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# The New Leader

A Weekly Newspaper  
Devoted to the Interest  
of the Socialist and  
Labor Movement

## TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

IN the preceding article of this series I have argued that other factors have been more responsible than the war for the present condition of the Socialist Party in the United States. It is, of course, impossible to disentangle any one factor of the play of forces which go to make up a given situation and to assign to each its precise share of responsibility. Although, in my judgment, the effect of the war upon our fortunes has been overestimated, it was very great—how great no one can say with mathematical accuracy.

Our critics over simplify the effect of the war upon us in some such style as this: The war, they say, brought a great increase of pacifists, not Socialists, into membership or friendly relations with the Socialist Party. But it lost them their most distinguished and truly American intellectual leaders and it antagonized the great American public. I have met Socialists who seemed to agree with this statement except that they would say that the party suffered not so much from the spontaneous antagonism of the public as from the deliberate persecution of the government. These statements contain truth. For instance, the New York comrades who in recent years have spent so much time sighing over the golden age of 1917 need to remind themselves that the Hillquit vote was largely a pacifist protest vote and that as such it was rather futile. It is hardly worthwhile having another war so as to win for us some 22 per cent of the New York electorate, not on an understanding of Socialism or willingness to support its economic program, but on the basis of variety of assorted grievances against the war and the government.

### The Loss of The Intellectuals

As for the loss of our pro-war intellectuals, that was regrettable; but the most regrettable thing about it was that their character was such that they so easily forsake Socialism. Only Upton Sinclair had the courage and the passion for economic justice to bring him back again to Socialism when it became evident even to non-Socialists that Wilsonian liberalism could not possibly cure the deep hurt of the world.

What both the critics and friends of American Socialism fail to reckon with in their account of the influence of the war is the question why the war, which on the whole strengthened the Socialist parties in Europe, should have weakened the Socialist party in America. Several considerations may help us to answer that question. One of them is highly creditable to our party. The majority in Socialist parties in practically every country except the United States formed some sort of a patriotic union with the capitalist parties—a union which varied in strength and duration, but which was strong enough to save the majority of Socialists from the charge of pacifism or disloyalty. Only in America did the recognized leader of the whole party go to jail. Nevertheless, European Socialists and a host of previously non-Socialist workers, either during the war or shortly thereafter, turned in disgust from the war and the war makers. It was not many years, for instance, before the pacifist, Ramsay MacDonald, became the leader of the British Labor Party, which party really represents the workers of Great Britain. Why did nothing of the sort happen in America?

First, because America was in the war too short a time and at too long range to begin to suffer as the European nations suffered. We did not have time to recover by suffering from the mob psychology of a carefully worked up patriotism. Nevertheless, even in America the war, and more especially the peace, were far less popular than the noisy hundred percent Americans wanted any of us to think. Perhaps that is why they were so noisy and so intolerant. But whereas in most European countries the Socialists and Communist parties were the chief beneficiaries of popular discontent, in America the chief beneficiary was the Republican Party. Harding's tremendous plurality was made up very largely by Irish American, German American and other discontented groups, who voted for the party of big business and imperialism! How was such an absurdity possible even in America? Because the discontent of these groups was not deeply rooted in understanding of economic facts and because Woodrow Wilson by making leadership in the war and especially the peace Democratic Party enterprise enabled the Republicans to accept the votes of all those, who for the most contradictory reasons, disliked the war and the terms of peace. This could not have happened in Europe where all the capitalist parties were alike responsible for the war and peace. Moreover, in most European countries the workers have learned to vote for some one and something; in America the average citizen only votes against some one and something.

It is quite true that as a result of these various peculiarities in the American situation, combined with the ten-

(Continued on page 2)

# Wage Raise For Miners Urged to End Coal Strike

## BREAD TRUST TO TAKE HUGE TOLL

Eater, Baker and Grower Will All Pay Tribute to Monopoly

BREAD eater, break baker, and bread raw material producer (wheat and rye farmer) will each lose, probably heavily, if the mammoth national bread trust continues to develop under its present profiteering ownership.

"The Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union has fought the bread trust from the first," says editor Charles F. Hohmann, of The Bakery Journal, the union's official organ. "The Ward Baking Corp. is 100 percent unfair to union labor and the Ward interests are the controlling force in the merger now under way of the three leading national bakery corporations. Ward is open shop and the new trust will be open shop. We have fair and amicable relations with many employing bakers, but this can in no sense be said of the Ward shops. Wages, hours and the other conditions so vital to workers in food industries all suffer under Ward domination." The union had to report another loss in membership to the American Federation of Labor in 1925, paying per capita on 21,800 members instead of 22,300 in 1924 and 28,000 at its peak membership in 1921.

Hohmann quotes with approval the recent letter of the People's Legislative Service to President Coolidge, pointing out that the bread trust is financially an accomplished fact, with the Ward company, the General Baking Co. and the Continental Baking Corp. controlled by a common group of interests that, together with the Southern Baking Co. and smaller allied chains, bake over 50 percent of the daily output of 55,000,000 loaves in the United States.

The farmers are already suffering from the bread trust operations. Their grain co-operatives are feeling the effect of the monopolized market for wheat and rye. The history of every trust has been that it squeezes the producer of raw material at one end, the consumer at the other and its own workers in between.

## Banks Divorce Stock Owners From Control of Corporations

BANKING interests and other promoters have worked out an extraordinary scheme of selling stock yet keeping control in their own hands. More and more in great corporations the owners of stock are divorced from responsibility by the simple device of issuing most of the stock without the privilege of voting and leaving the privilege of voting to a handful of insiders who own the common stock.

In a remarkable address before the Academy of Political Science, Professor W. Z. Ripley of Harvard called attention to the danger of this sort of thing.

"The recent Dodge Motors Company is typical. A banking house buys up a private business for, let us say, \$146,000,000. This sum, and more they recover, let us say, by the sale to the public for \$160,000,000 of bonds, preferred stock and 1,500,000 non-voting shares of Class A common stock. But not a single one of the 500,000 Class B voting common shares are sold. The promoters have virtually paid themselves a handsome profit for the assumption of the entire directorial power, having mortgaged the property to the full amount of its original cost including both assets and capitalized earning power.

"Perhaps the baldest case of this sort is that of an artificial silk concern, which thus sold (let us hope) 593,000 shares of non-voting Class A stock, reserving 2,000 for the total 600,000 shares as Class B stock carrying exclusive voting rights. There is no concealment about it. Practically every prospectus concludes by a statement that the business will continue to be managed by those who have brought it to its present high pitch of profitability. But who, may we ask, has given a hostage to fortune for honest and economic management of the business? The promoters stand to lose only the amount of their stake—a minus quality in dollars, leaving aside, of course, the moral obligation. It is the public stockholders who

## 120,000 N. Y. Building Trades Workers Demand Wage Raises

By Art Shields

BUILDING tradesmen in New York, organized in 50 trades and numbering more than 120,000, are taking a step forward in their wage demands for new agreements to go into effect January 1, 1926. Bricklayers and stone masons ask \$4 a day more, or \$16 in place of \$12; slate roofers, plasterers, stone setters and marble carvers demand a two-dollar advance to \$14 a day. Many crafts ask \$1.50 more to \$12 a day.

One of the most significant demands is made by the carpenters' union, which calls for the five-day work week.

These demands come in the midst of a great construction period, and the situation is highly favorable to the

workers. The Building Trades Employers' Association at first announced that it would concede nothing more than a renewal of the old wage scales, but last word was that they would negotiate the demands. Conferences start at once between the carpenters and their employers, other crafts following soon, the Building Trades Employers' Association, representing all the contractors' associations, and the Building Trades Council sitting in the background as final mediators.

The New York unions' demands are in line with the recommendations of President Hedrick of the Building Trades Department at Atlantic City for wage increases. While building trades wages on the average are higher than most other unionists, their work is highly hazardous and extremely exhausting and their employers have been making exorbitant profits out of their labor.

A list of wages now paid and the wages demanded in some of the leading crafts runs as follows:

	Now Paid	Demand
Carpenters	\$10.50	\$12.00
Metalliferous	10.50	12.00
Tile layers	10.50	12.00
Steam fitters	10.50	12.00
Elevator constructors	10.50	12.00
Sheet metal workers	10.50	12.00
Cement masons	10.50	12.00
Mosaic workers	10.50	12.00
Composition roofers	10.50	12.00
House shapers	10.50	12.00
House smiths, finishers	10.50	12.00
Asbestos workers	10.50	12.00
Bricklayers	12.00	14.00
Stone masons	12.00	14.00
Marble carvers	12.00	14.00
Slate roofers	12.00	14.00
Plasterers	12.00	14.00
Marble cutters and setters	12.00	14.00
Electrical workers' helpers	7.00	8.00
Bricklayers' laborers	8.00	9.00
Marble workers' helpers	8.00	9.00
Tile layers' helpers	8.00	9.00
Asbestos workers' helpers	8.00	9.00
Elevator constructors' helpers	8.50	9.00

The painters' unions have not yet put in their wage demands. Their men now get \$10.50 a day.

## Coolidge Appoints Fascist To War Dep't. Position

By Laurence Todd

Washington, D. C.

HANFORD MCNIDER of Mason City, Ia., former state and national commander of the American Legion, leader in the Fascist element in that organization, has been named by President Coolidge as assistant Secretary of War. This is the first big federal job awarded to one of the "treat 'em rough" group in the Legion movement. Thousands of men and women in the scientific and social welfare branches of the government service are wondering whether his advent in Washington means a general raid to be launched by the hard-boiled politicians within the Legion, similar to the one that almost wrecked the government after the Civil War. In the latter case it was the Grand Army of the Republic that served as a vehicle to the salary-cut.

McNider was state and national commander of the Legion at the time when that organization was identified with mobbing and other acts of violence.

tion of civil rights in all parts of the country. In Mason City, his home town, where McNider and his father have two banks and other big business interests, a Socialist woman speaker was mobbed and deported by the 100-percenter. None of the legionnaires in that mob were punished.

### Admirer of Fascism

McNider represents the type of business men to whom Fascism appeals. He was an officer in the Iowa national guard before going to France in the World War. He resumed banking when he got out of the army, but he made fiery speeches against radicalism of every kind. He was especially rancorous toward the farmers' revolt which sent Smith Brookhart to the Senate in 1922. When the Old Guard failed to defeat Brookhart in the primary in 1924, young McNider became one of the most conspicuous backers of the Democratic nominee, Steck. They were close companions, and McNider was credited with having raised most of the big fund—which Steck used. After Steck fled his contest of the election in the Senate, McNider came to Washington and demanded of a Democratic leader a statement as to his attitude on seating Steck. This senator sharply told McNider that that was none of the business of a hard-shelled Republican.

C. H. McNider, the father, was one of the members of the federal reserve bankers' conference held in the spring of 1920, which decided to "deflate" the American farmers. Iowa farmers are just now recovering from the ruin that followed the deflation order. This elder McNider is at present under indictment in the federal district court for northern Illinois, eastern division, in the so-called cement trust case. The indictment was filed March 9, 1922. It names McNider, senior, as president and general manager of the Northwestern States Portland Cement Co., one of the list of defendants then charged with controlling 90 per cent of the cement sold in their territory; the indictment set forth that they charged "arbitrary, non-competitive and excessive prices" which were based on the exchange of information between them.

McNider is already mentioned in the administration press as the logical successor to Senator Cummins, and it is suggested that his present appointment is offered as an aid to his wider career. He is counted on to deliver the Legion vote and its agitational machinery to the support of the Coolidge program.

## Journeymen Tailors In Organization Drive

An extensive organization drive to round up the unorganized journeymen tailors in the New York district is being waged by the Journeymen Tailors' Union, Local 1.

The workers in this branch of the industry make the very best clothing sold, catering exclusively to the "elite," yet the workers are miserably enslaved, working very long hours, at underpaid wages. Many workers have lined up in the last few weeks and it is hoped that in the near future a sufficient number will have joined the union so that demands can be presented to the employers for better conditions.

A mass meeting will take place Monday evening, November 30th, at the Bohemian Hall, 321 East 73rd street, at 8 p. m. All journeymen tailors are urged to come.

## U.S. Captain Conscripts Exhausted Shipwrecked Crew of Norwegians

MEMORIES of the press gangs of the British navy are faintly evoked by the stories told by the shipwrecked sailors of the Norwegian tramp steamer Elven of the way they were conscripted and forced to work by the captain of the American Trader, their rescuer.

It happened a thousand miles from New York. The Elven had ventured her little hulk into a hurricane in answer to an S. O. S. from the Italian freighter Ignazio Florio. She found the Italian being taken aboard the President Harding, a huge liner, safe in the storm. But the little Elven's venture into the hurricane proved fatal. Turning about she bucked head winds for three days till giant seas fouled her steering gear, smashed her life boats, swept away the bridge and left her a helpless hulk. She drifted, sinking slowly, as the crew manned the hand pumps.

No one had eaten for 48 hours but the storm was over when the American Trader, a Yankee fisher steamer, came aboard and took off the crew. No one was fit to work, still less so, as few were given fresh clothing—they had been able to take nothing away—but the captain of the American Trader, a certain Hubbard C. Fish, ordered them to turn to, all except the officers and wireless men. Some of the men refused and Hubbard threatened that unless they complied he would do his best to influence the Norwegian authorities to stop payment of the 450 crowns shipwreck benefit due according to Norwegian law. Union seamen in New York, when the ship came in, said they had never heard of distressed mariners being treated in that fashion—being conscripted and kept at work for a thousand miles till the boat tied up to the pier. The storm was over when the rescue came and no emergency existed.

## 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.

## LIMIT WOULD BE PLACED ON PROFITS

Coal and Giant Power Committee Proposes Joint Inquiry Into Industry

WITH a wage increase of 50 cents per day for the lowest paid miners as its basis, a feasible and equitable plan for ending the long hard coal strike has been proposed by the Committee on Coal and Giant Power, consisting of a group of prominent engineers, economists, publicists, lawyers and business men from all parts of the country.

The plan, which has been sent to the miners and operators, to President Coolidge and to the Governors of the New England states, suggests a 50-cent-a-day increase in pay for the lowest paid miners only, without any increase in prices to the consumer, except for those companies which have not been earning 10 per cent, or more profit in the past two years.

The strike is now well in its fourth month. Coal supplies in all the cities of the East are dangerously low and in a great number of cases actually exhausted. Prices being paid for the coal that is to be had are fantastically exorbitant.

Another side of the situation reveals the mine workers, 150,000 of them unemployed for 13 weeks, in dreadful poverty, with funds gone and credit at the stores becoming harder to obtain.

### The Plan in Detail

The strike has gone on too long. The plan of the Committee on Coal and Giant Power presents what The New Leader believes to be an excellent basis for bringing it to an end. We present it here in detail:

1. A wage increase of 50 cents a day for all day workers. (This covers the most poorly paid group in the industry, men who receive between \$4.62 and \$5.96 a shift.)
2. No price increase over average 1924-1925 pre-strike prices for companies showing over a ten per cent return for that period.
3. An increase of 25 cents only a ton on domestic sizes. This would cover the wage increase to the day men and would apply to companies showing less than a 10 per cent return for the 1924-1925 pre-strike period. (The wage increase in No. 1 covers 84,000 men working 270 days, 22,680,000 man days at 50 cents equals \$11,340,000, which, distributed over 45,000,000 gross tons of domestic sized production comes to 25 cents per ton.)
4. A revision of all piece work rates now above the average to the point where a working year of 270 days will produce annual earnings of not over \$3,000. The process to be spread over three years. (The present customary working year is 270 days.)
5. A levelling up of all piece work rates now below the average to the average, the process to be spread over three years, a third a year. This to be done in both No. 4 and No. 5 by fields and on the basis of a 270-day working year.

(Averages are to be struck for each craft separately. The main source of trouble has been the varying piece rates in the same crafts.)

6. A check-off of regular union dues only by the operators to be instituted only at those collieries where a ballot of all the workers there shows a two-third vote in favor of it.

(This meets the statements of both sides on the question of whether or not the miners want the check-off.)

7. The immediate appointment of a committee by the operators and miners, to consist of two of each and three representatives of the public to be agreed upon by them, and paid equally by them to determine the companies which shall be allowed the 25 cent per ton increase, to work out and proceed with the adjustment of piece work rates and to supervise the balloting on the establishment of the check-off.

(This meets the needs of the industry for an executive body that will take into consideration all points of view, including the public's.)

8. This Committee shall submit to the consuming public six months before the expiration of the new agreement a complete report on the State and needs of the industry. It shall study all necessary problems of cost, profit, investment, labor efficiency, (Continued on page 3)



# THE PULLMAN COMPANY "UNION"

By Frank Crosswaith

**I**N its attempt to thwart the efforts of the Pullman porters to organize a union of their own and one free from the influence and control of the Pullman officials, the Pullman Company has become desperate and in its desperation has secured one Perry Howard of Mississippi to play the role of "King Canute" and try to stem the rising tide of organization among the 12,000 Pullman porters of the nation.

The Pullman Company and "Pats Perry" might as well know it now, that all their herculean efforts are doomed to failure, for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has succeeded in opening the eyes of the porters to the spider's web, woven around them in the form of the Employee Representation Plan. Both the Pullman Company and its "Puppet Perry" need this wholesome piece of advice which the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters gladly give, i. e.:

"If you have a good case, you don't need to lose your head, and, if you have a poor case, you can't afford to."

The fact that the Pullman Company is now making such frantic efforts to drag a red herring across the trail of the men's legitimate desire to organize their own union by shouting "Moscow!" and "Communist!" is proof conclusive that they are unable to meet the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on the only issues involved.

## Proofs of a Company Union

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters holds that the P. P. B. A. and the Employee Representation Plan is one and the same thing; that it is an organization of the Pullman Company, owned by the company, controlled by the company and used for the manifest purpose of hoodwinking the porters into believing that they do not need a union of, for and by themselves. As proof of this charge the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters submits for public perusal the following:

1. That the chief officer of the company's union is paid by the Pullman Company, and not by the porters.
2. That the money of the P. P. B. A., which belongs to the porters, cannot be used without the consent of the treasurer of the Pullman Company.
3. The company's union has a board of seven directors, which is supposed to have the final say in all matters pertaining to the organization. These seven directors are not Pullman porters, nor do they receive any pay from the P. P. B. A.; their salaries are paid by the Pullman Company, because of which fact they naturally function in behalf of the Pullman Company and not in the interest of the porters.
4. Since the organization of the company's union, the company never deemed it advisable to carry paid "ads" concerning the affairs of the P. P. B. A.; as a matter of fact, on innumerable occasions, whenever the duly elected representatives of the porters have in-

## Porters Organizing Despite Tremendous Opposition

quired as to the financial condition of the organization, the attorney of the Pullman Company always maintained that it was inadvisable to give such information, inasmuch as the information would then become public knowledge, to which the company was opposed for fear of certain insurance laws. However, since the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters became organized, the Pullman Company has seen fit to supply every worthwhile Negro newspaper—except the "Messenger Magazine"—with the same information it so consistently denied the delegates.

### A Pullman Company Bulletin

That the Pullman Company is aware of the fact that, the "Company's Union" cannot be successfully defended before an aroused and en-

lightened public opinion, is evidenced by the Company's sudden realization within the last week or so that it has, in one instance at least, been robbing the porters of money they justly earned.

The following bulletin issued by the Pullman Company, speaks for itself:

"Porters: 'As a matter of information, I am advised that a checking of the New York District Porters' and Maids' time sheets covering the period from April 1, 1924, up to and including July 1, 1925, is being made and adjustment of pay will also be made in all cases where it is found that any porters or maids were not paid for doubles performed on their specified lay-overs or relief days in accordance with paragraph G, rule 1, of existing agreement. This question has been the subject of some dissatisfaction in the past, but

## Employer Who Attacked Striker Held by Judge For Higher Court

Samuel Liebowitz, president of the Trinity Shoe Company, 1024 Lexington avenue, Brooklyn, was held for Special Sessions by Magistrate David Hirschfeld at the Jersey avenue court, Brooklyn, this week on a complaint of assault made against him by Harry Kaplan of 74 West 118th street, New York city, a member of the American Shoe Workers' Union. William Karlin, attorney for the union, prosecuted the case against Liebowitz. The charge made by Kaplan is that on October 26, 1925, while picketing in front of the factory of the Trinity Shoe Company, Liebowitz attacked Kaplan by striking him two violent blows in the face. Liebowitz was placed on bail pending trial in a higher court.

The strike was called by the American Shoe Workers' Union against the Trinity Shoe Company on October 21, 1925, for the reason that the corporation violated its agreement with the union by refusing to employ union help in its various departments. It is practically the only shop that is affected by labor troubles at the present time, the largest manufacturers having settled with the union upon an agreement which was negotiated during eight weeks of conferences with the union officers. Karlin stated that owing to the fact that the union officers and he were completely occupied in negotiating the collective agreement, the strike of the Trinity Shoe Company did not get the required attention of the union, but now the drive against the Trinity Shoe Company will be conducted with the same vigor as was employed against the larger manufacturers prior to the general settlement.

## Iron Workers Win Fight On Injunction, Resume Strike Determined to Win

The Iron Workers' Union again came out victorious when Supreme Court Justice MacCraty of Brooklyn denied an injunction to the North American Iron Works this week.

A few months ago the firm obtained a drastic injunction from Judge Dike, forbidding picketing in front of the factory of the North American Iron Works, at 116 Fifty-seventh street, Brooklyn. That injunction, however, was vacated by Judge Carswell during the first week in September after hearing of arguments of the employers' association attorney and those made in opposition to the injunction by William Karlin, the Iron Workers' attorney.

On November 12 the Employers' Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers again attempted to obtain an injunction in the Supreme Court of Brooklyn to stop the picketing in front of the struck premises, upon the representation that the strike had ended. These representations, however, were specifically denied and ridiculed in the answering affidavit and brief presented by Karlin in opposition to the injunction. Judge MacCraty of the Brooklyn Supreme Court, without opinion, denied the motion of the employer and of the employers' association. Thus, the union officials stated that the strike is on, and the picketing will proceed until the North American Iron Works makes a contract with the union reinstating the forty-four-hour week in place of the present forty-eight-hour schedule, which is in contravention to the union agreement with the association of which the North American Iron Works is a member.

I am glad to advise it has now been decided upon and a rechecking is being made. Porters or maids, who have doubled and have not been paid for it between above dates covered by the agreement, will hear from their cases in the near future."

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters holds, too, that the Pullman Company has grossly violated every one of the worthwhile agreements made with the porters thru the so-called Employee Representation Plan, while on the other hand the Pullman porters have kept their side of the forced agreement, for instance, the Pullman Company agreed with the porters that "the right of seniority was sound, and would be respected in all assignments providing the porters assigned had fitness and ability." This agreement has been treated by the company as only another scrap of paper, for, since the efforts of the men to organize their own union began, the company has displaced veterans of the service of some of the choicest runs such as the Broadway Limited with untrained and inexperienced Filipinos. Another agreement between the porters and the company, which the latter has thrown by the board, is in Article 6, Section C, which says "There shall be no discrimination by the company or by any of its employees on account of membership or non-membership in any fraternal society or union." The porters' efforts to organize their own union is not a violation of this agreement.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is not concerned with communism or any other 'ism. Our cry is for justice through a union of our own. The other workers on the railroads of the country have and control their own organizations, why not the Pullman porters? We do not want to believe that the Pullman officials are taking the position that, because we are Negroes we are not men but children; we hesitate to come to such a conclusion though the evidence all points that way. We contend that through the brotherhood, the morals and efficiency of the porters will be increased; we hold too, that a continuation of the so-called Employee's Representation Plan will further undermine the spirit and destroy the efficiency of the Pullman porters.

As to the role being played by "Pats Perry" in this great struggle of the Pullman porters, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters considers it beneath its pride and dignity to pay more than a passing glance to the juvenile babble of this little Negro from the muds of Mississippi. The aroused manhood of the Negro race will deal with such hat-in-hand, me-too-boss Negroes and they will reap their just reward.

We are almost over the top and nothing now can stop the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters from writing the Emancipation Proclamation of the Pullman Porters of the United States.

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

dency to mob psychology, mob action and group intolerance which have become American characteristics, the Socialist Party during and after the war suffered from actual persecution and the so-called patriotic reaction, without enjoying the benefits that in Europe came from the swing of the pendulum. At the same time, I want to insist that today many Socialists suffer from an inferiority complex, born out of the war, but not justified by facts. Socialists ought to be proud of the war record of the Party. The Party was not disloyal. It was not pro-German. It knew in 1917 what every competent historian is declaring today; that the war was not a conflict between Allied right and German wrong, but between rival imperialisms with wrong on both sides. Ideally, we might have stated our case somewhat better than we did, but on the whole we have cause for pride. Moreover, the time has already passed when the professional hundred percents can turn our war record against us. Whoever hears of Archie Stevenson or what's his name Lusk today? In two campaigns—for governor of New York State and for Mayor of New York City—I discovered no evidence that my own opposition to the war was any considerable factor in keeping down our vote. It certainly was not the subject for adverse comment by press or public. Gene Debs is the better loved in America because of the magnificent stand which brought him to the Atlanta penitentiary and the marvelous spirit that he displayed there. In short, our war record is an asset and not a liability, and that is true even if for a variety of reasons we have not realized on that asset as rapidly as some of our comrades had hoped.

To sum up: The war in many parts of our country broke up our organization and turned fearful and half-hearted Socialists away from us. In some parts of the country, especially in the early days, it brought us an apparent but deceptive strength from the ranks of various anti-war groups. Many of our comrades have not yet recovered from the shock of the falling away of these "1917 Socialists." On the other hand, if it had not been for other and deeper forces, these obstacles could have been overcome and with the return of sanity our war record could have been made to speak for us rather than against us. We cannot go on making the war the scapegoat for our weakness that is due to other forces in American life and in our own ranks. One of those forces was the Communist split, and the effects of that I shall discuss in the next article. This article ends with the plea that we Socialists quit our backward look to the war days and, not forgetting the lessons of the war, courageously and intelligently tackle the tasks at hand.

## PEOPLE ARE LIKE THAT

**V**IEWING things by and large, we who write for The New Leader are just about as human as the average person in New York. We like good food, and certainly like happiness. Some people say that making other people happy is simply a selfish act. We are not going to quarrel with this statement because on Monday (when this is written) we are usually too tired to think in an argumentative manner. However what we are getting at is that inasmuch as we are not such bad people, why not make us happy occasionally. Particularly you should do this when it makes for your own happiness and contentment. Or, in other words, why not do us both a good turn? Before we ramble any more, let's make the plain, frank statement that you can make us happy by sending in a subscription or two. Do it today and we'll promise to jump for joy.

Of course, if you are situated like the correspondent whose letter follows it's quite another matter. But thousands of you with very little effort can help in building our circulation. Join the booster army and let's be on our way!

"I have been in the fight for many years past. I was with the old 'Appeal,' first with Wayland, then with Fred Warren, Gene Debs, et al. Then it degenerated into a capitalistic sheet—a medium for the sale of books to enrich its owners. Now I am old, down but not out. The K. K. K. burned me out in 1923. They burned my barn, 500 barrels of corn and three tons of hay. They burned my home and came near burning my wife and 70-year-old relative. I came here and was doing well till this year. We had 18 months' drouth, then followed 16 inches of rainfall in 48 hours, no corn, no cotton, no hay, no grass, and no nothing.

"I like The New Leader very much, and am enclosing my check for two dollars for a year's subscription. I am just one in a hill here. No chance for a sub here. Texas. A. T."

For obvious reasons we do not publish the name and address of our correspondent. Those of us who live in the large cities sometimes yearn for the quiet and peace of the open spaces. This man lives in a very small town. There can be no peace and happiness anywhere in the world as long as capitalism reigns, its ramifications are everywhere for the tenacles of Wall street and bigotry reach to the uttermost ends of the earth.

"Enclosed find money order for my renewal to The New Leader. I am sorry that I do not have a new subscriber at present, but will try and send one in the near future. When I ask some of the subscribers if they like the paper they generally say, 'It's fine, but I don't have much time to read,' and I know from my own experience that it's the truth, for the only time I have to read my paper is when everyone is in bed. Then I am so sore from a long day in the factory that it is hard for me to concentrate my mind on what I read. Most of the people are so busy finding fault with the coal miners that they don't look at a paper. They seem to think they are the only ones who are made to suffer, but if they had lived in the coal fields as many years as I have they would know that the hardships of the miners and their families are greater than a shortage of coal.

"Why should the coal miner sacrifice his life and his children's happiness in order that the people in the city can enjoy greater comfort? Perhaps if they were deprived of some of their pleasures and comforts they will in time learn to use their heads before they vote. It is not money, but ignorance, that is the root of all evil. I am working in a machine shop operating the same kind of a machine that the men do. They pay the women 32c per hour and the men get 50c, and they get a bonus if the company gives them a high enough percentage. Most of them lose out, however, although they have worked so hard and turned out more than their share of work. When they see their percentage mark is low, they try the next week, only to meet with the same results. If they would take time to think surely they could see that this bonus is only a bait for poor fish.

"One man asked me what we Socialists would do with the overtime worker. Well, if we get a true democracy the overtime worker will be the least of our troubles. He can work, but with the right kind of leadership he will soon find that overtime is not necessary. I take my papers to the shop with me because it gives me a good chance to get some of the workers to talk and I find just the right kind of a subject to talk on. I hope that other readers of The New Leader do likewise. Good news should be passed to others, that is why I give my papers to my friends. Elizabeth, N. J. A. R."

"Elizabeth, N. J. A. R."

Dear Rufus:—

This is to notify you that Henry Snodgrass intends to sue you for the death of his goat. He is firm in his mind that it's your column killed the poor animal. As far as that's concerned I sometimes feel a pain after reading it myself. Why not come home before you do further damage? Mary has come back to town and she is at her old job—waitress at the hotel. She will be at the dance Saturday evening. Now will you come home? Branchville, N. J. Bartholomew Depew.

"I have just come home and it has been a long time since I have seen a copy of The New Leader and am surprised at its growth. Very much pleased but you see I must leave in the summer for work. I left last March and just returned home. There is not much of a chance here as most of the workers say 'to hell with voting' but I have picked up a few members this summer. When I arrived home I found an armful of New Leaders and you can be sure I will go through all of them before I give them to my neighbors or mail them to someone. I just got home in time to get the last chance to enclose post office money order for three dollars for which send me two six months' sub cards and the big book offer. Please send me the address of The New Appeal." Marion, Montana. George Li Pinn."

Talking about people and things we declare to the world that although New York is now our abode (we married a New York girl, that's what keeps us here) the great outside, anywhere from this mess of noise and nervousness, is more appealing. We come from a small town and, far from being ashamed, glory in the fact. With the average New Yorker the sun sets and rises on Broadway. That's because of the appalling ignorance of the rest of the country. As a matter of fact the people, the humanitarians in this land, are not within the confines of the metropolis. Occasionally, of course, one wanders across a stray New Yorker who still has several drops of the milk of human kindness and courtesy but that's possible only with strength of character. We are the product of our environment and New York atmosphere, while it sometimes develops a veneer, does not build the best that's in all of us trying to blossom if it only has the chance.

All this is brought forth because we notice that our best subscription hustlers and those who write the most understanding letters do not come from the big city. The finest people and the best looking girls (with one exception) comes from outside. We are willing to debate this question in any hall at any time and with any one at any price. Let's hope this will make our New York readers sore as boiled ovals and they will retaliate by throwing at us bundles of subs to The New Leader. At this writing that's our platform so make the most of it.

Rufus Osborne.

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# CONCERNING CONFERENCES

WITHIN the last month, I have attended the sessions of three conferences each one of which is of national or world importance. Scarborough, Geneva, Liverpool. The Trades Union Conference of Great Britain, The League of Nations Assembly, The British Labor Party Conference.

Scarborough pushing eagerly, fearlessly forward; Liverpool pulling slowly, cautiously back; Geneva sitting, sitting, eternally sitting.

This last characterization is rather symbolic than accurate, for the League of Nations Assembly closed its sessions some days ago for the moment. But they will open again. They will sit again. Nothing they have done so far gives the remotest indications that they will do anything in the future. Thousands of speeches have been made, tons of literature have been printed. Little nations are admitted with a ceremony that mocks their actual importance, while larger nations smile at their impotence. The room seemed to me like a vast mausoleum in which wraiths of discarnate spirits busied themselves wearily with nothing. Mandates, minorities. Why string out a tiresome procession of words? They have uttered them ad infinitum. But what have they done? They have left the question of Mosul unsettled. Though they lift a warning finger at Turkey, their backs are turned on Morocco and the Rif war. Three of the world's great or near great nations stand outside of the fold: The United States, Russia and Germany. Like patience on a monument smiling at grief, they sit interminably on, unaware of their own futility.

Scarborough was different. It was not the diplomats of the world or their representatives who assembled there. It was the horny-handed sons of toil, the miners, railwaymen, transport workers, clerks, distributive workers, building workers, printers and textile workers of Great Britain. The men and women who produce what the rest of the world consumes. Their desire is a very simple one. They want to know why they fail to get the things they produce, why over two million workers are employed in Great Britain today, why the scourge of a great war swept the world ten years ago, and whether it will do so again. In order to answer these questions intelligently, they have studied economic theory, economic interpretation of history, industrial and social forces. With the university of life experiences their alma mater, they have met together to compare their views, and issue their ultimatum.

Their challenge was clear and unmistakable. We want trade relations with Russia. We want international trade union unity, among the workers as well as among the bankers of the world. We condemn the enslavement of the German workers by the Dawes plan, and urge its repudiation.

Their hopes are high. They have little to lose and much to gain. I was literally inspired with the vigor and determination, the faith, hope, and high courage of the delegates to Scarborough who have issued their mandate to the nation.

Liverpool was essentially different. One felt an attitude of caution pervading everything. Nothing rang out very clear. Nothing could in St. George's Hall. The communists kept jumping incessantly up like veritable

## Reflections on Geneva Liverpool and Scarborough

By Nellie Seeds Nearing

jacks-in-the-box, from the remotest and most unexpected corners, and were promptly suppressed. I thought of a nursemaid spanking a lot of naughty children. It was like a big family wanting to dress up and put on company manners before the nation. Ramsey MacDonald made an admirable father. He did not quite say "This will never do, my children," but he very nearly did. I resented his patronizing tone. But no one else seemed to object.

The desire of the executive was quite

clear. They wanted to show the nation that the Labor Party was not at all revolutionary, was committed to constitutional methods, and was quite a safe and sane party after all. They lulled the left wingers into almost complete acquiescence by the threat of calling them Communist, and presented a united front to the world, with Mr. MacDonald dominating it completely, perfectly, imperturbably.

There you have it. Scarborough, Liverpool, Geneva. What does or will it all mean? How much are the des-

tinies of race and of peoples settled by little groups of men sitting around a table or rostrum, fulminating at great length against this or that, passionately or dispassionately resolving to free themselves from the trammels that civilization has imposed? Much of it is obviously futile. Compared with the catastrophic forces of nature human efforts are tragically feeble and ineffective. The spirit of Scarborough will go on—for a while at least. It will stumble, perhaps fall. But if its torch is flung too high, its feet are on the ground. The spirit of Liverpool will lead them into office. But the price that they pay may rob them of the fruits of their victory. One conference in a century may leave a marked imprint on the destinies of men. But each one helps to mould the structure that mankind is eternally building.

## PIONEER YOUTH'S PROGRESS

WHY the labor movement, modern educators, the enlightened parents and the general public should be interested in the work of the Pioneer Youth of America was told to a large audience of representatives of trade unions, teachers and students, parents and children, who crowded the hall at the conference held at the Ethical Culture School, Tuesday, Nov. 17, to hear Prof. William Kirkpatrick of Teachers' College, Columbia University, Abraham Lefkowitz, chairman of the Educational Committee of the Central Trades and Labor Council, and Norman Thomas.

Motion pictures taken at the Pioneer Youth Camp in Pawling and at the extension camp at Lake Whaley last summer were shown for the first time. They showed the children from their morning bed making to their evening Campfire Meeting which was the democratic self-government body of the children.

Thomas J. Curtis, President of the Subway and Tunnel Constructors' International Union and vice-president of the New York State Federation of Labor, said in greeting the audience, "The object of Pioneer Youth is to bring closer to the child the ideals of the labor movement which is at present much misrepresented by the other agencies with which the child comes in contact."

The actual workings of Pioneer Youth through its two agencies—its summer camp for the past two years

### Prof. Kilpatrick, Norman Thomas, Praise Organization's Ideals

and its twenty-eight clubs maintained in all parts of New York City throughout the year was explained by Dr. Henry Linville, chairman of the meeting and chairman of the New York section of Pioneers, and Joshua Lieberman, executive secretary. The latter told of plans for a winter camp this Christmas week vacation and for two camps in New York and possibly one in Pennsylvania for next summer.

#### Norman Thomas Impressed

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Mayor in the last election, told of a visit to the Pioneer Youth camp last summer and said, "The only place where I ever saw a real election was in the Pioneer Youth meeting. There I actually saw boys and girls discussing issues and with real problems to discuss. It made me more optimistic than I ever have been about democracy in the belief that if you catch them young enough it may be possible to teach people to get together on a basis of their interests instead of personalities."

"The tragedy of the alienation of the second and third generation of workers children from their parents by the conscious and, as often, unconscious propaganda of the public schools which conveys to the child that it is better to be a go-getter, a booster, than to go out on strike for one's ideals and for better life for the workers, can only be relieved by familiarizing the children with the significance for social good in

the heroism that makes a worker undertake the sacrifices involved in any strike.

"Pioneer is bound to change the deplorable situation in which, while educated people are saying increasingly and the facts in Europe bear them out, that the hope of the world lies in the working class, education either ignores or prejudices adversely all whom it comes in contact with, toward all the history and activities of labor."

#### Praise From Prof. Kilpatrick

"Pioneer Youth is built on the fundamental principle that we want to develop what is in the child by letting them live rather than trying to cram down facts that may possibly be useful to the child in adult life later. And through activities that make life interesting to the child as a child it wins their interest in social welfare by showing them that happiness comes through co-operation with others and through their own activity. It is democratic and devoted to the same ideals for which the progressive labor movement is aspiring, and it, therefore, ought to be given the support of the labor movement," was the view expressed by Abraham Lefkowitz, member of the education committee of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council.

Professor William Kilpatrick of Teachers' College and foremost advocate of the newer education, in speaking on modern education and Pioneer Youth said, "Pioneer Youth gives the chance to practice the best modern educational methods. These cannot, unfortunately, be practiced in public schools. Pioneer Youth can start out fresh, can live up to the highest ideals of creative activity education. It is not held down by traditions or vested interests."

"Pioneer Youth can show us the kind of education that we want for our children and if labor continues the interest in education it has always had and if Pioneer Youth grows as we have a right to believe it will, it can be demanded of schools that they come up to the highest ideals of education. Meanwhile it can give to boys and girls the kind of thing the schools and even our homes are not giving—a chance to practice living the kind of life we believe in. Athletics, baseball, music, art handicrafts, an intelligent curiosity about social problems and a chance to be creatively active, can, through Pioneer Youth, come into the lives of the children of the working class."

The audience showed its interest in the work of Pioneer Youth many of whom joined as members of the organization and others offered their services as club leaders, hike leaders, story tellers, in dramatics, in music, in arts and crafts and voluntary office work.

### What's Doing in the Rand School

NEXT Thursday evening, Dec. 3, there will be a special lecture in the Rand School by Carl Sandburg, author of "Chicago Poems" and the "Rootabaga Stories." Sandburg is one of the little group of writers who are creating a distinctively American literature, not reshaping the themes of the past, but seeking to interpret present-day life, with its commercialism, its Babbity, its inarticulate discontents, its curious mingling of Puritan and pagan impulses.

The Rand School's class in Public Speaking begins next Tuesday evening at 8:30, with August Claessens as instructor. It is needless to emphasize the fact that the Socialist party and the whole Labor movement is woefully short of speakers—trained, efficient and convincing speakers. The Rand School is one of the few institutions in this country that seriously attempts to supply this need, and quite a number of able speakers prominent in the trade unions and in the Socialist party and in other labor and liberal movements all over the country have had their training in Rand School classes. This is the twelfth year of Claessens' experience in teaching the art of public speaking. He takes unusual care to assist any promising pupil to become an effective speaker.

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# ON THE ALTAR OF DAME FASHION

By Belle Kanter

ON THE altar of Fashion are frequently laid the well-being and safety of the workers, so important a relationship does style bear to industrial health. The sudden flare-up of a particular vogue often affects to no inconsiderable degree the lives of those employed in that industry.

For some years Dame Fashion, with her usual perverseness, has decreed that if a woman would be truly of the mode, she must wear a felt hat, not only the year 'round, but especially in the summer. The feminine nature dreads nothing more than being "out of style," so recent summers, no matter what the temperature, have found women everywhere setting forth on their various enterprises with felt hats pulled snugly down on the head.

The growth of the felt hat industry as a result of the demand, regardless of season, for this style of headgear, has been phenomenal. The hazards of this industry have increased proportionately.

## "Hatters Shakes" Widely Prevalent

The principal dangers incidental to the trades of hatters, furriers or fur cutters, and of hatmakers and finishers lie in the use of nitrate of mer-

cury, employed in the preparation of the fur for felting, and the presence of animal dust. A clinical study of one hundred hatters, fur workers and felt hatters made in Danbury, Conn., in 1921, revealed that forty-three of that number had unmistakable symptoms of mercurial poisoning or "hatters' shakes," so-called on account of its most typical symptom, tremors. Of these forty-three, five were considered to be severely affected, fourteen moderately, and in the remaining twenty-four in the early stages of poisoning.

Mercurial poison attacks and develops slowly, evidencing its presence in the system by inflammation and loosening of the gums, blackening and erosion of the teeth. Tremors convulse the hands, arms, facial muscles and tongue, and Dr. W. Gilman Thompson, one of the first American physicians to appreciate the importance of occupational diseases from the medical, social and economic point of view, in an article on Occupational Diseases in the Medical Record of January 31, 1914, states that some of these cases have been

so severe as to produce a senile dementia.

In the preparation of hatters' fur, preliminary to the making of felt hats, rabbit, coney, nutria and hare skins are used. Each skin is brushed or sprinkled with a solution of nitrate of mercury, a highly corrosive chemical which seems to be the only substance to affect the cut fur in such a way that the fibres become properly interlaced, producing a finer quality of felt. This is known as the "carroting" process, and mercurial poisoning is particularly prevalent in this department.

## Efforts to Eliminate Poison Fail

Though exhaustive chemical experiments and tests have been made in an attempt to find a non-poisonous compound which could be substituted for the dangerous nitrate of mercury in the "carroting" process, manufacturers claim that none of the felt obtained from the results was equal to that made with the mercury, so its use is being continued in all countries with the exception, possibly, of Russia.

A "no-nitrate" method was discovered by William Braun, a brush-maker, which eliminates the hazard of mercurial poisoning. It is claimed that this process has had a satisfactory trial of four years. Yet this non-toxic method is not used anywhere in the hatmaking trade.

The workers' hands, at some time or other, come in direct contact with the mercurial solution. Even when the dipping of the felt into the mercury is done by machine, each skin, dripping with the poison, must be removed by hand, and fissures and abrasions of the hands result. The skin turns a purpleish red and the nails become disfigured from constant contact with the hot chemical solution. Skin affections of all kinds are common.

Plucking machines with suction devices are used to clip the long hair of the hare skins, but the coney skins must be plucked by hand, and the workers stand in a mass of hair that is often many inches deep. The air is offensively thick with dust, and dryness of the throat and nose, chronic inflammation of the lungs, with resultant asthma and even tubercu-

losis are common among the workers.

The fur remaining on the felt after the long hair has been clipped or plucked is then treated with the nitrate of mercury solution. It is by this "carroting" process that the fibres are prepared to become tangled or matted so as to form the felt.

## Workers Deafened By Uproar

The carroting fur is then placed on trays in the drying rooms or ovens, and when the mercurial solution has been volatilized, a cutting machine shaves the hair from the pelts and deposits it on a metal plate. Girls sitting near sort out the clumps of hair of inferior quality. In a hygienic study of the hatters' fur trade made by Dr. Louis I. Harris, Chief of the Division of Industrial Hygiene of the New York City Department of Health in October, 1915, he found that the din and noise of these cutting machines was so great that only by standing very close and talking at the top of one's voice could the speaker be heard. It is not uncommon for the men and girls working in this depart-

ment to have badly impaired hearing. Some were totally deaf, but it was found that a two-day absence from work usually restored their hearing sufficiently to make it possible for them to converse with their families. The excessive heat of the drying rooms, dust and sudden variations of temperature cause congestion of the internal organs, pneumonia, neuritis and rheumatic affections, and, not infrequently, Bright's disease.

From the drying room, the picked fur, packed in bundles, is passed on to the hatter to be fashioned into felt hats.

The hatmaker puts the fur through a number of complicated processes. The fur is picked, mixed and separated in special machines, provided with tearing teeth. "Blowing" machines are employed to make the fur fluffy, and, by specific gravity, deposit it into graded bins. This process, despite the use of enclosed machinery, is very dusty, and a great deal of very fine dust, impregnated with nitrate of mercury, is given off. Many cases of mercurial poisoning originate at this stage. Then the fur is dipped in water so hot that the workman must protect the palms of his hands with leather shields. The felt is stiffened with shellac and subsequently treated with live steam for liquefying and distributing the stiffening. The shaping process, which is next, is accomplished by again dipping the hat in boiling water and placing over a block to be pulled into shape. Aniline dyes are then applied, though frequently logwood and madder are used. A last touch is put on by softening the hat with steam, and again pulling over a block for the desired shape, drying and singeing to remove superfluous hairs.

## When Fashion Says Felt Hats

Analyses of felt in different stages of hat manufacture to determine the processes in which the greatest amount of mercury is lost by vaporization, or by treatment with hot water, showed that the greatest loss occurs in the forming, blocking, shaping and pressing with hot irons, and that these operations may be regarded, therefore, as the most dangerous from the standpoint of mercurial poisoning. The menace of mercurial poisoning, however, is ever present, from the "carroting" of the felt until it is pulled into its final shape.

It is admitted in the industry that "mercury causes very frequent disability, but no one has yet found a cheaper or more satisfactory way of felting than with the mercury solution, and until a way is found, we will have to continue under existing conditions." This statement, of course, totally ignores the Braun "No-Nitrate" method, of which it has been said "only compulsory legislation could serve to introduce it into the industry."

Dr. Harris also found that the ignorance and recklessness of the workers often contributed an additional hazard. He cites the following:

"A workman whose function it was to place trays of carroting fur in the drying room before the latter was sealed and heated, when tired, would lock himself in the drying room to escape detection and take a brief nap. This was not a rare occurrence."

When Fashion says "felt hats," felt hats will her followers wear, blissfully ignorant of the penalties and hazards to which the workers in that industry are subject.

## A Child of Fortune

By J. A. C. Meng

IN compliance with the wish of the late William Jennings Bryan, his biography, written by himself up to the time of his death, and finished by his wife, is entitled, "A Child of Fortune." From an editorial in "The Christian Evangelist," of October 22, 1925, headed "A Christian Home," and citing the home of Mr. Bryan's father as a model, I quote the following:

"Our farm contained 520 acres in one block. My first business was to make a fire in the Franklin stove, and then go to the barn and feed the horses, cows and hogs. Then came the milking, and then breakfast. Sometimes we had a farm hand, and I played the part of assistant, but much of the time we did not have enough to justify the employment of a man in the winter time, and the burden fell on me. More than fifty years have passed since those days, and I can see myself engaged in this drudgery, my nose running, my fingers numb, and with feelings for which the Sunday school songs I knew did not furnish a fitting expression."

The editorial comment starts out: "This is a homely, but pleasing picture." The editor quotes at some length from the book, but this is enough for my purpose. I have not distorted the picture by my excerpts. What became of the "hand"? Was he turned out in the winter time to freeze? If he had retained his services to lighten the family drudgery, would the family have been impoverished?

A brief analysis of the above excerpt will show that Mr. Bryan was eminently correct in calling himself "a child of fortune."

The area of continental United States is (in round numbers) 2,000,000,000 acres. The population is (in round numbers) 100,000,000. This gives an average of twenty acres to each individual. Mr. Bryan's father's farm contained (in round numbers) 500 acres. Counting five members to the family gives an average of 100 acres to each individual.

When Mr. Bryan was Secretary of State he said he could not live on a salary of \$12,000 a year, and was compelled to sell himself to a Chautauque bureau in order to eke out a support for his family. Let us say his salary was (in round numbers) \$10,000 a year. Counting his family at five, the average income per member was \$2,000. An average income of \$2,000 a year for each individual in the United States

would aggregate an annual national income of \$200,000,000,000.

Mr. Bryan's estate was \$700,000. Let us say (in round numbers) \$100,000 for each individual member of his family. If the average wealth of each individual in the United States were \$100,000, the total wealth of the United States would be \$100,000,000,000,000.

I do not blame Mr. Bryan for playing the game to win. I am not envious of his success. But I do blame Mr. Bryan for pretending to serve God while serving Mammon, and for defending the status quo, in spite of his knowledge of its cruel inequality. "Blessed is he that condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth."

## Increasing Industrial Accident Caused by New York Employers

Increasing industrial fatalities in New York State cause Industrial Commissioner James A. Hamilton to caution employers and workers to exercise more care on the job. The latest industrial death figures show however that employers are more usually at fault than workers. There were 166 death claims filed in Workmen's Compensation offices in October.

One of the women workers killed was an actress whose stage manager made her dive into a shallow tank. Another was a ladies' garment worker who fell down an elevator shaft. Four building trades workers employed by one construction firm were killed when scaffolding upon which they were working collapsed, pitching them eight stories.

## With Death in the Dark

By George R. Kirkpatrick

IN 1923 there were 29,172 men carried home upon stretchers or hauled in ambulances from the anthracite collieries to their homes. In 1924 there were 30,241 men injured in the anthracite industry, out of a total number of 158,000 men involved. Since 1870 the anthracite industry has butchered 1,210,000 of our people in order that the wheels of industry might turn and that you and I and our fellow members of society might be kept warm."

President John L. Lewis, in The American Federationist.

Now, what banker, what member of a chamber of commerce, or of the American Manufacturers' Association, what member of a board of bishops, what distinguished jurists or eminent lawyers or great educators or brilliant editors—what one of these would daily for years risk his skin where the dice of life would be so heavily

loaded against him? President Lewis writes that, on the average, every man of the 158,000 men engaged in the anthracite industry loses twenty-five days every year because of injuries to himself or to his fellow workers. The fact is, Death has his lair in the coal mines. Death grins and sneers, Death laughs and howls through the gloom of the deadly mines.

Be on the watch. Presently an arbitration committee will be appointed to settle the strike. Fifty to one, reader, that committee will be overloaded, as usual, with men who will plausibly agree that the average miner's wage, \$4.62 per day, or a petty pittance more than that, is "about right" for the slaves who gamble with Death in the dark, "about right" for men who work in conditions so deadly that insurance companies scorn the idea of taking chances on the lives of the "four-sixty-two" slaves, lashed into the mines with the whips of starvation to be grinned at daily by Death in the dark. This \$4.62 is equal—in purchasing power—to about \$2.50 in 1914.

Four-sixty-two (about \$2.50) for slaving in the dark for crusts, chuck, chicory, shoddy, a cheap movie and a dull cabin; four-sixty-two for wrestling with Death in the dark; four-sixty-two for shaking dice with Death in the deep-down sunless galleries of the mines with mules and rats for companions; four-sixty-two for breathing gas and dust and daring Death in the dark—too dolefully dark for bankers too deadly dark for insurance companies, too solemnly dark for bishops, too awesomely dark for business men; four-sixty-two for tolling while waiting to be kissed by lipless Death in the dark!

Four-sixty-two is capitalism. Four-sixty-two for grappling with Death in the dark—this, approved by 250,000 churches, is capitalism.

Four-sixty-two for the wage-slaves' daily gamble with Death—this, supported by the press; this, supported by the forum; this, supported by the Christians, spineless, emasculate, cringing crew—this, all of this, is capitalism. This four-sixty-two, thus certified by cultivated cowards, this, all of this, is capitalism.

There is death in the dark for the miners, that's true, sadly true.

But also there is death in the souls of the prideless "proud" who certify the four-sixty-two for the miners and thus help fasten the four-sixty-two-and-defeat upon the lives of the miners who struggle with Death in the dark, and upon the lives of their hopeless wives and their helpless little children.

Maddened and blinded with profits as its first purpose, society has been stung in the heart, stung by Death, in the dark—spiritually stung in a darkness more terrible than the clammy gloom of the mines. Society already begins to pay. The unborn must pay, will certainly pay in full the debt of a nation, the debt incurred by the richest on earth, forcing a helpless man to fight with Death in the dark—for four-sixty-two—and with solemn lies and pious piffle pronouncing it "about right."

BLANCHE WATSON.  
New York, N. Y.

## The New Leader Mail Bag.

British Labor Protest.  
Oct. 31, 1925.

Editor The New Leader:  
I am instructed to forward to you a resolution adopted by this local party, and sent already to your Secretary of State and to our Home Secretary.

"That this party protests that Mr. Saklatvala should by an absurd pretext be prevented entering the U. S. A. It also protests against the force of our government taking orders from or accepting the views of the Conservative press of this country."

To repeat Mr. Saklatvala's own words: "Is America afraid of the truth?"

W. BACKHOUSE.  
Secretary, Putney, Southfields and Roehampton Divisional Party.

Our Four Governments.

Editor, The New Leader:  
I enjoy your entertaining paper, showing up real facts. Stick to the truth no matter how bitter and your cause cannot but succeed.

Over and over "Columbia, the Gem of the Nation" turns in my mind, for summed up, we in the United States have four governments. (1) A government of the people, for the people, by the people, is deeply educated into impressionable minds, as school children, we take it for granted, just as we took religion (an opiate). It has lulled us to sleep. (2) We have a government by bureaucracy, with interests distinct from those of the people. "Wherever bureaucracy is established, it has its organs in the seat of government, but first of all in the police power." It is what is known as "invisible government." Ask the surgeon, now struggling with the Czarism of the War Department, Mr. Mitchell, struggling with Czarism in Navy-government nurses with trumped up charges, struggling to free themselves

from the "smirch" of "smuggling liquor"—ask any local police officer—fighter of fire department, or postoffice employee as to terroristic methods employed in all government, channels, municipal, state or federal, and if you can gain their confidence and they can be sure there are "no spies" they will tell you a story that sounds more like old Russia than America. (3) We have an Oligarchy, or a government of the rich—for the rich—by the rich, and for insight read Fred Townsend Martin's "Passing of the Idle Rich." The idle rich may be passing, but the scheming rich—never! (4) We have the most harmful, most insidious, most subtle of all governments in a controlled united press. Ask any President if the press in America doesn't form one of the four governments in the United States, doesn't make and unmake big men, big issues.

Ask me, and I'll say we, the United States, are a mess. The time is ripe for a turnover. We look to you to send a clarion call to waken the dulleards to the fact that in a great way all four governments are linked up. England says "America has lost her soul." "Oh, poor Columbia."

Englewood, N. J.

A READER.

More for Mr. Smithers

Editor The New Leader:  
A letter like that of Thomas Smithers, foolish though it appears on the face of it, inspires me to try to show the other side of the question of which he sees only his side and that, not clearly or correctly.

My people back as far as 1630 were "law-abiding citizens" of this country (as I am), though they were individualists and I am a Socialist. For Mr. Smithers must remember that a lot of water has passed under the bridge since our colonial period, and new ideology and new methods must of necessity mark the activity of our time that the Socialist of today is the high-water indication of what he calls patriotism, of what was called patriotism in the time of George Washington.

Mr. Smithers will see that I go back of the date he sets, 1912, when the fight for the freedom he now enjoys was already won. The point I want to make is that there would have been a question as to the "law-abiding" quality of some of them, however, about the time when the people of the colonies felt it their duty to clear themselves of the oppressive rule of England. To the Smithers of those days, my ancestors—for instance—who took part, even in the preliminary

frases of the Revolution (capital "R" if you please)—were of a piece with the Socialists of today—only of far worse (?) stuff. They were not only dissatisfied with the established order of things—they agitated for a change, and they not only agitated they fought for it and they even shed blood in the process of the fighting. The dissatisfied of today—these Socialists whom Mr. Smithers cannot abide (or understand) pin their faith to the ballot—the law of the land. How comes it that they do not belong in the class of law-abiding folk along with Mr. Smithers?

And my ancestors kept on being dissatisfied, and they continued to be agitators—yes, and "traitors." That is just what King George and the Smithers sort called them; and if the government (which means the British reactionaries of that day) could have laid hands on them, they would have hung them as high as Mr. Smithers doubtless would like to hang all Socialists—particularly those who edit the LEADER; and they, after a time—continuing into that affair of 1812, which confirmed what the years between 1777 and 1781 secured in the way of liberty for this country—made the United States of America the free country of which Mr. Smithers and his sort would be sole custodians. May I suggest that Mr. Smithers read the Bill of Rights, and then read some of Lincoln's "patriotic" statements, and then he will understand that I or he or the newest-made citizen of this country—not many years out of Russia—has full right to agitate for something better, and to work for by constitutional means, i.e., by the ballot, to bring it about.

As for the Rockefeller, etc., who climbed to the top because "they worked hard and believed," one of my great-uncles got to be a multi-millionaire for the same reason added to the fact that he was miserly and mean, hogish and heartless, but none of my cousins nor my brother have done as much. Times have changed, Mr. Smithers, minds have changed (and enlarged), hearts have changed—for the better.

Socialism today is the philosophy of those who love all humanity and would set it truly free—freed of the shackles of wage slavery and the consequent ills that go along with it. The New Leader speaks for such men and women—not for the Fords, above, not for the Smithers at the subsistence level.

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# “US POOR IDIOTS”

By Paul Sifton

HERE is a thinker gone berserk. Page on page he throws the entire history of man's life on earth around in big hunks, spitting on protective tariffs, Socialism, equal opportunities, charity, humane agencies, wars, class distinctions based on money, religions, alcohol, smoking, the hush-mush about venereal diseases, circumcisions and other mutilations demanded by "civilized" and "savage" societies, deforestation, fashions and jewels, the stuffed shirts of great men, the hope of "perfecting the human larva which is already retrogressing," and last, our silly fear of death and our painful methods of fighting it off at the cost of useless pain to the victim.

Like any man on a rampage, he fights himself, contradicts himself, falls over his own thoughts, but, taking the book altogether, it is the last despairing cry of rage and grief of a man who loves his fellows and is heart sick because they will not learn, will not turn from their immemorial lunacies to the still small voices of the philosophers, the scientists, the physicians and the small band of us who are sane.

We think we are sane, don't we, you and I? Richet admits he is slightly touched with the world-wide idiocy. He smokes.

## A Few of His Blows

Here are a few of the blows he lays about him as he goes:

"We have seen Tears (who were astounding imbeciles); Emperors (who were astounding lunatics); Kings (who were arrogant robbers); reigning without compunction over millions of human slaves.

"This absolute subjection to one master would be extravagant enough if he were a great man, a Pascal, a Rembrandt; a Leonardo da Vinci; a Galileo; a Columbus; a Leibnitz; a Kant; a Hugo. But in reality not one of these noble spirits has ever had any share of power. They have been men of genius—merely that—and as such they have remained isolated among the blind and ignorant mob. The boundless stupidity of human communities has denied them any authority, while idolizing the half-witted.

"But social inequalities go far beyond the dwellings of princes. They penetrate the remotest hamlets and filter into the lowliest hovels. There are everywhere two classes of men, distinguished by the greater or smaller sum of money at their command. The rich have taken the place of the nobles; the vast mass of the poor represent the serfs. The plutocracy is ousting the aristocracy. Nothing is more lawful than acquired wealth; nothing is more iniquitous than hereditary wealth.

"I, myself, am not mad and presumptuous enough to suggest a system of reform and to add yet another book to the vast literature of social economy, which is already of such rank, yet barren, growth. I shall carefully avoid this aberration. Even were I able to offer a flawless system of deductions and arguments based on profound research (which I cannot do), I could not possibly bring about the ideal reform of my dreams. Men, with their passions, their self interests, their follies, would very soon have reduced my whole conception to dust. It would be only one more worthless book.

## Doesn't Find Any Hope in Socialism

"Do not let us make the mistake of supposing that, as a remedy for these blatant inequalities of the good old days, the Socialist system could ever be in harmony with the dimly perceived ideal. Ye Gods! The principle of

"IDIOT MAN, OR THE FOLLIES OF MANKIND. By Charles Richet. Translated by Norah Forsythe and Lilyd Harvey. New York: Brentano's, \$2.

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"The Equality Complex"  
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## The Despairing Cry of Rage and Grief at the Stupidity of Man

socialism is to impose the same yoke on all men without giving any pre-eminence to the good or brave. A strange ideal of progress which crushes out all intellectual superiority!

"If, unfortunately, the Socialist creed were adopted by future generations, we should witness iniquities differing in kind but not in degree from those with which we are familiar."

Here is his picture of war, as contrasted with science, after chronicling the millions of dead, maimed, starved, grief-stricken since 1915:

"Humanity is like a sultan who has two wives. One is young, beautiful and healthy, radiantly graceful and sweet, with a musical voice, dazzling charms and eyes alight with tenderness and love. To her husband she gives pleasure, mirth and serenity. She is Science. The other wife is a dirty old hag, abject, bleary-eyed, a walking skeleton. She has only a few scanty tufts of grey hair, thick with vermin; toothless jaws and foetid breath, a body ravaged by disgusting ulcers and covered with filth. She is violent, full of lies and fury, given to fits of frenzied rage; she foams and bites. She roars instead of speaking. Even from afar she stinks. She is War.

"And yet, nevertheless, she is the favorite wife of this egregious fool. He decks her with his most precious jewels, and robes her in the most sumptuous stuffs. He inhales her deadly breath and presses his lips to her decaying gums; he licks her festering sores; he kisses her foul feet; he swoons with love before this sinister creature and compels the other to be her abject slave. Oh, men of taste! How will you judge this Sultan?"

## A Book That Stimulates

You can't find greater fluency than

that in the Bible. Old Testament or New, I can't resist quoting one more passage, telling you before it starts that, with all its faulty logic, its contradictions, "Idiot Man" is a book to get and keep by you, for stimulation in time of need.

"Again, let us imagine a wealthy landowner, a fortunate amateur, who has a splendid collection of pictures, statues and books. And lo! one day the whim seizes him to destroy them. With hatchet, torch and bomb, he smashes them to bits, and he pursues his task with such burning enthusiasm that at sunset nothing remains of all his former wealth but broken fragments. Then, as if repentant (but with no real repentance) he quenches the fire and lays aside his axe. He tries as best he can, to restore the ruined pictures and to snatch from the flames a few crumbs of his former wealth. But he only succeeds in recovering an infinitesimal fraction of that which he has willfully and energetically destroyed.

"This is just what the surgeon does who strives on the evening after a bloody battle to save a few of the dying." During the day fifty thousand young men have been mortally wounded and all night long he tries to save two hundred of them. It is a dreary farce!

And of death:  
"Man cannot boast of his intelligence until he knows how to contrive a serene death. I should like the dying man, lying on his bed, his pain soothed by strong narcotics, to talk smilingly and without bitterness of his approaching end, and to be able to see the emotion of those around him with a certain tranquillity."

Yes, dear old man, yet you, when you come to die will be troubled, solicitous for us, poor idiots. You are a professor of physiology for a living, but in your real life, your maddening round of hopeless thoughts, you remind me somehow of another dear old man, a man you'd call impractical, too soft-hearted, Eugene Victor Debs.

# SHELLEY AND SOCRATIC LOVE

By Clement Wood

THIS is an effort on the part of two Englishmen, using some comprehension of certain aspects of Freudian psychology, to establish that the essence of Shelley's love nature was homosexual. Its absurdity as even pseudo-science is indicated by these words of Carpenter's:

"I need only refer . . . to Adonais in which the definitely portrayed and glorified object of the poem is a Man. In all these cases (I need hardly say) sex and the sex-contacts which play so conspicuous a part in quite modern literature, are kept well in the background."

If Carpenter is not deliberately trying to deceive, he indicts his thinking wretchedly. Adonais is an elegy on the death of Keats. Keats and Shelley were hardly on terms of politeness; Shelley's invitation to the dying Keats to visit him in Italy had been pushed aside, and in his answer Keats had gratuitously added unwelcome advice concerning Shelley's poetry which Shelley must have resented; and Shelley, for his part, liked only Hyperion of Keats's published work, ignoring the great odes and other splendid work. Moreover, Keats disliked Shelley because of his noble ancestry; Keats being a belligerent commoner, son of a stableman, who "regarded every man

"THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE POET SHELLEY. By Edward Carpenter and George Barnefield. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.00.

## A Consideration of Essence of the Poet's Love Nature

of rank as his born enemy," to quote a trustworthy intimate of the Leigh Hunt circle. How could, in such an elegy to a man who was hardly a friend, "sex and the sex-contacts" come in at all? The poem does not glory "a Man," to use Carpenter's absurd italics, in the sense that it extols physical love for a man. If this is the best evidence Carpenter and Barnefield can offer, the case may as well be thrown out of court in advance.

This is not the best evidence; and its deceptive inclusion is a pity. Barnefield is a much finer thinker, although he is blind to much of the evidence in the case. He does not bring out that every man has a "repressed homosexual component," just as every woman has; since one of the inerrant errors of childhood is to equip male and female alike, father and mother alike, with the sex of the child considered; who at the beginning can not know the differentiation into sex. Barnefield is right in this generalization:

"All through his poetry we find the same quest for an unreal ideal woman, who is at once a sister, a friend, a leader of men, and a sexual mate."

A sister . . . Byron shrined sister-love in his verse, and the evidence points to a physical affair which his half-sister, Augusta Leigh; Shelley

By James Oneal

FOR some reason, perhaps best known to the professional economists who have killed Marx as often as the bourgeois press burned Leningrad, Marx refuses to remain dead. No other man that ever lived influences the thought and action of so many millions of workers today as this man Marx whom the bourgeois economists have "killed" time after time. In fact, Marx is so powerful that there is danger of making him a saint and of transforming his economic theories into a religious cult. Should Marx become a saint he will become useless. When you raise a man to sainthood his followers cease to think and when thinking ceases it is time to call the undertaker.

There have been a number of attempts to popularize Marx by trying to abridge the first volume of "Capital," but with little success. It has been said of Aveling's "The Student's Marx" that now that Aveling explained Marx it was necessary for somebody to explain Aveling. Deville's "The People's Marx" was a more successful attempt at popularization, but it suffered from following the plan of Marx's work too literally. Years ago Karl Kautsky wrote a popularization of "Capital" and a translation of this book from the twenty-second German edition now appears in an English edition with certain revisions which bring it down to date.

## Kautsky Achieves Popularization

Why an English translation has never been made before is beyond our comprehension. On the whole Kautsky follows the plan of "Capital," but he does not follow the literal text as Aveling and Deville did and at the same time he has achieved his ob-

\*THE ECONOMIC DOCTRINES OF KARL MARX. By Karl Kautsky. Translated by H. J. Stenning. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$2.00.

shrined sister-love in his verse from the start. Barnefield ignores any adequate explanation of why he holds that "sister" to Shelley meant a man. It is highly probable that sister to Shelley meant sister.

It is clear that Shelley had a "repressed sexual component" in his nature, and had something of a bisexual nature. Every man and woman has the former; it is possible that every great poet has the latter. Byron, heterosexual physically if one ever lived, was as strongly homosexual in minor passages as Shelley in similar minor passages; but he was not an "invert," nor was Shelley (although Barnefield so calls him). Shakespeare and Whitman are two outstanding examples of the fact that the poet, to speak for humanity, must embrace within himself both man and woman. Shelley was a feminized man; but such a man may be wholly satisfied with a masculinized woman, and have no excessive "suppressed homosexual component." The root of Shelley's difficulty lay in his suppressed love for his sister—a flame that burned brightly in him to the end. If Barnefield had understood the continuing presence of this, and the way it overshadowed the Socratic note, his book would have had far more value.

## Kautsky and W. H. Emmett in Books on the Father of Socialism

ject of popularization where others have failed. The result is a book of unusual merit, one that will be welcome to those who have found some sections of Marx's work difficult to master. Kautsky confines himself to an exposition of Marxian economics, making only a casual reference here and there to Marx's philosophy of history, but often resorting to an economic interpretation of some phase of history to bring out some point stressed by Marx. The result is a simplification of Marx's analysis of the economics of capitalism without sacrificing scientific accuracy, certainly the most difficult thing for any writer to attempt. Here and there Kautsky resorts to an apt illustration, just as Marx does occasionally, to clarify some particularly difficult economic problem and in this he is very effective. This is especially true of the sections devoted to the fetishism of commodities and an analysis of money, two subjects that are very difficult for students to grasp.

Those who may be studying Marx or who intend to make a study of his economics should add this work to any others they are using or intend to use. It will be of enormous help to them while the veteran Socialist who has not read the original German should by all means get a copy of this English translation.

## "An Elementary Primer" By W. H. Emmett

W. H. Emmett was formerly a member of the Socialist Labor Party of Australia and twenty years ago he took up the work of making a minute study of Marx's "Capital," reading the British and American editions carefully, as well as the special books written by Untermyann, Boudin and others, and the more fragmentary work of the late Daniel DeLeon as it appeared in editorials and pamphlets. The result is a very interesting book\*\* that will arrest the attention of all who are interested in the writings of Marx. He appears to have read the American and British editions line by line, noting typographical errors in the text and footnotes of both, showing in some cases where words have been dropped and not caught by proofreaders, thus changing the meaning of a sentence or a paragraph, and at the same time attempting to do what Kautsky has done.

The book is intended as an elementary primer in Marxian economics and as such has certain merits. Certainly, an enormous amount of work has gone into its preparation. He was induced to take up this work because of what he believed to be frequent misunderstanding by DeLeon of certain phases of Marxism and which was repeated by S. L. P. organs in Australia. As he got deeper into the work he included an examination of the books of Aveling, Untermyann, Boudin and a few others. Emmett does not hesitate to point out an occasional slip in the use of words by Marx which, however, may be due to inaccurate translation. For example, we find this footnote on page 54: "Marx has it as 'expenditure of human brains, nerves, and muscles,' but this is not absolutely correct. Labor is the expenditure of energy or force from these physical parts."

Examples of his minute scrutiny of the British and American editions will

\*\*THE MARXIAN ECONOMIC HANDBOOK AND GLOSSARY. By W. H. Emmett. New York: International Publishers. \$3.25.

be found on page 92. There in a footnote we read: "In this paragraph the wrong term 'exchange-value' appears instead of the correct term 'value.' The same error occurs on the twelfth line of p. 105 (fifteenth line of p. 145 in Kerr's edition), and again on the eleventh line of p. 106 (twelfth line of p. 146 in Kerr's)." The author certainly took his job seriously for these corrections are found on many pages throughout the book.

The book itself follows literally the plan of Aveling and Deville although it is more expanded than either of their books and is a better explanation of Marx's economics. Nevertheless, he attempts to follow Marx's text too closely with the result that the popularization falls short of that achieved by Kautsky. One invaluable feature of the book, however, is a complete glossary of 700 words and translations of quotations from other languages to be found in "Capital" itself. As for the merit of its criticisms of a number of writers on Marx, and especially a few in this country, it would take us too far afield to consider them. It is a book which the student of Marx will find stimulating in that it arrests his attention on almost every page.

## SAD READING

WHAT will the next war be like? To the great amount of speculation on this subject, Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart adds his bit in a little book called "Paris, or the Future of War," published by E. P. Dutton & Co. in their series called "Today and Tomorrow Series." These small books costing one dollar apiece, have caused widespread comment, in particular Bertrand Russell's miniature masterpiece, "What I Believe."

Capt. Hart's work is a companion piece to one by J. B. S. Haldane's "Calculus," which explained the nature and future of gas warfare. The author goes to work in a cold-blooded way to study the best method of conducting the next war. He challenges the old doctrines of Europe's militarists, which called for the mass destruction of rival armies on the field, and contends that the next war will be won by striking at the economic existence of civilian populations, which is a cheerful proposition for those of us who had comfortably figured that we would stay at home during the next war. His book makes sad reading for a pacifist.

McAlister Coleman.

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# IS BRITISH LABOR GOING TO THE LEFT? :-

By Rennie Smith, M. P.

**W**HAT are the factors in the immediate situation with which we need to reckon? There is first the cumulative social effect of between one and two million adult wage earners who for the last five years have not been able to find work in the British system. Capitalist employers have been doing their best, according to their lights, to deal with this problem. They have no permanent interest in having a sullen and discontented crowd hanging around. Besides, they want profit. But notwithstanding all their efforts and work the most powerful of Conservative governments of modern times to back up their endeavors, the situation this year has gone steadily from bad to worse. Every week this year the Board of Trade has had to announce to Premier Baldwin an increase of unemployment.

Next there is the situation in the mining industry, the general industrial crisis out of which Great Britain has just emerged. Emerged, not with any solution, but with a shaking and an eight months' truce. Meanwhile, the Prime Minister has produced an interregnum of state interference of the worst kind within a basic industry.

He has acknowledged that capitalism cannot stand on its own feet in the mining industry.

## Capital's Breakdown In Coal Mining

He has proclaimed from the house-tops that capitalism in Britain's primary industry has broken down. That it can not and will not deliver the goods. And after making this momentous and public declaration he surprised himself and the nation with his venture into state altruism. The mining industry is sick, he said. It is affected with a palsy. Very well, let the state be the doctor. Let the state be the milch cow.

And we have the spectacle in Britain of an eight months' settlement of a threatened industrial upheaval by pouring out, without restraint or condition, millions of dollars of public money into the devouring, profit-seeking jaws of a sick, uneasy, unhappy mining industry.

What will happen next? Organized labor has pulled itself together for a defensive struggle. Eight months is a short time. Meanwhile, unemployment is growing. Employers have nothing hopeful to predict for British industry this coming winter. Everywhere is the knowledge that the struggle will be

## The Socialist Left of the English Movement, In the Ascendancy, Bars Communist Advances

renewed again. This is point number two in the leftward situation.

### Two Recent Labor Congresses

There can be added to this large, formative, underlying social condition the evidence of the two recent congresses in Great Britain—the Trade Union Congress at Scarborough and the Labor Party conference at Liverpool.

It is said that the decisions as to the shop steward movement in Scarborough and the effort to arm a general council of trade unions with new powers for handling a general strike situation is a proof of a triumph of the left. And, it is pointed out, see what a big part the Communists played in the Liverpool conference.

And lastly, I am asked: How do you explain the growing publicity which the capitalist press give the Communists; how do you explain the Home Secretary's tightening of regulations against the Communists; how to explain the exclusion of Saklatvala from America and the interest which the Daily Mail and the Morning Post had in this event; how do you explain the coming out into the open of the British Fascist movement and the organization of Tory, right-wing diehard groups; how do you explain all these growing manifestations of the philosophy of violence in any other way than that British labor is drifting to the left?

Words Are Deceptive  
My first answer is that we need to save ourselves from being the victims

of a phrase. What do we mean by "going to the left"? Society, social institutions, economic, political, social and educational relations are always changing. Society is moving. Not all the king's horses can stop that.

But in what direction is society moving? Take our British industrial society over the last 100 years. Read the story of industrial conditions taken from government blue book, and put together, for example, in Vol. I of Marx's "Das Kapital." Workhouse, children 5 to 10 years old; 12, 15, 18 hours a day in the new factory system; miserable wages; trade unions prohibited; filthy sanitary conditions; housing a plague of disease. This was 100 years ago—not in Bombay or China, but Great Britain. And today? There is the 10-hour day, the 8-hour day, a whole system of industrial law to defend the conditions under which labor can be used; there are minimum wage acts; workers' compensation acts; dangerous trade acts; a vastly improved standard of living; there is a trade union movement five million strong, not only recognized, but a formative and creative institution in present day British industry. How is this great "movement" of a century of British labor to be described? It is certainly not "standing still." It is certainly not a move "to the right."

### What Does a Move To the Left Mean?

Or take the political situation. One hundred years ago British politics was dominated by an ancient landlord aristocracy. They were the governors by ancient habit and custom. The governors "by divine right," as they said,

of Britain. The wage earners were both illiterate and voteless. They were not citizens. The idea of making them citizens was unfamiliar to man's ears. And today? Not only has a second great political party since then—the Liberal Party, the party of 19th century, industrialism, risen to power—and exhausted itself—but the working class has won voting power; it has, after a long period of relatively fruitless political experiment, gone into politics on its own account. It has given birth to an independent labor party in politics. It has struggled with this idea for 40 years. It has passed from being a solitary Keir Hardie on the floor of the House of Commons to a party which has once exercised the power of government, which today is His Majesty's official opposition party in the state, a party which has the consent of more than five million voters; a party which is proving itself and which is preparing for the large issues of the future.

### The Direction Of Progress

How is this great movement in British politics to be described? If this growth of the power of Labor in industry and politics during the last century is a "movement to the left," why then, it is a movement to the left. In this philosophic sense it is the direction of Socialism. It is the direction of the raising up of everything which has human worth. It is the direction which all except animals and fools must go.

That is the first general answer. History will carry the Labor Movement in Great Britain further along

the path which the 19th century marked out. Both in industry, politics and education, Labor's policy and influence will make itself increasingly felt. In this sense, Labor will continue its steady march towards the left.

But we use the word "left" in these days with another meaning. We think not of the great creative forces which proceed continuously from the "left wing" of the Labor and Socialist movement, from all those, in short, whose chief part in life it is to handle new ideas, to be incessantly permeating the greater movement as a whole with the consciousness and the ideas of Socialism and how Socialism can, by the growing consent of minds, be progressively realized.

### When "Left" Means "Communist"

We think rather to the left of this creative left. We think, that is to say, of the Communist party. At this point the question becomes: Is British Labor going Communist?

That which gives and necessarily gives Communism a separate organization is the teaching of the use of military force and the method of enforced dictatorship as a means of social progress. These are the goods distinctive of Communism. The answer of the British Labor and Socialist party to this doctrine can leave no one in doubt. It is a confusion of thought to claim the Shop Steward Movement as a triumph for Communism. The Shop Steward is a normal part of the Trade Union movement. He and his place in trade union structure were discussed by trade unionists and Socialists before the specific doctrine of Com-

munist had given rise to even the smallest Communist movement in Great Britain. There is nothing of a violent revolution in discussing what duties the representative trade unionists "in the shop" shall have.

Similarly, the question of the powers of a general council, is 20 years old—in discussion at least. It is a matter of ordinary development and logic that trade unions have purposes which can only be realized by common action. Just as a trade and labor council does the local work for all trade unions as defined in its constitution, so there is a real need and a real scope for a national trade union organ to deal with national problems and national emergency. For 20 years the question of how much power, and what should be the duty of such a council, has been actively discussed. What is now taking place in British trade unionism is a normal extension of a development which has been taking place for a century.

### Distinction Between Left Wing and Communism

There is a vast difference between a "left" which appeals for the method of forceful revolution and the left which appeals to the method of education of social intelligence, of the strengthening of the corporate power of the trade unions and the political movement until they become, by consent, in some real sense, the will of the people and carry with them the majesty of law.

British Labor is willing to use every endeavor of persuasion and reason to win for itself the consent of a majority of its citizens to work out the program of labor and Socialism in the cause of the 20th century. But it is not willing to force that process at the point of the sword. That is why Liverpool overwhelmingly repudiated the characteristic Communist method. The possibilities of the British Labor party in the 20th century are unbounded by following the methods of the constitution, the methods the British workers have followed with such success for 100 years, they can win supreme political power; they can, in the name of the constitution, enforce the law against the opposition of all minorities, however powerful, which seek to violate that law. It can be the organized consent of the people, with the active co-operation of all who believe in Labor's policy for the 20th century, build up a new social order.

British Labor is going to the left. Without that intelligent, devoted, morally earnest and Socialist left, British Labor would be poor indeed. Education, experience, growing power, the necessity of life and evolution—all take the movement in this direction. It is going left. That is also why it is not going Communist.

## LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

Women Meet—Appeal for Italians—U. S. Carpenters Welcomed—Aid for Bombay Strikers—Diamond Workers' Convention—Toward Yugoslavian Unity—A Merrheim Passes

### Trade Union Women Meet

The first meeting of the International Committee of Trade Union Women of the International Federation of Trade Unions was held in Amsterdam, Nov. 3 and 4, with all members present. They are Helene Burniaux (Belgium), Jeanne Chevenard (France), Henriette Crone (Denmark), Gertrud Hanna (Germany) and Mary Quail (Great Britain). Following lengthy discussions participated in by Johann Schassenbuch, one of the secretaries of the I. F. T. U., who acted as chairman, a number of resolutions on various timely problems were adopted. Among these was one urging the men members of trade unions to devote more effort toward getting their fellow women workers into the unions. It is pointed out that modern industrial conditions are forcing women into shops and offices in ever increasing numbers and that many of them never get out again. Consequently, these women need the trade unions just as much as the men and experience has shown that where earnest attempts at organizing them are made success is assured. The committee intends to limit its activities to things of interest to women workers or having special bearing upon women's problems.

### Appeals for Italian Unions

Protest against the Fascist Government's violation of the right of association in Italy, as exemplified by the recent ukase forbidding employers from recognizing any but Fascist so-called labor organizations, has been

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lodged by the International Federation of Trade Unions with the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. This matter was brought up at a meeting of the Governing Body of the I. L. O. by several labor members, but Albert Thomas, Director of the I. L. O., stated that technically the Labor Office could only complain to a country regarding violations of a ratified labor convention. The sentiment of the members of the Governing Body seemed to favor putting a draft convention on the right of association on the agenda of one of the coming conferences of the International Labor Organization. In the meantime the labor members will keep up their agitation for their Italian comrades in their struggle against the Mussolini dictatorship.

### American Carpenters Welcomed

In announcing that the Executive Committee of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America had authorized President Hugheson to complete its affiliation with the Woodworkers' International, effective from Jan. 1, next, the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U. expressed the hope that "in time the affiliation of the American wood workers with their International Trade Secretariat will be a means of strengthening the bonds between the A. F. of L. and the I. F. T. U." The addition of the nearly 350,000 members of the United Brotherhood will bring the membership of the Woodworkers' International up to close to the million mark. Its headquarters is in Amsterdam and C. Woudenberg is international secretary.

### Help For Bombay Strikers

The organized workers of the West are coming to the aid of their hard pressed brothers in India. On Sept. 15 an attempt by the owners of the cotton mills in Bombay to cut the already starvation wages of the workers brought 20,000 men out on strike. The number of strikers increased quickly and there are now 150,000 out of a total of 166,000 employed in the Bombay textile industry, standing out. The All-India Trade Union Congress sent a telegram to the International Federation of Trade Unions, asking for international relief. Although the Indian trade unions are not yet affiliated with the I. F. T. U., the Executive considered that the appeal should be answered and a relief action organized. The All-India Trade Union Congress has made good progress within the last few years, and is doing everything it can to improve the wretched lot of the Indian workers, and its efforts have already met with success in some cases.

The I. F. T. U. has already wired a

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sum of money to India from the funds at its disposal as a token of the solidarity of its affiliated organizations. It has now asked the National Centers to place further means at its disposal, which it can transmit immediately by telegraph to India. The first national organization to respond to the appeal from India was the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress, which has issued a pressing appeal to its members, in which it emphasizes the fact that the support of the Far Eastern workers by the European unions is not only an act of solidarity, but of self-preservation. The strikers are holding out bravely, and although a number of them were forced by sheer necessity to take the cut wages due to them for September, for the most part they are determined not to resume work. Many have left Bombay for their villages. The expectation that the men who had already left for their homes would come back after the Diwali holidays, and that their return would help to end the present deadlock, has not been realized. The Committee of Assistance, consisting of the representatives of the seven unions of textile workers and other unions in Bombay, is doing its utmost to give some assistance to the most needy of the workers on strike by issuing free travelling tickets to enable them to return to their homes. It is also rationing out rice to the strikers who are still in Bombay.

### Diamond Workers in Convention

The World Association of Diamond Workers held a congress at Paris Oct. 18 to 25. Representatives were present from Holland, Belgium, France, Germany and the United States. After discussing the report on activities and the financial report, which show that membership has declined from 19,230 to 18,000 during the year under review, various motions were dealt with, one of the more important of which was a proposal from the Belgian union for the abolition of the so-called "Enterprise System," a special method of piece-work, and its substitution by the fixed wage system. The proposal was rejected, but the attention of the organizations was drawn to the advantages of a fixed hourly wage. A proposal of the Belgians to make May 1st a compulsory holiday, was also rejected on the ground that any kind of compulsion would detract from the true character of the festival. The principle of the admission of one national union only for each country was adopted, and also a proposal of the Executive for the retention for 1926 of the affiliation fee of 50 cents per member. The Executive was unanimously re-elected.

### Toward Unity in Yugoslavia

Prospects for unity of the trade union forces in Yugoslavia are brighter as the result of a congress held in Belgrade, Oct. 10 to 12, attended by 108 delegates representing the Social Democratic national organization and the Communist national center. Judging from a report of the congress sent out by the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U., unity between these groups was effected through a modification of demands on both sides. The new national organization, which is called the United Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia, will be affiliated with the I. F. T. U., but will only admit unions completely independent of political parties. During the preliminary negotiations the Communists had insisted upon no international affiliation, while the Socialists had proposed that the national organization should be linked with the Social Democratic Party. The Amsterdam report says

that the amalgamation will add only about 4,000 members to the national center already affiliated with the I. F. T. U., which now has about 34,000 members, but that disputes will cease and a forward movement of the unions will follow.

### A. Merrheim Is Gone

A. Merrheim, ex-secretary of the French metal workers' union, died on Oct. 22, aged 54, after a long illness. Merrheim had one of the best intellects to be found in the French trade union movement within the last 25 years. Under his leadership the French metal workers' union was one of the first of the French unions to adopt the form of organization of the German trade unions, to introduce systematized strike and unemployment benefits and to reconstruct its methods of administration. Merrheim also took an active part in international trade unionism. During the war he was the intellectual leader of the Left Wing Opposition within the trade unions, and, with Bourdieu, he went to the Zimmerwald Conference at the risk of his life. It was owing to his influence that a reconciliation was made between the two sections of the French trade unions, before the Communist split.

It is the merest insolence of selfishness to preach contentment to a laborer who gets 30s. a week, while we suppose an active and plotting covetousness to be meritorious in a man who has three thousand a year.—Ruskin.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## How Rich We Are Everything Is Lovely

AS Alice wrote to Kip (sure, we read that stuff and so do you, you old devil you), we are feeling "friskily." In fact we are filled with an overweening pride. We have never seen a pride actually overween but that is the only expression we can think of for the moment that describes our extreme high-hattedness.

The cause of all this is a yellow slip of paper that came to us the other day from the Department of Taxes and Assessments of the city of New York notifying us that we had been assessed \$50,000 personal taxes.

Personal taxes, you must understand, are paid on private possessions, such as yachts, oil paintings (even including those of Howard Chandler Christy), pleasure cars, polo ponies, racing motorboats and the like. They are very snobbish and exclusive sorts of taxes and have nothing to do with such ordinary taxes as income, poll and real estate.

Just how they decided down at the Municipal Building that we had fifty thousand dollars' worth of yachts, etc., is not clear. At all events they insisted that we come down and tell them all about it. So we went and sat down in a chair by a nice old duck who asked us how we were making it and if we were having any trouble with our yachts and oil paintings and polo ponies. Right away we began to feel richer than John D. It's odd how just slinging around mention of sums of monies with a lot of ciphers attached to them makes everybody in earshot feel rich.

Cal did it the other night in his speech before the associated hi-jackers of the nation at the Waldorf-Astoria. He nasaed out a lot of hokum about how pretty we were sitting compared to the rest of the earth. He explained how flat Europe would be if it wasn't for the fact that our soft-hearted Hannas of the banking profession were always ready to stand for a little touch from these foreign ginks provided, of course, that they let the bankers take over the debtor country, lock, stock and barrel as security. That is the effect of the Dawes Plan and other generous devices of our banker altruists for collecting every red cent and then some.

And then Cal went on and said that never before had the good things of life been so evenly whacked up as now. According to Cal, wages have been soaring heavenward and prices have been going down as fast as a navy aeroplane and this is the best of all possible worlds. Out in Illinois the family of a union coal miner who hasn't had a full week's work since 1923 listened in on the radio to these words of wisdom and immediately decided that they had all been mistaken about not being well off and that since the President told them they were, they might as well start paying for a new Dodge on the installment plan. In Iowa farmers who had been wondering how in the hell they could raise enough money to keep alive through the winter, on hearing the glad news from the Waldorf-Astoria, ran out and got another mortgage. In New York the employees of clothing contractors, suddenly discovering that they were participating in the "unexampled prosperity of the nation," raised glad hosannas and put themselves in hock for coon-skin overcoats.

But to get back to those very personal taxes of ours. We told the old duck that we had laid up our country yacht for the winter and were only using the small town yacht to get about in. You see we know a beautiful blonde in Perth Amboy so we have to keep the yacht in commission to run down there week-ends. We explained that one of our polo ponies (his name is Chauncey Depew) had hock trouble and we hadn't been using him lately. We thought perhaps they might write him off as depreciation.

Then we came to our private aeroplane and ivory statues and precious stones. We told the tax collector that we were thinking of turning in our aeroplane for a new model that Henry Ford's boys are showing in Waukegan. It's an inexpensive little thing, it only costs \$25,000, but you know how good the Ford engine is on a hill. As for the statues and stones, ever since Mrs. Jimmie Donahue had all that trouble with the \$680,000 worth of jewels that got pinched from the top drawer of her bureau in the Plaza Hotel, we have been very careful not to let any of our tiaras and statues lie around loose. Why just the other day when our wife was going out to breakfast wearing the \$925,637.89 dog collar that was presented to her by the stepmother of Abdel-Krim when we were touring in Morocco in our racing motorboat we had to caution her. "My dear," said we, "why not put the dog collar in the safe and just wear those pearls that were given to you in India by the Princess of Putt? You never can tell what sort of people you are going to find in the Automat."

By the time we had raved along thus far, we were beginning to get glazed around the eyes and the tax collector looked at us a bit nervously. We were just going to tell him about the pipe organ we were having installed in our private chapel. By the mere touch of a button this organ would play "The Internationale," "Casey Jones" or any of the other classics that the player chose. And then the old duck interrupted us.

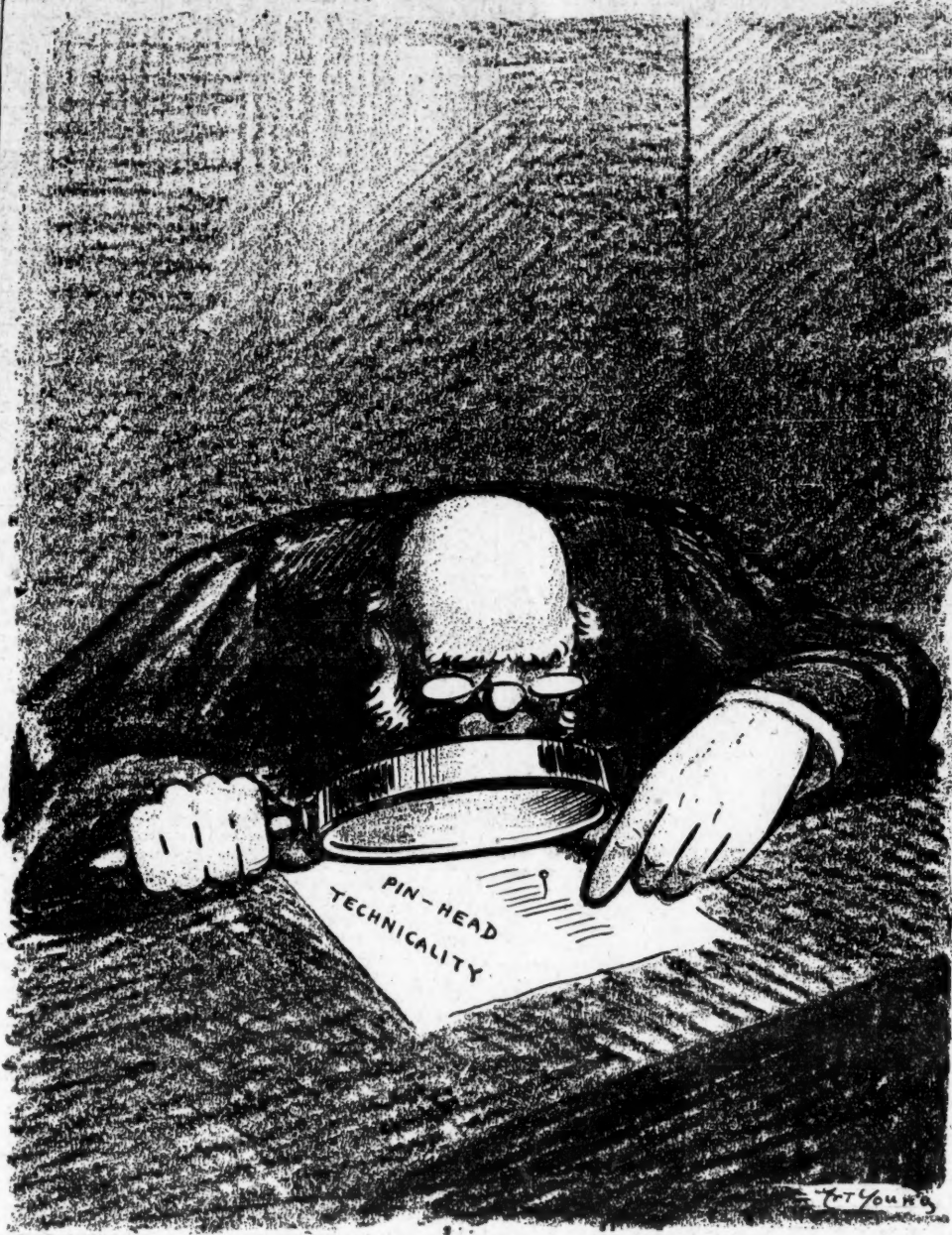
"Well how much personal property have you really got?" said he, and we came to earth like the Shenandoah.

For a long time we were sunk in thought and finally in a weak voice we confessed, "Some books, a second-hand typewriter and a black cat named Isabel."

But it brightened us up a bit to think of Isabel because we strongly suspect that before many moons are over she will have multiplied herself four times over, and if our guess is right and she does have four new kittens that will undoubtedly add to the value of our personal property so that, if we are lucky, next year they may assess us on \$75,000 worth instead of a paltry \$50,000.

McAlister Coleman.

## THE MAJESTY OF THE LAW



## Marx's Career After 1848

### THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

Marx spent the first few months in London writing on the European revolutions, preparing the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte on the French revolt and his brilliant articles on the German situation for the New York Tribune, later published under the title, Revolution and Counter-Revolution. The real cause of the February and March revolts, he maintained, was the world commercial crisis. The cause of the reaction, on the other hand, was the industrial prosperity that gradually arrived during the summer of 1848.

His articles on the German revolution brought out the folly of blaming the failure of a revolution on the betrayal of any one individual. They also emphasized how difficult of success is the coup d'état method of revolution in a country which, like Germany, had not one, but many important centres that must be taken before the ground won can be retained. Marx declared:

"When you inquire into the causes of the counter-revolutionary successes, there you are met on every hand with the ready reply that it was Mr. This or Citizen That who betrayed the people. Which reply may be very true or not, according to circumstances, but under no circumstance does it explain anything—not even show how it came to pass that the 'people' allowed themselves to be thus betrayed. And what a poor chance stands a political party whose entire stock-in-trade consists in

a knowledge of the solitary fact that citizens and so is not to be trusted."

In Germany, Marx brought out, the mass of workers were employed by small tradesmen, whose entire manufacturing system was a mere relic of the middle ages. Industrial workers were in a minority. There were large numbers of peasantry, small freeholders, feudal peasants and agricultural laborers. There was thus an unsubstantial foundation for a successful revolution. He added:

"When the interests are so varied, so conflicting, so strangely crossing each other, are brought into violent collision; when these contending interests in every district, every province, are mixed in different proportions; when, above all, there is no great centre in the country, no London, no Paris, the decisions of which, by their weight, may supersede the necessity of fighting out the same quarrel over and over again in every single locality; what else is to be expected but that the contest will dissolve itself into a mass of unconnected struggles, in which an enormous quantity of blood, energy, and capital is spent, but which for all that remain without any decisive results."

For years while in London, Marx was an almost daily visitor to the British Museum, and could be seen there from the opening time in the morning until the attendants sent the readers home, poring over books on economics, history, political and social

science, gathering material for his great book, Capital.

He and his family during those days were in dire want. They lived in a two-room apartment in Dean Street, London, near Soho, in the humblest style. In 1852 the story goes that he sent his last coat to the pawnshop in order to buy paper for the pamphlet on the Cologne Communist trial. His only regular source of income during the years 1851-60 was a sovereign article from the New York Tribune.

In the sixties, however, the fortunes of Marx were improved by a small legacy from his friend, Wilhelm Wolff, of 800 pounds and by Engels' annual contribution of about 350 pounds. Wolff's legacy enabled him to write his first volume of Capital.

### The Critique of Political Theory

The 1850s closed with the publication in 1859 of the Critique of Political Theory, originally intended as the first instalment of a complete treatise on political economy. This plan was finally abandoned. The value of the book lies partly in its formulation of the economic interpretation of history and of the Marxian theory of value, and partly in its historical sketches of money and value theories.

The 60s were Marx's happiest years. He was a genial host and spent countless Sunday evenings with his family and friends in repartee. His wife was

(Continued on page 11)

## On the French Battle Front

SO Monsieur Caillaux, the financial wizard, who was to hypnotize France into prosperity, has already lost his job. The poor devil couldn't promise Mellon as much as the latter thought he ought to be promised. Of course, neither one of the high contracting parties expected to give more or receive more than promises.

The frugal French taxpayer is angry, however. To him even a promise to pay America is a bitter dose—while our own statesmen have talked so big about the money they were to collect from France that nothing but a good-sized promise would satisfy them and us.

Truly the world is badly in need of a kind of scientific international reparation and war debt payment promising bureau which will promise to pay everybody without taking anything from anybody.

We hired psychologists and speakers to sell us a war for the abolition of war. Why can't we hire these fellows to sell us gold-plated soap bubbles?

If our politicians keep on talking about the blood they are going to squeeze out of the European pumpkin, somebody is liable to take them seriously and propose a collecting expedition "over there." I don't want another war to collect the money we loaned during the war for the abolition of war.

I paid my debt to Lafayette when our boys went to France, and I'm not going to spend another \$50,000,000,000 to get the measly \$4,000,000,000 back I paid him—I mean loaned him. I mean—oh, I don't know what I mean.

The new cabinet will face some embarrassing questions not only about financial matters, but also about the doings in Syria and Morocco.

The finance program is quite delicate. It may split the block upon which the cabinet is standing. The Radical left is opposed to a capital levy while the right-minded Socialists are heartily in favor of it. The Radicals of France, by the way, must not be confused with anarchists, Jacobins, Bolsheviks or Communists. Their radicalism consists for the most part in baiting the Catholic hierarchy as a matter of political expedience. Otherwise they are sometimes as radical as Coolidge and Mellon. Their economic program is somewhat similar to that of the Populist party.

While France is debating with itself whether to borrow money to pay its growing debt or tax the citizens to pay themselves, the situation in Syria and Morocco is getting daily more aggravating. If, as reported, the new government must ask the chamber for more funds for the military operations in those countries, it may just as well shut up shop right now.

At present, the storm is raging about General Sarrail, high commissioner of Syria, whose withdrawal is demanded by a large section of the press. Sarrail has already been requested to come to Paris to explain, and whenever a general is ordered to explain, that is usually the end of him. Victorious generals are never requested to explain anything.

The fact that they are victorious is all the explanation required by "Patria."

In the meantime, the franc has fallen to where it now takes twenty-five of them to buy a dollar. It used to take five. So, from all indications, the present cabinet will soon give way to another one just as helpless.

Well, there is at least one good feature about holding a minister's job in France—it don't last long enough to acquire the habit.

At Versailles—where they divided up the world—every time a particular piece of piracy appeared too bloody raw, it was made respectable by calling it a mandate.

Mandate means a sort of guardianship. In reality it is the power to oppress and exploit weaker peoples under the pretext of protecting them against other robbers. Under this arrangement, France was given the mandate over Syria.

Let's see how it mandates?

Damascus, says a recent dispatch from French sources, bears the scars of relentless measures taken by the French in putting down riots started by the Arabs, followed by shooting 'em down wholesale and by the parading of rebel corpses through the streets. Another dispatch says that previous to these riots, the French were displaying heads of "bandits" in the public places of Damascus as a warning to others.

Strange how the patriot on the other side is always a bandit—while the bandit on our side is always a patriot.

A traveler returning from Damascus relates that an airplane dropped bombs on the crowds massed in the Armenian quarters to disperse them. The crowd fired back, but without hitting the airplane, of course.

After this, tanks and armored cars and more airplanes joined in spreading death among the "rebels." Finally the artillery took a hand and bombarded the rebel districts. The bombardment lasted two days, during which some of the finest buildings were destroyed.

The traveler doesn't know how many "rebels" were killed, but he saw hundreds of corpses in the street and estimates that at least two thousand were buried in the debris of buildings wrecked by the bombardment.

Thus does civilization spread its blessing among the "backward peoples" of the earth 1925 years after the birth of the Prince of Peace—and seven years after the happy termination of the war to abolish war forever—and bring self-determination to big and little peoples alike.

Adam Coadigger

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## :- Sparks and Flashes :-

WE HAVE been criticized for too much cussing in this here column. We plead guilty. "There are times that try men's souls"—and bring forth the cussing. And, again, some one has said that only when a person runs short of words does he use expletives—does he cuss and swear. We plead guilty to that also. When we look around these several states just now and see what our Socialist Party locals and branches are doing (they are doing nothing), we run clean out of clean nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, interjections and conjunctions. Our vocabulary becomes anemic, our rhetoric blare and sterile. All we can do is utter damnations.

And yet we are capable of finer prose. Start something, ye retired revolutionists, and by heck, we will burst forth in belles lettres, in poetry, odes, epics and psalms. We will make the welkin ring with hurrahs, hallo-hujahs and mad shoutings. Get after the enrolled Socialists, start a house-to-house canvass, visit our lapsed and delinquent members, organize study classes, begin a course of lectures, establish a forum, arrange a mass meeting on the coal situation or something, or just call a membership meeting, hold a dance or a luncheon get-together—the point is, for Karl Marx's sake, start something. Just now, around this town, the Y. P. S. L. and the Workmen's Circle branches are about the only groups of comrades that are putting in a lick for Socialism. Oh, yes, Local Bronx is fairly active. Well, that's where we happen to belong.

Let George do it! There is one George around these parts that certainly does do it. Yes, we mean George H. Goebel. And he can cuss better, longer, and more picturesquely than any comrade we know. Lately he has been arranging meetings for several stray British Labor M. P.'s, Oscar Ameringer and a couple of dinner gatherings with Gene Debs. George wrote to various locals around these eastern states asking them to take a date. Well, some of the replies he got were mailed from cemeteries, morgues and Tut tombs. Did George take no for an answer? Did he? Sweet tempered, mild spoken, George let loose—and he seldom does—and he told that lazy crowd to go to Madagascar or some warmer place. Well, the upshot of the whole story is that meetings and dinners were held. And very successfully, too. Now, everybody is happy, plenty of applause, lots of enthusiasm, hope and inspiration for more doings. But it took George to do it. Here's wishing him no more boils on the nape of his neck—and here's wishing them on the other fellow's neck. George knows who we mean.

"The accumulation of capital and its organization was a necessary attain-

ment for human progress. It involves a multitude of ills; but we must learn to separate the existence of capital from the evils incident to its ownership. The first is essential and the latter is accidental."

Herbert Adolphus Miller, Ph.D.

"I don't agree with those who say that the voters are getting all that's coming to them. . . .

"Those who dropped out from the Socialist movement must have fallen into something soft."

"I would rather have 50 members paying 25 cents dues than 25 members paying 50 cents dues. Wouldn't you?"

"Knocking Soviet Russia" doesn't help Russia; then why knock?"

"The Socialist Party of the United States doesn't want to be nagged for its blunders; why nag other radical parties for their blunders?"

"Coolidge Gives Lumber Trust Blessing."—News item on front page of The New Leader. Why not? One trust is as good as the other.

"Rusting the trusts is equal to blessing them, so don't think that Roosevelt was not as good as Coolidge is."

Anna Rappaport.

"We have a universal shortage of the necessities of life—houses, food, clothing, etc.—and yet we have a million and a half men unemployed who could be producing all those things but who are kept idle, as the employer says there is no demand for them. There is no demand because people are too poor to buy. There is no way out of this vicious circle of destitution and misery under the present system."

Lady Cynthia Mosely.

"We are living by a system by which, if we are to have success, it must be through increased competition and not the non-competitive system advocated by Socialists," declared Dr. Charles Gerstenberg, formerly dean of the College of Business Administra-

tion in New York University, speaking in Hotel Worthly to 80 members of the Western Massachusetts Association of Credit Men.—The Springfield Union.

The facts are, dear Doctor, Socialists are not altogether opposed to competition and Socialism is not an absolute non-competitive system. Socialists are only opposed to such competition that is wasteful and unnecessary and that corrupts and degrades mankind. No human values are enhanced nor is social progress accelerated by the bitter struggle of man against man for a job. And usually there are more men than jobs. Such unfair and sordid contests are won by the most helpless, the poverty stricken and the cheapest and the prize awarded is a lower and meaner standard of livelihood. Or witness the shameful competition of women against men or the child laborers against adults. What a pitiful spectacle! Those who win this miserable contest win solely because they are the cheapest. Unless we are seriously mistaken, Doctor, this kind of competition is soon going to the same graveyard where our modern industrial system, its monopolies, trusts, interlocking directorates and gentlemen's agreements, have buried the late unlamented, deceased and stinking thing called business competition.

"Competition is a vital need." Yes, Doctor, it is and always will be, we hope. But not in the struggle for a living, our economic activities. Read, the stars, old man, and you will learn that cooperation is the coming method; the cleaner, saner, more civilized and humane, more efficient and successful method of producing the world's goods and catering to man's needs. Competition, that, spur to excellence, will continue in other spheres—the athletic, artistic, scientific and intellectual. There competition is usually necessary, beneficial and stimulating. Why, Doctor, under Socialism you and your kind, with your antique notions, will have all the chance in the world to compete with brighter minds and newer ideas. Maybe that's what's biting you.

August Claessens

## THE OUTLOOK IN FINLAND

By Adolph Salmi

VAINO TANNER, chairman and parliamentary leader of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, in a speech in the home of the Finnish Workers' Educational Association, 2056 Fifth Avenue, recently said that the Communist movement in Finland was dying out in the face of the strengthening of the Socialist movement.

In the general election of 1924 the Communist representation in the Diet fell to 18 and the Social Democratic block was raised to 60 representatives. The Communists had considerable strength in the Labor union movement, but they are losing ground there, too. "For Finland, as a whole, and for the Labor movement specially, the new era began in 1918, when Finland received her independence," said he. "Previously all effective reforms passed by the Finnish Diet were rejected by the Czar. In the election of 1916 the Social Democrats received a majority of three seats in the Diet. A fusion administration was formed by the Social Democrats and Liberal parties, Socialists holding half of the most important administrative posts. Oskar Tokol, a Social Democrat, was premier. The future seemed bright, but then we made a grave mistake. The masses did not understand the country's precarious position and were rejoicing for their newly acquired power.

"The peaceful tactics of the Social Democracy didn't satisfy the forces of Labor, which want quicker results through revolutionary action. Now we almost unanimously admit that starting the Civil War was a mistake, but it is plain that it was unavoidable. Unemployment was great. Food was scarce and starvation was at the door of every worker in the country. The dissolving of Parliament and the holding on an election under abnormal conditions whereby the bourgeois parties secured a working majority fanned the revolutionary agitation. The Bolsheviks had come into power in Russia by armed force and revolutionary agitation had unceasingly been carried on among the neighboring Finns. Arms and the help of the Russian Red Navy were promised, inspiring the forces of unemployed workers into action. The Social Democratic Party resisted, but the pressure upon it was too heavy, and it had to give away, even though its leaders protested, seeing that the workers were going headlong against the wall.

"Civil wars are all bloody. Ours was the bloodiest. Twenty thousand workmen fell fighting, 10,000 were executed by military courts, 13,000 died in penitentiaries where they were herded like cattle, there being at one time 90,000 incarcerated workmen and women. Sixty thousand were disfranchised and the bourgeois parties

### Tanner, Leader of the Socialists, Speaks of the Future

revelled in their revenge. In the absence of Social Democratic representation—all the party parliamentary members were jailed or exiled, save one—the bourgeois parties convened Parliament, repealed most of the Labor and Progressive laws and declared Finland a monarchy, electing a German prince for the king.

"But then something happened they hadn't counted on. Revolution in Germany brought down the military machine relied upon by the Finnish bourgeois. For diplomatic reason the king never reached Finland. A new election held and the Social Democrats again received 60 seats, making the republican form of government safe. A Liberal President was elected and civil liberties returned. The confiscated properties were returned to the Labor organizations and Socialist papers began to appear as normally. It was then again that hope dawned for a reconstructive era for Finnish Labor.

"But then Communist agitation started the break in the ranks of Labor. It was first felt in 1919. At first the Communists tried underground methods. They remained in the Labor organizations, but stirred up the uninformed elements and created distrust of the leaders. When the Social Democratic Party was strong enough to eject the Communists from its ranks, they formed a new party and began the attack from the outside. That wasn't so effective, although the Communists used all known methods. None needs wonder that the Communists at first succeeded in securing a certain following of the inexperienced, but after their start their power steadily declined. In the first election for the Diet the Communists received only 27 seats, while the Social Democrats got 53. In the election of 1924 the Communist representation fell to 18 and Social Democratic block was raised to 60 members. The Communists had some success in the ranks of the trade union movement, but their destructive tactics had an evil effect there, too. The Union membership has continuously declined and

the organizations have become dormant, powerless bodies. The co-operative movement alone has remained untouched and has grown up fast. It comprises Communists, Socialists and Bourgeois, but the leading positions are held by Social Democrats.

"The Communist movement has passed its zenith in Finland and is descending fast. If a Parliamentary election were held now its strength would decline materially. "It is hoped that the Labor union convention next May will take a Socialist stand. The Communist movement would have a natural death if the bourgeois administration had not arrested leading Communists and made martyrs of them, thus helping the Communist agitation, just as the Communist propaganda has aided the blackest reaction.

"Economically, Finland has weathered the crisis fairly well. The market for our exports has been firm and stability has been established. It is true that the standard of living of the workers is yet far beneath that in America, but an active Labor movement and the rapid development of our industries are promising factors. Reviewing the last 25 years of the Finnish Labor movement, we can proudly point to the reforms we have secured. Still we have to admit that many of our achievements are the results of changes that occurred outside of Finland. We have benefitted by revolutions, none of our own. Our revolution, the civil war, was only a big failure. First we received the franchise and Parliament as the result of the Russian revolution of 1905. The independence of Finland came from the Russian revolution of 1917, and the German revolution restored civil liberties to us."

The big hall was filled. Among the other speakers was Theodore Witala, president of the Finnish Workers' Association, who briefly reviewed the ups and downs of the Communist movement in America and warned Labor against its destructive activities.

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## INCREASED WAGE FOR MINERS URGED

(Continued from page 1)  
royalties, steady employment and plans proposed by either side for the reorganization of the industry as a whole or for any part of the industry. It shall have complete access to the books of both operators and union. Both the operators and the miners' union shall underwrite this committee \$50,000 each.

(This should act to lay a factual basis for negotiation prior to the next wage agreement. It should give both sides an understanding of the needs and possibilities of the industry. It would clear away the present confusion in the minds of all parties including the public. It would end the present custom of fighting in a fog. Even if two or even three different reports result, there will be more chance for an agreement on essentials than there is now.)

The Committee on Coal and Giant Power was organized at the conference of the League for Industrial Democracy at Camp Tamiment, Pennsylvania, last June. Among its members are E. Milton Jones, engineer; Ed Wieck, of the Illinois miners' union; Christ J. Golden, President District 9, United Mine Workers; Delos Wilcox, Arthur Garfield Hays, Oscar Ameringer, Stuart Chase, McAllister Coleman, Morris Ernst, Judge Ryckman, of Los Angeles, Edward A. Bemis, Homer C. Cross, J. H. McGill, Donald C. Richberg, George Soule, Jr., Robert Hale, of Columbia University, and A. B. Holcombe, of Harvard.

### Coleman Lectures on Coal This Friday Eve

The truth about the coal question will be discussed by McAllister Coleman at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum on Friday evening, Nov. 27.

Coleman has made a careful study of the question in the fields of West Virginia and is competent to give accurate and interesting information.

A discussion and musical program will follow the lecture. Auspices 23d A. D. Socialist Party and Lyceum Educational Center.

Both landlordism and capitalism measure a nation's greatness by its square miles of territory, and a man's by his bank balance.—Mary Patricia Willcocks.

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# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## NATIONAL

In co-operation with James D. Graham, State Secretary for Montana, the National Office has furnished a supply of reminder letters for his use in addressing delinquent dues-payers of the Montana movement. Graham is tireless in his efforts to build up and keep up the party organization in Montana. This co-operation with Graham is a sort of service it is a pleasure to render from the National Office to promote the party organization.

Darlington Hoopes, State Secretary of Pennsylvania, comes in with another good order for subscription cards—this time for 24 yearly and 10 half-yearly.

H. O. Fuhrberg, of Seattle, Wash., has turned his \$5 over four times. He says: "My revolving fund is gaining a little speed, but has not sufficient momentum to suit me." We'll trust him to give it a push that will make it go like a whirlwind.

Workmen's Circle No. 443 of Los Angeles sent in ten Appeal cards which they purchased from Emil Herman and sold to their members. Then they bought ten more of the City Central Committee, and their Secretary, A. T. Silver, promises that as soon as they are sold more will be purchased and the \$10 kept revolving.

## THE AMERICAN APPEAL

The number of Appeal cards, signed and paid for, reaching the National Office, is daily increasing. The Acting Executive Secretary on Sunday, November 15, was in conference with Eugene V. Debs, the Editor-in-Chief. Debs will make no speaking engagements in January, and will expect you to put aside many things—to make the American Appeal what it should be and go where it should go. If necessary, skip one meal a week for the next six weeks and put the savings into a bundle order for the American Appeal. Come across and we'll get away with this American Appeal enterprise. If ten thousand Socialists each put one dollar into the bundle order enterprise for the first number we shall begin with success.

## CALIFORNIA

Organizer Emil Herman has organized two more Locals, at Auburn and Grass Valley, and has developed the material for the organization of another Local. He will presently cover some of the territory recently visited by him to add strength to the Locals already organized and for the organization of new ones in some localities.

## ILLINOIS

Comrades Debs and Snow write that the weather and the consequent bad roads are interfering greatly with their meetings, but that the attendance and interest are very great.

Also that the promotion of the American Appeal is proceeding encouragingly. The literature sales likewise indicate increasing interest in the message of Socialism. Debs came into Chicago for a conference of great importance, and left Sunday morning for his next lecture at Streator, Ill.

## NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

Information concerning the New England District Organization of the Socialist Party may be secured by writing to Warren Edward Fitzpatrick, District Secretary, 21 Essex St., Boston, Mass.

District Organizer, Alfred Baker Lewis, began work in Lynn, Mass., Tuesday, Nov. 24. There are a few young active hustlers in the Lynn Branch and they are co-operating splendidly with Lewis in his organization work.

It is expected to have August Claessens in the District for a series of educational lectures for the winter months.

The tickets are selling very nicely for the Darrow Lecture to be given in Providence, R. I., Dec. 14. Darrow will lecture in Infantry Hall, on "Crime, Its Cause and Treatment." The prices of

the tickets are \$5.00, \$1.10 and \$1.65, and may be secured in person at M. Steinert & Son, 495 Westminster St., Providence, R. I. Mail orders should be sent to the Forum for Public Discussion, 141 Benefit St., Providence, R. I., or to the party office, 21 Essex St., Boston, Mass. This affair will be an intellectual treat to the residents of Providence and vicinity which they cannot afford to miss.

Boston Central Branch, at its last meeting decided to conduct a few educational meetings on "War, Its Causes." It has extended invitations to all the Peace Organizations of Boston to participate.

District Secretary, Warren Edward Fitzpatrick, reports that he is corresponding with former party members, sympathizers, and progressives who participated in the last campaign in New Hampshire as a preliminary step to organization work in that State. He further reports that he has already enrolled some of them as members—large attached to the District Office.

## CONNECTICUT STATE

The State organization is having a calendar printed. It is called "The Debs in Action" calendar. Anyone wishing one can obtain it by sending ten cents and a two cent stamp to Walter E. Davis, 48 Belmont Street, Whitneyville, Ct.

The State executive committee will meet Sunday at 2 p.m., Nov. 29, at the Machinists' Hall, 99 Temple Street, New Haven.

## New Haven

The Forum meeting of the New Haven Trade Council, Thursday, Nov. 19, was the largest attended this year. James H. Maurer president of the State Federation of Labor of Pennsylvania, also national executive committee member of the Socialist Party, was the speaker of the evening. His subject was, "The Coal Strike and Labor Education."

He gave a history of the coal business, told of the troubles of the miners and said that the coal situation would never be settled until it was settled right, by the Government taking the coal mines and running them for the interest of the people and not for profit.

The day after the Maurer meeting, Patrick F. O'Meara, president of the State Federation of Labor (who is and has been opposed to Labor forming a Labor Party and is also opposed to the Socialists), came out and said: "I believe in confiscation of any property where the people are defrauded." He was referring to the coal strike.

Earlier in the day Maurer was a guest at a luncheon which was attended by a number of Labor leaders of the State and Professor Jerome Davis of Yale College, who was instrumental in obtaining Maurer to speak in New Haven.

## NEW YORK STATE

State Secretary Merrill has proposed a resolution on radio broadcasting for the preliminary Agenda of the National Convention for 1926, and requested locals to send their approval to the National Office. The resolution reads as follows:

"Resolved, That ways and means be sought to establish and maintain a centrally located broadcasting station to be controlled and operated solely in the interest and propaganda of Socialism; and further

"Resolved, That a special fund to finance such radio broadcasting station be solicited, and application for license sought on existing or short wave lengths; and further

"Resolved, That pending the establishment of such party-owned radio broadcasting station, arrangements be entered into with the Garland Fund for weekly broadcasting of speeches to be delivered by Eugene V. Debs, August Claessens, or other speakers to be selected by the National Secretary."

State Secretary Merrill and National Committeeman Leo Harkins of New Jersey were designated by the last convention of the Socialist Party

as a special committee on the subject of radio propaganda for Socialism.

Local Buffalo has appointed a committee to make arrangements for a Debs' banquet, and the committee has communicated with the State Office requesting definite plans and a date for the appearance of Comrade Debs in Buffalo.

Organizer Stille will make a final trip to Debs' banquet cities next week, so as to assist local comrades and committees in the final arrangements for these important events.

Local Albany will take the affirmative and Local Schenectady the negative on the World Court inter-local debate at Schenectady Monday.

## NEW YORK CITY

**Appeal of the City Committee Socialist Party for the Striking Coal Miners**

To All Workers and Sympathizers of the Labor Struggle

Friends: We are in receipt of a letter from Will C. Thompson, secretary of the United Mine Workers of West Virginia in which we are informed that the distress among the striking miners is very great. With the cold weather approaching, it is particularly urgent that the miners and their families get warm clothing if they are to be protected against disease and death.

The City of New York and the country generally are suffering from a shortage of coal and from an inflated price on coal wherever it is to be gotten, and the capitalist press take advantage of the occasion to throw a good share of the blame on the miners who were forced to take up the struggle with their employers to protect their none too good standard of living.

The people who suffer for lack of coal, give the matter very little thought, with the result that many poor workers who know full well the taste of employers' oppression, are quite ready to repeat the lying phrases of the capitalist sheets about the "prosperity" of the mine workers.

The truth is that if the Mine Workers' International would not send them Strike benefits, many of them would now be on the verge of starvation; and the funds that come from the International are barely sufficient to cover their most pressing needs. Thousands of children have not tasted any milk for weeks and they have little hope of getting any until their parents return to work. It is the plain duty of every well-thinking person to help in every way possible the struggle of these men who are serving society in one of the most important industries, that their lives and the bread of their children may not be always dependent upon the whims and the greed of the mine owners. The coal magnates must not shelter their avarice behind the outcries of a suffering and misinformed public.

Let us, therefore, provide the miners and their families with clothing. The coal that they have dug is beyond their means, let them at least have clothes to protect them against the cold.

Send clothes to the City Committee of the Socialist Party, 7 east 15th street, New York City, and also to the nearest Socialist headquarters in the city; or, send a postcard to the undersigned and a wagon will call to collect it.

With greetings of solidarity, CITY COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY, A. I. SHIPLACOFF, Executive Secretary.

## BRONX

Central Branch will meet on Tuesday, December 1, at 1167 Boston Road. Important matters will come up for decision.

August Claessens lectures every Sunday afternoon at 4 p.m. for the Y. P. S. L. at the headquarters, 1167 Boston Road. Subject for November 29, Race Prejudices—The Psycho Factors.

Bronx Annual Ball, Concert and Bazaar all day Sunday, January 31, at Hunts Point Place. Committees in charge of this affair are now hard at work. Ads for the Journal and gifts for the Bazaar are being solicited. Help—help—help!

## BROOKLYN

The regular meeting of the Central Committee will be held on Saturday, Nov. 28, at 8 p.m., in the County Headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue. All delegates should attend without fail.

## BROOKLYN BRANCH MEETINGS

2nd A. D. Br. 1—Every Friday night at headquarters, 420 Hinesdale St. 1st, 3rd and 8th A. D.—Every first and third Tuesday in the month, at 132 Pierrepont St.

4th and 14th A. D.—Every Thursday night at headquarters, 174 Rodney St. 5th A. D.—Every second and fourth Sunday night, 329 Stuyvesant St.

6th A. D.—Every Tuesday night at headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue. 13th and 19th A. D.—Every Thursday

night at headquarters, 41 Debevoise St.

17th-18th A. D.—Every second and fourth Tuesday at 1336 Lincoln Pl. 22nd A. D. Br. 1—Every last Wednesday of the month at 415 Ridgewood Ave.

22nd A. D. Br. 2—Every Monday night at the People's Lyceum, 218 Van Sicken Ave.

Borough Park Branch—Every second and fourth Friday night at 1373 43rd St.

Bensonhurst Branch—Every second and fourth Monday night at the Workmen's Circle Center, Benson Ave. and Bay 23rd St.

Classens in Williamsburg August Claessens will deliver his second lecture of a series of four at the Williamsburg Educational Alliance, 76 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, Friday evening, Nov. 27, at 8:30 sharp. He will speak on the subject: "Social Forces: Ethical and Cultural." Questions and discussion will follow the lecture. Admission 10 cents.

## YIPSELOM

Saturday, Nov. 28, the Bialy Circle of the Yipsels will hold a combination dance, package party and entertainment at Socialist Party headquarters, 420 Hinesdale St., Brooklyn. One of the features will be a demonstration by "Kent, the Strong Man," of the Breitbart School.

## Sam Berman Married

Socialists will be pleased to hear of the marriage of Sam Berman, one of the youngest veterans and hardest workers of the East Side Comrades, and for many years the mainstay of the successive campaigns in the 6th A. D. Sam married Miss Lillian Wasser of Coney Island, Wednesday night, November 25, at Oriental Palace Hall, on Suffolk street. A large number of his friends and associates in the party's work attended the marriage and congratulated him on the part of the Socialists of New York. Sam will make his home in Coney Island, and will take up his party activity there.

## Debs' Workmen's Circle

The Debs' English-speaking Branch No. 665 of the Workmen's Circle at its last meeting considered communications from Branch 55 and from the 19 Left Wing branches in reference to a conference to protest against the action of the National Executive Committee regarding Branch 24. The Debs' Branch adopted strong resolutions upholding the N. E. C. and approving the reorganization of Branch 24.

## DUTCH SOCIALIST YOUTH

As the 1926 Congress of the Socialist Youth International is to be held in Amsterdam next summer, it is very befitting that we know a little of the Youth movement in Holland.

On July 1 of this year the League in Holland had 85 circles, with a total membership of 7,550, marking a decided increase during the previous six months when we compare these figures with some issued in January of the year. The organization then had 81 circles, with a membership of 6,736. An increase of 40 members each week may be considered a worthy accomplishment for a country the size of Holland. Financially, the first six months of the year have also been very encouraging. The cities of Haag, Amsterdam and Rotterdam have progressed to the extent of making it necessary to establish regular offices for the secretaries of the League.

The official organ of the Holland Socialist Youth is "Het Jonge Volk," a 16-page periodical. Due to the recent growth in the movement, this paper was enlarged from a 12-page only recently.

The young Socialists of Holland have proved their usefulness to the Socialist movement in numerous ways, the most outstanding service perhaps being their ardent participation in the elections, and campaigns waged for industrial improvements. Speakers from the league are fighting side by side with the older comrades in all their political and industrial battles.

## Joint Executive Committee

OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway. Phone: Orchard 6639

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.

PETER MONAT, Manager.

## FUR FLOOR WORKERS' UNION LOCAL 8, F. I. C. A. S.

Office and Headquarters, 849 Willsborough Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stuyvesant 5229.

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

FRANK BARROSI, JAMES CARUBO, President

Recording Sec'y

Henry Lutz, J. Rosenzweig, Vice-President

Chas. Levine, Chas. Masano, Bus. Agent

Business Agent

## NECKWEAR CUTTERS

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

Office and Headquarters, 7673

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

Fred Wassenaar, N. Ullman, President

Recording Sec'y

Henry Lutz, J. Rosenzweig, Vice-President

Chas. Levine, Chas. Masano, Bus. Agent

Business Agent

## FUR FINISHERS' UNION LOCAL 15

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

M. SUROFF, Chairman.

L. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman.

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.

C. REISNER, Vice-Chairman.

A. COHEN, Secretary.

## UNION DIRECTORY

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

### The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President

ABRAHAM SAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

### The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

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

Office 231 East 14th Street

Telephone Lexington 4180

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION

DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

## DISTRICT COUNCIL

### MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Office: 2 WEST 10TH STREET

Telephone Chelsea 2148

The Council meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday.

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

M. GREENBERG, President.

8. LEFOWITZ, Manager.

### Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

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

Office, 221 E. 14th Street.

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

SECTION MEETINGS

Downtown—221 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.

Bronx—E. 187th St. & Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.

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

Bklyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—78 Montgomery St.

SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary.

### EMBROIDERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 4, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St.

Malrose 7690

CARL GRABHER, President.

M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

### Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local 99, I. L. G. W. U.

Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 3 West 21st Street.

Telephone 7148—Watkins.

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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

120 East 23rd St. Madison Square 1934

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.

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

### AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

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

Telephone: Stuyvesant 4300-1-3-4-5

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

### NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

411-413 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7600-1-3-4-5

DAVID WOLF, General Manager ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer.

### CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

709 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4330, 9310, 9311

JOE. GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer.

### New York Clothing Cutters' Union

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

Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5880.

Regular meetings every Friday night at 310 East Fifth Street.

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.

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

### PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1397

Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.

MORRIS BLUMENKICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOR, Sec'y-Treasurer.

### Children's Jacket Makers

of Gr. N. Y., Loc. 10, Sec. A. C. W. A.

Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387

Executive Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.

WM. PERSKOFF, MORRIS WEINBERG, Recording Sec'y

Financial Sec'y

### Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10

A. C. W. A. Section "B"

Office: 355 Bushwick Ave. Pulaski 2150

Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p.m.

Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m.

J. Berowitz, Sam'l Berger, Chairman

J. Fortney, J. Kishinev, Rec. Sec'y

Bus. Agent

### NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

### INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

GENERAL OFFICE:

11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3084

JOHN ZEICHNER, CHAIRMAN. CHARLES KLENNAN, Sec'y-Treasurer.

OSWIP WALINSKY, General Manager.

### PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF



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

## British Labor Utilizing Movies For Propaganda

THE story of the American Labor Federation taking up motion pictures to further the interests of organized labor, traveled to the other side of the Atlantic. In England, the story caused much comment—this showing on the screen the age-old struggle of the workers to advance their interests. The London "Daily Herald" gave this much publicity—even adding the fact that British Labor had been doing this for some years.

It may be recalled, reads the story in the "Herald," that a trade union motion picture has been touring Britain for two years, but while the American film's Odyssey of Labor will be available for general public presentation, the British film is being used chiefly for propaganda purposes on behalf of the union which produced it.

The organization responsible for the British "propaganda-by-pictures" scheme is the Union of Post Office Workers, which for the past two years has been exhibiting to its members and their friends a screen story of the development of agitation and organization in the British postal service.

So popular has the picture been that it has recently been found desirable to extend its scope, in addition to reproducing the negative to allow for duplicate presentations.

This picture includes views of headquarters at work. An interesting "still" section shows some of the earliest leaflets and notices of the earlier Post Office unions, dating back to the time when membership meant the sack.

The union caters for all branches of Post Office employees, and the film therefore illustrates the activities of the various sections. The interior of a telephone exchange is not often seen by a postman, nor the Central Telegraph Office by a telegraph messenger. Both are seen on the film.

In sorting offices the union has long been trying to improve the standard of the fittings. To some extent this has now been achieved, and the film demonstrates the usefulness of this branch of the work.

Aeroplane work, and the life of the rural postman are other phases dealt with, while a series of diagrams shows in an interesting manner, the results of union activity.

"The film," says Mr. Wood, acting general secretary of the union, "is one of the best propaganda lines we have got, and it has done much good work for us."

"It is generally shown to branches on Sundays. The difficulties of local by-laws make it impossible to give general public performances on Sundays, but we are usually able to get permission to screen it before our own members."

"Our national organizer goes on tour with the film to describe it. 'The picture,' Mr. Wood added, 'takes an hour and a quarter to show. It is in continuous demand.'"

Mr. Wood thought other unions would find propaganda films of great value to their organizations.

MARION WARRING MANLEY



plays an important role in the Actors Theatre production, "Morals," opening at the Comedy Theatre Monday night.

### Phillip Barry's Rich Comedy

Laurette Taylor Fights for Pure Air "In a Garden," at the Plymouth

WHILE the personal popularity of Laurette Taylor, and the excellent cast that supports her—Ferdinand Gottschalk, Frank Conroy, Louis Calhern—may account for the early crowding at Phillip Barry's new play, "In a Garden," that Arthur Hopkins is presenting at the Plymouth, its own solid measure of cleverness and conflict will insure its continued favor. The story moves with more interesting intellectual dialog than is customary in an American play—the lamented "Man With a Load of Mischief" being its latest parallel in this respect, and being from England. Its theme works effectively through the repetition of an idea and the test of that idea, once before the presented action, again before our eyes. The apothegm, "Every wife is another man's potential mistress" is offered as concise statement of the thought that the man with whom a maid first innocently woke to the lure and the charm of romance, remains through her days with a glamor that grows with distance, always the golden hero her husband somehow always fails to be, always the glorious might-have-been that never will, always the far ideal. This phantom rival every husband must unknowingly fight can only be destroyed, the tale continues, by recreating the situation, giving the early hero another chance to carry the romance through, and thereby proving that it, too, is cardboard.

The perfect life of Adrian Terry is disturbed only by the thought that he is giving too much time to his play-writing, and too little to his life and his darling wife. So he determines to give up writing and begin to live. Not even the fascinating subject his friend Compton suggests can tempt him to continue, until Compton, who feels that his friend's talent must not lie idle, tells him that the girl whose early romantic awakening they have been discussing is no other than his wife. Whereupon Terry sets the aforesaid trap, to have the scene repeated—and is caught in his own snare.

For the problem he puts before Lissa, whose moods and conflicts are sensitively caught by Laurette Taylor, wakes her to realize that her life has from the beginning been planned and arranged for her, is not her life, is not really life. The artificial garden built within her room sets the mood of falsity that stirs her to a twisted anguish recalling Pirandello's "Six Characters in Search of an Author," though Barry does not win such sincere depths. Out of this artificial garden and life Lissa breaks to a freedom that carries her from both men, to a life that shall be her own, and real—as much as lack of financial worry (providentially arranged by the author) makes self-control and freedom possible. While the whole play has a certain heaviness, a certain sense of being cooked, like Yeats' famous pot of broth, out of a stone and water, and cleverly gathered leavings, its good acting and effective lines make it successful theatre.

J. T. S.

Al Jolson begins on Monday the final week of his New York engagement in "Big Boy." "Gay Paree," now at the Shubert, will be moved to the Forty-fourth Street Theatre December 7.

LYNN FONTANNE



the Charming Raina of Shaw's amusing comedy, "Arms and the Man," will move on Monday, when the production takes up new quarters at the Garrick.

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

## WINTER GARDEN

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



GREAT CAST  
18 GERTRUDE HOFFMANN GIRLS

## FORREST THEATRE, 48th St., between Broadway & Eighth Ave.

Evenings 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat.  
The MESSRS. SHUBERT present  
the new musical play

## MAYFLOWERS

with  
JOSEPH SANTLEY and  
IVY SAWYER  
and a Great Cast,  
including ROBERT WOOLSEY

The Actors' Theatre announces Ludwig Thoma's bold comedy classic, "MORALS," adapted by Charles Recht, acting version suggestions by Sidney Howard. Premiere Monday, November 30th, at Comedy Theatre, Penn. 3558. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday.

Actors' Theatre cast includes Edwin Nicander, John Craig, Warring Manley, Alice John, Jennie Eustace, Thomas Chalmers, Stanley Howlett and others.

## Last 8 Times **Big Boy** Al Jolson

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

Evgs. 8:30. Matinee Wednesday and Saturday

## ANNIVERSARY WEEK Celebrating a run of ONE SOLID YEAR IN NEW YORK the most glorious musical play of our time

## STUDENT PRINCE

in HEIDELBERG with HOWARD MARSH  
JOLSON'S THEATRE  
EVENINGS 8:30-MATS. THUR. & SAT.  
423 to 430 TIMES  
Singing Chorus of 40  
Staged by J.C. HUFFMAN  
Reservations \$1.10 \$1.65 \$2.20 \$2.75 \$3.30

### Irene Bordoni Back on Broadway

Vivacious Star Charming as  
Ever in Light Hopwood Comedy at the Lyceum

IRENE BORDONI is the beginning, the end and the middle of "Naughty Cinderella," now at the Lyceum Theatre. Her husband, E. Ray Goetz, has written a number of typical Bordoni songs. She sings them with her usual grace and charm. The audience likes her vivaciousness as much as ever. Perhaps there is enough Irene Bordoni to make the show worth while for some.

There would need to be a lot of her, for Avery Hopwood's vehicle, adapted from the French of Paul Poiret, gives her very little help. As might be expected from a French farce, there are complications galore. Occasionally they supply a few laughs and surprises. Most of them, however, simply add to the dullness of the lines, the character and the plot (if any).

A beautiful wife seeks to enrich her store of happiness with a younger lover than her husband. To further the affair, her young lover plans a trip to the Lido with Madame Penton and her husband. The husband suspects the wife, however. A mutual friend comes to the rescue. The friend's advice to the lover is that he take along a young lady friend, so that attention may be detracted from his romance.

The trip to the Lido follows, in the course of which the traveling companion makes certain little conquests of her own. In the end it turns out that she is not of an "uneasy" virtue as had been represented. Which paves the way for a joyful ending.

Outside of Miss Bordoni, the cast did not appear particularly inspired to any great heights. Harry Kendall played the Hart, Schaffner and Marx model lover, Orlando Daly was the hapless husband and John Deverell, the interested friend.

### "Phantom of the Opera" Coming to Colony Sunday

Moss' Colony Theatre will offer a big double bill beginning this Sunday; Lon Chaney, Mary Philbin and Norman Kerry in "The Phantom of the Opera" and an elaborate stage divertissement titled "Parisian Gaieties," with a company of 75 people. This will be the first time that "The Phantom of the Opera" will be seen at popular prices since its successful run at the Astor. The stage production which was supervised by B. S. Moss, has special music and lyrics by Jack Glogau and George Bennett. The dancing numbers were arranged by Jack Eislor.

LON CHANEY



is featured in "The Phantom of the Opera" opening at Moss' Colony Theatre this Sunday.

## Vaudeville Theatres

### MOSS' BROADWAY

Harold Lloyd in his newest comedy, "The Freshman," will be the screen attraction at Moss' Broadway next week. The vaudeville will consist of: Art Henry and Leah Moore, in "Hunting a Job," a new musical comedy production, condensed to vaudeville size; "Sailor Boy," with Bert L. Scott; Bill Robinson; "Cafe Madrid," a Spanish dance offering, with La Torrecilla and Duval, and other acts.

### FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday—Benny Leonard; Lane & Barry; Schlett's Marionettes; others. "The Storm Breaker," with House Peters and Ruth Clifford. Thursday to Sunday—Joseph K. Watson's Musical Comedy Co.; Richard Barthelmess and Dorothy Mackall in "Shore Leave."

### JEFFERSON

Monday to Wednesday—Signor Frisco and Band; Jose Browning; Burt and Lehmann; others. "The Storm Breaker," with House Peters and Ruth Clifford. Thursday to Sunday—Rae Samuels; Charles Ahearn & Co.; Pepito; other acts. Richard Barthelmess and Dorothy Mackall in "Shore Leave."

The new Century Roof Revue, "A Night in Paris," will have Vaneess, last seen in "Sky High" and "Innocent Eyes," as one of the principals.

Laurence Schwab and B. G. DeSylva are engaged on a musical adaptation of the late Edward Peple's farce, "A Pair of Sixes." Rights to the use of the play were secured from the MacGregor-Kilburn Company.

## THE NEW PLAYS

### MONDAY

"MORALS," a new play by Ludwig Thoma, adapted by Charles Recht, will be presented next Monday night at the Comedy Theatre by the Actors' Theatre. The cast includes Edwin Nicander, John Craig, Warring Manley, Alice John, Jennie Eustace, Thomas Chalmers, Stanley Howlett, Hermann Lieb, Edward Van Sloan, Henry Carvill, Wheeler Dryden, Joseph Allenton, Cecil Hearn, Elise Cavanna and Millicent Grayson.

"BEWARE OF WIDOWS," a comedy by Owen Davis, with Madge Kennedy in the star role, will open Monday night at the Maxine Elliott Theatre. The production was staged by Guthrie McClintic and designed by Raymond Sovey. Crosby Gage is the producer. The company includes Alan Edwards, Charles Millward, Diantha Pattison, Beatrice Miles, Donald Macdonald, Bernard A. Reinold, Doris Dagmar, Leslie Adams and M. I. Lee.

### TUESDAY

"JUST BEYOND," an Australian drama by Reginald Goode, will be presented by Charles K. Gordon at the National Theatre Tuesday night. The players include Cyril Keightley, Wanda Lyon, Leslie Barrie, Aileen Bradshaw, George E. Romain, Zeffie Tisbury, Horace Sinclair and Madeline Hartford.

### THURSDAY

"THE DEVIL TO PAY," a comedy from the Dutch of Herman Heijermans, will be the next production of The Stagens, opening Thursday night at the 52nd Street Theatre. Margaret Wycherly and Whitford Kane play the principal roles.

## BIJOU THEATRE, 45th St. W. of B'way.

Evenings 8:30.  
Matinees WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY  
THE MESSRS. SHUBERT Present

## MARY NASH AND FLORENCE NASH

## A LADY'S VIRTUE

A New Play by  
RACHEL CROTHERS  
With  
ROBERT WARWICK  
The Play Staged by the Author

## 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 Rothman, Sun

CENTURY THEATRE, 62nd St. E. of Broadway  
EVGS. 8:30-MATS. WED. & SAT.

## CHANIN'S 46TH ST. THEATRE, W. of B'way

EVGS. 8:15. Mats. WED. & SAT.

## 11TH MONTH of the LAUGH SENSATION!

## IS ZAT SO?

By

JAMES GLEASON  
and RICHARD TABER

## ROSALIE STEWART PRESENTS

## "CRAIG'S WIFE"

By GEORGE KELLY  
author of "The Show-Off"

## CHRYSTAL HERNE MOROSCO THEATRE W. 45th St. EVGS. 8:30

MATINEES WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY 2:30

## A.H. WOODS PRESENTS

## The GREEN HAT

BY MICHAEL ARLEN  
THE DRAMATIC  
SENSATION OF  
THE CENTURY

KATHARINE CORNELL  
MARGALO GILLMORE  
LESLIE HOWARD

Broadhurst  
THEATRE 44th St. W. B'way  
MATS. THURS. & SAT.

## "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, Rolfe Peters, Harry Berensford, Felix Krebs  
Good Balcony Seats Always at Box Office

## ELTINGE

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

## BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY

## ANDROCLES AND THE LION

with CLARE EAMES, TOM POWERS, HENRY TRAVERS,  
ORVILLE CALDWELL, EDWARD G. ROBINSON and 50 Others  
THEATRE, 52d St. West of B'way. Evenings 8:30  
GUILD MATINEES THURSDAY & SATURDAY, 2:30

## THE GLASS SLIPPER

A Comedy by MOLNAR  
GUILD THEATRE, 52nd St. West of Broadway  
MATS. THURS. & SAT., 2:30

## MOVES HERE MONDAY ARMS AND THE MAN

Alfred Lunt, Evan Fontanne,  
Pedro de Cordoba  
GARRICK 65 W. 36 St. Evs. 8:30  
Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

GUARANTEES  
A thousand laughs  
The comedy hit  
of the  
season

# APPLESAUCE

with  
ALLAN DINEHART  
and a distinguished cast including:  
VIVIAN TOBIN, William Hol-  
den, Jessie Crommette,  
Walter Connolly, Clara  
Blandick and Jules Farrar

AMBASSADOR  
49th St. W. of B'way  
MATS. WED. & SAT.

### New "Biltmore" Theatre Opens December Fifth

Forty-seventh street, between Broadway and Eighth avenue, which was the only street between 42d street and 50th street, west of Broadway that did not have any theatres, will now be added to the Times Square theatrical district, when one of the two new Chanin-built theatres, the "Biltmore," will be opened to the public on the 5th of December. The opening attraction will be announced in a few days.

This new playhouse has a seating capacity of 1,000 seats in the orchestra and balcony, with a 35-foot stage, and is equipped with the very modern and latest electrical, stage and general theatre equipment. The interior decorations are being carried out in the Adam style in cerise, gray and gold colorings. The walls are covered with silk damask.

Both theatres will be operated by the Chanin Theatres Corporation, under the general management of Harry D. Kline.

Bertha Kalich will appear for the first time in Sudermann's "Magda" at the Teller Shubert Theatre in Brooklyn next Monday night.

## EVELYN HERBERT



prima-donna of the latest Shubert operetta, "Princess Flavia," now testing the capacity of the immense Century Theatre.

### "The Gorilla" at the Bronx Opera House

The satirical mystery play, "The Gorilla," will be the attraction at the Bronx Opera House Monday night. Ralph Spence is author of "The Gorilla."

The cast includes Clifford Dempsey, Frank McCormack, Betty Weston, Robert Strange, Frank Truesdell, Arthur Beaton, Harry Hermson, Harry Southard, Joseph Guthrie, Harry A. Ward and George Spilvin. John Golden's "Seventh Heaven" opens at the Bronx Opera House Monday, December 7th.

Richard Herndon has placed Samuel Shipman's play, "The Day Lady," in rehearsal, with Arthur Hurley directing. Mr. Shipman's new drama will open at Stamford, Conn., December 11, with a company which includes Minna Gombel, Beatrice Nichols, G. Pat Collins, David Landau, John Marston and Sidney Toler.



## THEATRES

**COLONY**  
BROADWAY at 53<sup>rd</sup> ST.  
BEGINNING SUNDAY  
FIRST TIME AT POPULAR PRICES  
**THE PHANTOM OF THE OPERA**  
WITH LON CHENEY  
MARY PHILBIN  
NORMAN KERRY  
2 BIG SHOWS IN ONE  
ALSO  
MAGNIFICENT STAGE  
PRODUCTION  
**PARISIAN GAETIES**  
UNUSUAL EXTRAVAGANZA  
OF SONG & DANCE WITH  
A COMPANY OF  
75 ARTISTS

**B. S. MOSS CAMEO** 42d St. and B'y  
BEGINNING SUNDAY  
GLORIA  
**SWANSON**  
in  
"STAGE STRUCK"  
From an Original Story  
By FRANK R. ADAMS  
Famous Cameo Theatre Orchestra  
**B. S. MOSS' B'WAY** 41st St.  
"Where the crowds all go"  
ALL NEXT WEEK  
**HAROLD LLOYD**  
In the Funniest Comedy of  
College Life  
"THE FRESHMAN"  
"Sailor Boy"—Henry &  
Moore—Bill Robinson  
Other Acts

**BRONX OPERA HOUSE**  
140th ST., E. of THIRD AVE.  
POP. PRICES | MATS. WED. & SAT.  
BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT  
The Laugh Sensation of the World  
**"THE GORILLA"**  
Direct from a Year's Run on  
Broadway  
Original Cast and Production Intact  
The Funniest Show on Earth  
Week of December 7  
**JOHN GOLDEN'S**  
"7TH HEAVEN"

"Arms and the Man"  
Moves to Garrick Monday  
The "Garrick Gaities" will close at  
the Garrick Theatre this Saturday  
night, after a run of 211 performances.  
The Theatre Guild production of Ber-  
nard Shaw's comedy "Arms and the  
Man," with Lynn Fontanne and Alfred  
Lunt, now at the Forty-ninth Street,  
will move to the Garrick Monday night.  
"A Man's Man" now at the Fifty-  
second Street Theatre, will take up the  
vacated theatre, making way for the  
production of The Stagers. "The Devil  
to Pay" which opens on Thursday  
night.

## MUSIC AND CONCERTS

**PHILHARMONIC**  
WILHELM MENDELSSOHN, Conductor  
CARNegie Hall, Thurs. Eve., Dec. 3, at 8:30  
Soloist: PERCY GRAINGER  
Waltzes: Visions (1st time)—Grieg Con-  
certo—Bach—Wagner  
**BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, THIS**  
SUNDAY, AT 8:45  
Beethoven, 7th Symphony—Brahms—  
Tchaikovsky—Wagner  
Arthur Judson, Manager Steinway Piano

**N. Y. SYMPHONY**  
WALTER DAMROSCH, Conductor  
Carnegie Hall, Thursday, Dec. 3,  
8:30 P. M.  
Soloist: GEORGE GERSHWIN  
In His Own Piano Concerto in F  
(Especially composed for the Symphony  
Society of New York)  
Glazounov Symphony, No. 5; Rabaud,  
Suite Anglaise  
George Engel, Mgr. Steinway Piano

**AEOLIAN HALL** TUESDAY EVENING,  
DEC. 1, at 8:30  
First Subscription Concert—MISCHA  
**ELMAN**  
STRING QUARTET  
BEETHOVEN—SCHUBERT—DEBUSSY  
Tickets \$1.10 to \$2.75, at Box-Office

**CLEMENS MAIER**  
Steinway Piano  
AEOLIAN HALL, Mon. Eve., Nov. 30, at 8:30  
RECITAL OF MUSIC FOR TWO PIANOS  
GUY LEE  
**MAIER and PATTISON**  
Tickets at box office. Steinway Piano

## MUSIC

Five Million Spent  
For Municipal Music

THE tremendous sum of \$5,000,000 was spent for music, according to the book "Municipal Aid to Music in America," written by Kenneth S. Clark of the National Bureau for the Advancement of Music of this city. The bureau, under Mr. Clark's direction, conducted an exhaustive survey of the cost of municipal music in this country, which resulted in securing a definite record showing \$1,254,481 spent by 327 cities, not inclusive of expenditures through the schools. Also the returns showed \$3,621,000 expended through the public schools, making a grand total of \$4,875,481. And that isn't all, because a number of the larger cities which annually appropriate large sums for municipal concerts failed to respond, hence it is not unlikely the total exceeds \$5,000,000. The bureau is convinced this sum can, however, be materially increased, and with this as its objective, published this book, which contains information of great interest to municipal music committees, and particularly so to cities desirous of inaugurating a series of municipal concerts.

Metropolitan to Repeat  
New Novelties Thursday

"Lohengrin" will open the fifth week of the Metropolitan Opera season Monday evening, with Jeritz, Matzenauer and Taucher, Whitehall. Other operas next week: "Boris Godunoff," Wednesday, with Wakefield, Gordon, and Challapin, Johnson. "Der Barbier von Bagdad" and "L'Heure Espagnole" Thursday, the former with Rethberg, Bourskaya and Laubenthal, Bender; the latter with Bori and Errolle, Tibbett. "Tosca," Friday matinee, with Jeritz, Bonetti, and Martinielli, Scotti. "Mefistofele," Friday evening, with Alda, Reralta, and Gigli, Challapin. "Aida," Saturday matinee, with Rethberg, Carmela Ponselle (debut), and Martinielli, DeLuca. "Trovatore," Saturday night, with Rosa Ponselle, Gordon, and Fullin, Basola. A testimonial concert will be given this Sunday night in commemoration of the centenary of the first performance of Italian grand opera in New York, Nov. 29, 1825.

## With the Orchestras

## PHILHARMONIC

Hermann Hans Wetzel's "Visions," a symphonic poem, will have its first performance at the Philharmonic concert in Carnegie Hall on Thursday evening, with Mr. Mengelberg conducting. Percy Grainger will be soloist, playing the Grieg piano concerto. Beethoven's "Coriolanus" overture and Weber's "Freischuetz" overture complete the program, which will be repeated on Friday afternoon. The Philharmonic Orchestra plays at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, this Sunday afternoon, the program including Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, Brahms' Academic Festival Overture, Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet" and the overture to "The Flying Dutchman." The same program will be played by the Philadelphia subscription series on Monday evening. Next Sunday, December 6, at Carnegie Hall, Ossip Gabrilowitch will be soloist with the Philharmonic.

## NEW YORK SYMPHONY

This will be a week of modern music for the New York Symphony Orches-

tra. The Mecca Auditorium program this Sunday afternoon, to which Walter Damrosch has given the title of "Modern Music, Pleasant and Unpleasant," will have Paul Kochanski as soloist. The program: "Memories of My Childhood" (Life in a Russian Village), Charles Martin Loeffler; "On the Rails—Pacific 231," Honegger; "Through the Air," by an older modern composer; Five Orchestral Pieces, Schonberg; Sonata for Clarinet and Bassoon, Poulenc; Concerto for Violin and Orchestra, Prokofiev; Ragtime, Stravinsky; Nusch-Nusch Tanze, Paul Hindemith; waltz, by an older modern composer. George Gershwin will be the soloist on Thursday and Friday in Carnegie Hall. The complete program: Overture to "Iphigenia in Aulis," Gluck; Symphony No. 5, Glazounov; Suite Anglaise, Rabaud; Concerto in F, Gershwin.

## STATE SYMPHONY

The next subscription concert of the State Symphony Orchestra will take place next Saturday evening at Carnegie Hall, under the direction of Ernest von Dohnanyi. The program will include the Yale University Glee Club, the Faust Symphony and Liszt.

## D R A M A

## Melodrama With a Punch

"Twelve Miles Out" Is a Tale of Bold Adventurous Spirits at the Playhouse—Satirical and Immensely Amusing

SOME people think that in this drab, workaday, moneygrubbing world there's no room for adventure and the swashbuckling of gallant though rough adventurers, but William Anthony McGuire thinks otherwise and gives us a rousing good piratical adventure in "Twelve Miles Out," his new play at the Playhouse.

"Twelve Miles Out," as its name clearly indicates, is about the operations of those men who go forth to make money—and in search of adventures—in defiance of the well-known

into the home comes adventure, excitement, the breath of life, a whiff of sharp salt air in the shape of Gerald Fay, run runner, who has been observed by reviewers and who commands the Burton home to store his cargo and to spend the night. But Michael McCue, hi-jacker, sees them and captures the run running crew and the Burton family and the cargo and leads them all on his boat.

McCue is a rough old pirate of the old school, a Wolf Larsen down to date, and he covets the beautiful woman. And so does Gerald Fay. And in these adventures Husband makes such a cowardly and pathetic figure before the two real he-men that Jane is revolted from him and tells him that as soon as they get ashore she will leave him. Into the breach leap the two adventurers—there is a fight that would have warmed the cockles of Stevenson's heart, and Fay emerges triumphant.

Warren William, who was an agreeable find last year with Edward Goodman's Stagers, easily took the honors as the finest of the cast in a manly, robust performance as Gerald Fay, the run runner. Frank Shannon was an excellent, uncouth, rough pirate, and Mildred Florence, the choice morsel of womanhood that caused all the trouble, gave an intelligent and often thrilling performance as Jane Burton.

Mr. McGuire's play is not a Pulitzer Prize winner, of course, but it is immensely amusing and many of the lines are pointed with fine satirical wit. The settings are more than excellent.



MILDRED FLORENCE

plays the only feminine role in the new melodrama, "Twelve Miles Out," at the Playhouse.

statute of the estimable Mr. Volstead. It is a play that shows two civilizations contrasted and at grips with each other; the routine, safe and sane, law and order present-day organized society, and the free, bold, adventurous life of the run-runner and the hi-jacker. The play opens in the humdrum home of John Burton, successful New York lawyer, who is so infernally cocky of himself and of his eternal righteousness that he orders not only

## Music Notes

Florence Page Kimball will be heard in recital in Aeolian Hall on Thursday evening.

Carl Fleisch, violinist, makes his appearance in recital at Town Hall on Saturday afternoon.

The third Biltmore Musicale will take place at the Biltmore Hotel next Friday morning.

The artists appearing on this occasion are: Elvira de Hidalgo, coloratura Soprano of the Metropolitan Opera Company; Alberto Salvi, harpist, and Mischa Leon, tenor.

Monday evening, Guy Maier and Lee Pattison will appear at Aeolian Hall in a recital of music for two pianos. The program includes the Clementini Sonata, Six Liebeslieder Waltzes by Brahms, the Bach-Bauer Fantasia and Fugue, Franck's Prelude and Variation, Saint-Saens' Scherzo, and Chabrier's arrangement of the Beautiful Blue Danube Waltzes of Strauss.

Maurice Brown will give a cello recital at Town Hall this Sunday afternoon.

The Hart House String Quartet of Toronto, Canada, will give a recital this Saturday night at Aeolian Hall.

Zabelle Aram, Armenian soprano, gives her annual recital at Aeolian Hall on Sunday evening.

Thursday evening, December 10, at Aeolian Hall, Esvai Belousoff, cellist, and Ossip Gabrilowitch, pianist, will appear in a sonata recital.

Nancy Wilson, a young American cellist, makes her debut at Town Hall, December 14.

Shura Cherkassy, the young pianist, will give his recital at Town Hall next Saturday night.

Leonora Cortez will give her piano recital Wednesday night at Aeolian Hall.

The program of the Mischa Elman String Quartet at their first subscription recital Tuesday night at Aeolian Hall will include Beethoven's Quartet in G Major, Schubert's Quartet in A Minor and the Debussy Quartet, opus 10.

Marguerite Valentine gives her piano recital next Saturday afternoon at Aeolian Hall.

Ben Levitzky, violinist, will play in recital next Friday night at Aeolian Hall.

Consider whether, even supposing it guiltless, luxury would be desired by any of us if we saw clearly at our sides the suffering which accompanies it in the world. Luxury is indeed possible in the future—innocent and exquisite; luxury for all, and by the help of all; but luxury at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant; the cruellest man living could not sit at his feast unless he sat blindfold.—John Ruskin.

## HAROLD LLOYD



will transfer his screamingly funny comedy, "The Freshman," to the Broadway Theatre next Monday.

## The New Cinemas

BROADWAY—Harold Lloyd in "The Freshman."  
CAMEO—Gloria Swanson in "Stage Struck," by Frank R. Adams, with Lawrence Gay, Ford Sterling and Gertrude Astor.  
CAPITOL—Mae Murray in "The Masked Bride."  
COLONY—"The Phantom of the Opera," with Lon Cheney, Mary Philbin and Norman Kerry.  
RIALTO—Tom Mix in "The Best Bad Man," from the story by Max Brand, with Clara Bow and Judy King.  
RIVOLI—Joseph Schildkraut in Cecil B. DeMille's "The Road to Yesterday," with Jetta Gonda and Vera Reynolds.

## History of Socialist Thought

(Continued on page 7)

a helpmate in the best sense of that word. Despite her early aristocratic surroundings and the hardships and persecutions suffered at the side of her husband, she never regretted her alliance with him.

"Heinrich Heine, the relentless satirist," wrote Paul Lafargue, "feared Marx's scorn, but he cherished the greatest admiration for the keen, sensitive mind of Marx's wife. Marx esteemed so highly the intelligence and critical sense of his wife that he told me in 1866 that he submitted all of his manuscripts to her and that he set a high value upon her judgment." . . . Beer, p. 53.

Marx had six children, four girls and two boys, of whom three survived—Jenny, afterwards the wife of Charles Longuet; Laura, the wife of Paul Lafargue, and Eleanor, who married Dr. Edward Aveling.

## Marx's Address to the First International

In 1863 a gigantic protest meeting was arranged in London, directed against Russia's attack on Poland. Odger, a trade union leader, suggested regular international meetings. A conference was finally arranged in London from September 25 to 28, 1864. Marx was asked to be present as a representative of the German workingmen. The conference gave birth to the International Workingmen's Association at St. Martin's Hall, London—the First International of labor.

Marx wrote the "Inaugural Address" and the declaration of principles. The address gives a history of the English workers from 1825 to 1864, and deals with the tremendous growth in trade and commerce during the period from 1848 to 1864, maintaining that "the intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power is entirely confined to the propertied classes." Concentration in land had grown 11 per cent. from 1851 to 1864. The workers are sinking to a lower depth of misery, while those above them are rising in the social scale.

However, some constructive measures, Marx declared, have been forced on society by the working class. One of these is the Ten Hour Day. Economists have heretofore argued that such a measure would sound the death knell of British industry; that industry could live only by the blind rule of supply and demand. "The Ten Hour Bill was, therefore," Marx affirmed, "not only a great practical measure; it was a victory of a principle; it was the first time that in broad daylight the political economy of the middle classes succumbed to the political economy of the working class." It had also contributed "immense physical, moral and intellectual benefits to the factory operatives."

"But there was in store a still greater victory of the political economy of labor over the political economy of property. We speak of the cooperative movement, especially the cooperative factories raised by the unassisted efforts of a few bold 'hands.' The value of these great social experiments cannot be overrated. By deed, instead of by argument, they have shown that production on a large scale, and in accord with the behests of modern science, may be carried on without the existence of a class of masters employing a class of hands; that to bear fruit, the means of labor need not be monopolized as a means of dominion over, and of extortion against, the laboring man himself; and that, like slave labor, like serf labor, hired labor is but a transitory and inferior form, destined to disappear before associated labor, playing its part with a willing hand, a ready mind and a joyous heart."

## Boston Repertory Theatre Opens

THE second production of the Repertory Theatre of Boston opened last Monday with "Rip Van Winkle," with Francis Wilson playing Rip. Emma Dunn acted the part of Gretchen. The Repertory Theatre is now a reality, the doors of the new structure which was built by popular subscription was opened a fortnight since.

A new field of repertory and intimate types of theatricals has been opened by the decision of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts that this new theatre may be tax-exempt on the theory that it is educational and not operated for profit. Francis Wilson, Equity's president emeritus, who has returned to the active stage to play leads in "America's first civil theatre," contends that the tax-exemption ruling by Massachusetts should be followed by other States and that this recognition of the theatre's functions as educational will open a new door to the whole theatrical profession in repertory movements.

The new house seats around 900 and is supposed to be the last word in a repertory house. The operation of the house will be from the Jewett Repertory Theatre Fund, Inc., with a board of trustees, which includes Dr. Payson Smith representing the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Prices are scaled at \$1.50 top, and a 10-piece orchestra is giving a half-hour concert before each performance to stimulate interest in music as well as the theatre.

Peggy Wood will withdraw from the Actors' Theatre production of Shaw's "Candida" at the conclusion of its engagement at the Comedy Theatre this Saturday. Carrol McCormac will wear the Candida shawl during the Boston engagement, which opens Monday.

## MISCHA ELMAN



and his string quartet will present the first of three subscription concerts at Aeolian Hall Tuesday night.

"All for ourselves and nothing for other people" seems in every age of the world to have been the vile maxim of the masters of mankind.—Adam Smith.



# THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement

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Six Months	1.25	1.50
Three Months	.75	.75

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1925

## THE DOLLAR SIGN

AS THE press was running off The New Leader last week President Coolidge was reporting to the Chamber of Commerce in New York. The substance of his speech was that general well-being of the masses depends upon the "prosperity" of the class that owns the general works in this country. If that class takes in satisfactory incomes something will leak down to the masses below so that they can have bed and board. Therefore, deal gently and wisely with big business so that those below will get the bed and board.

It has been many years since any man has so frankly stated this point of view. Coolidge is the small townsman who has a genuine admiration for our vulgar millionaires and he believes that the social system of the United States which favors their gluttony is almost the last thing in perfection. In the presence of one of these gentlemen he probably feels like a mediaeval peasant who is addressed by a passing lord of the manor.

British comment on his speech caught this aspect of it. English editors observed the dollar sign illuminating the dinner like a burning Koo Koo cross with Coolidge warming up to his subject with profound sincerity. The Times was stricken with this British reaction to the speech and devoted a long editorial to an attempt to explain that our dollarized aristocrats are really *spiritual*. Vain striving. The dollar sign illuminates the world.

## CRIME AND CRIMINALS

NOTHING has given more concern to those who accept the present form of society than the continuance of the crime wave. Gary, the feudal chief of the steel slaves, sponsors his National Crime Commission and hopes to finger-print the population. A Brooklyn daily features a series of articles to prove that the whipping post as used in Delaware will help to stem the tide. A New Hampshire judge announces that henceforth he will enforce a statute which gives him power to sentence offenders to thirty days' solitary confinement for each year of their term in prison. Meantime, the measureless brutalities of prison regime continue to turn out their annual quota of confirmed criminals. In some quarters it is being urged that death be provided for certain crimes, while many others demand still harsher treatment of those serving sentences and an abandonment of the parole system.

All these suggestions are prompted by the idea of vengeance, not reclamation of offenders. The suggestions tend to revert back to earlier forms of treatment which the experience of the race has shown to be not only unscientific but also to increase the number of criminals. A crippled ex-convict was arraigned in the Tombs Court the other day because he had no place to sleep. He had recently finished a ten-year term in a Minnesota prison, but found that he could get no work. Investigation revealed that he had given his last quarter to an unfortunate who "was worse off than myself," as he explained.

That wastrel in the Tombs Court is an indictment of our treatment of offenders. His assistance to an unfortunate shows the good that is slumbering in the wayward. By kindness and sympathy, Eugene V. Debs reclaimed convicts in the Atlanta penitentiary where, before his arrival, the prison was rife with hate and revenge. The administration of law, economic distress and prison regime are all nurseries of the criminal. The whipping post, the noose, the death chair, solitary confinement and brutality in general are savage reactions to a social phenomenon. We have as many criminals as we deserve.

## EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW

WE FAVOR the arrest and conviction of the owners of idle capital on a charge of vagrancy and we favor it on the ground of "equality before the law." The owner of idle capital is not only responsible for his capital being idle but also for hundreds and often thousands of idle workers.

Let us see how this works. The ragged worker "without visible means of support" is often taken in on a charge of vagrancy. He may have looked for a job for weeks or months, but it is not the duty of the court to find work for him. It is the duty of the court to fine the worker if he does not find the job. So be it.

Now jobs are controlled by the owners of capital, that is, raw materials, machinery and the plants of production. The worker sells or offers to sell labor power. If the capitalist owners of industry do not buy the labor power the workers are idle. If they are idle they run the risk of spending thirty days in jail. The responsibility of the owners of industry is therefore obvious.

Now if the workers are to be jailed for failing to sell their labor power, equity requires that masters who do not buy the labor power that is offered should suffer a penalty. We suggest that every owner of industry, whether an individual or corporation, who closes the industry shall be penalized by having society take over the industry and guarantee its operation. No idle capital, no idle labor. That is our program.

Think what will happen when capitalism drifts into an industrial crisis. Plants are closed

all over the country, and millions cannot sell labor power. The cities, the states and the nation fall heir to the idle industries. The industries are opened and the workers produce. But there are no capitalists to take profits and dividends, you say. Good! Suppose we distribute the surplus among ourselves, thus increasing our incomes and then shorten hours until we have absorbed every jobless man.

What say you? Shall we make the owners of capital and the sellers of labor power really "equal before the law?"

## MAYOR OLVANY

A FEW weeks ago we had an election in Greater New York and George W. Olvany was elected Mayor. He was not on the list of candidates printed on the ballot, but that did not prevent his election. His name did not have to appear on the ballot. He had a proxy by the name of Walker and the latter will tend to such routine matters as signing official documents for the Mayor, just to keep up appearances.

Mayor Olvany is now giving serious attention to his duties, the first matter of importance being the preparation of a list of appointments to public office. Meantime his proxy is having a good time in Cuba, as he does not have to worry about appointments. He will let George do it. George will turn the list over to "Jimmy" when he returns and "Jimmy" will carry them to the City Hall to take the regular course.

All this is set forth in a news story in the World, which battled for the triumph of the Lord in Fourteenth street and whose editor recently told a Pittsburgh audience that Tammany has been washed and cleansed. "By the time the Mayor-elect returns from Florida," reads this story, "Mr. Olvany will be in a position to give serious attention to two or three persons who will finally be considered for each important position." So it is evident that Mayor Olvany is not neglecting his duties. The story adds that there is little doubt that "Jimmy" will "accept the advice of the Tammany leader."

And there you are. The "peepul" have triumphed and Mayor Olvany will see to it that their sovereignty is not impaired. "Jimmy" will run errands, carry out the waste basket, sweep the floor, answer the telephone, open the mail and make things generally comfortable for Mayor Olvany. Where is the impious Socialist who dares to challenge our glorious "democracy?"

## A WAR LEGEND EXPLODED

POSSIBLY it may be of some interest to those who cling to some of the old versions of the World War to know that evidence has accumulated in the past year or two to show that the poor and helpless Serbia of the war legend is poppycock. A story in the Times last Sunday and Professor Fay's articles in the October and November issues of Current History knock his legend out.

The truth is that a Serbian murder band assassinated the Archduke at Sarajevo with the knowledge of the Serbian Cabinet, whose members did nothing to prevent the assassins from carrying out their purpose although the officials knew that the murderers were on their way to do the killing. The protests of innocence that came from the Serbian Government were so many lies.

If there be any who doubt that this is the true story of the assassination, we refer them to Professor Fay's articles. He has studied all the documentary evidence and as one who had believed the official version of the Allies his study compelled him to abandon this version. Considering that most of the documents are of Serbian origin and that one Serbian who at the time knew what was going on has since given much of the secret history in a book, there is nothing to do but to regret that American life and treasure were spent in behalf of a Serbian murder band.

The Times article reports an article written by an Austrian official in which he contends that he, who had been assigned to investigate the murder, had made a report and that the two American delegates on the Interallied Commission on War Guilt had quoted a paragraph from the report, ignoring its context, committing this Austrian official to an acquittal of Serbia. We have yet to hear from Messrs. Lansing and Scott, the two commissioners.

It was a great war, especially for the experts in deception.

At a dinner in the Ritz Carlton which cost \$42,000, or \$150 per plate for the diners, the peepul's Mayor, John F. Hylan, pledged himself anew to eat for the friendless and the down-trodden even to the last oyster.

It is reported that seventy-five Senators are for the wild court.—Press dispatch. We accept the amendment.

The New York World reports that Mayor-elect Walker intends to make a special effort to eliminate dope selling. "Jimmy" peddled a large quantity himself during the recent campaign.

French imperialism in Morocco appears to be a case of ruffians attempting to exterminate the Rifians.

Mayor Hylan is at work on his memoirs, a serious story for which, it is said, he will receive \$25,000. In this period of efficiency no by-product of capitalism goes to waste.

While you are thinking of those Christmas presents do not forget that The New Leader would appreciate a few in the form of subscriptions.

Maryland may be the famous "Free State," but engineers in Baltimore will be unable to cash in on it very high. Six assistant city engineers have resigned their positions in that city, three scotching for Florida, where gambling in land beckons. These positions carried with them the handsome salary of \$1,500 each, or less than \$30 per week. We wonder if they read President Coolidge's glowing tribute to "prosperity" last week.

# The News of the Week

## Labor Set-Back in Czechoslovakia

Due to discord caused by the Communist split of 1920 and the row over separation of Church and State, the Labor vote in Czechoslovakia fell from 2,878,546 on April 18, 1920, to about 2,571,000 on November 15, while the non-labor vote increased from 2,866,503 to about 4,081,000. The biggest loss was sustained by the Czechoslovak Social Democrats, whose vote fell from some 1,600,000 to about 631,000. The German Social Democrats, combined with Magyar Social Democrats, polled 411,000 votes, a loss of about 283,000; the National Socialists, who, while not Marxian in principle, are ready to co-operate with Social Democrats in labor legislation, increased their vote from 500,000 in 1920 to 609,000. The Communists polled 920,000 votes, or less than the number lost by the Czechoslovak Social Democrats, to say nothing of the losses of the German Social Democrats. According to the Czechoslovak Consulate General in New York, the new Chamber of Deputies will be made up as follows: Social Democrats, 29 (formerly 55); Czechoslovak National Socialists, 28 (27); German-Magyar Social Democrats, 19 (30); Communists, 42 (27); Agrarians, 44 (42); National Democrats, 13 (22); Czechoslovak Clericals, 31 (21); Traders' Party, 13 (6); Slovak People's Party, 21 (11); German-Magyar Agrarians, 23 (15); German Nationalists, 11 (10); German Clericals, 14 (9); German-Magyar Clericals (extreme reactionaries), 8 (5). There were ten deputies in the old Chamber representing small groups that failed to elect anyone on November 15, as under the revised election law a party has to elect at least one deputy in one of the twenty districts in order to have its scattered votes counted. This meant a minimum of about 22,000 votes in some single district, that being the electoral quotient. The present Czech governing combination may continue in power by taking in the Traders' Party or making concessions to the German Social Democrats.

## Russians Remain In Co-op. Union

Because of violent attacks by the Communist parties of Germany, France and some other countries upon the cooperatives, there has been considerable discussion in the International Cooperative Alliance as to the advisability of holding the Russian cooperatives responsible for actions on non-Russian Communists unless they repudiate these attacks. It has even been suggested that the Russian organizations be excluded from the Alliance. At the recent annual meeting of the Central Committee in Paris the question got sidetracked by the problem of apportioning representation of the various countries and nationalities on the Central Committee, but the fourteen Russian members learned that they are expected to use their influence to modify the language and conduct of their foreign comrades. The fifty-two representatives of twenty-one countries present were surprised to learn that in choosing the Central Committee the Russians, by organizing separate cooperatives in each of the republics in the Soviet Union, could soon dominate the committee. Today, with committee members from Russia proper, Ukraine, Adzerbaidjan and Georgia, the Russian delegation is twice as large as Great Britain's. Some members favored limiting committee representation to nations having diplomatic agencies abroad, but this was regarded as too narrow. The matter will be submitted

to the international congress of the Alliance, to be held in Stockholm in 1927. In the meantime, the present committee decided to negotiate with both the Amsterdam and Moscow Trade Union Internationals when practical questions arise, but not to get mixed up with the "unity" problem.

## Lewis Appeals to President

The letter of President Lewis of the miners to President Coolidge means a turning point in the coal strike. Everybody realizes the struggle cannot continue much longer without some approach to a settlement. The significant part of the Lewis letter is the hint that the bituminous miners may be called out to support the anthracite men unless some favorable action is taken by Coolidge to bring the struggle to an end. Lewis pleads for the integrity of the Jacksonville agreement and makes a good point by recalling that the Secretary of Commerce had referred to the agreement in his report for last year in very favorable terms. Unfortunately, the anarchy in the field of bituminous production is such as to make a strike in this field somewhat uncertain. Of the 100,000 miners in Illinois only 60,000 are at work. To pull out these workers and those who are working in Indiana would help the anthracite miners, but the non-union districts of Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia would also be benefited by the shift of orders to these districts. But, in any event, the coal shortage is becoming acute. Coolidge will hesitate to do anything to offend the class he serves, and he will always keep in mind the fact that his Secretary of the Treasury gets a considerable portion of his unearned income from mining investments.

## Mussolini Feels More Confident

Feeling his dictatorship strengthened through the "settlement" of the Italian war debt to the United States and the \$100,000,000 Italian loan floated here by Morgan & Co., Benito Mussolini is continuing along the road which he apparently thinks will lead to his being proclaimed a modern Caesar. His Senate has suppressed the Free Masons; his "savage" lieutenant, Roberto Farinacci, has shown how valiant the Fascists are by slugging a Communist Deputy who dared to criticize "Il duce" in the Chamber, and his pressure on the owners of Il Corriere della Sera of Milan, a powerful bourgeois Liberal paper, has forced them to oust its editor, Senator Albertini, and install a journalistic tool of the Dictator. Consequently, Mussolini "jests" with another Fascist about delaying elections for the Chamber until after 1927, when the "last installment of the debt will be paid to the U. S." And "Il duce," according to a version of his recent speech in Milan printed in a New York Sunday paper, had the nerve to dismiss the murder of Matteotti by his tools with the following words: "The kidnapping of Matteotti was intended as a joke. Matteotti lacked a sense of humor, fought his jesters and was killed. The affair does not deserve further brooding so far as the State is concerned." In the meantime, the wild tales about a plot to kill Mussolini, having given the pretext needed for a fresh wave of repression and the enthusiastic backing of the Dictator by the Coolidge administration and the American bankers, have died down. Many of the arrested in connection with the "plot"

have been released and the suppressed labor papers are being published again. As the "dissolution" of the Unitarian Socialist Party is still in effect, La Giustizia has temporarily dropped the subtitle identifying it as the official organ of that party.

## Election Funds of Old Parties

Capitalist politics is a matter of sound business investment with assurance of good returns for the investors. Reports of political committees of Tammany and of the Republican Party show that Tammany spent \$361,141 to elect Walker Mayor, to which must be added \$90,993 spent by a special Walker committee, a total of \$452,134. The Republicans spent \$138,000, the smaller amount being what was to be expected, as it was known that the contract for governing the city was going to Tammany. The total amount spent by the two political firms of capitalism amounted to nearly \$600,000. Just to show their impartial affection for both parties, a number of contributors gave to both Tammany and the Republicans. This is as it should be. Now that the contract for filling offices is in the hands of Tammany its chief is figuring how to make the investors in Walker realize on their investments. Although Waterman did not pull through there is not one in his camp of political brokers who does not feel that Tammany will run the city in the interest of all the investors. Capitalistic political administration is a brotherhood uniting pelf and power.

## Another Cabinet Shift in France

Beaten by a vote of 278 to 275 on a technical point in his financial bill through the lining up of some thirty Communists in the Chamber of Deputies with the reactionaries, Paul Painleve and his Cabinet resigned last Sunday and President Doumergue asked Aristide Briand to try his hand at steering the French ship of State once more. M. Briand cautiously declined, but said he would be glad to continue as Foreign Minister in a Cabinet headed by someone else than M. Painleve. The last act of the Painleve Government was to request the Chamber and Senate to approve an increase of 1,500,000,000 francs in advances to the State by the Bank of France, which they did, the Socialists and Nationalists refraining from voting. This new inflation will hardly take care of the short term notes due Dec. 8, so another resort to the printing press is likely to be made in the immediate future unless the Painleve plan for consolidating the short time paper held by the public is made effective. All through the recent debates on the financial troubles of the republic the clash of opinions over the capital levy has shown that the proper classes of France are no more disposed than before to make real financial sacrifices on the altar of their country. The Socialists, while reaffirming their faith in the efficacy of the capital levy to prevent inflation and eventually enable the State to balance its budget and take care of its obligations, have not been dogmatic about it and have displayed a willingness to co-operate in almost any scheme likely to bring even temporary relief. But they feel that they are backed by the sentiment of the masses and are quite ready to go to the country on the capital levy issue in the belief that a general election will so strengthen their position as to force the other groups of the Left Bloc to follow their lead.

# THE CHATTER BOX

## Across the Bar

I sometimes think of days of old  
When all the whiskey, beer, champagne,  
And all the booze that could be sold,  
Made from the juice of fruit or grain  
Was very easy to obtain.  
You bought your bottle, can or jar  
Without much monetary strain  
When schooners sailed across the bar.

The cubes which from the dice box rolled,  
We watched without great moral pain;  
Free lunch we ate, both hot and cold,  
And all drank in a cheerful vein  
In Bacchus' wonderful domain.  
No preacher ever dared to mar  
The joy he could not even feign  
When schooners sailed across the bar.

While by the cheering cup condoled,  
The tramp with booze-befuddled brain,  
His maudlin banker friend consoled,  
As both pledged brotherhood again,  
And tried their virtues to explain:  
A darkey played his old guitar—  
The bar-fly sang not all in vain  
When schooners sailed across the bar.

## L'ENVOI

O bootleg whiskey, vilest bane,  
Not worth the price of one cigar.  
With you no man's lips would stain  
When schooners sailed across the bar.

—ANTON ROMATKA.

Gertrude Perry West, editor-in-chief of "Poetic Thrills," 216 South Mulberry street, Chillicothe, Ohio, solicits from our bards and inglorious Miltons contributions of such verse as they have found unmarketable in the established journals. According to the leaflet she encloses, her project is a most useful one to the minor poets of America. To find a market for poetry of sane and settled adults is a most intricate and engaging task. We wish her a full measure of success.

## Some Day

He loved the sea. At night when he returned  
From work he hastened to the dock and watched  
The lazy ships, like caterpillars, crawl  
Far out to secret lands. Sometimes the moon  
Created such fantastic beauty that  
It fairly frightened him. The panorama  
Ever seemed to grip him in its power.  
And he sighed as he returned to earth.  
"Some day," he whispered to himself, "I'll be  
A sailor. Then I'll say to hell with land  
And work. Some day I'll smell the air of far-off  
Lands, forgetting that I ever had  
To push a pen from nine to five. Some day—  
Some day."  
—HENRY HARRISON.

Uncle Hiram of Fitchburg, Mass., opines: "We Socialists ain't the only folks as don't believe in free love. Millionaires don't have to."

Which hustles us forward to the latest thing in millionaire love delicacies—the Rhineland case. As much as we detest the system that creates such idiotic results of the capitalist creed of heredity, we have felt genuinely sorry for young "Kip." The ordeal he was put through to satisfy the bigoted

desire of his proud aristocrat of a father was little short of bestiality. We will not here discuss the merits or demerits of color intermarriages. We do not care to enter into a denunciation of the cruelty of the blood and purse proud father. We wish only to remark on the disgusting manner in which the fifth-hungry American public waited from day to day for the smut of the correspondence between the two lovers, which the obscenity-peddling press was leeringly making promise for. All we could see from day to day was a pig of a public grunting and snorting the hours of impatience away, waiting for the promised offal. We don't wonder that the press is constantly impressing upon us the infallibility and the great dignity of the courts. These ugly trials are the cheapest and most efficient sales boosters for the daily papers. And what sane beast will bite the hand that feeds it. Scandal and social rot, you are the hope of newspaper row, and the staffs of American culture.

## You Will Not Be Again

Your countenance is very gentle now,  
Smooth curved and lined, and featured gracefully,  
But once it was deep furrowed to endow  
Those eyes that lit with fire your face for me,  
Beneath the curling black smoke of your hair,  
Your head is quiet now, and very high,  
But looking out across the desert flare,  
In shelter of a great demanding lie  
Small tilted and tidy plots of pleasantness—  
You will not be again so easy to surmise—  
To know among dark crags and narrowness—  
Yet always there will be about your eyes  
A gauntness marking where one time had lain  
The fierce fires welling from a depth of pain.  
—AITA HECK COOPER.

Every poet in America except poor us, has been consulted on the authenticity of Nathalie Crane, the baby girl poetess, and her poetry.

Not having been asked, we venture no decision. We only wish to advise that at the age of seven we had already written verses that had so attracted our father's attention that he straightaway showed his appreciation by evoking his parental rights upon certain indelicate portions of our physical entity. At the age we recited one of our odes to a policeman, and whether we ran away in fear or modesty immediately afterward does not matter. We do remember that we were chased by the object of our recitation for several Ghetto squares. So that it may be perfectly possible that the Crane little lady is as well up on exotic and erotic poetry at the age of nine as we were at the age of seven and eight. And don't forget that the Crane wonder has had the advantage of Ulysses, Jürgen, Replenishing Jessica, and the Ladies' Home Journal, which masterpieces were hardly extant twenty-eight years ago.  
S. A. de Witt.