Party every success, I remain

Yours very respectfully,

WILL C. THOMPSON,

Sec. Treas. District No. 17,

United Mine Workers of America.

twice on Sunday, Nov. 22, in Labor Lyceum, Miller and Reed Streets. This meeting has been called to discuss the Socialist Party tactics relative to the Labor Party. Pittsburgh Socialists and sympathizers are urged to attend both meetings, as they are very important.

Westmoreland

Comrade Hufnagel, of Irwin, reports that there are prospects of increasing the membership of Branch Irwin, and also that the Bohemians are planning to reorganize their branch. As noted in last week's issue, the Socialist vote in Westmoreland County was very good; it is now up to us to get these Socialist voters into the party organization. By writing to the address given above, you will be informed of the branch nearest to you, and thus be able to join with your comrades in building up this great movement.

Philadelphia

Local Philadelphia will move its office from 1325 Arch Street to Labor Institute, Eighth and Locust Streets, on Dec. 1. Plans are being made to have a very attractive book store at the new location. Philadelphia should take note of this address and keep in touch with their local organization. Plans are being made for some very fine lectures, and every Socialist should make it a point to be on hand for these.

Pittsburgh

John W. Slayton will lecture Wednesday evening at 8:00 p. m., Nov. 25, before the New Era Study Club in assembly room, fifth floor, Methodist Book Building, 524 Penn avenue. Questions and discussion from 9:00 to 10:00 p. m.

On Sunday, Nov. 22, at 8:15 p. m., ex-Congressman Meyer London of New York will lecture in Labor Lyceum, Reed and Miller streets. Subject: "The Immediate Task Before Us."

After Slayton's series of lectures, the New Era Club will continue their program of study along economic, political, social and scientific lines. Join in the interesting activities of this group.

MONTANA

James D. Graham writes that he is busy in Butte with the work of organization and has high hopes of getting the movement in good order soon. Recently he was given a most encouraging reception in speaking before the Butte Trade and Labor Assembly. He has been requested to speak soon before a farmers' organization convention in Gallatin. Graham writes that the great weakness in the Montana movement is the lack of youth.

ILLINOIS

Comrades Debs and Snow are going strong down State. Debs reports with great enthusiasm of the rousing meetings, the large audiences, the reviving strength, the literature sales and the general awakening observed all along the line. After finishing in Illinois he will go to New York for a series of meetings.

MARYLAND

Lectures on Important Labor and political topics are held every Sunday night in Baltimore at Forrester's Hall

(formerly Barries) 745 W. Baltimore street, near Fremont, under the auspices of the newly reorganized Central Socialist Club.

Prominent local and out-of-town speakers will lecture during the winter season.

Subject for Sunday, Nov. 22, will be "Do We Need a Socialist Party in America?" State Organizer William A. Toole will be the speaker.

These lectures are being used as a starting point for the reorganization of the thousands of Socialist voters in Baltimore. The State organizer says it can be done and will be done if those interested will attend these meetings, hear the plans, and then co-operate with him.

NEW JERSEY

One of the last opportunities to hear Rhys Davies, M.P., before he returns to England, will be afforded on Saturday evening, Nov. 21, when he will speak at the State Street School in Hackensack. All New Jersey comrades who have not yet heard him are urged to take advantage of this opportunity.

A well-attended and interesting meeting of the recently reorganized 12th Ward Branch of Jersey City was held on Monday, Nov. 16. The branch adopted the literature distribution-membership plan suggested by the State Secretary. Comrades Bausch and Schmidhauser were elected delegates to the Forward Ball Committee. The ball will be held this winter under the auspices of Local Hudson County, the Jewish Socialist Verband, and the Workmen's Circle. The branch discussed plans for educational and social activities during the winter and arranged for a discussion on Monday, Dec. 7, on "Resolved that the Locarno Treaties do not Insure Permanent Peace." Comrade Schmidhauser will lead the discussion for the affirmative and Comrade Leemans for the negative. Following them, other members will participate. All who attended the meeting were much encouraged by the spirit shown. As one remarked: "The corpse has been galvanized."

PASSAIC

Passaic Socialists expect to carry on lecture work this winter with a number of prominent speakers. This Friday night, Nov. 20, James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, will lecture in the Workmen's Circle Building, 50 Howe Avenue, at 8 p. m. His subject will be, "Labor in American History."

NEW YORK STATE

A very successful debate was held in Cohoes last Sunday evening on the rather unusual subject, "Is Humanity Worth Working For?" Alfred LaMarche, of Cohoes, took the affirmative and Organizer S. H. Stille the negative. The latter went into the subject of evolution for support, assuming for the sake of argument that evolution will determine the salvation of man regardless of his own intervention, which is substantially the position of Herbert Spencer. However, remarks of members of the audience, and the well-known activity of Organizer Stille himself, indicate that LaMarche had the more popular side of the argument.

Local Schenectady has issued a challenge to Local Albany to debate the question: "Resolved, That the Socialist Party Should Support the Movement for a World Court."

State Secretary Merrill has communicated with all Locals in reference to laying out plans for work during the winter season. Lecture tours will be arranged if sufficient interest is manifested.

SEE THAT YOUR ENGINEER WEARS THIS BUTTON!

I. U. S. and O. Engineers' Local 56

Meets every Friday at 8 P. M. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone 3294. Office hours 8 to 10 A. M. and 6 to 8 P. M. Room 14, F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION,
Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and Headquarters, 845 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn.
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.
M. REISS, President.
S. FINK, Vice-President.
E. FRIEDMAN, Sec. Sec'y.
E. WENNER, Fin. Sec'y.
E. KATZ, Sec. Agent.

MANHATTAN

15th and 16th A. D.

The 15th and 16th Assembly District organization of the Socialist Party of Local New York is making arrangements for a Farewell Celebration to be held at its headquarters, 237 East 84th Street, on Thanksgiving Eve, Nov. 25. An elaborate program of entertainment, to be followed by dancing, is being arranged by the committee in charge of the affair. Admission will be free and all the members of the branch, as well as friends all over the city who have often spent an evening at the headquarters, are urged to attend.

The building which has served as the branch headquarters for so many years, and which has been the scene of years of Socialist and labor activities, has been sold by the original owners and will after the first of the year be the new home of the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Company, and the branch will have to find new quarters in the neighborhood.

As this will undoubtedly be the last festivity to be held at the old quarters, every effort is being made to provide a real enjoyable evening, the top floor having been converted into a dance parlor for the occasion. Come and help us celebrate and have an evening of fun. Remember the date, Thanksgiving Eve, and be sure to bring your friends, as this will be an old-time Socialist family gathering. Free admission and no collection.

BRONX

This Sunday afternoon, Nov. 22, at 3 p. m., Local Bronx and the Jewish Socialist Verband will hold a mass meeting at Hunt's Point Place, 163d street and Southern boulevard. The speakers are Rhys Davies and Morgan Jones, Labor members of the British Parliament and former Cabinet officers under Ramsay MacDonald. Both comrades are eloquent and brilliant speakers and ardent Socialists. Judge Jacob Fanken will also speak, and as an added attraction Oscar Ameringer (Adam Coudiger) will be present and will tell us something about the "Crime of Coal." Ameringer is the editor of the "Illinois Miner" and is well informed on the coal situation. August Claessens will preside as chairman.

Comrades in Greater New York, take notice! Local Bronx will give its Annual Ball at Hunt's Point Palace on Sunday, Jan. 31, 1926. This will be an all day affair with a concert and entertainment in the afternoon and a bazaar. One thousand dollars worth of prizes will be offered with the admission tickets. This affair bids to be the largest undertaking in the history of Local Bronx. Mark the date—Jan. 31, 1926! Several committees are hard at work. Ads for our Ball Journal and gifts for the bazaar are now being solicited. Those that can be of help should get in touch with headquarters, 1167 Boston road.

7 A. D. Dance Dec. 12

The winter season is on. We dance again; we gambol and frolic. For Branch Seven can sport in winter time as well as in summer. So here we are with the Grand Opening Number, on Saturday evening, December 12, at our cozy club rooms, 4215 Third avenue. We christened the baby Santa Claus, and we're going to have all the Snow Babies, Snow Birds, and Snow Balls present to do the Snow Dance around the youngster. Don't you feel that you want to be there and join the celebration? You're welcome. Come along. Swell the merry crowd.

BROOKLYN

5th A. D.

"Why American Labor is Conservative" will be the subject of a talk by Samuel H. Friedman at the meeting of the 5th A. D., at 329 Stuyvesant avenue, on Sunday night, November 22nd.

A special order of business at the meeting will be the continuation of the open forum conducted by the 5th A. D. last winter, under the auspices of the I. L. D. All members and friends are invited to attend.

Joint Executive Committee

OF THE

VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway.

Phone: Orchard 6689

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, 845 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stagg 5226.

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

FRANK BARROO, JAMES CARUBO, President

NECKWEAR CUTTERS

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

1 E. 19th St., Stuyvesant 7878

Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 163 East 23rd Street

Fred Fasshauer, N. Ullman, President

Henry Lutz, J. Rosenzweig, Vice-President

Geo. Levine, Chas. Rabinov, Sec. Sec'y

Business Agent

FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15

Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M., at 32 East 22nd St.

M. SUROFF, Chairman.

L. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman.

J. HOFFINGER, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS' UNION

LOCAL 1

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

J. SHAPIRO, Chairman.

S. RESNICK, Vice-Chairman.

A. CHEN, 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 3148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President

ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

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

Office 331 East 14th Street

Telephone Lexington 4189

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

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Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 231 E. 14th Street

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

SECTION MEETINGS

Downtown—331 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.

Brooklyn—1197th St. & E. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Tuesday, 3 P. M.

Harlem—114 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday, 12 A. M.

B'klyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—16 Montgomery St.

SALVATORE NINPO, Manager-Secretary.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS

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

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 801 E. 161st St.

Melrose 7499

CARL GRABER, President.

M. WEISS, Secretary-Treasurer.

Italian Dressmakers

Union, Local 56, I. L. G. W. U.

Office: 231 E. 14th Street

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

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.

7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7883

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

LOUIS FELDHEIM, President

ED. GOTTESMAN, Sec. Treas.

L. D. BERGSON, Manager

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Telephone ORCHARD 3106-7

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UNION LOCAL 68, I. L. G. W. U.

1 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 5699

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

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Stuyvesant 5506.

Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.

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

PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager.

:- DRAMA :-

The Modern Ibsen

By Walter Long

HERMAN J. WEIGAND'S book "The Modern Ibsen" (Henry Holt & Co.) is a palpable index of the fact that Ibsen has lost his place as a revolutionary dramatist. The works of any literary revolutionist go through a threefold period of reception—a period of rejection which culminates in a myth or legend. The Ibsen of twenty years ago, hailed as a social radical or damned as a pornographic monster, is now not only generally accepted but has also become the subject of a myth no less fabulous than the legends grown up about the names of Roosevelt and Stevenson. This statement is adequately proved by a reading of this book.

We find the keynote to the entire book in the third paragraph of Mr. Weigand's introduction: "Even now, after years of closest imaginative association with the people of Ibsen's dramas, I do not venture to think that I have probed to the bottom of all of Ibsen's secrets." In other words, Ibsen was not a journeyman dramatist, who wrote plays for stage production, but a seer, who used the drama as a means of expression in which the secrets of strange matters would be safe from the eyes of all but the student like Mr. Weigand. When Mr. Weigand writes: "... again and again I experienced the thrill of discovering psychological relationships and subtle workings of subconscious impulses that at first I had not even faintly suspected," we assuredly cannot contradict him. If one is determined to pluck out "subconscious impulses" and unravel mysterious "secrets" he can find them in nursery rhymes as well as in Ibsen's plays. Furthermore, if the understanding of such arcana were essential to the intelligent appreciation of Ibsen's plays his works could never have become popular upon the stage. In this instance we prefer the dictum of Mr. Mencken who writes of Ibsen: "Down to the time he lost his mind—he never wrote a line that had any significance save the obvious one, and

he never forgot for an instant that he was writing, not tracts, but stage plays."

A citation of a few of Mr. Weigand's critical judgments will adequately prove that he is determined to create a myth from his own ratiocinations. For Mr. Weigand "A Doll's House" is "fundamentally comic"; "The Wild Duck" "is a comedy from start to finish"; while in "Ghosts" Mr. Weigand finds the only "tragic sufferer" in Mrs. Alving. Oswald cannot be regarded as a "tragic sufferer" because "to affect us as tragic, there must be a personality fine and firm and great enough to support a degree of affliction altogether beyond the range of the average mortal. The intensity of the tragic experience is in direct proportion to the nobility of aim, the firmness of the will, the intellectual strength, the refinement and sensitiveness of the tragic sufferer." This conception is inherited directly from Aristotle's definition and automatically banishes such plays as Eugene O'Neill's "Beyond the Horizon" and Gorky's "The Lower Depths" from the field of tragedy. On page 15, in writing of "Pillars of Society," Mr. Weigand makes the following statement: "Reduced to plainest terms, Ibsen, the truth-seeker, achieves a brilliant theatrical conclusion at the expense of psychological truth." On page 75 he writes: "With the single exception of 'Pillars of Society' all the plays studied in this volume bear witness to the fact that Ibsen was fundamentally a poet." Among other plays mentioned are "Hedda Gabler," "Rosmersholm," and "An Enemy of the People." Obviously Ibsen is now a truth-seeker and now a poet to relieve the exigencies of Mr. Weigand, the myth-maker.

Little attention is given to Ibsen as the harbinger of the naturalistic drama, the guiding spirit of Die Freie Bühne and the contemporary advocates of the naturalistic method. In the book are meticulous and ingenious analyses of the characters and plots of the plays discussed; these, however, are but Mr. Weigand's creation of Ibsen in his own image.

JOSEPH SANTLEY AND IVY SAWYER



Head the large cast of players in the new Shubert operetta, "Mayflowers," which will open Tuesday night at the new Forrest Theatre.

Food for The Intelligentsia

"The Offence," a Freudian Drama, Opens at the Ritz for Special Matinees

A London importation, "The Offence," by Mordaunt Shairp, is being presented at the Ritz Theatre by the Messrs. Shubert for special matinees with complexes, inhibitions and all the other terms and phrases of the modern psycho-analytical tendencies exhibited at their full value. "The Offence" is a readjustment of the old adage, "Spare the rod and spoil the child," which in the terms of this play should read "Spare the rod and you won't spoil the child."

When Martin Stapleton was a small boy, he broke a valuable Chinese bowl, and his father beat him with a riding crop until he was unconscious. Later, as a grown man, when Martin was a novelist, he was driven to the verge of insanity by a haunting dread that he could not identify. Then he finally discovered that it was the shadow of his father and in the discovery regained control of himself again.

The author has written with considerable sympathy about a psychological case, which in its appeal will not be general to the theatre-going public and which possibly is shown to better advantage in novels than on the boards. On account of the peculiar nature of the play, it requires a special skill in projecting its mood, which Dennis Neilson-Terry realizes to a great extent and thereby adds to the performance.

Mary Glynn, as his wife, has a role of secondary importance, while Richard Gordon, as the irascible father does well with an unsympathetic role. Two of the best bits of the play are contributed by William Quinn as the boy Martin and Georgina Tilden as his playmate and cousin, Rose. It is a relief to see two such juvenile actors who do not act affectedly when on the stage, as if some one told them they were "so cute," with the resultant effect on children.

The play suffers from too much tedious and nervous dialogue in places and really not enough conflict or physical action to relieve the nervous strain going on in the mind of the leading character, and then, too, the action drags in preparing for the expected climax of the last act.

The production is staged in three acts, the first act being laid in 1901 and really in the nature of a prologue, while the subsequent two acts are laid in the living room of Martin's house where his fear complex is presented in full.

"The Offence" is food for the intelligentsia, who like their Russian novelist and knew Freud when he was a boy, but in all an interesting drama if one's taste runs that way, a play that will not make its appeal to the general public.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

The program at Moss' Broadway next week, beginning Monday, will include: John Barry & Co.; Mohlinger and Williams; Henry and Moore. John Barry, assisted by a company of six with Charles Marsh, returns to vaudeville in a comedy by Wm. K. Wells, "The Lady Killer." This production is a satire with song, a humorous treatment of love and solvency. Charles Marsh is featured in Mr. Barry's company.

"Simon, the Jester," by William J. Locke, after a week at the Cameo Theatre has been booked as the photoplay attraction. Lillian Rich and Eugene O'Brien lead the cast. Edmund Burns and Henry Walthall play leading roles.

REGENT Monday to Wednesday: Billy Glasgow; Al & Fanny Stedman; other acts. "The Golden Princess" with Betty Bronson. Charlie Chaplin in "Pay Day."

Thursday to Sunday: Burt & Rosedale Revue; Collins & Peterson; other acts. Raymond Griffith in "A Regular Fellow."

FRANKLIN Monday to Wednesday: Canjor Josef Rosenblatt; Marino & Martin; other acts. Betty Bronson in "The Golden Princess."

Thursday to Sunday: Al Herman; Al & Fanny Stedman; Vardell Bros.; others. Raymond Griffith in "A Regular Fellow."

:- THEATRES :-

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MATS. TUES., THUR., & SAT.
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WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS REVUE



GREAT CAST
18 GERTRUDE HOFFMANN GIRLS
Holiday Matinee Thanksgiving Day

WINTER GARDEN

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

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44TH STREET, W. OF B'WAY
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America's Most Beautiful Girls

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MOVES DEC. 7 TO 44TH ST. THEA.

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3 MATINEES NEXT WEEK
Wed., Thurs. (Thanksgiving) and Sat.

11th MONTH OF THE LAUGH SENSATION!

IS ZAT SO?

By JAMES GLEASON and RICHARD TABER

ROSALIE STEWART PRESENTS

"The Dramatic Hit"

"CRAIG'S WIFE"

by GEORGE KELLY

author of "The Show Off"

with CHRYSTAL HERNE

MOROSCO THEATRE

3 MATINEES THIS WEEK

WEDNESDAY-THURSDAY-SATURDAY

Shaw's "CANDIDA" with new Actors' Theatre cast—"A better revival than the one which prospered so mightily here last season."

—Alexander Woolcott, The World.

"There is a fresh holiday still awaiting you in your second attendance on 'CANDIDA'—or your third, fourth, fifth..."

—Gilbert W. Gabriel, Sun.

Limited engagement ends November 28 at Comedy Theatre, W. 41st St., Penn. 3558. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

A.H. WOODS PRESENTS

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BY MICHAEL ARLEN

THE DRAMATIC SENSATION OF THE CENTURY

with KATHARINE CORNELL

MARGALO GILLMORE

LESLIE HOWARD

Broadhurst

THEA. 44TH ST. B'WAY

MATS. THURS. & SAT.

Extra Matinee Tuesday, Nov. 24

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THE FORREST

Located 49th ST. Between B'way and 5th Ave.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24

And the Premiere of their Latest Musical Production

MAYFLOWERS

with JOSEPH SANTLEY and IVY SAWYER and a Great Cast

Evenings 8:20. Mats. Wed., Thurs. & Sat.

BIJOU Theatre, 45th St. Eves. 8:30. Mats. 2:30. W. of B'way Thurs. & Sat.

Opening MONDAY, NOV. 23

THE MESSRS. SHUBERT Present

MARY NASH

AND FLORENCE NASH

IN A LADY'S VIRTUE

A New Play by RACHEL CROTHERS

With ROBERT WARWICK

The Play Staged by the Author

Last 2 Weeks **Big Boy** Last 2 Weeks

Al Jolson

announces, regretfully, the LAST TWO WEEKS of his New York engagement in "BIG BOY" at the 44th ST. THEATRE.

Final Performance Saturday, December 5th

Eves. 8:30. Mats. Next Week: THANKSGIVING & Sat.

JOLSON'S THEA. 50th ST. & 4th AVE. 11th to 42nd Times

Most glorious musical play of our time!

The STUDENT PRINCE

IN HEIDELBERG

with HOWARD MARSH

and a Great Cast

Staged by J.C. HUFFMAN

Symph. Orch. of 40-Singing Chorus of 100

Exc. Seats (Loggia) \$1.00 & 1.50. 1st & 2nd \$1.00

GOOD SEATS AT BOX OFFICE

MATINEE THANKSGIVING DAY

ANNIVERSARY PERFORMANCE DEC. 24

Biggest Musical Hit the World has Ever Known!

The MESSRS. SHUBERT present THE NEW OPERETTA

PRINCESS FLAVIA

Staged by J.C. HUFFMAN

CAST OF 300

The most ambitious operetta ever produced in America. Comes up to expectations. Only superlatives can praise it adequately. Let it be considered they have been said. Long live "Princess Flavia!"

—Stephen Rathbun, Sun.

CENTURY THEA. 62nd St. & CENTRAL PARK WEST

Eves. 8:25. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

Holiday Matinee Thanksgiving Day

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

KLAW Thea. 45th St. W. of B'way. Eves. 8:40. Matinees Thurs. and Sat.

BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY

ANDROCLES AND THE LION

"AS BLISSFUL AND ENCHANTED AN EVENING AS THE YEAR HAS SO FAR PROVIDED."

—Gilbert W. Gabriel, Sun.

GUILD THEA. 52d St. W. of B'way. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30. Col. 8239

A Comedy by MOLNAR

The GLASS SLIPPER

JUNE WALKER, LEE BAKER, HELEN WESTLEY, GEORGE BAXTER AND OTHERS

49TH ST. THEA. W. of B'way. Eves. 8:30. Matinees Wed., Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

Extra Matinee Thanksgiving Day

Bernard Shaw's Famous Comedy

ARMS and the MAN

ALFRED LUNT with LYNN FONTANNE

PEDRO de CORDOBA

GARRICK 65 West 36th Street. Evenings, 8:30. Matinees Thurs. and Sat., 2:30

NEW FALL EDITION

"GARRICK GAITIES"

SPARKLING MUSICAL REVUE

"DRAMA SUPERB IN THEME, ACTING AND DIRECTING."—Charles B. Davis, Herald-Tribune

'STOLEN FRUIT'

With the Best Acting Cast in New York, including Ann Harding, Rollo Peters, Harry Berensford, Felix Krembs

Good Balcony Seats Always at Box Office

W 42 St. Eves. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40

THE WHOLE WORLD LOVES

APPLESAUCE

as dispensed by

ALLAN DINEHART

at the AMBASSADOR THEATRE 40th St. W. of B'way. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

Special Holiday Mat. Thanksgiving Day!

The Neighborhood Playhouse begins its final week of the "Grand Street Follies" on Tuesday night.

Broadway Briefs

Helen Baxter, Gertrude Purcell and Florence Peterson are the latest additions to the Henry W. Savage production of "The Balcony Walkers," the new comedy in which Flora Le Breton is the star and Ernest Gendinning the featured player. The play opens this Friday evening in Stamford. Christine Norman, the actress, is the author.

The Repertory Theatre of Boston has engaged Emma Dunn to remain another two weeks to play Gretchen in "Rip Van Winkle." Francis Wilson will play "Rip."

The music for the new "Greenwich Village Follies," opening at New Haven next Monday night, at the Shubert Theatre, is by Harold Levey, who will also direct the orchestra. Owen Murphy is the author of the lyrics.

The new troupe of Gertrude Hoffmann Girls, which arrived Saturday, will go into rehearsal today on the Century Roof for the new revue due there soon.

In "She Had to Know," her own translation of Paul Gerdely's play from the French, coming to the Bronx Opera House Monday.

GRACE GEORGE

Ludwig Thoma's "Morals," it is announced, will be the second new production of the Actors' Theatre this season, opening at the Comedy Theatre on Monday night, Nov. 30. The cast will include Edwin Nicander, Alice John, Marion Warring Manley and Jenny Eustace. The play has been adapted by Charles Recht, with the assistance of Sidney Howard.

Capek's "Makropoulos Secret" At Charles Hopkins Theatre

Charles Hopkins, owner of the Punch and Judy Theatre, announces that that theatre will be known hereafter as the Charles Hopkins, and that it will reopen Wednesday, Dec. 16, with "The Makropoulos Secret" as its attraction. The play is the work of Karel Capek, author of "R. U. R." "The Insect Comedy," etc., and has been adapted by Randal C. Burrell. It will be presented in association with Herman C. Gantvoort.

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THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"A LADY'S VIRTUE," a new play by Rachel Crothers, will be presented by Messrs. Shubert, with Mary and Florence Nash at the Bijou Theatre, Monday night. Other players include Robert Warwick, Isabel Irving, George Meeker, George Barber, Martin Berkeley, Florence Arlington and Joseph King.

"THE MAN OF DESTINY" and "ANDROCLES AND THE LION," a double Shaw bill, will be presented at the Klaw Theatre Monday night by the Theatre Guild. Philip Moeller has staged both plays. The players in "The Man of Destiny" are Tom Powers, Clare Eames, Edward G. Robinson and Edward Reese. In "Androcles and the Lion" are Henry Travers, Alice Belmont, Cliffie, Romney Brent, Clare Eames, Tom Powers and Philip Leigh.

"ME," by Henry Myers (author of "The First Fifty Years"), opens at the Princess Theatre Monday night under the management of Arthur Kober, Jerome Lawler, Fred L. Tiden, Norman Millay and Redfield Clarke are in the cast.

TUESDAY

"MAYFLOWERS," a new musical show, based on a play by Arthur Richman, with Joseph Santley and Ivy Sawyer, will open the Forrest, a new playhouse on West 49th street. Others in the large cast include Robert Woolsey, William Valentine, Nydia D'Arnell, Ethel Morrison, David Higgins, Norman Sweetser, Galle Beverly, Geo. C. Lehman, Virginia Lloyd and Nancy Carroll. The books and lyrics are by Clifford Grey. Music by Edward Kunneke. The Messrs. Shubert are the producers.

"YOUNG BLOOD," by James Forbes, will be produced by the Dramatists' Theatre, Inc. at the Ritz Theatre, Tuesday night. The cast includes Norman Trevor, Helen Hayes, Florence Eldridge, Eric Dressler, Malcolm Duncan, Monroe Cawley and Cameron Clemens.

"THE DEACON," a comedy by John B. Hymer and Le Roy Clemens, opens at the Sam H. Harris Theatre Tuesday night. Sam Wallach is the producer.

WEDNESDAY

"DRIFT," a new play by Maurice V. Samuels, is announced to open at the Cherry Lane Theatre on Wednesday night. Zita Johann and Hyman Adler play the leading roles.

THEATRES

B.S. MOSS' THEATRES
Your Thanksgiving Treat!

10TH LAST WEEK
BEGINS SUNDAY

HAROLD LLOYD
IN
"THE FRESHMAN"

ALSO ON THE STAGE
"CAMPUS CAPERS"
with (35 PEOPLE)

PERFORMANCES
CONTINUOUS
DAILY 10:30 A.M.
to MIDNIGHT

COLONY 8TH WAY
538 ST.
SPECIAL MIDNITE SHOWS THURS. FRI. & SAT. STARTING 11:35 P.M.

B.S. MOSS' 8TH WAY
"Where the crowds all go"

ALL NEXT WEEK
WILLIAM J. LOCKE'S
"SIMON THE JESTER"
with
Eugene O'Brien & Lillian Rich

John Barry & Co.—Henry & Moore
OTHER KEITH-ALBEE ACTS

CAMEO 42nd Street and Broadway

BEGINNING SUNDAY
CORINNE GRIFFITH
in
"CLASSIFIED"
with
JACK MULHALL and CHARLES MURRAY
Famous Cameo Theatre Orchestra

Bronx Amusements

BRONX OPERA HOUSE
149th St. E. of Third Ave.
POP. PRICES: MONS. WED. & SAT.
BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT
The Distinguished Comedy Success
of the Past Season

GRACE GEORGE
in
"SHE HAD TO KNOW"
A Charming Comedy by Paul Gerald
With a cast of notable players, including
GEORGE TULLY, one of London's
foremost actors

Extra Mat. Thursday (Thanksgiving Day)
Week of November 30
"THE GORILLA"
The Funniest Show on Earth

**Children's Matinees at
The Triangle Theatre**

Beginning last Saturday Kathleen Kirkwood, in association with Charles Winters, the well-known children's entertainer, presented a series of Saturday matinees for children at Miss Kirkwood's Triangle Theatre in Greenwich Village. The programs include puppet shows, dancing, musical selections and plays. Rita Olmstead, a talented little actress of 10, is one of the featured players. Fifty cents is the price of admission. "The Good Hope," playing evenings, will close this Saturday night. "The Green Cockatoo," by Arthur Schnitzler, opens December 5.

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

N. Y. SYMPHONY
WALTER DAMROSCH, Conductor
Mecca Auditorium Sunday Afternoon
Nov. 22, at 3

Soloist: **Reinold Wertenrath**
Brahms, Parker, Faure, Schubert, Grieg,
Saint-Saens "Carnaval of the Animals"
Miss Leopoldine Damrosch at the piano.
GEORGE ENGLER, Mgr. Steinway Piano

PHILHARMONIC
WILHELM MENDELSSOHN, Conductor
CARNegie HALL, SUNDAY AFT. AT 3
Strauss—Tannhauser (first time)
Wed. Eve., Nov. 25; Fri. Aft., Nov. 27
MAHLER SECOND SYMPHONY
Chorus of 200 from Schola Cantorum.
Ruth Rodgers, Soprano
Martha Olfers, Contralto
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

BACHAUS
Aeolian Hall, Sunday Aft., Nov. 22, at 3
First N. Y. Appearance This Season

BACON
Mgt. Haessel & Jones. Steinway Piano

BACHAUS
Aeolian Hall, Fri. Morn., Nov. 27, 10:15
Third (and last) Young People's Concert

CLARA CLEMENTS and MAIER
Concert Mgt. Samuel Mayer, Inc.
STEINWAY PIANO

MUSIC

Metropolitan to Give "Parsifal"
Thanksgiving Day

"Meistersinger" will open the fourth week of the Metropolitan Opera season Monday evening with Alda, Peralta, Gigli and Chailapin.

Other operas next week:
"Gloconda," Wednesday evening, with Ponselle (Rosa), Telva, Gigli and Danise.
"Parsifal," matinee Thanksgiving Day, with Matzenauer, Telva, Roessler, Taucher, Whitehill and Benner.
"Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci," Thanksgiving night; the former with Jeritz, Bourskaya, Tokatyan and Basola; the latter with Bori, Martinelli and De Luca.
"La Vestale," Friday night, with Ponselle (Rosa), Matzenauer, Johnson and De Luca.
"Die Meistersinger," Saturday matinee, with Rehberg, Telva, Laubenthal and Whitehill.
"Boheme," Saturday night, with Bori, D'Arle, Gigli and Scotti.
"Il Trovatore," in concert form, will be given Sunday night, with Ponselle, Telva, Fulin and Basola.
"Faust" will be given at the Brooklyn Academy of Music next Saturday night, with Mario, Dulossy, Chamlee and Chailapin.

THE LETZ QUARTET



Returns to the city Thanksgiving night for their recital in Aeolian Hall.

PHILHARMONIC

Four concerts are scheduled for the Philharmonic Orchestra under Wilhelm Mengelberg's leadership, next week, beginning this Sunday at Carnegie Hall. The program for Sunday includes "Danse de la Sorciere" of Tannhauser, the suite from Strauss' "Bourgeois Gentilhomme" and Brahms' Second Symphony closes it.

The program for Wednesday night and the Friday matinee will include Mahler's Second Symphony, with a chorus from Kurt Schindler's Schola Cantorum. Martha Olfers and Ruth Rodgers are the soloists.

One movement of the Mahler symphony will be repeated at the Fourth Students' Concert in Carnegie Hall on Saturday evening. The Academic Festival Overture of Brahms, De Falla's Suite Tricorne and Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony complete the program.

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

This Sunday afternoon's concert of the New York Symphony Orchestra at Mecca Auditorium will have an interesting feature in the appearance of Polly Damrosch, daughter of Walter Damrosch. With her father she will play the two-piano part of Saint-Saens' "Carnival des Animaux." Reinold Wertenrath is the soloist. The complete program: Symphony No. 2 in D, Brahms; Cahal Mor of the Wine Red Hand, Horatio Parker; Pavane, La Fleuse from Suite "Pelleas et Melisande," Faure; Du bist die Ruh, Schubert; Der Doppelganger, Schubert; Lauf der Welt, Grieg; Von ewiger Liebe, Brahms.

For the third Children's Concert of the season on Saturday morning, November 28, at Carnegie Hall, Walter Damrosch has selected a program illustrating the brass wind instruments. Walter Damrosch's lecture concert on "Ultra-Modern Music, Pleasant and Unpleasant," is scheduled for next Sunday afternoon, November 29, in Mecca Auditorium.

D R A M A

An Impressive Performance

"Hamlet" in Modern Dress Carries Conviction
At the Booth Theatre

BERNARD SHAW'S boast that he stands on Shakespeare's shoulders is turned topsy-turvy by the presentation of the old bard in modern dress. Horace Liveright, turned from book publishing, is the producer who has ventured here to project onto the stage the attempt made in London just before to see what validity the plays of Shakespeare have independent of the color of their time. And there is at once no doubt of their permanent and deep appeal.

The present production is fortunate in having the first scene played in darkness, for—just as on the famous occasion when the French Theatre first dropped the classical robes of its actresses—the novelty is not immediately displaced; there is here first a dimness

he was "reading" the longer soliloquies, is the most satisfactory we have seen, played the part like a sensitive young intellectual of today, a man of culture and twentieth-century refinement, combined with aristocratic sensitivity. A greater change affected the entire family of Polonius. The old counsellor himself, with his VanDyck beard and his delightful gallantry (especially to the pretty leading lady of the players who visit the court) is a splendid picture of the pompous, self-satisfied, incompetent official who somehow manages to hold an important post—many of them were advisers in Europe before the war; the part was excellently interpreted by Ernest Lawford. The son, Laertes, was played by Stafford Dickens as a rough and ready dough-boy, one who would make a good aviation commander, anappy, brusque, yet alert and alive. His sister Ophelia was given an entirely new conception by Helen Chandler, who made her understanding of the role not only true, but deeply pathetic; the young girl was a flapper of the better sort, dressing and acting as her fellow females, but with a wisdom and touching wonder at life that spring from her breeding and her unfortunate position.



BASIL SYDNEY

Plays the Prince of Denmark in Horace Liveright's production of "Hamlet" in modern dress at the Booth Theatre.

through which we glimpse a khaki-clad soldier, then Horatio, draped and hidden in an overcoat. In the full light of the next scene we see costumes that are already accepted, and save for a gasp or two on the part of those who were determined to be astonished or amused, the play might continue without our regarding the difference in externals.

But the difference was more than external, for the change of time makes the psychological interpretation of many of the parts quite different. Basil Sydney, whose Hamlet, except when

What Bernard Shaw meant by his scoffing remark is that he in his twentieth century philosophy has an intellectual depth beyond the sublime platitudes that make Shakespeare's plays so full of quotations. But the present performance not only lends a fresh vigor to the old language and parts; it also proves that the basic emotions, in the old playwright, are plucked as never since the ancient Greeks, that in the illumination of man's soul in tortured conflict, in the poignantly beautiful capture of human feeling—beyond the limits of intellectual theories and scientific advance, beyond the puny growths of a period, so soon outgrown—Shakespeare is still master, still able to sway even a critical audience, still potent to proclaim the power of dramatic and poetic presentation of man's conflicts. The new "Hamlet" is a triumph for the producer and a vindication of the truth that Shakespeare is "not for an age, but for all time."

J. T. S.

Dorsha Dances Sunday

At the Booth Theatre, 46th street, West of Broadway, this Sunday evening, Nov. 22, at 8:30 p. m. Dorsha will present the Art Theatre of the Dance. She will be assisted in a program of original dances by Paul Hayes and the Dorsha Dancers. Gladys Olsson will be at the piano.

Among the dances Dorsha and her company will present will be "In Arcady," "The Buffoons," "Pierrot-a-Wo-ling," "Slave's Lament," "The Toller," "The Nightingale and the Rose." Tickets may be obtained at the Theatre or at the Rand School office, 7 East 15th street.

Grace George in "She Had to Know" at the Bronx Opera House

Grace George and her company will open in "She Had to Know," Miss George's third translation of plays by Paul Gerald, French dramatist, at the Bronx Opera House, Monday evening.

George Tully plays the husband. Catherine Willard handles the divorcee's role; William E. Barry as a friend of the family, and Edward H. Wever as the nephew. Ralph Sprague and Barbara Kitson complete the cast.

"The Gorrilla" will move up to the Bronx Opera House the week of November 30.

Music Notes

Wilhelm Bachaus makes his first appearance of the season this Sunday afternoon in a piano recital in Aeolian Hall, playing the Godowsky transcription of the Bach D minor violoncello suite, and Ignaz Friedman's paraphrase of Johann Strauss' "Fruehlingstimmen" waltzes. Schumann's Davidsbuender dances, a group of Brahms, a group of Liszt and a Chopin-Godowsky study for the left hand alone complete the program.

Erwin Schulhoff has a hearing on Tuesday evening at Aeolian Hall, when the New York String Quartet will give the first performance here of his "Five Pieces." This suite, first performed at the Salzburg Festival two years ago, comprises a Viennese waltz, a serenade, a movement "Alla Cece," a tango and a tarantelle. Almost all of Schulhoff's music is based on dance rhythms.

Sol Ruden, violinist, will give a recital in Town Hall Tuesday evening.

Ernest Hutcheson gives his only local piano recital at Carnegie Hall on Tuesday night. His program consists of: Bach-Liszt, Fantasia and Fugue in G Minor; Beethoven, Sonata in E. Flat; Moussorgsky, Tableaux d'une Exposition; Liszt, Spanglitz; Chasina, "Fasination Austerly," "Rush Hour in Hong Kong;" Mendelssohn-Hutcheson, Scherzo from "A Midsummer Night's Dream;" and Wagner-Hutcheson, Ride of the Valkyries.

Marie Roemast Rosanoff gives her cello recital Wednesday evening at Aeolian Hall.

The Letz Quartet will give its first recital in two seasons, Thursday night, at Aeolian Hall, playing the Debussy Quartet in G minor, the Ravel Quartet in F major and the Faure Quartet for piano and strings.

Guy Maier will give the third and

last of his Young People's Concerts on Friday morning at Aeolian Hall, with Mme. Clara Clements singing a group of songs for which Mr. Maier will play the accompaniments.

The Stony Point Ensemble will have two more appearances. The next concert will be given this Saturday night in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, and on Sunday night in the Manhattan Opera House. After that the organization will visit a hundred cities in all parts of the country.

Paderewski will give his first New York recital in Carnegie Hall Wednesday afternoon. The concert will open with the Thirty-two Variations in C Minor, followed by Sonata, Op. 53, both of Beethoven; Schumann's Carnival and a varied group of Chopin.

Lea Luboshutz will give her violin recital this Saturday afternoon at Carnegie Hall.

Katherine Bacon, pianist, will give her only recital of the season at Aeolian Hall, Saturday afternoon, November 28.

FLORENCE NASH



Co-starring with her sister Mary in Rachel Crothers' new play, "A Lady's Virtue," due at the Bijou Monday night.

Budapest Theatres
Very Energetic

THE theatres in Budapest began their season with a rush. The prose theatres are playing repertoires and producing new plays nearly every week, thus providing a fresh and varied program to tempt the theatre-going public.

The Nemzeti (National) theatre, according to "Variety," opened with revivals and plays continuing from last season, but has already produced an original Hungarian play, "Gyuri urfi" ("Master George") by László Boros, new to the stage. The comedy was well acted and fairly well received.

Another comedy by a new author was produced at the Kamaraszínház, the experimental intimate little theatre recently opened under the same management as the Nemzeti. This was "Mokosok" ("Squirrels") by Jenő Miklos, a harmless little comedy.

Both comedies would be termed mid-Victorian.

Frankly mid-Victorian in period, however, is the new operetta at the Király-Színház (King theatre), text from Robert Volkmann's originals by Ferencs Martos, music adapted by Zeigmond Vinsze, verses by Kulinyi. Robert Volkmann, eminent composer of German extraction, who lived in Budapest in the '80's, never wrote for the stage but was the author of numerous charming melodies which have been cleverly arranged by Vincze and enlivened by a few original modern numbers.

The Fovárosi Operetta Színház presents "The Orlov," text by Marischka, music by Bruno Granichstaetten, a Viennese operetta which was as great a hit as Vienna was capable of producing in the dull past season.

The Vigaszínház (Gaiety) has presented a capital rendering of Galsworthy's "Loyalties," excellently staged and acted by a first-rate ensemble for which this theatre has always been known. Their second notefy is to be "La Comedienne," by Bosquet and Armond.

The Renaissance theatre has produced a very ambitious production of "Hamlet," with Arthur Somlay in the title part. Somlay plays Strindberg, Hungarian peasant roles, French comedy or Molnar parts, is stage manager and in some respects artistic director, and has given a very remarkable rendering of Shakespeare. This was followed by "Sonkin and the Premium," a tragedy-comedy by Jushkevich, a young Russian author.

The Belvarosi (City) theatre has opened with Paul Gerald's "Si je voulais," with Ross Illovay in the star part, and followed it up with Gustav Davis, "Miss Uptodate," a weak comedy redeemed only by the charm of that young actress. The Magyar theatre is doing capably with Louis Verneuil's "Pile ou Face," which was Elvira Popescu's great hit of last season in Paris.

Broadway Briefs

A. H. Woods will give an extra matinee of "The Green Hat" at the Broadhurst Theatre, on Tuesday afternoon, in addition to the regular Thursday and Saturday matinees.

Gilbert Miller announces that Miss Ferguson had begun rehearsals in "The Dark" by Martin Brown. The principal male parts will be played by Basil Rathbone and Frederick Worlock.

Jane Cow's support in Noel Coward's "Easy Virtue," will include Halliwell Hobbes, Mabel Terry Lewis, Robert Harris, Marda Vanne, Jean Clement

About Cyclones

(Continued from page 7)

As the population increased, it became more and more necessary to increase the grain and potato crops to sustain the population, and this was done at the expense of fodder crops, which were to feed the farm animal. As a result horses became fewer and fewer. The decrease of horses was followed by a decrease of oxen and then of cows, which are also used as draft animals in Russia.

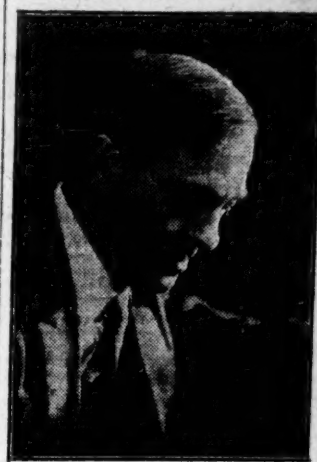
With men and women pulling plows, the soil was only scratched a few inches deep. The disappearance of farm animals also robbed the soil of barnyard manure. Thus the yield of the fields went down as the number of peasants went up, and Russia was marching to its grave.

Then came war, which robbed Russia of its remaining stock of horses, oxen, sheep, swine, and man-power. The few industries and railroads also broke down under the war strain. With women and children starving at home and soldiers fighting at the front without food and toward the last without arms, the cup of misery overflowed and Russia exploded.

After the revolution came the invasion of the allies for whose victory Russia had paid with ten million lives. With a Czecho-Slovak army in the heart of the country, and with English, French, American and Japanese armies pouring in from all sides, Russia was bled white.

In this terrible human cyclone, a great many bloody deeds were committed; a great number of innocent people were punished along with the guilty; all kinds of insane stunts were pulled off by all sides, for such is the nature of cyclones and revolutions. Blame the cyclone on those flying mules if you wish. Blame the Russian revolution on the bolsheviks if you will. But the fact is that they had no more to do with these elemental disturbances than the fly on

ERNEST HUTCHESON



The talented and brilliant master of the piano will give his only New York recital Tuesday night at Carnegie Hall.

The New Cinemas

BROADWAY—"Simon the Jester," by William J. Locke, with Eugene O'Brien and Lillian Rich.

CAMEO—Corinne Griffith in "Classified," with Jack Mulhall and Charles Murray.

CAPITOL—Elinor Glyn's "The Only Thing," with Eleanor Boardman, Conrad Nagle and Edward Connelly.

COLONY—Harold Lloyd in "The Freshman."

RIALTO—Gloria Swanson in "Stage Struck," with Lawrence Gray and Ford Sterling.

RIVOLI—"Irish Luck," with Thomas Meighan, Lois Wilson and Claude King.

Scott, Joyce Carey, Vernon Kelso and C. Bayley Hick.

John Galsworthy, the English playwright, arrived here last week. He was accompanied by his wife and Rudolf Sauter, the British portrait painter, and Mrs. Sauter. The party will sojourn to the Bahamas after a short stay on Broadway.

The tenth and last week of Harold Lloyd in "The Freshman" starts Sunday, at Moss Colony Theatre. The collegiate prologue, "Campus Capers," will also be held over for its final week.

Jack Squires and Joseph Tinsley have been added to the cast of "Florida Girl" at the Lyric Theatre by Earl Carroll.

Vincent Lopez and his orchestra will be guest attractions at the Earl Carroll Sunday Night Concert at the Earl Carroll Theatre.

Lee Morse has joined the cast of "Artists and Models" with a characteristic group of Southern ballads and syncopated songs.

Donald Oenslager will design the settings for "Moral" which the Actors' Theatre will offer at the Comedy Theatre on November 30.

"The Wise-Crackers," by Gilbert Seldes, is announced for immediate production by the 66 Theatre. The production of "The Ragged Edge," previously announced as the new theatre's opening play, has been postponed.

the fly-wheel has to do with the revolution of the wheel. All that little man can do in these cataclysms is to add to the noise, pick himself up, and search in the ruins of the old for the material to build the new and that is exactly what Russia is doing now.

This is not a plea for the recognition of Soviet Russia, although I am heartily in favor of it because I know the world will never arrive at peace until this is done. This is a plea for the 160,000,000 Russians who know no more of bolshevism than our statesmen know about Russia. This is a plea for the vast masses of Russian toilers who are groping among the ruins of "holy Russia" for a way out. This is a plea for sympathy and understanding toward a people who have paid a higher price for the greed and stupidity of its rulers than any other people on earth.

But how about communism?

Communism—bah!

Don't I know that every great human catastrophe was followed by a wave of communism? Did not the breakdown of the Roman empire bring Christian communism in its wake? Was not the breakdown of feudalism accompanied by the communist movements of the Moravians, Mennonites, Bohemian brothers, Anabaptists, and Taborites on the European continent, and the Levellers in England, and the Wars of the Peasants in both fields? Did not the French Revolution have its Conspiracy of the Equals, and the American revolution its Shay's Rebellion?

Whenever and wherever mankind struck the bottommost abyss of woe, it reached for the star of communism which shines over the cradle of the race. And whenever it poked its nose over the rim again, it took to private property as ducks take to water. Leave it to the greed and selfishness of man to deal with Russian communism as it dealt with the communism of Jesus Christ.

Adam Coaldigger.

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1925

TEXTILE MASTERS' PROGRAM

THE New England textile industry has been a festering sore ever since it was founded in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. The rise of modern capitalism in every country has clustered around this industry, robbing the cradle of infant labor power, mercilessly exploiting working class motherhood, and filling graves with tubercular men. Several generations of the working class have been the victims of this scourge and the textile industry still stands as a symbol of measureless greed and inhuman exploitation.

The Massachusetts textile owners are now making a drive to repeal the 48-hour week law for women and the law prohibiting women working after 6 p. m. The owners want a 54-hour week and the return of the 10-hour day and reinstatement of the double shift. In other words, they want to go back to the regime of fifty years ago, which was modified to some extent by legislation and the struggles of the textile unions.

They contend that they are unable to compete with the growing textile industry of the South, where labor is cheaper and the cost of living is lower. They evidently expect us to forget the enormous profits which they gathered in during the war and the post-war years. An official of the United Textile Workers points out that the New England owners are still retaining antiquated machinery, some of it being installed a hundred years ago, while Southern capitalists have kept pace with the new inventions in the industry. If this is true, it shows that even with poorer equipment the owners in New England have been able to reap fortunes in recent years.

If these feudal masters of many New England communities get what they want it will be little short of a calamity. If necessary the combined force of the organized workers of the nation should be concentrated against it. Conditions are bad enough now in this industry without permitting the textile Gargy to increase the daily servitude of the women, taking their extra labor time without paying for it, and enriching themselves by the intensified robbery.

KELLOGG ANSWERS

SECRETARY OF STATE KELLOGG must find the duties of his office just as trying as when he was serving the organized despoilers of Minnesota. He has had a dreadful ordeal in trying to explain the reasons for excluding the Countess Karolyi. Her attorneys give the following record: Last Saturday a member of the firm visited Kellogg, who said that he would not reverse the ruling or inform him under what section of the law he (Kellogg) had acted. The attorney should return Monday. He did. Kellogg was too busy to see him and directed him to Castle, a subordinate. Castle told him he would answer by letter. No letter. On Tuesday. On Wednesday Castle telegraphed letter not yet mailed. Thursday, attorney wired, but received no reply. Friday, another wire and no answer. Saturday, nothing doing.

One week gone. Letter finally arrives Monday and attorney is informed that Countess is excluded under two acts, one a war-time measure. Why excluded under these acts? Castle does not say and attorney does not know. The latter is as much in the dark as when he visited Kellogg the week before. There the matter rests.

A distinguished service medal is due the Minnesota ore attorney and his rubber stamp for guarding Holy Rus—beg pardon—Holy America against the contamination of a vicious person who wants a republic to replace the Black Hundred government of Hungary.

FROM THE ABYSS

ONE OF the most pathetic documents of the great human struggle is a letter written to the New York World by a striking Pennsylvania miner. A man of fifty, he entered the mines as a child to work ten hours for 25 cents a day. Deprived of an education, he was twenty before he could read his own name. "I have stood at the top of the shaft as my father was brought out mangled and lifeless," he writes. He saw two brothers near death's door on more than one occasion and he had been injured a dozen times.

At the age of fifty he looks back over his life. He has seen those who own the mines "live in luxury" and has seen towns where "you could not get a dollar if you ransacked every home." The mine owners once "drew a line across rivers, mountains and fields, paying a paltry few dollars, and walked off with the riches beneath. Then we poor, ignorant, uneducated souls did the rest. We dug and died doing it, making multi-millionaires out of those who never understood."

Then a question, pregnant with meaning for modern society. "Do you think that I would not love to have some pleasant boyhood memories? How nice it would be to

look back on schooldays. But I never knew such a thing. Don't you think I have a soul and a mind? Saddest of all, do you not think for a moment that I would wish for a good-looking face and body? Mine is coal-marked and scarred with many mine gas-burns. My hands are rough and my nature none too gentle."

And what of those who rule society? "When heads of nations fall out they get busy and destroy. They kill, burn and tear down, as this seems to be God's way."

The tragedy and the pathos of the barren life of the workman of the mines are voiced in this simple eloquence of a proletarian. He is puzzled by the contradictions of life. Why should it be? Answer him, you who are fat and satisfied, answer him—if you can.

THE "FATHERLAND"

LARGE transfers of money and securities being made from France to Switzerland because of fear of a capital levy may be rendered ineffective by legislation, but the incident is important for another reason. In France the capitalist class has resisted forms of taxation intended to make that class bear an equitable share of the war debt. In the United States the higher sections of the same class are trying to obtain the repeal of the sur-taxes on large incomes.

What is interesting in such actions is the contrast with what is expected of the working class. They have nothing but their health and lives and they are required to give them. They are seized by conscript laws and thrown into the trenches and later buried like carrion on the battlefields. A few alms are given to relatives at home, but most of them are neglected and many are forced to give themselves for more intensified industrial exploitation after the war. The class that dodges the taxes and that ships its securities abroad is the same class that profiteers during the war and that enriches itself by more intense exploitation of the surviving workers and their relatives after the war.

This French exportation of paper securities shows that the bourgeois class knows no frontiers when its cash is involved. The beloved "fatherland" can go to the dogs so far as they are concerned. They like it, but they will not pay for it. If it costs them something they prefer to ship their shekels to other lands. Let the working class do the fighting, the dying and the paying.

This class is the same all over the world. Although it cultivates a worship of the "fatherland," it will not sacrifice any of its plunder to save it. The answer should be, if the workers are to fight, die and pay for it they should also take it over and run the whole works as their concern and be glad of the opportunity to be rid of a class that is useless.

ACCOMPLICE OF MUSSOLINI

FOLLOWING the announcement of the exceptionally liberal terms made by Mussolini's agents with the American Government for the settlement of the Italian debt, came the announcement from Rome that Mussolini's program for the perpetuation of his despotic rule is completed. One of the demands made by the late Woodrow Wilson upon Germany was the establishment of a government responsible to the German people. Mussolini's program is a Premier and Ministers not responsible to Parliament. This takes Italy back to the old Russian Council of State. Moreover, Parliament will be deprived of the power to initiate measures. That will make it a body like the former Czar's consultative and fraudulent Duma. Italians abroad who oppose Mussolini's armed mercenaries will lose their citizenship and their property will be taken by the Government, that is, by Mussolini. Prison will yawn for those who criticize him by word or action. Naturally, his Black Hundreds will continue to burn, pillage and kill.

This is the despotic and blood-bespattered regime which has received more favorable terms at the hands of the American Government than any other debtor that has come to Washington. The financial settlement means that we partly finance this regime, give it material aid, and thus become an accomplice of a cruel bandit and his ferocious bands in mercilessly crushing all aspirations of the tortured Italian people for liberation.

Reactionary as our bourgeois officials in office have been, we have not been prepared for this shocking deed. Every claim of ordinary decency and fair play required that so long as a maniac ruled in Rome we would make no concessions to him. This would have encouraged those whose faces are ground under the heels of mediaeval despots whose only modern prototype are found in Hungary. If the sealed lips of Garrison, Phillips, Parker, Lovejoy and others who have passed on could break into speech, what would they not say of this settlement?

Naturally, the financial journals look forward to a very Merry Christmas for our bloated masters. The Wall Street Journal considers the merger tendency in railroads, banking, industry, public utilities and trade. It believes that the time is ripe and that the political situation is favorable, that is, the greater capitalists are running the government. As for the smaller capitalists and investors it believes in eliminating them because their "tactics are disturbing the stability of the larger company's market."

Colonel Peter E. Traub has declared that "war is a part of nature's plan for the elevation of the human race." A few more wars like the last one and the human race will be elevated into oblivion.

As we understand it, Mussolini's debt commission is here to see if Uncle Sam will not make a good bargain with Mussolini that will enable him to keep his assassins paid up to date.

The News of the Week

Twelfth Week Of Coal Strike

The coal strike has entered its twelfth week, with no indications of an early settlement. The Brooklyn Congressional delegation has appealed to President Coolidge to intervene, stating that "the poor in Brooklyn and elsewhere are begging piteously for coal because of the extortionate prices." Nobody knows what has become of Governor Smith's coal commission, whose head has not even talked since we received the election returns. The Anthracite Operators' Conference, in advertisements in Tuesday's papers, again tell us what godly men they are and how stubborn the miners are in not returning to the charms of the mines to get their ungodly wages. Combustion engineers are on their way to New York to tell us how to burn substitutes, and Philadelphia is getting the same advice. One Pennsylvania coal corporation sends a letter to its former miners telling them that it might be well to go to work and insure a Christmas dinner. Meantime capitalist proprietorship of coal continues and bourgeois statesmen burn incense before it while we face the prospect of freezing. And thus the "practical" order of capitalism drifts it knows not where!

French "Blue Shirts" Active

By way of imitating the Italian Fascists, French empty heads have organized as "blue shirts" and staged a demonstration in Paris this week. They took to Millerand as the "strong man" to head the French firm of capitalism, but whether that gentleman will accept this role is not stated. What the "blue shirts" want in France is despotic control of Parliament, after the fashion of Mussolini. Fortunately, the French working class has an example in Italy of what a "blue shirt" regime would mean for them. Should these paranoics ever really threaten to obtain control every section of the organized working class in France, whatever differences they may have—and there are many—would sink these differences and rub the nose of the "blue shirts" in the streets of Paris.

Students in Revolt

Students of the College of the City of N. Y. are up in arms against a war textbook in use at that institution. The brutality of the militarist's trade is brought home to them in this manual. There are detailed instructions on how to break a man's neck and how to gouge out eyes with the thumb. American historians have pointed out the savage character of our early frontier life, especially in the South, where illiterate and ferocious whites settled their differences by the victor gouging out the eyes of his enemy. Our professional military fops have reverted back to this inhuman practice and think it essential to the education of American youth that they should learn how to imitate our illiterate ancestors. All honor to the students who have the courage to revolt against this atrocious atrocity. This revolt is a symptom of what is going on in many educational institutions throughout the country. The tendency

to goose-step the students into servile cannon fodder, to pump American historical myths into their heads, to discourage independent thinking and investigation and to make them mechanical dolls automatically responding to the needs of our grand dukes of industry and princes of finance have brought a revolt among students. This rebellion is one of the few encouraging signs of the present era. We hope that it will give courage to teachers and instructors to follow their example.

Naval Clique Defied

The Shenandoah disaster this week was the defiance of the court by the widow of the late Commander Landsdowne. The spectacle of this little woman, her counsel excluded from the room, holding her own in an intellectual duel with an adroit judge who, apparently, was trying to trap her, with perfect ladies of the naval clique staring at her in amazement through their lorgnettes, was a tonic for those who read the story. Under fire from all sides she insisted that the officials were trying to whitewash the incompetent bureaucracy who sent her husband to his death in a cruise intended to enhance the political prestige of Lord Calvin and his imperial court. Incidentally, this whole affair recalls the sad old days of the Prussian and Czarist militarist castes which our noble "democracy" used to shrink from as the essence of all things vile. Our capitalism has spawned a brood as naughty as any that ever strutted the streets of Berlin or St. Petersburg. Mrs. Landsdowne had the courage to give the lie to Secretary Wilbur himself when asked about Wilbur's public statement after the Shenandoah had crashed to the earth in which he had denied that Landsdowne believed that the cruise might be fatal. A little more of the courage in others that has been exhibited by Mrs. Landsdowne and we may yet check the naval and militarist offshoot that has come to bless us since the war for "democracy."

Reaction in Australia

Vigorous use of Bolshevik bogey man, combined with compulsory voting, has given a new lease of life to the reactionary government of the Commonwealth of Australia, headed by Premier Stanley Bruce. Although the exact results of last Saturday's election are not yet available, it appears that the Labor Party's representation in the Lower House has been reduced from 29 to 27, while the Premier's Nationalist-Country Party bloc has 47 seats instead of 41, and the Liberals have been wiped out. There is one Deputy classified as Independent. The new Senate, half of which was elected Nov. 14, will probably be made up of nine Laborites and 27 supporters of the Bruce government. Until detailed accounts of the election are received it is impossible to know whether the Labor Party suffered a real defeat or if, as in Great Britain last year, the party actually increased its popular vote but lost Deputies through the big gains made by the reactionaries because of the institution of compulsory

voting and the Premier's wild battling against Communist windmills. That citizens who go to the polls just to avoid being fined \$10 are almost sure to vote against Labor goes without saying. Matthew Charlton, leader of the Labor Party, was re-elected, as were most of the party's veteran candidates. With the Labor Party in control of five of the six States of the commonwealth, the victory of the reaction in the Federal Parliament is not so important as it may seem, as the States possess a large measure of autonomy, which they are using in the interest of the workers.

SIGNING by the American debt funding commission of the proposed settlement with Mussolini of the Italian debt of \$2,138,000,000 to the American treasury is seen in Washington as a life line thrown out to its storm-shaken government. He signs an agreement to pay a part of the debt at a distant future date, and he gets an immediate loan from Morgan & Co.

Estimates of the loan which is to be made to bolster up fascism in Italy range from \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000. The rate of interest which the bankers will get, while they get it, will be—including commissions—about 10 per cent. Meanwhile the American treasury, paying 4½ per cent to the holders of its Liberty bonds for the money loaned to Italy, will get from Italy the promise of a fraction of 1 per cent. This is the sort of finance that Sen. Borah and the western farmer senators have challenged. They contrast it with the rigid demand for repayment of government loans which has cost the farmers \$20,000,000,000 in the deflation process of the past five years.

Secretaries Kellogg and Hoover and Sen. Smoot, putting a bold face on the matter, say that the Italian debt commission has been earnest and sincere in its offer to pay all that Italy can pay. They agree that immediate American loans are expected by Mussolini, and that these loans will be used to "strengthen internally and externally" the Italian position. They do not say that this means the strengthening of Mussolini's dictatorship and the further oppression of the workers in Italy, but they complacently face that prospect.

There are some government experts, on the other hand, who believe that if this deal was put through—as far as it has gone—with the purpose of holding Mussolini in power, the administration has guessed wrong. They think the Italians will within a few weeks begin to protest against the signing of an agreement to pay, since this means heavier taxes. Interest at a high rate on the new loans from Wall Street will have to be paid. The opposition will keep Mussolini busy with their charges that he has saddled Italy with a new burden which will ruin her.

These forecasts are ridiculed by the administration leaders. They think the settlement will help Mussolini.

A society cannot be founded only on the pursuit of pleasure and power; a society can only be founded on the respect for liberty and justice—Paine.

THE CHATTER BOX

Two Sonnets to My Wife

Whatever you possessed was gold in trade
Against my coin of instability.
I have grown hard, the storm and I have made
Queer mating since you linked your years to me.

I have grown bigamous; the wind has lured
My fancy and my passion, time and time;
I held your love like a thing to be endured
Or heard like some inconsequential rhyme.

And you are neither wise nor fortunate
To match your constancy against the wind;
No stern salvation can obliterate
The fraying hills where I have stood and sinned.

Your warmth, your worth, your rich gentility,
Are frail against a gale-trimmed craft like me.

You are all depth in silence as in pain;
Even your laughter tones profundity;
I have a reef for fluting in my brain;
Thin notes for sorrow, giddy trills for glee.

You have the glow of hearth fire in your eyes.
Comfort and order range before your hands;
I walk bewildered over distant skies
And live in fancy's dream-disordered lands.

You hold a regency beyond a price
In princely sons; your home where kings might sit
At regal ease, mirrors the sacrifice
Of countless toil, with which you fashioned it.

While I danced scherzos at the height of noon
And whittled shaveling couplets to the moon.

Blanche Watson writes us that on Sunday evening, November 22, there will be held at the Community Church, 34th street and Park avenue, a memorial gathering to honor the memory of George H. Strobell. His comrades and friends are asked to attend. And she also encloses the following:

To George H. Strobell

Thy hope—what was it, Comrade?
To combat human greed.
Thy aim—dear Comrade?
To search out direct need,
Man's cry to heed.

Thy purpose, what, good Comrade?
For struggling souls to plead
Thy work—dear Comrade?
To shape fine thought in deed,
To LIVE thy creed.

Thy hope, thy aim, thy purpose,
Let them be our pleasure:
Thy work ours, too, in ever widening measure:
The memory of thy life,
Our treasure.

BLANCHE WATSON.

Whenever we enter the Rand School bookstores these leaf swirling days, the eloquent eyes of Abe Belsky wrack our very soul to shame. For did he not give us gratis a copy of Bertrand Russell's "How to be Free and Happy" with the specific understanding that we were to devote the whole back page of the New Leader for a review of it? Truth is, that for 75 cents we could have spared ourselves all this subtle anguish. When we tendered that amount to Abe to be absolved, he said no word, but his eyes again raked us with refusal and blame. Will he forgive, then, if we just make mention here that we have read the book and found it to be a most inspiring treatise, a brochure to be conjured with, a masterpiece as brilliant and permanent as anything Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius and G. B. Shaw have left to posterity. And as for the price, six bits, we consider it almost sac-

rilegious in its inadequacy. Read it, every one of you; it is for sale only at the Rand Book Store, and seventy-five coppers is indeed small tithe to learn "How to be Free and Happy."

This month's American Mercury occupied some ten hours of railroading from the West this week. The entire issue is apparently devoted to H. L. Mencken's pet aversion—the Booboisie and its baneful genius—the Protestant Allied Churchdom. We hold no brief for the Ku Kluxing Pilgrity. Our detestation of its baleful influence on the American underdogs is not to be outdone by Mencken in complete bitterness. Intellectual monarchist that he is does not in any way prejudice us as Socialist from marching shoulder-lined with him against the common plague. But we are somewhat taken aback by a noticeable weakening in his method. Has the redoubtable satirist lost his skill at blowpiping fine arrows tipped with irritant into the hide of stupidity and intolerance, and taken to swinging unwieldy bludgeons of out and out scolding and name-calling? His editorial particularly is thoroughly un-Menckeny. Shouting exasperation at the ox-herds of American Christianity is as mediocre as it is ineffective. We would not like to believe that one of the few virilic weapons American intellect possesses to combat the home-brew battalions of dumbellism is slowly doddering into ineffectual roof-shouting. We hope the November case of H. L. Mencken is nothing more than just being a bit off usual form—as we excuse ourselves in tennis, occasionally.

Fools

Deep is my admiration
For fools.

Those, who when they turn a corner
March into a blunt, pointed finger,
That is bulwarked with,
"There he goes!"

Those, who serve to stir
The serpent in the mouth
Of gossip.

Those, who are fools
For trudging paths
Never before trodden.

Those fool radicals,
Fool unbelievers, fool experimenters.

I love these admirable Fools.

JOSEPH RESNICK.

Something must be done at once to get Ben Gitlow out of jail. Whatever he is, or has been, means nothing to us. It means everything to us when any man or woman of whatever creed or politics is sent prisonwards for his written or spoken opinions. We suggest as a start that all our readers who can spare the time, the stationery and the postage, write as follows to Alfred H. Smith, Governor of New York State, Albany, N. Y.: "Ben Gitlow is a prisoner because of his political and economic beliefs. No State in this Union is fit for democracy that tolerates such a travesty upon genuine free government. As a true American I respectfully demand his full pardon and release."

Do that now.
Our Communist friends may smirk at the phrase "true American," but do not let their ridiculous sense of humor interfere with your stalwart sense of justice.

S. A. de Witt.