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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

TO work as if you win and yet not when victory is postponed that is one of the hardest things in the world to do. Unless the Socialist Party can learn to do that thing, it will grow less and less effective. We cannot afford to put all our hopes into the chance of victory in one particular campaign. Neither can we afford to despise any victory. Every alderman, mayor, legislator, congressman is or may be an asset to the Socialist Party. But the Socialist Party does not exist to elect him to office.

In some parts of the country where no Socialists have ever been elected Socialism tends to become remote from every-day affairs, too academic or too impossible to be very effective even as an educational agency. In other parts of the country memories of past successes in local elections tend to rob us of energy for the missionary job. Both dangers must be fought and the beginning of effective fight against them is such a frank examination of facts as I have tried to make in these articles.

In the very first article I argued that our ultimate hope was to become a genuine Labor party and that economic and psychological conditions in America undoubtedly act to postpone the fulfillment of that hope. I want to carry that argument further. We Socialists, especially in the great industrial centers of the North, have a new enemy to fight. For lack of a better word, I shall call it "Al Smithism." This enemy is not new in its component parts but is rather in the combination of them and in the strength of the appeal it makes even to those whom we in New York call "Al Smith Socialists." Al Smithism today operates particularly in the Democratic Party. But it is not necessarily confined to it. It represents the urban democracy, mostly of recent immigrant stock. It embodies a revolt against the political puritanism of the small towns and countries. It has a shrewd knowledge of human nature, a considerable fund of practical kindness and a general disposition to do something—but never very much—for the worker. This urban democracy is predominantly Catholic, and secondarily Jewish, in religion.

A Nationally Conscious Urban Democracy

Some of you will say that there is nothing new for Socialism to fight in this. In our cities it is almost as old as Tammany Hall itself. That is true. But what is new is just this: Whereas heretofore this urban democracy hasn't bothered much about national affairs, today it is becoming nationally conscious and nationally active. Fortune has given it in Al Smith a product of the machine with a personality and administrative ability far greater than is common among city machine products. He has able lieutenants in other cities. Finally, Protestant stupidity and the organized intolerance of the Ku Klux Klan have given to the various city machines an emotional cause to fuse them together. As everybody knows, Al Smith has become the incarnation of the right of the non-Protestant, that is, the Catholic or Jew, to become President.

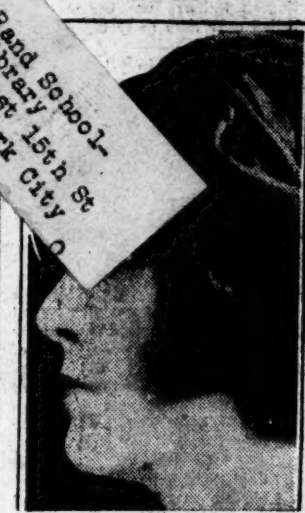
This explanation might help the foreigner understand what is to him a mystery, namely, Al Smith's popularity at one and the same time with organized labor in New York and with such journalistic spokesmen of Big Business as the New York Times and the New York World. Smith and Tammany Hall have discovered the art of giving organized workers and the masses in general just enough to keep them happy, but not enough seriously to inconvenience business interests. They are not as stupid as the Republicans and it is not hard to make a better labor record than the Republicans. Hence Labor supports them.

What is truly marvelous—and shameful—is how little it takes to get Labor's support. Labor, for instance, at least in New York State, is practically solid in demanding the end of child labor and the abolition of the injunction. Gov. Smith was pledged to the bill to urge ratification of the Federal Child Labor Amendment. But when he saw that the most powerful elements in both the Catholic Church and the Protestant South were against the Child Labor Amendment he side-stepped all his promises by declaring for a popular advisory referendum on the subject. Labor took this change of front without losing one little bit of its enthusiasm for Al. That enthusiasm is so great that many Labor men are blind to facts. During the 1924 campaign a rather prominent Syracuse Labor man who was supporting La Follette and Smith assured me that the Democratic state platform contained all that Labor asked on the injunction. The statement was absurd. The Democratic Party then and there had dodged the injunction question. One of its recent successful candidates, Justice Churchill, an alleged liberal, was responsible for the outrageous injunction against peaceful picketing of the International Tailoring Company. But Labor backs Smith and his party as

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COOLIDGE HAS NO PLAN FOR COAL

"Comrade Scynthia" Answers Hearst



Lady Cynthia Mosley

DISTORTION OF LADY MOSLEY'S SOCIALISM

Hearst Journals Misrepresent Noted Woman Socialist, Who Sends Correction

By Wm. M. Feigenbaum

WARM greetings and good wishes for the success of American Socialism are embodied in a communication from Lady Cynthia Mosley, a better known in England as Comrade Cynthia—that has just been received correcting a misinterpretation of her ideas that appeared in a recent article in the Hearst newspapers.

In the Sunday American (and other Hearst papers) of October 25, Lady Cynthia had an article entitled "Why I Became a Socialist," which was gaudily played up and elaborately illustrated. In the course of the article as it appeared in the Hearst sheet the following words occur:

The word "Socialist" has, I believe, a quite different meaning in America than it has here in England. Here, where the official Parliamentary opposition is a Socialist one, and where we have already had one Socialist Government, we regard Socialism as a particular point of view, which may be right or wrong, but which millions of reasonable men and women can and do hold. With most of you in America, I am told, a Socialist means rather somebody who is "up against" everything and everybody—what we would call an anarchist or nihilist, a red revolutionary without a constructive idea in his head.

Knowing something of Hearst journalism and being familiar with a number of instances where stories were twisted out of all shape to give the Socialist aspirations the worst possible light, I wrote a letter to Comrade A. Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the Independent Labor Party, that Lady Cynthia has just joined, quoting the Hearst article, and asked him to ask Mrs. Mosley if she meant to give the millions of working-class readers of Hearst papers the impression that while Socialism is all right in Great Britain, Americans would be crazy to join our movement.

A Construction Grossly Incorrect

I have just received the following reply:

Dear Comrade: "Your letter to Fenner Brockway has been forwarded to me. I am surprised that a construction so grossly incorrect should be applied to my article. These words cannot possibly be read as meaning that an American Socialist is an anarchist or nihilist, a red revolutionary without a constructive idea in his head. I said that to many Americans the word 'Socialist' had this meaning. The rest of my article was devoted to an attempt to dispel this absurd illusion.

"The word 'Socialist' has the same erroneous meaning to many people in Britain. Seven million people voted against us at the last election. We are, however, rapidly beating down this prejudice in our country, and my article was an humble attempt to help you beat it down in your country. My meaning was that more people hold this false belief in America about Socialism than now hold it in Great Britain. That is clearly manifest by the fact that Socialism polled over five million votes in this country at the last election.

Unfortunately, it appears still far from polling a proportionate number

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British Labor Answers Power Propagandists

By Leland Olds

A RECENT attack on public ownership and operation by L. C. Storrs, managing director, American Electric Railway Association, calls attention to a report on public ownership in Great Britain which completely breaks down Storrs' argument against the efficiency of municipal operation. This report, issued by the joint publicity department of the British Trades Union Congress and the British Labor party, shows that publicly-owned electric power plants in England not only supply electricity cheaper than private establishments but also operate at a profit.

"For every two privately owned electric supply undertakings in England and Wales," says the report, "there are three belonging to the public, the figures on March 31, 1923, being 195 and 290, respectively. Not only do these supply electricity at prices cheaper than the private undertakings, but they make handsome profits, in addition, for the benefit of the community."

The report shows that the publicly-owned plants produce electricity more cheaply by figures from the Electrical Times, the trade journal of the industry, covering all publicly-owned and privately-owned stations in London. These show the items in the cost of producing each 100 units sold as follows:

Station number:	Municipal.	Private.
1	4.62	7.08
2	3.78	6.78
3	2.82	6.44
4	2.90	6.44
5	4.54	7.18
6	6.30	6.90
Average	4.32	6.14

The cost of operation is almost one-eighth larger in the privately-owned plants. This is reflected in rates, the report quoting the average price per unit charged by six of the largest municipal and six of the largest private stations as follows:

Cost per 100 units sold:	Municipal.	Private.
Labor cost	\$0.28	\$0.34
Repairs and maintenance	.46	.50
Management salaries, office and legal expenses	.35	.55
Rent, taxes, etc.	.30	.50
Other	.05	.05
Total cost	\$2.69	\$2.90

The difference in favor of consumers supplied by municipal power stations, the report points out, is nearly 2c per unit. Customers buying from the privately-owned stations pay over 40% more for their electricity. These figures hardly coincide with the sarcastic statement of Storrs that "the management of a private property operates it as efficiently and economically as good business methods will permit. The management of a public property operates it as economically and efficiently as bad politicians will permit."

The report lists 19 municipalities, including leading industrial centers of England in which the municipal enterprises made profits ranging from \$75,000 in Hammersmith to \$975,000 in Sheffield, as a result of 1923-24 operation. The total profits of these enterprises combined amounted to about \$6,700,000, out of which nearly \$1,300,000 went to lighten the ordinary tax burden of the communities served.

CITY COMMITTEE OF SOCIALIST PARTY ACTIVE IN MANY FIELDS

A call in the Socialist press for clothing for the West Virginia miners has brought excellent results. Calls and communications have been coming from hundreds of homes in different parts of the city and from all stations of line asking the City Committee office to send for bundles of clothing, shoes, blankets, etc., for the striking miners and every communication bears a friendly expression of sympathy. Many people have brought bundles to the office at 7 East 15th street and some have delivered them to the different headquarters of the party.

The progressive women of the Bronx decided to go into the work of collecting apparel for the suffering strikers and their families and have asked the City Committee for credentials to do the work.

A leaflet has just been written by A. I. Shiplacoff on the coal situation and will be ready soon. It is hoped that the party branches as well as the Y. P. S. L. circles will provide for a systematic distribution of this circular. A hundred thousand copies are being printed, and if the comrades will immediately get on the job distributing them, there is no reason why this order should not be doubled or trebled within a few days.

Party Members, Attention!

All Socialist party members in Greater New York are called to meet in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East Fifteenth Street, New York, on Wednesday, Dec. 16, at 8 p. m., to receive the report of the City Committee on its plans for propaganda, education, and party building through the year 1925, and to launch our year-round campaign. Comrades, reserve this evening and be at the meeting on time. A. I. SHIPLACOFF,

"GOLDEN RULE" NASH PERMITS ORGANIZATION

What is considered a notable concession to the organized working class is the announcement from Cincinnati this week that "Golden Rule" Nash, owner of a large clothing plant in that city, has consented to the organization of his plant by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Commenting on the announcement made by Nash, Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated, said that it indicates that some members of the employing class are "showing some sense. Nash asked his workers whether he and they were to be held up "as an example of the open shop, as an argument why avaricious organizations of capital should exploit their laborers and grind their dollars out of the very sweat and blood of our brothers and sisters in their factories, or are we to join whole-heartedly and unreservedly with this great group of fearless organized workers" who are trying to free the oppressed.

"No one can successfully question the sincerity of Mr. Nash in taking this remarkable step," states Hillman. "There are no qualifying 'ifs' and 'buts' in his statement to his employees. He views the constant battle that is being waged by a portion of the workers who have organized to better their conditions. He resents the attempts that have been made to array him on the side of those forces of reaction that fight every attempt of the workers through organized action to better their lot. He asks his employees to commit themselves 'absolutely to the cause of the great organized labor movement of America and of the whole world.'"

"The Amalgamated welcomes this co-operation in organizing the workers of the Nash establishments. It will approach its task in the same spirit shown by Mr. Nash in his address in Cincinnati and do its part in writing a new chapter in the industrial history of this country." Nash's Golden Rule plan has had wide publicity. Opposing union organization among the 7,000 Nash employees, it was naturally considered an open shop scheme.

The work of organizing the forums is making progress. Several forums have already been opened and several more are on the way. By the first of the year it is expected that at least a dozen forums will be in operation.

The 6th, 8th and 12th A. D. will open their forum on Sunday evening, Dec. 13. Jacob Panken will speak on the subject, "The Law as a Socialist Judge Sees It."

Owing to the sudden illness of Comrad Kramer, who is conducting a forum at the Forward Building, Ossip Wolinsky will speak on Sunday, Dec. 13, at 11 o'clock on "The Present and the Future of the Jewish Labor Movement."

The fourth lecture of the season at the 23rd A. D. Brooklyn, jointly with the Educational Center of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, will be delivered Friday evening, Dec. 11, by Marius Hansome. He will speak on "Human Nature and the New Social Order."

A new wave of interest in Socialism is coming from spiritual and intellectual circles outside of the Socialist movement. This is shown by the number of requests made on the executive secretary of the city committee for lectures on Socialism by student, fraternal and church organizations. One of these meetings was held last Sunday evening in the First Congregational Church of Mt. Vernon where Louis Waldman delivered a lecture which brought considerable satisfaction and interest in the subject by a fine audience of young men and women, mostly students. Other meetings of this nature are now being arranged.

Great interest has been awakened in the party membership by the city committee's call for the general meeting which will take place in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, on Wednesday, Dec. 16. The city committee is preparing a definite agenda for discussion and it is hoped that the results of the greater city meeting will be of great benefit in the task of re-building the party organization.

Forty Vassar Girls Join Party at Poughkeepsie

The first two dinners arranged upstairs with Eugene V. Debs as the guest of honor have been remarkable successes. Last Saturday night the dining hall of Gene's Restaurant at Yonkers was packed with Socialists of that city and near-by points. In addition to Debs as the chief speaker, William Karlin, Samuel DeWitt, Dr. Morgan, August Claessens and James O'neal spoke.

At Poughkeepsie on Monday night another fine audience attended the dinner at the St. Regis Restaurant. Norman Thomas and August Claessens presided. Comrade Debs, who was in fine form. The "Eagle-News" of Poughkeepsie carried an excellent front-page story of the dinner on Tuesday.

The remarkable thing about the Poughkeepsie dinner is revealed in a short note from Comrade Debs to The New Leader: "Nothing can be added to this short message: 'Forty of the Vassar College girls who attended last night have applied for membership in the Local here. They were intensely interested and appreciative. Norman Thomas and August Claessens made rattling speeches. Everything is booming here. 'With love, GENE.'"

THE COOLIDGE CONGRESS MEETS

Stuffed-Shirt Agents of Big Biz on Hand to Nurse the Interests

WITH Congress under way again, Big Business makes ready to settle more firmly than ever into the saddle. Rarely have the prospects for privileged legislation been so bright. Through their tight-lipped, colorless, little puppet in the White House, the investment bankers, the big industrialists, the exploiters of farm and factory labor alike, prepare to jam through legislation that is either toothless or openly in favor of special interests. For this is being hailed by the reactionaries as "The Coolidge Congress." Now we are told that the nation will have a chance to bring to fruition "the popular mandate given at the last election." In simpler language that means the majority piled up in the Coolidge election of 1924, when by means of unheard of use of cold cash, economic pressure and the most brazen propaganda, the country was stampeded into electing the New England Nonentity.

And looking over the makeup of the present Congress, one can see the reason for the optimism of our stuffed-shirt rulers. The Republicans have a narrow or nominal majority in both houses of Congress. Fifty-six of the ninety-six Senators are listed as Republicans, thirty-nine as Democrats and one as Farmer-Labor. Eleven of these Republicans are regarded by the Washington correspondents as "irregulars." Of the 435 members of the house, 247 are put down as Republicans, 183 as Democrats, two as Socialists and three as Farmer-Laborites. Again, more than twenty of the Republicans are listed as "irregulars." A house majority consists of 218 votes.

Irregulars Have No Philosophy

But no one should confuse the word "irregular" with "rebel." If the irregulars had a consistently progressive or radical philosophy, if there were any sort of unity in the disrupted Democratic minority, one might look to some concerted opposition to the program of Big Business and Coolidgeism. There are so few rebels among the irregulars, so few real radicals who will wage an underground fight regardless of consequences that the bulk of the administration bills will probably go over.

Many of the so-called "issues" which this Congress will consider are as remote from the interest of the average American who has to make a living by the sweat of his own rather than someone else's brow as the foreign policies of Liberia. A lot of oratory will be let loose on something called the World Court. This is an utterly ineffective organization thought up by that eminent patriot Elihu Root. The only thing it will ever do or ever can do under the existing system is to legalize imperialistic loot. It is a device for sneaking this country backwards into the League of Nations. All across the country today paid propagandists for the World Court are rounding up innocent women's organizations, student bodies and good church people with the hook that if we only

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COAL ABUNDANT, BUT NOT FOR CONSUMERS

Engineers' Program Ignored, While Unseen Powers Try to Break Strike

By McAlister Coleman

PRESIDENT Coolidge has made a discovery. He has found out something about coal. It is something that everyone with the slightest knowledge of the unhappy state of that industry has known and proclaimed it for years. But all credit to Cal for finding out anything about anything. In his message to Congress delivered last Tuesday, Coolidge announced his discovery.

"With deposits of coal in this country capable of supplying its needs for hundreds of years, inability to manage and control this great resource for the benefit of all concerned is very close to a national economic failure." Right you are, Mr. Coolidge. Progressive engineers, economists and labor leaders have been telling you this for years. And now that we are in the fourth month of another coal strike, what are you going to do about it?

The answer is the same old cry that was voiced by the Harding administration—pass a law. "Authority," says the President, "should be lodged with the President and the Departments of Commerce and Labor, giving them power to deal with an emergency. They should be able to appoint temporary boards with authority to call for witnesses and documents, encourage arbitration and in case of threatened scarcity exercise control over distribution."

Republican Opportunism

So that's that, and in the meantime the anthracite strike still goes on with increasing evidence of the public's dissatisfaction over such Republican opportunism. The poor in the tenements of the great cities who have already suffered severely from the scarcity of coal have no voice and no influence. But now that the rich and influential, staunch supporters of Coolidge and Big Business, are beginning to grumble something may happen to end the present strike.

As conservative a group of engineers and economists as one can find, sent out an ultimatum to the anthracite industry last week practically demanding that the entire industry be reorganized. This came in the form of an open letter addressed to the operators and miners and signed by those in attendance at the annual meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in New York City.

"The uninterrupted mining and distribution of coal has become essential to our national welfare," said the engineers. "We believe that the responsibility for maintaining this rests upon the operators and miners jointly. We believe that the demands of the miners and the position of the operators are but the symptoms rather than the causes of the latest of a series of stoppages; that the real causes lie in the basic economic and technical organization of the industry. We believe that no agreement will insure continuity of production and distribution in the future which fails to provide a continuing joint agency which will concern itself not so much with the adjustment of grievances as with the constructive consideration of the underlying economic and technical facts by which all questions of wages, working conditions and earnings must be determined."

In other words these technicians propose a continuous "fact-finding agency" for coal—something which the miners have long advocated—and they apparently have in mind a reorganization of the industry somewhat along the lines of the "B. and O. Plan." That plan, which is now in effect among the shop crafts of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, consists of having joint committees of employees and employers meet together to consider ways and means of eliminating wastes, increasing production and generally improving working conditions. It has been bitterly attacked by extremists of the left wing as being a form of "class collaboration." On the other hand, its defenders point out that the

The Garment Workers in Convention at Philadelphia

As The New Leader goes to press the International Ladies' Garment Workers' convention is still in session at Philadelphia, and no important decisions have been taken aside from seating all delegates. Next week The New Leader will carry a story of the convention's work.

unions under this plan retain all their rights of collective bargaining, that the elimination of waste makes possible continuity of employment and the opportunity for higher wages with lower costs to the public and finally that the men of the shop crafts are pleased with the plan. The chief criticism from the union standpoint seems to be that there is no guarantee that the savings resulting from waste elimination will be distributed in the shape of higher wages. If the miners accept any such reorganization scheme, as the engineers propose, they must see to it that they have such guarantees in black and white.

With this new plan of the more conservative engineers, there are now three definite proposals for ending the strike emanating from those outside the industry. There is the plan of the Committee on Coal and Giant Power which has been discussed at length in these columns and which The New Leader believes most acceptable to the miners, there is Governor Pinchot's plan upon which the Governor stands pat and the "fact-finding," collaborative proposal.

Unseen Powers At Work

But still no word from Washington other than the President's vague proposals contained in his message to Congress and the announcement that Cal has sent a letter to John L. Lewis which presumably tells him to be a good boy and send his diggers back to the pits. And as this is being written, a short five hours ride from New York whose people choke in the unaccustomed fumes of soft coal smoke, 150,000 anthracite miners, one of the finest bodies of workers in this country are sticking to their posts, suffering for the sake of the basic principles of unionism.

Unseen powers are still trying to break the ranks of these strikers. The Federated Press reports that at a recent conference of anthracite operators in New York at which George F. Baker, Jr., and other big bankers were present, the hard-bosled hard coal owners decided to "fight the union to a finish." From the same source comes word that the United States Chamber of Commerce has sent letters to all chambers of commerce in cities of over 25,000 urging that the operators and miners be left alone to fight it out. Washington is full of lobbyists for the coal operators and their bankers. The Interstate Commerce Commission is being used as an anti-union tool. From the New York offices of Ivy Lee, notorious press-agent for Big Business, comes a constant stream of propaganda aiming to poison the public mind against the miners.

It is time that progressives and radicals rallied around the few men in Congress who are preparing to wage a fight for the nationalization of the mines, the only ultimate solution to the coal chaos. The New Leader urges its readers to get in on this fight, to bring the facts contained in this and other articles to the attention of friends, to help unite the forces of progress behind those who would have the people recover the most important of their natural resources.

A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

By Gertrude Weil Klein

LAST week we said, among other things, that "Ma" Ferguson, Governor of Texas, showed common sense in her determination to get after wealthy liquor-law evaders. Almost at once we received two rather warm letters demanding to know how we, or any feminist, had the face, in view of the total mess Mrs. Ferguson has made of things, to do anything but keep still about the matter.

Well, to begin with, we're not and never have been one of those feminists or suffragists who believed that giving women equal rights with men would establish a sort of perfumed paradise in which the lion and the lamb would live happily together ever after. Nor have we ever believed that permitting women greater self-expression would add anything to the sum total of human happiness. In fact, we're much happier when most of the women we know just keep still and look pretty, or as pretty as they can. And to a lesser degree this goes for most men, too. But that's no argument for preventing those women who happen to have an urge toward politics or art or business from going about their affairs in the best way they know how. Women have had the terrible handicap of many centuries of intellectual stagnation, but in the long run they'll probably measure up pretty well to men's far from brilliant standards.

As for women in politics, just because there is a great noise now about graft and fraud in the "Ma" Ferguson administration, we see no reason for putting it up to the feminists. We never said that Governor Ferguson's commendable stand against wealthy liquor-law evaders was due to her superiority as a woman. On the contrary, it's the sort of common sense tactics that may occasionally inspire any well meaning politician.

The whole thing just serves to strengthen our good old Socialist contention that a woman Democrat or a Republican is no different politically than a man Democrat or Republican. Both of them have obligations to their party machine which they must fulfill or be ruined politically. And their party machines, of course, are functioning as the agents of the economically dominant class.

Women, as women, have made little impression in the political field. There have been four women in Congress at different times. The only one ever heard from was Jeanette Rankin, and she was a sort of radical whose name became anathema in conservative circles when she refused to vote for the war. She was not re-elected. We have had women in the legislature of New York State. Who ever heard of any laudable achievements by them? But this should occasion no surprise to the well informed person, just as Ferguson-Texas muddle occasions no surprise. The fight is on in Texas, not because Governor Ferguson is a woman—for there are many who claim

"Ma" Ferguson and the Political Mess in Texas—Women in the News

that Jim Ferguson is the real governor—but for the same reason political fights happen whenever there are two factions contending for power.

We see that our erstwhile comrade J. G. Phelps Stokes is again in perfectly proper society. He has been elected secretary of the Sons of the Revolution. Rose Pastor Stokes, not to be outdone by her ex-husband, spoke at a meeting at the Republican Headquarters in Brooklyn, called to protest against the transfer of some school children from one school to another, necessitating a long walk for the children. Rose Pastor, mentioned in the account as a "prominent political worker of Brooklyn," spoke on the thoroughly bourgeois question of more schools.

We are almost moved to write a poem about The Campus of Columbia, for lo, after a three-year struggle for free speech at this university, Margaret Ganger was permitted to speak before the Social Problems Club, and so for the first time Birth Control was discussed on the Campus of Columbia. Which proves that sometimes the (faculties, etc.) weaken; and which ought to encourage radical student

ANITA WHITNEY

By Eugene V. Debs

THE parallel to this case would not be possible in any other land on the face of the earth. I have read of the atrocities in Russia under the rule of the czars, but I can recall no instance of such barbarous, satanic and utterly unwarranted persecution, such raw, brutal repression of a high-souled, noble-natured woman, whose entire life bears testimony in every thought and deed of her consecration to the service of humanity.

It has remained for the State of California to renew its disgrace and to reveal in its shame in flaunting the base, cowardly, liberty-strangling "criminal syndicalism law" that rivals anything in the regime of the czar and his Cossacks for infamy.

The cowardly capitalistic supreme court at Washington, with the ponderous steel-trust, bond-subsidized Taft, alias "Injunction Bill," at its head, did not dare to face the issue and send Anita Whitney to that foul prison-hell at San Quentin. No, it did not dare to decide the case at all, but dodged it in slyster-lawyer fashion by disavowing jurisdiction and thus directly placing that foul, indelible blot, black as a raven's wing, upon the judicial reputation of the American republic.

But Anita Whitney will not go to prison. The miserable cowards and poltroons who are responsible for her conviction dare not put her there. Not that there is any pity or mercy in their flint hearts or their bowels of brass, but because, blind, stupid and callous

bodies everywhere to keep on hammering.

Ah, wella day, wella day! Comes now the Allied Patriotic Societies with a bill drafted for submission to Congress which would compel foreign language newspapers in the United States to print in each issue half a column of history about this nation. May we suggest several lovely little half columns? Not to go too far astray, there's America's Imperialistic policy in Porto Rico, the Philippines and other island possessions, and the unparalleled act of aggrandizement, the Mexican war of 1846—the words are Woodrow Wilson's—might make a juicy bit. And for the Hungarian press, what could be nicer than the Karolyi case? We can promise an almost endless supply of history of the same character.

We hope that all the earnest young men who are studying to be doctors some day, and all the parents who are making great sacrifices that their sons may study, are confronted by the knowledge that a campaign is under way to raise a fund to establish a home for indigent physicians. In our topsyturvy society, the physician, it seems, fares little better than any other worker, unless he is one of those charlatans who regards his profession as a business and charges all that the tariff will bear. According to the fund's sponsors, 40 percent of the physicians in the United States die poor.

as they are, they realize that there is such a thing as going too far, and when it comes to throwing Anita Whitney to the dogs of a prison-hell their craven spirits will shrivel within them and they will find some pretext upon which to default in the execution of their foul and brutal design.

But if the impossible should come to pass; if the Chambers of Commerce and their "constituted authorities" should be low and vile enough to allow such a crowning disgrace to come upon the State already notoriously sordid in plutocratic misrule in the eyes of the world; if the people of that State tamely, supinely, shamelessly see Anita Whitney, white-souled apostle of the dawn, flung into that rotten dungeon, that unspeakably vile, festering black-hole of capitalism, reeking with leprosy and abomination at every pore, then should all the lightnings of infinite wrath be let loose at once as upon ancient Sodom and Gomorrah and the earthquake and the tempest combine to rive and destroy the state, for such a state is not morally fit to survive in even a half-civilized world.

Joint Board of Sanitary Control to Celebrate

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the women's garment industry will celebrate its fifteenth anniversary at a dinner on Monday evening, Dec. 14, at the Town Hall Club, 123 West 43d street.

The board is composed of representatives of the public, the organized manufacturers and the organized workers and was created under the Protocol of Peace which ended the general strike in the industry in 1910, for the purpose of eradicating the sweatshop, eliminating fire hazards and overcoming generally bad conditions in the factories of the largest industry in the city.

George Gordon Battle and Justice Bernard L. Shientag of the City Court will review the remarkable success of the board, the one institution created by the Protocol which has weathered all storms, ignored all quarrels and survived all changes in the garment trades for fifteen years.

The report of Dr. George M. Price, director, will show an almost complete elimination of the sweatshop from the trade, which has been accomplished by long and painstaking educational work, constant inspection, and untiring cooperation with public officials, manufacturers and the union. Shops are rated A, B and C according to their sanitary conditions and fire protection, and the last semi-annual inspection made in October, 1925, shows only 7.89 percent of the factories in class C.

Socialism is one of the most elastic and protean phenomena of history, varying according to the time and circumstances in which it appears, and with the character, opinions, and institutions of the people who adopt it.—T. Kirkup.

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

AT COOPER UNION at 8 o'clock

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11th
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"Can Education and Democracy Both Exist in the Same Country?"

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13th
DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI
"Ethical Changes in India"

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15th
HOUSTON PETERSON
"The Huxley Family"

Admission Free
Open Forum Discussion

AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL at 8 o'clock

MONDAY, DECEMBER 14th
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
"Logic—How We Think; How We Ought to Think"

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 16th
PROF. JOHN MANTLE CLAPP
"Public Speaking"

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17th
DR. WOLFGANG KOEHLER
"Psychology"

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19th
DR. W. L. WESTERMANN
"History—The Byzantine Civilization"

Admission Twenty-five Cents

Labor's Dividends

Two Miners Buried Alive
NEDERLAND, Col.—Twenty-two miners entombed in the flaming passages of the Fairview silver, gold and lead mine for nearly eighteen hours emerged alive. Half of them staggered almost unaided from the smoking tunnel, while others were carried out unconscious. Two miners are dead.

Railway Wrecking Train Wrecked
MARYVILLE, Mo.—One trainman was killed and another probably fatally injured when a Burlington Railway wrecker was derailed near here early today.

Two Killed in Oil Blast
BRAINTREE, Mass.—Two men were killed, another was badly burned and several firemen were overcome by smoke and gas as the result of an explosion of oil on board the American tanker Phoenix while she was unloading a cargo of petroleum at a dock in East Braintree.

Falling Girder Kills Worker
PROVIDENCE, R. I.—George Hughes, thirty-three, was killed and three fellow workers seriously injured when a section of huge steel girders and cross-beams, being hoisted to the top of the Auditorium under construction on North Main street, fell nearly seventy feet and struck them.

Exploding Boiler Kills Two
ELKTON, Md.—The engineer and fireman of Local No. 49, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, were killed to night, when the boiler of their locomotive exploded just as the train passed Childs station, four miles north of here.

Barge Deck Hand Drowned
Carl Hansen, deckhand of the Barge Alice, owned by J. Sullivan of No. 143 Coffey street, Brooklyn, and tied up at 17th street, Hoboken, was drowned when he lost his footing while spreading covers on freight.

Logs Bury Six Men
Six carpenters employed by the Maintenance of Way Department of the Lehigh Valley Railroad were injured, one fatally, when a dozen sixty-foot piles roled off a flat car upon which they were working in the Johnson avenue yards in Jersey City.

Worker Killed by Fumes
Fumes from a patented motor petrol overcame and killed James Paradine while he and John Stepho were cleaning out an empty tank car in a railroad siding of the Petroleum Terminal Company's plant at Avenue A and First street, Bayonne.

Killed by French Machine
Louis Kopiewnicki, thirty-five, of No. 146 Hull avenue, Maspeth, Queens, was killed by an arm of a trench digging machine which he was dismantling at Parsons and Laburnum avenues, Flushing.

Falling Wall Kills Longshoreman
Buried under the wreckage of a concrete wall, which he was helping to demolish in the West Shore yards in West Hoboken, Salvatore Cuomo, a longshoreman, of 592 Hicks street, Brooklyn, suffered internal injuries which caused his death in the North Hudson Hospital, Weehawken.

Another Splendid Voice

Raised by Labor for Debs

The following resolution was adopted by the recent Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Electric and Street Railway Employees:

"Whereas Eugene V. Debs has been paroled from the Federal prison and whereas, many different societies have repeatedly been endeavoring to have said Eugene V. Debs given a complete pardon, restoring him to citizenship, therefore, be it resolved by the delegates to the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, that we go on record and request the President of the United States to completely pardon and restore to citizenship the said Eugene V. Debs."

The Bronx Free Fellowship

1301 Boston Road, near 169th St.,

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13

8 P. M., Fellowship Service and Address

"Sowing and Reaping"

Leon Rosser Land, Leader

8:30 P. M., Open Forum

"Mexico's Struggle for Freedom"

Harry W. Laidler, Ph.D.

Admission Free

MUSIC

WHAT NEW YORK ELECTION MEANS

By Girolamo Valenti

IT is said that the recent mayoralty elections in this city have shown that the Socialists held their own. This is absolutely true, and for proof we need not refer to the figures of last year's elections nor to the decreased number of those who went to the polls this year as compared with last year. The official returns of the 15th Assembly District, Manhattan, conclusively prove that the Socialist vote was not at all negligible. In that district, the so-called silk-stock-in district, Norman Thomas polled a comparatively high vote, very high indeed when compared with the strong Socialist districts. Now it happened that this particular bourgeois district used voting machines, and a student of politics, familiar with the old parties' vote bartering, will realize that, had all districts been provided with such voting machines, the Socialist vote would have been far greater. No doubt many Socialist votes were stolen and credited to others. There are more than 3,000 election districts in Greater New York and most of them lacked Socialist watchers on election night. Naturally, if the corrupt election officials of the old parties steal Socialist votes in polling places watched by Socialist workers, I would suspect that in those polling places not watched, the same election officials divided the Socialist vote equally between them.

The result of the 15th A. D. have impressed the local Socialists with the absolute necessity of working hard to arouse public opinion in favor of voting machines all over the city.

The elections have also revealed an amazing Communist weakness. I would rather have preferred a good Communist vote to a Tammany landslide. To my disappointment, however, and in spite of the fact that the Communists command five or six dailies in New York, and that they boasted of a united labor ticket convention with representatives of hundreds of thousands of workers participating, in spite of their supposed capture of several needle trade unions and their assuring us that "Unquestionably much of the former Socialist vote went to the Communist as the class-conscious workers of New York hold the yellow Socialists in contempt," little more than 3,000 votes were credited to them in the official tabulation.

The Communist weakness, however, does not and cannot account for the Socialist stagnation. While it is true that the Socialist vote denotes a firm foundation for the Socialist Party in local politics, it is none-the-less true and important that the Socialists need a jacking up for a more aggressive movement that warrants more rapid advancement.

Above all things the recent elections have revealed an absolute, imperative need of a Socialist daily. Think how handicapped was the Socialist position all through the last campaign with no daily for its mouthpiece. Think of the influence the Socialists would again hold in the Labor and liberal world with a daily at their command.

There is no sound reason to justify the lack of a Socialist and Labor daily in Greater New York. It is hard to believe that a city of more than 6,000,000 people, with more than 500,000 workers organized in trade unions, could do without a daily of the type of the New York Call.

Ardent Socialists should rally and build the machinery for the realization of this greatest and most urgent task for the Socialist movement.

The elections have unmistakably revealed that we need a daily and need it badly.

Will this humble appeal of mine awaken the Comrades to action?

On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it we are lost, because we are no longer Socialists. The strength and power of Socialism rests in the fact that we are leading a class struggle; that the laboring class is exploited and oppressed by the capitalist class; and that within capitalist society effectual reforms that would put an end to class exploitation are impossible.—William Liebknecht.

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Park Ave. and 34th St.

8 P. M.

CLARENCE DARROW

"EVOLUTION"

Questions Discussion

11 A. M.

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL

"The Real Fundamentals of Religion"

DON'T SMOKE PAINT

When you have put in a full day and a full dinner there is more satisfaction in a good pipeful of H.G.P. than a front seat in town.

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IN THE "EIGHT-FIFTEEN"

By T. S. Dickson

FOR once, the Eight-fifteen clanked towards Grubtown on its morning way from Property Suburb without the vociferous opinions of Mr. Hardphace, our ancient and cast-iron Tory, whose vest and bankbook alike had swollen considerably during the past ten years.

Not that he was absent from the Debating Compartment, mark you; not at all. He was there, but silent; so was the Young Man with the Purple Socks, and Mr. Hesitant, who still laid reverent wreaths on the grave of the Liberal Party; also the man with the Briar Pipe, and the Man with the L. M. S. Badge in his cap, filling his early pipe, and looking for trouble as of yore. The "Daily Mail" was there and the "Daily News," besides several sheets devoted mainly to the Gospel according to St. Tipster; the carriage swayed and wobbled, the engine rattled, and the smoke barrage resembled as much as ever an autumn mist rising from the fens. But, as I say, Mr. Hardphace was silent.

For a new star had swung into the firmament, shot itself in, indeed, just as the train moved. Passing a non-committal nod to the L. M. S. Badge and the Man with the Briar Pipe, it took the last remaining seat—next to Hardphace, as it chanced—and, looking round the carriage, asked with a challenge, "What about it?"

The Newcomer had looked at the Man with the L. M. S. Badge, but it was the Young Lad with the Purple Socks who replied. "What about it?" said he. "It was an unparalleled mixture of brains and magic; he's a world's wonder, is Hobbs." Whereupon the L. M. S. Badge roared hilariously, while the Newcomer presented Purple Socks with a look which betokened sublime pity.

"Can you deny it?" persisted Purple Socks as the Badge exploded once more; for, what the Young Man with the Purple Socks didn't know, but what the L. M. S. Man did not, was that the Newcomer was one of those who has visions of the working-class, armed and massed, rising with anger but with rigid discipline, and marching towards the last tottering bulwarks of an effete and decadent capitalism, or something like that.

Mystified by the situation, the occupants of the Eight-fifteen looked questioningly at each other till the Man with the Briar Pipe said: "What about the present industrial and political situation, is the question, I take it?"

"It is," returned the Newcomer, "but you can leave out the political part, if by that you mean Parliament and Parliamentarians. They're a wash-out. Parliament is only the executive of the Boss Class, and the Parliamentary game is to hoodwink and delude the people."

"Whether Parliament has a majority of Conservatives or Liberals or Laborists and Socialists?" queried the Briar.

"They are all in the one boat—your Parliamentaries—out for a career, place-hunters, fakers," hurled out the Newcomer with hesitation.

Mr. Hardphace pricked up his ears, but said nothing; though he did think how nice it would be if all the working class could be got to believe that, to agree that Parliament was of no use whatever. It would save the persistent disturbance to business by those infernal general elections which were coming every year now; and Winston Churchill would be able to get through

Revolution's Instrument Bombs or Brains?

even bigger reductions in the super-tax without the obstruction and criticism of those annoying Labor chaps in the House. For a moment there flickered in one of the darkest recesses of his brain the thought that it wouldn't be a bad idea for the Federation of British Industries and the financial interests to start a little society—not ostentatiously, of course—which would send its emissaries into the mining villages, and all those industrial areas where the Labor Party had its strength, to tell the workers that they would best serve their own interests by boycotting Parliament and the ballot box. To achieve a result like that would be worth the spending of money; and he had seen little fruit from his donations to the Reconstruction Society, the Anti-Socialist Society, the Citizens' Patriotic League, and the Association for the Defence of Religion and the Constitution. He would certainly mention it to his friend Gryndem, who was on the Council of the F. B. I. Meantime, however, he listened.

The Newcomer was still speaking. He was pouring out a jet of errors, shortcomings, weaknesses and treacheries alleged against Labor's Parliamentary leaders. (Hardphace hadn't enjoyed himself so well for a long time. That, he thought, should decide Mr. Hesitant, the Liberal, who had been wavering for some time between an allegiance to the Laborists and throwing in his lot with the gentlemanly party in support of law, order, and Things as They Are, generally.)

"Suppose," said the Briar Pipe, "that

the Parliamentarians were ten times worse than you think them; may I ask who chose them for Parliament?"

"The workers, of course—deluded Dubs!" supplied the Newcomer.

"You will agree that the Trade Unions are represented on the local and divisional Labor parties, and that they deliberately chose such men as their candidates. Also, that if they believe them to be fakirs and traitors, they can fling them out, and choose others who are as faithful as the martyrs, as wise as Solomon, as courageous as a horde of lions?"

"What difference would that make if they just send them to Parliament?" demanded the Newcomer. "What you Parliamentarians don't understand is that Parliament came into existence to do the work of the propertied and capitalist class, has been designed to do the work of that class, and therefore cannot serve the purpose of the working class."

"Then I may take it—if that logic be sound—that as machine guns came into existence to do the work of the propertied and capitalist class, and have been designed for that work, machine guns could only kill proletarians, and not capitalists or landowners?"

"Think you're smart, I suppose, scoring a debating point? It would depend who had the machine guns, whether workers or capitalists were killed. And even if the workers got a Parliamentary majority, the boss class in the army would turn the machine guns on the workers when it suited them."

"Possibly," conceded the Briar Pipe,

INTERNAT'L FURRIERS' UNION SUPPORTS NEW YORK LOCALS

The Sub-Committee of the General Executive Board of the International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada, has adopted a resolution to co-operate with the Joint Board of Locals 1, 5, 10 and 15 of New York in its efforts to obtain the conditions as outlined in the new demands embodied in the new agreement with the New York fur manufacturers.

The Sub-Committee elected General President O. Schachtman to represent the International at the conference to be held soon between representatives of the Joint Board and the manufacturers association. The first conference was scheduled for last Tuesday, to take up the demands contained in the new agreement for preliminary discussion. The new agreement is to replace the present one, which expires on Feb. 1, 1926.

The main features of the new agreement are:—40 hours a week, spread over 5 work days; equal division of work; no overtime to be permitted at any time, and the establishment of an unemployment fund, to which the manufacturers shall contribute, and which is to be supervised by the Union. The agreement contains 18 demands of the workers.

Unless thought be raised to a far higher plane than hitherto, some great set-back in civilization is inevitable.—Professor Robinson.

An emperor in his nightcap would not meet with half the respect of an emperor with a crown.—Goldsmith.

NECKWEAR WORKERS ORGANIZE

The neckwear workers of Boston have already begun to feel the fruit of organization in the form of better wages. They formed two local unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and established permanent headquarters in room 560, Little Building.

One local, No. 17581, consists of cutters, which has a membership that includes nearly every cutter in Boston, and the other, Local 15200, consisting of the makers, who also have a good membership.

The initiative in the organization work was taken by the National Committee to organize the neckwear workers of the New York Neckwear Makers' Union and the New York Cutters' Union. David Silverman was assigned to supervise the campaign in Boston. While the union has not been recognized by the employers, most of the workers have received increases ranging from three to five dollars per week.

The New York Neckwear Cutters' Union arranged a successful banquet at Cavanagh's Restaurant at which over 200 members turned out.

When'er contending princes fight
For private pique or public right,
They combat both by sea and land;

Armies are raised, fleets are manned,
When, after many battles past,
Both, tired with blows, make peace at last.

What is it, after all, we get?
Why, taxes, widows, wooden legs,
and debt.

—James Russell Lowell.

"but we are going too fast. If the possession of the machine gun, and not what system it grew up under, determines who shall be killed by it, will not the possession of Parliament by workers' representatives determine whether it can be used for the workers, just as hitherto it has been used against them?"

"Can I put it simple, mate?" asked the Man with the L.M.S. Badge, who had been wakeful though silent. "Let us suppose the House o' Commons is a gramophone, and—"

"That's the truth for once," chipped in the Newcomer, and a general laugh slackened the tension.

"Well, we agree on something, anyhow," nodded the Badge. "As I get you, you object to the gramophone because it was made by the boss class—and I don't love 'em, and don't you forget it!—and because it plays the boss tunes: 'Land o' Ope and Glory,' 'Just Keep Things as They Are, Liza Dear,' and 'Another Ten Per Cent. Won't Do Us Any Harm.' And you says, mate: 'Smash the blinkin' gramophone.' I says: 'No; get control o' the gramophone, and change the blinkin' records. Then you can have 'Workers of the World Unite' or 'Feed the Fat Man When He Grows His Own Potatoes.'"

"You should be traveling for records, mister," said the Newcomer, with a bite.

"Wrong way about, mate," said the L.M.S. Badge, as he plugged his pipe. "I've nearly a record for travelin'—been on the railway twenty year, fireman and porter, see?"

"Well, what's your alternative?" asked the Man with the Briar Pipe, taking up the thread of serious argument again.

"The workers," replied the Newcomer, "should concentrate on industrial action, every man in his union." ("Good!" interjected the L.M.S. Badge. "I'm with you there.") They should be prepared when the time is ripe, when any great crisis offers the opportunity, to take over the control of industry, and at the same time be preparing to defend their position, once they have taken over."

"Yes," commented the Briar Pipe, meditatively, though Hardphace seemed on the point of a volcanic outburst. "That runs very well, to listen to. But let us face the facts. A hundred per cent. Trade Unionism! I'm with you, and every Trade Union leader will be glad to have your advice as to how it can be done. At present, if the majority of the workers vote against you, it is not likely that they will lift a gun and risk their life fighting for you. Is it? That by the way. You propose, outside of Parliament or legislation, to take over industry. Suppose in all the great centers of industry your network of union organizations were complete, that the hour had come in your opinion to strike the blow, you would require men at the helm in every town, in every village, who would give the signal for the great move."

The Newcomer agreed.

"And has it never struck you—while you have no difficulty in discovering traitors in the Parliamentary Movement and the Trade Union Movement—that the secrecy which would be absolutely essential here would increase the opportunity of spies and traitors a hundred fold? That the word to move might be given too soon, so as to prepare the road for a swoop by the master class, as happened in the Reform Movement, and would almost inevitably happen again?"

"We'd make short work of spies," said the Newcomer grimly.

"When you had discovered them," said the Briar Pipe. "There's the rub! Does it seem feasible that you can get the workers to arm, to fight, to die for a change of system, when up to the moment you cannot even get them to vote for a change of system. The task immediately before us is not how to change the system, but to get the people even to desire to change it."

"Look here," said the Newcomer, "even if they did want it, and you had a majority in the House of Commons, do you think the boss class would lie down to it?"

"It might not, but when there has been a mental change going on amongst the electors outside the army, that change will be reflected inside the army, making it much less possible for the master class to use the army against the policy of a Labor or Socialist Government elected by a majority of the people. At any rate, if the use of the army by the Master Class is the great danger, then that danger is greater still when the necessary mental change has not taken place in the minds of the electorate, and has not been reflected in the rank and file of the army."

"Absolute speculation," condemned the Newcomer; "and meantime, the Boss Class are going to batter the workers down to cooile level."

"Not speculation," corrected the Briar Pipe, "but a weighing of the probabilities, and I think the balance is heavily against this madness of the workers taking and keeping control by force. The time has passed when an army with scythes and pointed steel on the end of staffs can win through, when even rifles or bombs in a secretly prepared rising can smash through an Old Order. You cannot secretly collect machine guns and heavy artillery; still less can you get or store the mountains of shells necessary in such an enterprise; still less can you fight a fleet of aeroplanes that can flash from distant centers over you in an hour, and rip, roast and poison thousands in a few minutes with bombs, corrosive and incendiary liquids and smoke poisons. It would be red, remorseless slaughter for the working class."

"I'll come," said the Newcomer vehemently, thinking of outbreaks, disorders and armed risings, "if the workers are goaded too far."

"I, for one, don't close my eyes to the possibility," said the Man with the Briar Pipe gravely. And the occupants of the debating compartment fled out from the Eight-fifteen in unusual silence.

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THE FUTURE OF MINING IN ENGLAND

By Rennie Smith, M. P.

THE fact of the possession of coal made the rise of British industrialism in the nineteenth century possible. Without coal neither could the foundations of modern capitalist industrialism have been made, nor could the imposing superstructure which made Britain for a brief while the workshop of the world have been reared. Coal has been for British industry our hope and our strength, as well as our refuge in times of trouble. And now Britain's coal mining industry is threatened. It has broken down. It is not able to function as of old. It is passing through the most acute crisis it has ever known.

This is a serious situation. It affects not only those million men who, together with their families, derive a livelihood from this industry. Because it is a key industry, it affects the present and the future of the whole of British industry. Nay, America has her coal troubles, too. There is obviously much more than the salt waters of the Atlantic which bind these two countries together and gives them common interests in common problems.

Capital Versus Labor

What are the facts with which we have to deal?

The normal struggle between capital and labor for the division of the product of industry has, of course, gone on for a century. Changes have taken place. The method of collective bargaining has slowly been accepted. The trade union is recognized as the social instrument of the workers for dealing with their conditions in this mining industry. But the essential antagonism remains. The industrial struggles in the mining industry, therefore, which have taken place since 1919, have remained, in this sense, true to type. But certain special features have been added to this long-standing antagonism, which give a new atmosphere to the struggle of the post-war period.

Other Factors

In the first place, the demand for coal during the war was so great that mining could be carried on under almost any conditions, at a profit. Under normal conditions of competitive industry the life-time of a coal mine is strictly defined. There comes a point in the exploitation of a pit when it no longer pays to continue its working. Every year, therefore, it is the rule to close a number of pits, from which all the coal which can be extracted at a profit has been extracted. During war-time, practically no pits were closed at all. To win the war, the nation was prepared to pay the prices for working even the worst mines. With the end of the war, the rapid fall in the price of coal and the demand for coal, there has come a double process of mine-closing, for the pits which normally would have fallen out of action between 1914 and 1918 have been added to those which ceased to be of economic value during the later period. Thus the peace term in the mining industry have had to take the burden of the war fears.

Effect of Peace Treaty

In the second place, international politics has badly damaged the British mining industry. The economic clauses of the peace treaty of 1919, with their demands on Germany for reparation costs, for the delivery of millions of tons of coal per annum to the allied powers, has had the obvious result, as was predicted by the Labor Party from the beginning, of reducing the demand for British coal in European markets, and therefore of accentuating unemployment in the mining industry. Reparation coal deliveries still continue under the Dawes agreement. If any general benefit comes to Europe from the operation of the Dawes report, it is but just to remember that British miners have been penalized in the course of its achievement.

Exit Coal—Enter Oil and Electricity

In the third place—and here we touch what is perhaps the most critical and difficult aspect of the post-war situation—coal is going out of fashion. Oil, petrol and electricity are becoming increasingly the motive powers of twentieth century industrialism. The

Socialization Is Only Way Out for Industry Broken Down Through Excesses of Capital

world's coal fields have been steadily expanding since 1914; the world's demand for coal has been steadily diminishing. It is the slow realization of this fact which gives a special atmosphere and a special seriousness to Britain's post-war coal problem.

The Post-War Coal Situation

With these three added factors playing on to an antagonism which is already a century old, we can understand the peculiar intensity of the struggle in the mining industry since 1919. When the world war ended, the organized workers were resolved to translate the promises of the statesmen of the older parties into reality—it was the favorite statement of Mr. Lloyd George that when the war was over the workers should have, as their reward, a world fit for heroes to live in. Men wanted higher wages, shorter hours, an increase of real purchasing power as compared with the 1914 days. For a brief year after the war they met with success. Then came the slump in world demand for British goods and the beginning of the chronic unemployment period, in the midst of which we still stand. It was under these circumstances that the famous Lord Chief Justice Sankey inquiry into the British mining industry was held. The results of this inquiry were a revelation to the general public. The essential relations of royalty owners, managers and men were laid bare. Waste, inefficiency, lack of adequate technique, stupid small-scale methods, the burdens of

private ownership of coal—all this the public examination of competent witnesses laid ruthlessly bare. Chief Justice Sankey in his summing up condemned the existing coal mining systems as wasteful, both of men and materials, and stated that it could only be continued in the present form with grave continued loss to the nation. His report gave a great authoritative impulse to the movement for the treatment of the mining industry along national lines, through unitary management and state ownership—an idea long advocated by the Labor Party. But the coalition government (Conservative and Liberal) chose to ignore the findings of Lord Chief Justice Sankey in 1920-21. There has followed four years of industrial struggle in the industry, in the course of which miners' standards of wages have fallen, in their real purchasing power, below the level of 1914. In addition to this decline in wage standards, has been added the growing burden of unemployment. Every eighth man out of a million workers in the industry is today workless. The prospects were never more gloomy.

The Crisis of The Present Year

It was under these circumstances that the employers in the mining industry decided this year to bring the existing agreement to an end, and insist upon still lower wages or longer hours, or both. This precipitated the crisis of August last. To these demands the men answered: We have

suffered one defeat after another since 1919. Promises made have not been redeemed. Our standards have been driven down. The language of a world fit for heroes to live in is shown to be a delusion and a mockery. We cannot and we will not allow the present low standards of our lives to be driven any lower. We have reached the minimum below which we are not prepared to go. We are at a stage where no argument is possible. We will not consent to discuss any further lowering of our wage standards.

This uncompromising position was sustained by General Secretary Cook and his executive committee all the way through the negotiations with the employers. It was this adamant attitude which compelled Prime Minister Baldwin, against his will, to step in during the last three days and try to find, through government intervention, a peaceful settlement of the dispute—"Peace in our time, O Lords," as he said.

But when in the intense wrangle of conversations during those three eventful days, he made the solemn declaration that not only must the miners accustom themselves to the idea of lower wages, but the wage earners of the whole country must face reductions of wages, when he made this momentous and revealing statement of his intentions and attitude to the trade union leaders—he almost carried the British nation from the frying pan into the fire. For that statement made a general action of wage-earners inevitable. Even conservatively disposed, Mr. J. H. Thomas, the railway-men's leader,

joined issue with Baldwin and went over to the miners.

The Temporary Settlement

In this way came the truce. The Prime Minister has made the State the milch-cow of the mining industry for the next eight months. Profits are to be guaranteed. Present rates of wages are to be guaranteed. The State is to foot the bill. In other words, we are committed for eight months to the worst possible form of State intervention in the primary and key industry. Meanwhile, a Royal Commission is to make a further thorough inquiry into the whole position of the mining industry and to submit its report by May of next year.

What Next?

What line of action will Mr. Baldwin take next year? What is the way out of the mining problem? There are only three answers to this question. In the first place, Premier Baldwin can decide to continue the policy he has introduced. He can continue the subsidy. He can continue to accept, openly acknowledged fact that private capitalism has broken down in this primary industry and compel the State to pay the piper for its defects. He can change private capitalism in the coal mining industry to this most abject of forms of State capitalism. If he so decides, then other industries will take the hint. The ship building industry, by a similar logic, can put in a claim for a State subsidy. So can the iron and steel industry.

So can agriculture. The State Subsidy, generalized is the nation's bankruptcy.

Secondly, the Prime Minister can decide to go back to the old position. He can withdraw the State from its associations with the industry, leave it, as a "private enterprise" to fight out its own battles. In this case, there will be stubborn opposition from the industry itself, which by May next will have stabilized itself round the new conditions created by the subsidy. Premier Baldwin may decide to fight.

In the third place, the government can decide to substitute for the present bad form of State action—a good form. This line of action would mean steps in the direction of carrying out labor's program for the nationalization of the industry. It may seem ironical and a flight of imagination to suggest that this may actually be the line of action taken by a conservative government. But history affords plenty of precedent. The Tory Party have already taken over many an item from Labor's program and transformed it into the law of the land. It is not many years since British conservatism was fundamentally opposed to national insurance, to old age and widows' pensions. These today are part of the law of the country—actively supported by Conservatives. British experience shows that when a progressive party has done all the fundamental spadework of creating opinion, often through a process of bitter social ostracism and persecution, the old Tory Party, wise as a serpent comes along when opinion is ripe and irresistible and passes the appropriate law.

But when this issue has been decided as to the future of the British mining industry, there will still remain much to be done. Let us assume that a wiser order of industrial statesmanship comes to prevail, that the industry is worked as a national business, that many of the old conflicts and wastes within the industry are eliminated, that co-operative methods, with improved mechanical technique and scientific devices are applied both to the production of the nation's coal as well as to its sale.

After May Next?

We are then only coming into sight of the essential problem. For no internal reorganization, no improvement in productive or destructive efficiency can regain in the world a market which is permanently and steadily declining. Twentieth century industry is on the march to a new destiny. A new industrial revolution has begun. The future lies with oil, with petrol and with electricity. These are the prime movers of the business age that crowds in upon us. The problem of the British mining industry is that of the conversion of coal into these new kinds of motive power—the transformation of coal into oil and other economically valuable products; the association of coal with the generation of electricity. The future of the British mining industry is, therefore, being determined by the scientific research workers in the laboratories of the country. This is as it should be. The Labor Party is built up of those who work with their hands and with their brains. It is built up through powerful association of the wage and salary earner, along with the technician and scientist. It is a strong combination—no stronger, perhaps, can be found in the whole realm of social policy. That is why the Labor Party brings hope and confidence and courage. It is the party of creation and reconstruction. It is the voice of hope in the twentieth century, for it combines a social policy with an improved technique. That is why men and women gather, with steady increase, under its banner.

LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

Amsterdam on "Monroe Doctrine."

Taking up in a recent issue of its news bulletin the "Monroe Doctrine of Labor" laid down by the A. F. of L. convention at Atlantic City, following A. A. Purcell's appeal for fraternal relations between American unions and the Russian organizations, the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, of which Comrade Purcell is president, says:

"If we understand this drastic resolution rightly, it is directed exclusively against Purcell's foolish speech. Purcell certainly did not beat about the bush, and the very fact of his invitation laid him open to the reproach he received from President Green. For the rest, this resolution of the A. F. of L. convention may contain news for Moscow, but there is nothing new in it for Amsterdam. The autonomy of the A. F. of L. cannot be demanded in clearer terms than by formulating a new Monroe Doctrine of Labor. Against the U. S. watchword of 'America for the Americans' stands the Bolshevik cry, 'The whole world for the Russians' (i. e., the communists). But above both these slogans stands that of the Amsterdam International, 'The International Federation of Trade Unions for the whole world!' Because that is our watchword, we can go on with our negotiations with the American Federation of Labor or the Pan-American Federation of Labor undisturbed. For, in accordance with our rules, we recognize the national autonomy of all affiliated centers. Russia for the Russians, the A. F. of L. for the United States, Britain for the British."

The A. F. of L. resolution warned the world that it would "not willingly tolerate in the Western Hemisphere an Old World movement which seeks to impose itself upon American peoples over the will of those peoples."

Colombian Unions Denounce Gomez Although the representatives in this country of Juan Vicente Gomez, Dictator of Venezuela, have repeatedly insisted that there is liberty of thought and action for workers in that South American nation, and have denounced the charges of tyranny made by Venezuelan exiles and the A. F. of L., it seems that the organized workers of Colombia, who ought to be in a position to know something about what is going on in the neighboring republic, also have a poor opinion of the "freedom" obtaining there. A Socialist paper of Bogota reports that at the

last national labor convention in Bogota, the delegates adopted a resolution condemning the Gomez regime as one of the worst that ever plagued any country, and calling upon the workers of Colombia to support the Venezuelan exiles in their campaign against the dictatorship at home. The resolution also excommunicates the Colombian Government as a defender of the Venezuelan tyrant.

Japanese Miners Ask Admission

When the Executive Committee of the Miners' International met in Paris on November 9 and 10 it considered, among other things, an application for admission by the Japanese Miners' Union. It is expected that the application will be approved in due course.

Labor Plight in Brazil

IN VIEW of the fact that a number of coffee plantation owners of the State of Sao Paulo, Brazil have formed an association to promote immigration and have sent agents to Europe to try to recruit workers, interest attaches to the following statement made by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions in answer to extravagant praise of labor conditions in

of combination is established quite plainly, in black and white, by the Constitution. But in spite of that the employers are able to have every labor meeting, which might possibly decide upon a strike, broken up by the police. It may even happen in such cases that the organizations in question are dissolved, their property confiscated, and the leaders arrested. Already, on the mere pretext that the temper of the workers tends towards strikes, the police have arrogated the right of taking measures of this kind, even without any request from the employers.

Hence it is not at all surprising to read that, when a labor conflict does actually break out, the leaders are arrested. In a strike, last year, of the textile workers of Sao Paulo (who are not yet organized) the police drew their swords and turned on the demonstrators without any previous warning, a number of men and women being wounded. During a textile workers' strike in Rio de Janeiro, in April, 1925, the police fired on the workers without any provocation whatsoever. In August, 1924, fifty leaders of workers' organizations were arrested in Sao Paulo, also groundlessly, and these victims of political dictatorship have not yet been set free. Other leaders were banished to unhealthy districts."

The statement closes by citing a case where the Brazilian police nipped a strike of street car employees in Niteroi (Rio de Janeiro) in the bud by spying on their meetings and arresting their leaders.

When the General Labor Union of Sao Paulo heard of the coffee planters' scheme for importing cheap labor it at once sent a warning to the European labor press, telling the prospective victims of the bad working and living conditions in Brazil and advising them to stay away.

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The Executive fixed the time of the next international congress as August 10, 1926, and the place, Cracow, Poland. Chairman Dejardin allowed a wide range to the discussion over the dispute with the Russian Government about the sending of a delegation to inspect the mines of that country, and it was resolved to stand pat upon the International's demand that it be allowed to choose its own interpreters without interference by the Soviet authorities. Unless this point is conceded there will be no more negotiations with the Russian Government over the matter. The executive decided to issue an appeal to the workers of all countries to organize against war and to agitate for immediate peace in Morocco and Syria.

Postal Unions Score Fascisti

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Postal Employers' International in Strasbourg last month, a communication was read from the Italian Postal Employees' Federation explaining how the Fascisti Government had forced its postal workers to join a so-called Fascisti union and how, consequently, the real organization had lost membership so fast that at its last national convention it had decided to go out of business, temporarily at least. The Executive Committee then adopted the following resolution:

"The Executive sees with regret and indignation that the continuance of the violent policy of the Italian Government is restricting freedom of opinion and of association to such a degree that no trade union can now exist outside the Fascisti organizations. The Executive calls upon the conscience of Europe to condemn a dictatorship which is robbing a nation, which has reached a high standard of culture, of all the elementary rights of freedom."

Arab Strikers Win in Haifa

Despite interference on the side of the bosses by native tribal chiefs and the Catholic Bishop, the Arab building trade workers who went on strike in Haifa, Palestine, several weeks ago, to abolish a working day of from twelve to fourteen hours, have won a decided victory, according to reports reaching London. The working day has been cut to nine hours and the Arab workers are now more thankful than ever to the Jewish unionists for the latter's good example in fighting for labor's rights, regardless of race or creed. The active support of the strikers by the Jewish unions more than offset the propaganda of hatred started by the church and tribal authorities.

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The Rights of the Child

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE child's revolt against education is inevitable and just. For education, being imposed upon the individual for the sake of society, involves the disciplining of the anarchic spirit of the child, the curbing of its personal impulses, and the control of its wishes for the sake of adult good. As an individual, liberty-loving, and as yet unaccustomed to the fetters society puts on all its growing members (as the Chinaman binds his daughter's feet), the child hates the restrictions put upon it by its parents, and especially those enforced by the strangers who order it about at school. Adults may learn to kiss the hand that beats them, to accept as a virtue the limitations set by law and by convention—even to insist, as a virtue, on imposing these on the less submissive of their kind. But the infant in arms has had every wish gratified; as it grows to childhood it becomes aware of strange and cruel refusals and commands, to which for some years (too few, alas!) it rightly and strenuously objects.

Rebellion Against Adult Standards

This rebellion of the child is really a protest against the application of adult standards to younger years. We grown-ups are prone to look upon a long period—the length of which depends upon whether the children are our own, in which case it may endure through their lifetime—as a time in which the immature mind must be guided, must be prepared for the future business of living. But the child naturally feels that its life goes on now, not in the distant and speculative future; every individual of whatever age wants to enjoy the present hour rather than a mythical moment to come; the child therefore desires of the adult not guidance but gratification of those ends it cannot unaided attain. The adult looks upon himself as a benevolent instructor or model; the child looks upon the adult as an interfering tyrant who ought to be a slave. Most men are to children as the giant that frightened Aladdin—only children do not know the power of the lamp, and adults cannot read by its warning light.

In view of these facts, it is strange that adults should try to prevent children from reading the so-called "penny dreadfuls," the *Alger* and the *Optic* series, the *Frank Merriwells*, the *Dick* *Desaydes*, the *Boy Bandits* of '76 and all the glamorous fellowship. The only reason that seems plausible for this desire—as the clear-sighted child at once knows—is that the parent remembers his own delight in the lurid pages and jealously seeks to snatch it from the child. For the one characteristic of these books that makes them bad literature is precisely that they are excellent adult propaganda. It is not any mere superiority of technique that makes "Treasure Island" or "Huckleberry Finn" a better book than "Sink or Swim" or "The Rover Boys at Bay"; what marks the branded group is that morally their boys are already men. The boys of the dime novel are born with the adult con-

* COUSINS, by Bellamy Partridge. N. Y. Brentano's, \$2.

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By Louis Silverstein

IN A SENSE, Carter Goodrich's book* is a continuation of his maiden volume, "The Frontier of Control." The latter, it will be recalled, dealt with the growing movement in England for workers' participation in the management of industry.

In the present work the author has limited himself to a study of a particular industry in America, namely, the production of bituminous coal, in order to determine what effect the introduction of machinery has had and will have on the miner's control of his job. Mr. Goodrich concerns himself with what he calls "the working life in a changing industry." He points out that, due to the peculiar technique of mining, the worker has inherited a tradition of "freedom"—freedom, that is, from supervision. Digging his way through the corridors and chambers of his subterranean palace, the miner has acquired the prerogative of a monarch. He feels himself the owner of his working place; he resents "bossing";

THE MINER'S FREEDOM: A Study of the Working Life in a Changing Industry. By Carter Goodrich. Boston, Marshall Jones Co. \$2.00.

MINER or ROBOT?

A Pitman's Own Story

An English coal-digger using the pen-name of Roger Dattler has been writing much distinguished stuff for the British "Lansbury's Weekly." He now comes out with a book published by The Dial Press (price \$2.50) called "From a Pitman's Note Book." Lincoln MacVeagh, who runs The Dial Press, says: "I believe that a personality should appear behind every book whether it be a book of unpretentious entertainment, a book of artistic fiction, a volume of poetry or a scientific treatise." Mr. MacVeagh has certainly lived up to his belief in printing this Dattler book. There is a rare charm to it. When you have set it down you have the satisfying sense of having looked into the soul and mind of a real person, very real from the ground under which he worked, up.

Here is set down the colorful, tragic, fascinating life of the miner at his daily task and set down so beautifully and authentically as to thrill the most casual reader. You don't have to know or care anything about coal-miners to read this book and enjoy every page of it. But when you are through you have to care a lot for this particular hewer and the types he delineates so beautifully.—M. C.

he begins and ends his day whenever he pleases; advice he considers an intrusion. A spirit of indiscipline pervades the coal mines to which the union gives added vigor. Strangest of all, the operators themselves have generally accepted this limitation on their

control as one of the fixed elements in the industry.

But now all this is beginning to change. Technological advances are battering down tradition; mechanical methods of cutting, loading and bearing away the coal are introducing the

technique of the factories. The spirit of Ford efficiency haunts the mines. Individualism, skill and pride of work are giving place to group organization, mechanization and disinterestedness. The miner's palace is becoming his prison. He is losing his craftsmanship and becoming a robot. Already the transformation has begun in the non-union fields. There unskilled labor, that has not been spoiled by the traditional indiscipline of the mines, is being imported. The unionized regions will be next to experience the change and then the clash between the old and the new methods will play havoc with the work and lives of the miners.

"The Miner's Freedom" is written in a fascinating style. Though making good popular reading, it does not sacrifice rhetoric to scholarship. In fact, there is ample evidence that the author has combed the written sources without stint and performed his field investigations with energy and rare judgment. What the book lacks is a definite, even if misleading, program for solving the economic problem involved. Suspended judgment is Mr. Goodrich's chief virtue and vice, but in the every-day world it makes for fatalism, which the miners, if they are intelligent, will not tolerate.

A Pilgrimage Into Human Nature

By Paul Sifton

THE novel of the American farm is still to be written—that is, a novel that will look Hamsun's "Growth of the Soil" and Nexö's "Pelle the Conqueror" in the eyes. Both these books are attempts. They fail.

Walter J. Mullenburg* falls more gloriously than Montross. Without the slightest right, Mullenburg calls the story of one unusual pioneer farmer "Prairie." As well call Eugene Field's "Little Boy Blue" "Childhood," or a book on the Amalgamated Clothing Workers "Unionism in the United States." It is a cheap trick to steal a big title for a middling-sized book. But, intrinsically, Mullenburg has written honestly, with enveloping sympathy, some passion and occasional poetry that bears reading by itself. He gives you the feel of the prairie farm, the smell of the kitchen, the warm milk in the barn, the turned earth, the spongy air of spring and the coppery hell of a rainless summer. His hero, Elias Vaughn, loves the ground more than his wife. She is of shoddy stock, and the droughts, the frosts and the monotony batter her weak brain into imbecility. (See Nebraska insanity records for histories of her sisters in loneliness.) Their son, Joey, rebels against the tyranny of the farm and goes to town. The mother dies, Joey returns and is banished by Elias, now a power in the county. I ask any one, should a story hung on such a plot take to itself the title "Prairie"? The fact that Elias had but one child should forbid it if nothing else.

"East of Eden" is lamentable. Lynn Montross knew the story of the farmer's attempt to take control of the nation's wholesale markets. But he didn't know the farmers. The farmers he had in his mind were dumb beasts. He had no sympathy with them. In the novel he puts one of them, Fred Derring, on a pin and turns him around with a pencil, never knowing exactly what it is all about.

The pathetic struggle of the farmers to organize themselves for co-operative marketing is written down without understanding or sense of drama.

A good prescription for each author would be an order to read the other's book.

* PRAIRIE, by Walter J. Mullenburg. Viking Press, \$2.00. EAST OF EDEN, by Lynn Montross. Harper & Bros., \$2.00.

studies in American history that adds to our information and should not be neglected by those who are interested in understanding the Civil War.

THE STATE RIGHTS DOGMA

By James Oneal

ONE of the peculiar dogmas that has played an important role in American political history is the doctrine of State Rights and in popular folklore the doctrine belongs to the South. Sometimes it has meant nullification and sometimes secession and far from it being peculiar to the southern states there are few states that have not at one time or another asserted it. It was first asserted in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798-99 against the Alien and Sedition Acts by the Jeffersonians. Then New England Federalists asserted it against the enforcement of the Jeffersonian embargo of 1807 and in the second war with England they plotted to withdraw the New England States from the Union. The issue of the Second Bank of the United States induced Ohio to raise the State Rights

STATE RIGHTS IN THE CONFEDERACY. By Frank Lawrence Owsley. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. \$2.50.

science; they all love to work, so as to clear off the family mortgage; their tricks and schemes are solely for the purpose of deceiving the Redcoats, or catching the pirates, or baffling the bootleggers. They know the difference between right and wrong in the same way as their parson.

Wrong If You Are Found Out

To Tom Sawyer, on the other hand, that is wrong which brings a thrashing if you are found out, and it is wrong only if you are found out. The boy is a natural pagan; he delights in the merry deed without thought of consequences; he plans for his own sake; he is as cruel if not as cunning as the Indian. Such boys being too few in our literature—Mark Twain giving glorious twain, Booth Tarkington following afar—we welcome the chance to meet another pair in Jimmie and Bubbles, in Bellamy Partridge's new book.* These boys are so unaware of adult standards that they almost burn enough bank notes to buy a dozen senators. How they got the money doesn't matter. Mark Twain sends his rogues on wild chases life never knew; the important item is their behavior on the way. And Mr. Partridge's boys are real boys, pained that the grown-ups cannot see things their way, taking steps nonetheless to get what they want—mischievous, good-natured, easily wounded or won, unmoored boys.

If all teachers and parents had the understanding and sympathy that go into the making of a book like "Cousins," the world would be a better place for children. And who knows but that they in turn might improve the world for adults?

standard and then Georgia raised it in a controversy over Indian boundaries. Northern states asserted it in the extreme form of nullification when they opposed enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law and enacted Personal Liberty laws. There were plenty of northern precedents for the doctrine when the southern states withdrew from the Union.

For the first time we have a study* of the influence of this dogma on the Confederate States. The persistence with which nearly all the slave states asserted the doctrine and acted upon it when grave necessity required the slave owners to present a solid front against the Union armies is an example of how even a ruling class will become so obsessed with a theory that it reacts against their own material interests. State Rights might well serve the cotton, rice and tobacco magnates of the South so long as their states were members of the Federal Union. It served as a weapon against high tariffs which built up a northern capitalism largely at the expense of the South because it imported much of its supplies and paid the tariff duties, but the moment the southern states set up in business for themselves and faced a bitter struggle to enforce their independence, ordinary common sense dictated that they should cast State Rights in the ash can. The idea of waging war by each state acting practically independent of the central army command and the laws of the Confederate Congress was little short of suicide. In fact, it was suicide.

Professor Owsley, after a careful study of the documentary evidence, is convinced that "The Confederacy collapsed more from internal than external causes and the most disastrous of these internal ailments was the attempt of the southern people to practice their theory of State Rights during the war." He considers the working of the theory in relation to local defense, of the states to their troops in the Confederate service, the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus, conscription and impressment of property, and shows from Confederate and state records, as well as from the diaries and reminiscences of southerners, that the adherence to State Rights, especially by governors who were generally supported by their legislatures, brought about a conflict of authority, division of councils and a paralysis of action that foredoomed secession to a dismal failure. Often mere political ambition seized upon the doctrine for its own purposes, while jealousy or rank and precedent also levied a heavy toll upon the resources of the seceded states.

What is to be said of pompous governors who stressed the sovereignty of their g-r-e-a-t state in many grave matters when the assertion of that sovereignty meant prostration of the whole Confederate structure? It is all the more strange considering that the average southern statesman of this period was not like the modern type. He was a man of wide learning, thor-

oughly versed in the history of the country and its politics. There were demagogues, of course, like Governor Brown of Georgia, but the cultured type was in the majority and yet they also asserted the ruling fetish. Our only explanation is that ruling classes may assert a dogma so long and with so much emphasis that the time comes when it enslaves them and eventually hurls them into oblivion.

A few of the leading southerners were aware of what was happening, among them President Davis. There is no more pathetic figure than this proud and cultured Mississippi aristocrat called to preside over a government representing his class and yet having his hands tied by officials of his class in the various states while the central governing structure crumbled before his eyes. There does not seem to be anything of importance that the Confederate Government attempted to do, from raising troops to clothing them, that the states did not attempt to do and in doing it paralyzed the central authority. What is to be said of a situation, for example, like that in North Carolina? That state had all its troops comfortably fed and

clothed and a large surplus on hand while Lee's troops were freezing and dying of exposure. Of that state and its governor, Professor Owsley says: "At the time of the surrender (of Lee) Vance had, according to his own count, 32,000 uniforms, great stores of leather and blankets, and his troops in the field were all comfortably clad. At the same time Lee's troops were ragged and without blankets and tents." Consider this item: "By the end of the war the states were controlling 60 out of 122 cotton factories for this purpose, leaving only 62 for Confederate use. North Carolina had 40 cotton mills and did not allow the Confederate Government a yard of cloth from them for any except North Carolina troops during the entire war."

From the evidence presented it is probable that the Confederacy could have won its war for independence were it not for this stupid obsession regarding State Rights. At one period the Union cause was at a low ebb and even Lincoln thought of not accepting a second nomination. The southerners were more adapted to roughing it and were also used to firearms, while the people of the North were of a softer fiber. Had the Confederate states presented a uniform solidarity of purpose and action under a central authority they might have won the war within two years. Thanks to a political fetish, they bartered away the one promising opportunity they had.

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THE BACKGROUND OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

By William Shainack
Student, Brookwood Labor College

THE labor movement was the result of many economic and social forces. In it were centered all the characteristics which are prevalent in the development of any institution composed of human individuals. Every force which affected the development of the nation had its effect upon the labor movement as well.

To understand the development of the labor movement one must first understand the origin of a laboring class—the wage-earning class. We, therefore, must follow up the early colonization period and notice the various forces that created a category from which the laboring classes evolved.

A newly settled community like North America in its early days depended upon these non-economic factors for its development: The physical, cultural and personal factors. The physical factor, by which I mean the climate and available natural transportation facilities, such as lakes, navigable rivers, inland accessible roads, etc., either promoted or retarded progress. The cultural factors, such as the nature of the prevailing institutions, customs and traditions, had their influence. The personal factor, or the type of leadership, their temperament and intelligence, also, in one way or another affected the community and decided what type it was to be.

Only Secondary Factors

All these non-economic factors, however, are only secondary in importance when compared with the economic factor. For this is the moulder of all non-economic factors and it is this factor, the economic factor, which explains the origin of a wage-earning class.

Three theories are advanced to explain the origin of the wage-earning class, all resting, to a large degree, upon the economic factor. The first is the production theory. It explains that the mode and type of technique used in production necessarily stratified the population. In other words, the necessary functions in the process of production were assigned to the individual according to his ability and importance in promoting production in accordance with the wants of the community. The second is the market theory. Its proponents claim that not until markets were extended and goods were being made for sale, a situation

The Many Social and Economic Forces That Have Gone to Shape U. S. Unionism

which resulted in competition, did classes originate. The proponents of both these theories, however, admit that some correlation exists between the two, and that sometimes one is more important than the other. Here, in this country, it seems quite obvious that the market was more important, as the mode of production was largely influenced by the extent of the market. With the frontier extending and the population increasing, a great demand for goods followed, a fact which stimulated incentives for inventions, and new systems of production to meet the overwhelming demand were resorted to in order to meet this demand. The third, which is most important, and which appears a logical sequence of the first two, is the bargaining theory. It is the immediate factor with which the early laborer, just as the modern wage slave does today, coped and wrangled. It is, therefore, the most important theory, and an adequate analysis is necessary for its understanding.

The Element Of Bargaining

Not until the population became denser and free land more scarce did the element of bargaining enter. The separation of industry, or rather of hired labor, from agriculture appeared at this stage and with it came the wandering laborer, usually skilled in a particular trade or itinerant, as we

shall hereafter call him. This itinerant rendered service to the employer-consumer usually by doing the skilled work and supervising the unskilled. The wage bargain was primitive—not stipulated, as the prime motive of production was to render personal service in order to derive sustenance for the laborer and adequate service for the employer. This method of itinerancy continued until the population became denser and villages became more numerous. At this stage the worker's function became more definite. He began to be more independent, as we shall see later.

The itinerant worker now settled in a village and became a custom-order merchant. The consumer had to come to him. He would take the order for a fixed price (sometimes he would furnish raw material also) and complete the product for the consumer. The market was a local one. Here the worker was his own master, merchant and journeyman. He was also an incipient capitalist, for he owned certain capital and proceeded to buy raw material with it.

During this transition period, from the itinerant to the custom-order stage, the custom-order merchant was menaced by the still remaining itinerants. As a large capital was not necessary in order to start into business, competition became very keen on account of the large number of itinerants that were becoming custom-order merchants. But as the custom-

order stage continued and became more stabilized, a large capital was necessary to venture into business. So we see that the industries which had their inception during the custom-order stage were almost entirely immune from competition. Being freed from competition they extorted high prices for their articles and their influence because of the capital and mechanical skill they possessed caused the enactment of many statutes in their favor. Many states granted them monopoly rights and other concessions, which further perpetuated their influence and importance.

How Competition Was Met

Competition in the smaller industries was met by forming guilds that controlled apprenticeship. The competition existed in the quality of the article and not in its prices. Through these master-guilds, the custom-order merchant was able to keep the non-skilled worker out of the industry. Thus, they gained control over prices. Their power, however, was limited later on when they combined to control the prices of certain articles. We find that in some instances laws were passed fixing the price of a certain commodity. The quality of the article was still considered paramount, so many laws were enacted favoring long periods of apprenticeship.

As time went on and travel became less hazardous the custom-order

worker took on a further function. The village or hamlet was now occasionally visited by people from remote places who would be searching for certain articles. Here the custom-order worker becomes also a retailer, i.e., he begins to make surplus articles. He hires one or two journeymen to help him. Here, also, inferior qualities of goods are introduced. The journeyman now loses control over the price bargain. He depends upon his wage exclusively for a living, while the retail merchant controls the price bargain and devotes his time to management and investment. The relationship between the journeyman and the retail merchant at this stage of development, although clearly that of employer and employee, was, however, harmonious. Unfair competition was fought by the master-retail-merchant with the assistance of his employees. The price bargain was determined by the cost of raw material, plus the cost of production, which included wages paid, profit, expenses, etc. The consumer was the ultimate "safety valve." The retail merchants would usually agree to a certain price and pass same on to the consumer.

These, in brief, were the industrial conditions existing during Colonial days.

Development of Means of Communication

The development of adequate means of communication and travel after the Revolutionary War necessitated an

extension in industry. With numerous inventions available at this period, production was immensely increased, so that now the owner of produced articles begins to seek markets. He now travels to the less populated places and takes orders for articles of use. He now begins to invest more money in raw material and hires many more journeymen. This period is termed the "wholesale order" stage.

At this stage the obvious conflict between capital and labor appears. We saw in the preceding section that the retail-merchant-employer functioned harmoniously with his journeymen, as any dispute as to wages was easily adjusted by passing the increase on to the consumer. The retail merchant had direct access to the consumers and was therefore able to do this. But it was different during the wholesale order stage. Here the employer no more controls the price bargain. He is subject to competition from other manufacturing centres, and the retail merchant is able to play one against the other in the process of bargaining. This competition must be met by cheaper production, which causes reduction in wages. Thus the beginning of the wholesale-order stage marks the beginning of a definite struggle between capital and labor.

As manufacturing increased, industries became centralized. Thus cities or towns would specialize in the manufacture of certain commodities. The village merchant would now visit these commercial centres and buy his stock there. Here the question of credit had to be met. The retailer in selling his product, accepted the products of the consumer. Such a transaction required time; i.e., staples had to be sold before actual cash could be realized.

The Merchant Capitalist Appears

At this stage the merchant-capitalist appears. He is now the financial wizard who has at his command the wholesale market. The merchant-capitalist becomes the dominating figure, for he has access to the retailer, and therefore the wholesale-merchant, who has now become the connecting link between the merchant-capitalist and master producer is largely guided and influenced by the merchant-capitalist's success in meeting competition. The more competition increases the more apparent becomes the importance of cheap production and new methods are now used to meet this ever-growing competition.

The most effective way of achieving cheaper production was through the separation of skilled from unskilled work. The manufacturer would employ a few skilled men in preparing the raw material; the less skilled work he would let out by contract to any mechanic who was willing to do it for certain piece rates. Thus the homes of the workers would be turned into sweat-shops, where women and child labor would be utilized—as well as convict labor, in some instances. The contractor would thrive upon the margin between the prices paid him by the manufacturer and that which he paid to the workers. This separation of operations, which made possible the introduction of the "sweat-shop" system, women and child and convict labor, culminated in the establishment of the first concerted trades union.

It can thus be easily seen that the development of the labor movement took place side by side with the economic and social development of the nation. The incentive for creating a labor movement was brought on by the general formation of a capitalist class, which thrived upon competition and profit. Competition caused the lowering of wages, which in turn reduced the worker's standard of living. To meet this encroachment the workers began to build protective organizations, namely, trade unions.

Sarojini Haidu of India

By Blanche Watson

PAUL RICHARD, one of the great savants of the world, best known, perhaps, as the author of the searching document "The Scourge of Christ," once said that no country could be said to be fairly on its way to freedom until the women of the land were aroused and active. A few people have been watching with keen interest the awakening of the women of Asia during the past decade.

Nowhere more than in India has this awakening been more notable and interesting, and no happening of the more recent years is more significant than the choice of Sarojini Naidu—India's leading woman—for president of the coming India National Congress. Not only is this woman to preside over the deliberations, which promise to be of more than ordinary interest and moment, but she will guide the work of this body, during months to come when undoubtedly the country will be put to the severest test of the revolutionary struggle, now in its fifth year.

The main task of the Congress—which is an all-India gathering, drawing from all sections and all representative groups of the country—will be to mobilize all the national forces for non-violent, non-co-operation against the alien bureaucracy which now holds the reins of government in India. The choice of Mrs. Naidu for head of the Congress for the ensuing year is a particularly happy one, because she is known to have been one of the strongest advocates of unity during all the years since the Nagpur Congress in 1920, voted to work for India's freedom "by all peaceful and legitimate means." She would oppose the "Divide and Rule" policy of imperialistic control, a national unity that knows no such thing as religious antagonisms, partisan differences of the political stripe, or even temperamental bias. Hers has ever been a single-hearted pursuit of the larger unity—the unity of hearts without

which all economic and political action is doomed to sterility.

Along with Mahatma Gandhi, who is above all creeds, Motilal Nehru, a prominent Hindu, and Hakim Ajmal Khan, a noted Muslim, Sarojini Naidu commands the confidence of even the most militant communalists, and India is today torn by communal differences that cannot but delight those who would exploit the country for their own advantage. Next to Gandhi himself, this woman can claim to be the voice of India. A Hindu brought up in a Mohammedan community, a firm believer in the efficacy of non-violent resistance, an eloquent and tireless advocate of Swaraj (self-government) for the 320 millions of her country, India could make no better choice for a leader in this crisis. Mrs. Naidu is above all, a lover of humanity, lifted above even the narrow limits of her own nation—a woman who may well be said to be one of the outstanding figures of the world today. Known for years by the literati of all civilized countries as a poet of rare ability and charm she is now taking high place as a politician and counsellor.

Hers is indeed a unique opportunity for service—again to unite India in the working of Mahatma Gandhi's remarkable program, based on the profound conviction that violence does not pay and never has paid—except temporarily—and will be found in the years to come, to be more and more futile and disastrous. India's fight is the fight of truth and good-will against white arrogance and ignorance; justice against injustice; right against might—i.e., of soul force against brute force. From December, 1925, until December, 1926—at least—it is the duty and the privilege of a woman to guide the helm of the Indian ship of state, through the troubled waters of revolution. Everybody, everywhere, ought to watch its progress, for the good or the ill that marks this progress, will, without the shadow of doubt, be in the end, the good or the ill of the world.

The Gold of Tutankhamen

By Mary Dudderidge

WITH the unwrapping of the mummy of Tut-ankh-amen, says a despatch from Cairo to the "Times," it becomes possible for the first time to reconstitute the royal regalia of a Pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty and get a conception of the splendor and magnificence of the Egypt of the Bible; but to those who know something of the history of gold mining in Egypt this picture is seen against a background of Stygian darkness.

Lying in its golden coffin the body of the royal youth—a mere lad of eighteen—was found to be almost covered with the same precious metal. Upon the head was a golden diadem and upon the feet golden sandals. A golden mask covered the head and shoulders, and each toe and finger was encased in a golden sheath. About the legs was the royal apron of inlaid gold work, and arms and fingers were loaded with bracelets and rings.

Whence came this gold? The answer to this question is all too certain.

Much of the wealth of the Pharaohs came from the gold mines in the desert which lies between the fertile strip of land that we think of as Egypt and the Red Sea, and the southern portion of which is identified by Weigall (formerly head of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities) as the Ophir of the Bible and the seat of King Solomon's mines. To this desert from the earliest times immense expeditions were despatched by the Egyptian rulers for the purpose both of mining gold and of quarrying ornamental stone, and a good many of these expeditions left records of their operations upon the rocks. Several classical writers also refer to them. Diodorus tells us that the miners wore each a lamp tied to his forehead, and that the stone in which the ore was imbedded was carried to the surface by children, after which it was ground to powder in stone mortars by old men and women. Agatharchides speaks of the work being done by prisoners and Negroes who heaved upon the stone and with unutterable toil crushed it in mills and washed out the grains of gold.

The provisioning of these expeditions must have been a tremendous undertaking, and when the organization broke down the results must have been appalling. Of one expedition, including 7,900 men, the rocks still tell us that ten percent died

from hunger, fatigue or disease. Weigall, who went over the old workings and describes them in his book, "Travels in the Upper Egyptian Desert," writes from first-hand knowledge of what mining must have been in those arid wastes. "In summer the heat is intense," he says. "The rocks are so hot they cannot be touched with the bare hand, and boots are little protection to the feet. Standing in the sunlight the ring has to be removed from one's finger, for the hot metal burns blisters upon the flesh. After a few hours of exercise there is a white lather upon the lips, and the eyes are blinded with the moisture which has collected around them. And thus what the quarrymen and miners must have suffered as they worked upon the scorching stones no tongue can tell."

Three thousand five hundred years ago the troubled reign of the youthful Pharaoh—as much a pawn of fate as the slaves of the mines—came to an end, and his body was laid away with its casings and adornments of that metal, precious and accursed, which the desert had given up at the cost of so much anguish. How like were those times to our own!

DARROW AND RANDALL AT

COMMUNITY CHURCH SUNDAY

Rev. John Herman Randall will preach in The Community Church, Park Avenue and 34th Street, Sunday, Dec. 13, at 11 a. m. Subject: "The Real Fundamentals of Religion."

Mr. Clarence Darrow will address the Community Forum, Park Avenue and 34th Street, Sunday evening at 8 p. m. Subject: "The Evolution Crisis and American Liberties." Mr. Darrow is one of the most famous criminal lawyers in this country. He came into particular prominence at the Scopes trial in Dayton last summer.

The first and best victory is for a man to conquer himself; to be conquered by himself is of all things the most shameful and vile. —Plato.

Sheet Metal Workers Have Unemployment Insurance

The Sheet Metal Workers' Union, Local 137, of New York, has established an unemployment insurance fund for its members. While the union will work out a plan similar to that of the workers in the needle trades, where employers and the workers pay a certain percentage into the fund, a good beginning is made by having the workers pay a small sum monthly. Workers who are unemployed for five weeks will be able to draw from this fund a weekly allowance for each month.

Election of officers of this union will take place on Dec. 15 and 19 at the union headquarters, 12 St. Marks place.

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League for Industrial Democracy to Hold Its Annual Conference

The League for Industrial Democracy with headquarters at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, is preparing for one of the most interesting conferences in the history of that organization. This will be the annual Intercollegiate Conference, to be held Dec. 29 and 30, which has for its subjects matters of interest to those in the Socialist and Labor movement.

"Social Thinking in Our Colleges" is the subject to be discussed the first morning of the conference by Katherine A. Tompkins, of the Bryn Mawr Liberal Club. In the afternoon of Dec. 29, "Colleagues in the Labor and Industrial Struggle" will be dealt with by Otto S. Beyer, J. B. S. Hardman, Director of the Educational Department of the Amalgamated, and others. Norman Thomas will receive the delegates at his home in the evening when the topic will be "Students in Industry." Jerome Davis, of Yale, will lead this discussion. The following day there will be talks on "Humanized Economics" and "Labor and Economics" and in the evening there will be a dinner at the Fifth Avenue Restaurant to which the public is invited. This will be the Twentieth Anniversary dinner of the League and various labor and liberal leaders will speak. The day sessions of the conference, open to student delegates only, will be held at 30 Grove Street, New York City.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Pity Poor Bank Burglar
The Banker's Best Friend

I SEE by the papers that Chicago is about to eliminate crime in Cook County, which is the county embraced by the corporation limits of Chicago. Chicago has eliminated crime for a long time. Every so often the good criminals of that burg that is those who steal nothing under railroads, traction lines, trust companies and school lands, go on a crusade against the little criminals who pursue their calling on the cash and carry order.

I don't know why the big criminals of Chicago should have it in so for their little brothers. Just because a man is born poor and never had a chance in his life and therefore can't rise higher than pick-pocket or second-story man or a hard-working burglar, is no reason why he should be looked down upon by his brothers who were reared in good families, had college educations, and consequently developed enough engineering talent to steal a skyscraper without moving it.

The scientific way of dividing Chicago criminals would be to class them as inside and outside men. The big ones work from the inside and the little ones from the outside. Take the banks for instance. People take their money to the banks from the outside. Then the bankers put bars on the windows and grating before the tellers and burglar-proof vaults in the basement to keep the little criminals from swiping that money. The next thing we know the bank don't open its doors. When the excitement is over the receiver issues a report that three millions were paid in by the depositors, two millions were taken out by the bankers, and the balance was used up in making the report.

If all the dollars stolen by Chicago bank robbers were put on one pile and leaned against the pile assimilated by the inside bank robbers it would look like a wart on Pike's Peak. But that don't prevent the insiders from declaring war on the outsiders, and I tell you it isn't right. It takes considerable of a man to rob a bank from the outside. It means months of planning and scheming and considerable knowledge of mechanics. When an outside bank robber is caught in the act he is frequently shot, and if he is lucky enough to escape with the swag the detectives are pretty sure to relieve him of his burden before they turn him over to the lawyers to pick the bones.

One of my old friends among the Chicago bank robbers came to me the other day and laid his tale of woe before me. "Adam," he said with tears in his eyes, "I'm going to quit the trade. When I'm not in jail I'm working to get some of my buddies out of jail, and when I'm in jail my buddies are bankrupting themselves to get me out."

"If it wasn't for the brotherhood of burglars and safe crackers," he went on, "four-fifths of the banks would close their doors. People would keep their money in old socks and mattresses instead of taking it to the banks. Liquid capital would disappear and as a result manufacture and commerce would languish. Because our economic system can not work without credit—and where would the credit come from if we burglars didn't scare the money into the banks?"

"We burglars are the best friends the bankers have. If they were white and had an ounce of gratitude in their black hearts they would offer scholarships to talented young burglars and endow homes for the old boys who spent the best years of their lives corralling stray dollars into bank vaults. But they treat us like some hunters treat their dogs. After the poor brutes have fetched in game all day long, they get a beating for stealing a little rabbit."

"Maybe you heard," continued my sad old burglar friend, "that the bankers of Chicago have offered \$1,000 for every burglar caught alive and \$2,500 for burglars ready for the embalmers. The big idea is to encourage coppers to shoot first and investigate afterwards. But it won't work."

"And why not?" I queried. "It's this way," replied the old burglar. "It's a mighty sorry kind of a burglar that ain't worth a couple of grands to the police force every year. Jailing a valuable asset like that would be the same as locking the goose that lays the golden eggs in somebody else's coop, and as for a Chicago policeman shooting a good dividend-paying burglar and losig him for keeps—well, all I got to say is that there ain't no such animal. The result will be that the coppers will protect the burglar as heretofore and shoot respectable citizens for the sake of the homes. This wouldn't be so blamed hard either, because most Chicagoans look like burglars anyhow, and if the resemblance wasn't sufficient, a 50-50 divvy with the burglar corpse inspector would be enough to change a saint into a safe cracker in that burg."

"Now the fellow who robs from the inside runs no chances, provided he takes enough," complained the venerable safe cracker. "If he is caught, he can always get some doctor to swear that he suffers from a seven-jointed Latin disease which he inherited from the forty-second cousin of his mother-in-law's step-daughter. And if things miscarry and he lands in Fort Leavenworth or Atlanta, some one in conspiracy with the Department of Justice will supply him with a certificate showing that unless he is immediately released the undertaker, who is waiting for him on the outside, will die of a broken heart."

"The cruel fact is," said my departing burglar friend, as he wrung my heart for the last time, "some people are born with a silver spoon in their mouths and some try to get theirs while nobody is looking. I tried the latter method and it don't work."

Adam Conditiguer.

THE WATCHERS

By Coralie Howard Haman

Stars on a frosty night,
Shining so near, so bright,
There in Heaven's height.

What do you mean? Are you
Angels' eyes looking through,
Watching what men may do?

What is it then you see?
Women who are not free
Children bowed wearily,

Working in factory-hell,
There where they buy and sell
Body and soul as well.

Making the Christmas toys
In the infernal noise,
Mind-deadened girls and boys.

Do you think this is right
Stars on a frosty night?
Putting this bitter blight

On these sad children, small,
Wizened, not grown at all?
We, whose fine sons grow tall,

Whose girls are so slender, fair,
Walking so straight and square,
Playing in sun and air.

When shall our children go
Wearily to and fro
Puny and weak and slow?

Stars on a frosty night,
Turn away; hide your light
Till we shall end this blight.

Marx's "Das Kapital"
THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

DIVISIONS in the International. For the next several years after the publication of Capital, Marx gave much thought and energy to the development of the International, which he looked upon with high hopes. "Things are moving," he wrote to Engels in 1867, with his usual optimism, "and in the next revolution, which is perhaps nearer than it seems, we (i.e., you and I) have this powerful machinery in our hands." From the first there was a fierce struggle among various elements to control the International which Marx regarded as an agency paving the way to revolution. Roughly speaking it was controlled by the followers of Proudhon from 1865 to 1867, by Marx from 1868 to 1870 and by the Bakunists in 1871 to its downfall a year or so later. Only the Marxian group favored political action. The others strove for the federative economic form of social organization. The Bakunists were communists, although the Proudhonists bitterly opposed the communist program. The International was divided not only on theoretical lines, but on radical and national lines. Marx was denounced as dictatorial and as a Pan-German. In the midst of these controversies came the Franco-Prussian war and the Commune of 1871.

The Franco-Prussian War and the French Commune. During the Franco-Prussian War, Marx strongly urged the German workers to prevent the war from becoming a war of aggression. "If the German working class allow the present war to lose its strictly defensive character and to degenerate into a war against the French people," he wrote prophetically in behalf of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, July 23, 1870, "victory or defeat will prove alike disastrous. All the miseries that befall Germany after her war of Independence will revive with accumulated intensity."

A few days after the defeat of the French at Sedan in September 3, 1870, Marx addressed another letter to the General Council, asking that the French workers stand by the Provisional government and against any revolutionary action to bring about an immediate working class commune. "Any attempt to overthrow the new government, when the enemy is already knocking at the gates of Paris," he wrote in this address, "would be a hopeless piece of folly. The French workers must do their duty as citizens. . . . Let them quietly and with determination make the most of the Republican freedom granted to them, in order to carry out thoroughly the organization of their own class. That will give them new Herculean strength for the rebirth of France and for our common task—the emancipation of the proletariat."

The French workers, fearful of the monarchical tendencies of the National Assembly, suffering keenly from unemployment and from hunger, however, paid little heed to Marx. The Paris Commune was proclaimed on March 18, 1871. Seven weeks thereafter it was overthrown with bloody massacre. Despite his letter advising against the uprising, Marx later defended the workers with great energy for their part in Commune.

Removal of First International. Following the fall of the Commune, the

First International found that its field for practical action had been cut off for some time to come. The sectarian and revolutionary conspiracies within the International found a fertile field. As general secretary of the International, Marx, who was crowded more and more by work, and was extremely anxious to finish his Capital, suggested a transfer of the Association to New York. At the Hague Convention of 1872, the majority, following his advice, resolved to move the headquarters to the American metropolis.

Transition Different in Different Countries. In a notable speech on tactics made by Marx at this Convention, the Socialist leader took the position that the methods of revolution cannot be the same in all countries, and that in England and America the revolution might be attained by peaceful means. He said:

"The worker must one day capture political power in order to found the new organization of labor. He must reverse the old policy, which the old institutions maintain, if he will not, like the Christians of old, who despised and neglected such things, renounce the things of this world."

"But we do not assert that the way to reach this goal is the same everywhere. We know that the institutions, the manners and the customs of the various countries must be considered, and we do not deny that there are countries like England and America, and, if I understood your arrangements better, I might even add Holland, where the worker may attain his object by peaceful means. But not in all countries is this the case."

After its removal to America the International lingered awhile, and, in 1876, finally went entirely out of existence. With the passing of the First International and the downfall of the Commune, the working class movement gradually as a whole rid itself of the idea of progress through secret conspiracies and the coup d'etat methods. The idea of violent change did not gain any great number of adherents until the Russian revolution over half a century later.

Marx and the Gotha Program. Following the virtual demise of the International, Marx continued his literary work. In 1875 he locked horns with the Social Democratic followers of Lassalle over the Gotha Program on several points and defined his position toward the state, socialism and capitalism. In his criticism of the Gotha Program he declared that "Nature is just as much the source of use-values as labor."

He denied the complete validity of Lassalle's "iron law of wages," attacked the proposal of state aid to producers' cooperatives and scoffed at the assumption that in the mere formulation of programs lies the salvation of the workers.

"Every real advanced step of the movement," he declared, "is more important than a dozen platforms."

It was in this famous document that Marx's brief allusion to the "dictatorship of the proletariat" appeared. It reads:

"Between the capitalist and the communist systems of society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, whose state can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

The interpretations of this short paragraph have since been legion. His statement regarding remuneration under a socialist form of society is of interest to those who would immediately institute a system of compensation according to needs:

"In the higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual under the division of labor has disappeared, and therewith also the opposition between manual and intellectual labor; after labor has become not only a means of life, but also the highest want in life; when, with the development of all the faculties of the individual, the productive forces have correspondingly increased, and all the springs of social wealth flow more abundantly—only then may the limited horizon of capitalist right be left behind entirely, and society inscribe on its banners: 'From everyone according to his faculties, to everyone according to his needs.'"

Marx's Last Days. From that time until his death in 1883 Marx suffered incessantly from bodily ailments. During his enforced leisure he made special studies of American and Russian agricultural conditions and busied himself with many other sciences. He visited Karlshad in 1877-8 to recover his health and there got together material for the second volume of Capital. Karlshad and other watering places, however, failed to effect a cure, and on March 14, 1883, he died.

"Mankind is less by a head," wrote Engels to his American friend, Sorge, "and indeed by the most important head it had today. The working class movement will pursue its course, but its central point, to which French, Russians, Americans, and Germans turned of their own accord in decisive moments, always to receive that clear, unambiguous counsel which genius and perfect mastery alone can give—is gone."

His Burial. On Saturday, March 7, 1883, he was buried at Highgate Cemetery, London. Frederick Engels and William Liebknecht, who had hurried from Germany to attend the funeral, spoke, among others, at the bedside of Marx.

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of the evolution of organic nature," declared Engels, "so Marx discovered the evolutionary law of human history—the simple fact, hitherto hidden under ideological undergrowth, that above all things men must eat, drink, dress, and find shelter before they can give themselves to politics, science, art, religion or anything else, and that therefore the production of the material necessities of life and the corresponding stage of the economic evolution of a people or a period provides a foundation upon which the national institutions, legal systems, art and even the religious ideas of the people in question have been built, and upon which, therefore, their explanation must be based."

"He has raised social democracy," declared Liebknecht, "from a sect, from a school, to a party which now already fights unconquered, and in the end will win the victory."

An Appraisal. The years that have intervened since his death have shed new luster on his name and have given him a secure place as one of the great economists, social scientists, historians and leaders of the working class movement of all time. He made his mis-

(Continued on page 11)

The "Spiritual Rewards"
Of Football and Business

WHEN everyone has forgotten just who "Red" Grange is (which will probably happen by next June) the football playing iceman can still manage to make a living, even if by then he has blown in all the jack he is reputed to have piled up since Thanksgiving Day.

With a wad of checks and contracts in his pocket which totalled around half a million dollars, this young go-getter sat down before a microphone and informed a palpitating world that "the rewards of football are spiritual, not material."

That one remark alone is enough to place him high in the ranks of those who write for "The American Magazine," "Success," "Collier's" and other smooth periodicals devoted to The Glorification of the American Business Man. If he sticks to that "spiritual" formula Grange is sure of a job interviewing our financial overlords for these hokum sheets.

Pick up any of them and you will find such grand words as "spiritual," "service" and "business altruism" smeared all over them. Does some bootlegger go out and make a killing, set up an office for exporting and importing, buy himself a house on Park Avenue and jimmy his way into our better "clawsses," then immediately he is photographed and interviewed by the ballyhoo boys and within a month or so you are reading a piece in "The American Magazine" which runs something like this:

"Save and Serve is Sniggins' Slogan."

"Sitting behind a big mahogany desk in his luxurious offices at 25 Broad Street in the heart of New York's financial district, Simeon S. Sniggins consented to reveal some of the secrets of his success. With a soft smile glowing from his keen blue eyes, this Builder of Business Empire looked dreamily from his window upon the passing crowds below, who from that height seemed like little ants hurrying about their tasks. Finally he said: 'You ask me to tell the young men of America how to forge ahead. From my own experience of many years I would say that no man can succeed in this glorious land of opportunity who thinks only of himself. I have carried with me through a busy life the lesson that I learned at my mother's knee, the great lesson of the Golden Rule. And so through the years I have come to learn that the rewards of the export and import business are but spiritual, not material. My greatest thrill in life has come at those times when I have been able to help another succeed. For we must all remember that what you get out of life is what you are able to put into it and that business today is not a scramble for profits but an opportunity for service.'"

And speaking of "service," which every hijacker, second story man and gang fighter in business is doing today, we beg to announce that we are now serving the ends of justice as a jurymen.

It is wonderful to think how this greatest city in the world is constantly calling upon our humble selves for service of one sort or another. A short time ago we were served with papers from the Sheriff's office informing us that we were being sued for \$750 for failing to swear off our personal taxes in 1922. Every two years we serve on the jury and there was one occasion in our wild-oat youth when we came awfully near serving time on Blackwell's Island because we mistook a plain-clothes man for a common or garden crook and slammed him on the nose.

Of course, when you consider the rewards of jury service you see that they are spiritual rather than material, same being three bucks a day and no board and keep unless you have the bad luck to get locked up all night.

It is always our luck to get into a court where they seem to specialize on damage suits. You would think that after all these years of serving as a juror they might hand us a case like the late Rhineland case as a sort of bonus. But no, sir, it is our lot to decide whether Jacob Charnowsky fell down the stairs of the five-story tenement at 390 East 110th Street on April 1st, 1921, on purpose or whether the landlord fixed it so that Jake would fall flat on his right lumbar.

It usually takes three or four days and enough heated oratory to fill three of Dr. Eliot's Six Foot Shelf to determine this weighty matter. Besides, we aren't allowed to talk about this case in public until it has been judicially settled, so we are going to leave you in a state of suspense about the Great Fall of Jacob Charnowsky until next week, when we may relieve the strain by telling you what the verdict was.

McAlister Coleman.

Nursery Rhymes

One year, two year, three year, four,
Comes a khaki gentleman knocking at the door;
Any little boys at home? Send them out to me
To train them and brain them in battles yet to be.
Five year, six year, seven year, eight,
Hurry up, you little chaps, the captain's at the gate
When a little boy is born, feed him, train him so;
Put him in a cattle pen and wait for him to grow;
When he's nice and plump and dear, sensible and sweet
Throw him in the trenches for the grey rats to eat;
Toss him in the cannon's mouth—cannons fancy best
Tender little boy-flesh, that's easy to digest.
One year, two year, three year, four,
Listen to the generals singing out for more!
Soon he'll be a soldier boy, won't he be a toff—
Pretty little soldier with his head blown off!
Mother rears her family on forty bob a week,
Teaches them to wash themselves, teaches them to speak
Rears them with a heart's love, rears them to be men,
Grinds her fingers to the bone, then, what then?
One year, two year, three year, four,
Comes a khaki gentleman knocking at the door;
Little boys are wanted now very much indeed,
Hear the bugles blowing when the cannons want a feed!

Brisbane Daily Standard.

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GRIST IN THE PRISON MILL

By Kate Richards O'Hare

IN ALL of the discussions of prison labor the prisoner is usually overlooked entirely, but when you buy a prison-made garment you cannot escape your responsibility for the conditions under which they are made. Some prisons are a little better, some a little worse, but in real essentials there are the same abuses wherever prison labor is exploited for private profit.

The outstanding fact is that the convict is utterly helpless, and helplessness on one side and despotic power on the other always breeds abuses. Stone walls shut in barbarities and cruelties that are denied free expression by civilized society. They also shut out all intelligent understanding and social supervision. The convict is first branded as totally depraved, and shut away from the sight of his fellow-men. There is no way he can make his voice heard, no one to whom he can appeal, and no redress for the most terrible abuses must be through the very men who commit them. The average normal citizen never knows what goes on behind prison walls, and prison officials tell only what pleases them.

In actual practice the control of practically every prison where convict labor is exploited for private profit is vested in the contractor's agent. And his sole object is to make profits, and that means that the last atom of productivity must be ground out of the convict. He has been committed to prison under a sentence of "hard labor," and sold into slavery, and the contractor has not even the interest in his welfare that the white master had in a black slave. If a black slave

The Inhuman Treatment Suffered by Convicts

were killed by overwork or brutality the master lost his money value, his selling price in the slave market, but if a convict is killed, the state supplies the contractor with another without cost.

"A Place Of Revenge"

Mr. C. E. Hoffman, of Rutledge, Mo., was for many years a prison guard at the State Penitentiary at Jefferson City, where I served. In his book, "Buried Alive," he says: "After a man has been convicted of an offense, and sent to some place of refuge—for that is all prisons really are—he is, to all intents and purposes, buried alive, so completely is he shut away from the outside world. . . . In the majority of our prisons much the same systems of management are exercised as was in vogue a century ago. The same rules and modes of punishment; where the dungeon, the weighing machine, cat-o-nine-tails and other inhuman methods are resorted to, and with as relentless hand as ever wielded the lash in darkest slavery days."

Both guards and contractor's foremen are paid criminally low wages, but they can always earn a generous bonus by getting more than the task out of the prisoners, and there is no curb to the methods they may use. I have seen every sort of punishment that the degenerate and sick minds and souls of men could invent inflicted on the women in the prison, and al-

most without exception it was inflicted, not for bad behavior nor disorderly conduct, but for failure to make the task that was utterly beyond their powers. Al Jennings in his book, "Through the Shadows with O. Henry," gives a vivid picture of the methods used to force the task, and unfortunately they are not unusual, but ordinary practices in American prisons. He says:

"Only a man who has been in Hell's mouth—who has seen blood spurt as men, stripped and chained, and beaten until their flesh is torn and bleeding, know the depravity of a prison beating. . . . I had seen a man beaten to death over the trough. The awful debauchery of that murder is seared into my brain. The convict, strapped across the trough, his ankles drawn under it, his arms across the top, was a mass of blood. . . . The mangled victim could not stand nor speak, but he raised a gray, death-stricken face, and after a long pause a husky curse came to his lips. They hacked him to death—broken bones—ragged flesh—they struck into it until it doubled up, a limp mass in the trough. . . . If the task is not finished on time the convict is sent to the 'hole' for punishment. Twice in three days Little Jim, a negro, was given the 'water.' A hose with a nozzle one-quarter of an inch in diameter, sixty pounds of pressure behind it, sends a stream of terrific force at the prisoner. His head is strapped. The stream that is hard as steel is turned full in the man's face, his eyes, his nostrils. The pres-

sure compels him to open his mouth, and the swift battering deluge tears down his throat and rips his stomach in two. No man can stand the 'water' twice and live."

The Death of a Woman Convict

In the Missouri State Penitentiary I saw a woman killed. Minnie Eddy was demented and tubercular, and she was quite incapable of making the task. She went to the 'hole' and 'solitary' again and again. It was cold weather and she was too weak and stupid to keep herself awake, so she lay on the cold stone floor without a blanket, and was fed on bread and water. Finally she was dragged out, too weak to stand, and a few days later she died. Pearl Hall was a 'dope,' a Federal prisoner, convicted of having narcotics in her possession, and she was thrown into a cell to undergo the tortures of 'kicking off' the habit without medical care. One day she was taken out and sent to the shop. It was a violation of Federal law for a Federal prisoner to be worked under the task system, but there was an unused machine in the shop. David Oberman wanted his profits, the politicians wanted their graft, and the foreman wanted his bonus. So, law or no law, Pearl went to the shop, but she could not make the task, and she went to the 'hole.' She shrieked and moaned and disturbed the matron, and a degenerate Negro murderess and a demented white convict ducked Pearl in a bathtub of ice water until she cried no more. The next day she was carried out dead.

You may think that these are merely tales of ex-convicts, but legislative investigations in many states have and are substantiating them. The New York World of February 1, 1925, carried a story of a legislative investigation which brought out the story that the 'bat,' an instrument of torture well known to every ex-convict, is still used in the Texas State Penitentiary. A Negro teamster in Dallas, Texas, was fined \$10 for using a 'bat' on his mule, but its use on a human being to force him to produce an impossible task for a prison labor contractor is not a violation of the law, and is accepted as good penology.

Is it worth the price? Are the few cents you may save buying prison-made goods enough to shut your eyes to the fact that they are wet with human blood, and that when you wear them it is at the price of having the mark of Cain on your brow?

:- Sparks and Flashes :-

WE HAD among us recently four comrades from Great Britain, namely, Arthur Henderson, Rhys Davies, Morgan Jones and Rennie Smith. The latter three were with us a longer spell than Comrade Henderson, and so we had a better opportunity to cultivate their acquaintance. It was an experience not easily forgotten. It was, to speak mildly, a privilege among privileges and an inspiration to meet these stalwart men. Extraordinary types, every one of them; mentally alert, well informed, buoyant spirits, ardent propagandists and remarkably eloquent and stirring speakers. Then, again, ye gods, they sure had something to talk about! Personally, they were men of the finest mettle; noblemen in the highest sense. Their charm of character, intellect and culture was irresistible and not one of us who came in close contact with them could escape the infectious enthusiasm these ambassadors of Labor brought with them. There were moments we cursed our mean luck for not being Britishers. Oh, how we longed to be part of that marvelous Labor movement that moves not only Great Britain but the whole civilized world!

But then we must make the best of our tough job in this country. Here we live, sweat and groan and here is work for us to do. However, it would be indeed unbearable to struggle on with so little prospect of immediate growth and gain right here if it were not for the inspiring lessons and examples that come to us from abroad. And we don't know of a better tonic, a more invigorating treatment for our run-down condition than to frequently invite a couple of British Socialists to come over and cheer us on. By all means let's do it. Resolutions are now in order for the agenda of the coming national convention of the Socialist Party. If you agree with our resolution please swipe it, clip it and forward it to Chicago at once. Come on now, start something! Resolved, That the National Office of the Socialist Party invite at least two British comrades (veterans or youngsters; well known men or women or comrades totally unknown over here—it doesn't matter) each year. Furthermore, that the National Office route these speakers, guarantee their expenses, etc., and handle their tours in a manner that will eliminate the necessity for and the practice of such visitors applying to non-party book agencies. They should be given no cause to regret that they crossed the 'great herring pond.' The way we mistreated these recent visitors will hardly be a recommendation for others to come. That must not happen again. We can, must, and shall do better.

"Sympathy is the most important ingredient in the social feelings. It is synonymous with good feeling, kindness and humanity. . . . It involves a certain amount of pain to the sympathizer and yet it brings its pleasures. . . . A sympathetic mind is closely observant of others and is directed by a special interest in other. . . . We cannot sympathize unless we ourselves have felt, and can recall our experience, or our imagination realizes situations and feelings that differ from our experiences. . . . The force of sympathy is one of the most valuable agencies in education and still more as a means of moral growth."—James Gully.

"Critical Friend" asks for a clean-cut formula—a real remedy for "Out of a job and no place to go." None, under this blasted capitalist system! Nor can there be any hope for the solution of unemployment as long as capitalism lasts. Here is our clean-cut formula: The reorganization of our economic activities on the basis of production for use instead of for profit. The abolition of all such private property that enables its owner to exploit his fellow man. The speedy reduction of the hours of labor, upon the introduction of labor-saving devices and the division of all work in fair ratio to the number of workers and the amount of work to be done. Now's that, old top?

. . . . In its narrow economic sense, the word Socialism does mean the public ownership of the means of

production—the capital of a country. But to us of the Labor movement the word means much more than this. It is inseparably bound up with the history of the struggle of the working classes in this country to emancipate themselves, to elevate themselves—the struggle to win that measure of democratic self-government in their economic life which they have already won in their political life. Again, the word 'Socialism' must always mean to us that kind of practical idealism which is determined to leave the world a better place than it finds it. We cannot fail to realize that the present century is a turning point in human history. Socialism, to us, means nothing less than the attempt to realize a new epoch in the slow and painful evolution of humanity."—Lady Cynthia Moseley.

"The average miner's earnings are not high in spite of the operator propaganda to the contrary. The most skilled and responsible miners are averaging only \$8.55 a day, working about 90 percent of a full working year. The average of day workers inside the mine is \$5.56, and of outside men \$4.95 a day."—Leland Olds, Federated Press.

"In resolutions adopted today, the National Association of Manufacturers said at the final session of its convention: 'The highest function in American industry is not to make profit but to bring betterment of conditions to the worker as well as to the owner and to make its product available to the public at a cost as low as possible.'—New York Times.

Ain't that a grand resolution? So they are going to cut the profits and run the industries for the benefit of the workers and the public. If you don't believe that one they will pass you another resolution.

Among other things the institution of wealth is being tried in the Rhineland case. Opponents of socialist theories contend that if the possibility of great rewards is withdrawn from

competitive life we will develop a slothful and flabby citizenry. Naturally, it would be unfair to generalize too much on the basis of one case, but it may be that out of this action we shall draw some increased information, however slight, on the use and value of great individual fortunes in the community. We may come to know whether it is well for us to encourage or discourage inheritance by which accumulated moneys shall be passed down from father to son in order that culture and enterprise be conserved."—Heywood Brown.

Questions are often asked as to what has become of the former assistant editor of the New Leader, William Morris Feigenbaum, and what he is doing now? It is with great joy that we answer—he is doing well. More than that, he is doing the finest work in his young journalistic career. Although hidden away from the attention of the larger English reading public, our Bill, as editor of the English Section of the Jewish Daily Forward, is writing articles and dramatic reviews that are of a quality little short of great brilliancy. Invest a nickel any Sunday and read them, ye that would be wise.

August Claessens.

The real enemy is the desire for domination; if we could put limits to that, we should not have much trouble with acquisition.—Henry Sturt.

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BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyeum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4871 Stage
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular Meetings every Tuesday Evening
WILLIAM WENGERT, President CHARLES PFLAUM, Fin. Sec'y
VALENTINE BUMB, Vice-President JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y ANDREW STREIT, Bus. Agent

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 106th Street
OFFICE: 501 EAST 101ST STREET. Telephone Melrose 5614
THOMAS DALTON, President CHAS. H. HAUSER, Bus. Agent
HARRY E. ELLERT, Fin. Sec'y JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF Carpenters and Joiners of America

Local Union 366
4215 Third Avenue, corner Tremont Avenue
Regular meetings every Monday evening
Walter Anderson, President Bert Post, Rec. Secretary James Daigman, Fin. Sec'y
Victor Saul, Vice-President Joseph Vanderpool, Treas. Chas. Noble, Business Agent
Board of Trustees—Jos. Hess, Louis Schmidt, E. Glaw

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION No. 806
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyeum, 949 Willoughby Avenue
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyeum, Telephone Stage 5414. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.
JOHN HARKLEY, President SYDNEY PEARCE, Rec. Secretary
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary CHARLES FRIEDELL, Business Agent

DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1466, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA
67-69 Lexington Avenue Madison Square 4092
Regular meetings every second and fourth Monday
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President. Ludwig Hansen, Vice-President. Ed. M. Olsen, Fin. Sec'y
Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Christopher Gulbrandsen, Recording Secretary Charles Johnson, Jr., Treasurer Ray Clark, Business Agents

COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 63, I. M. C. & C. L. of A.
Office, 12 St. Marks Place 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday, closed all day.
DRY DOCK 8062
Meetings every First and Third Wednesday
DANIEL HUNT, Vice-Pres. JAMES MORAN, President
PETER FINNERMAN, JOHN MCPARTLAN, JOSEPH MORAN, Rec. Secretary Fin. Secretary Bus. Agent

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at the LABOR TEMPLE, 248 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
MICHAEL J. JOLLEMAN, President and Business Agent.
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y. JOHN LEAVY, JOHN DOOLEY, MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y. JOSEPH LAMONTE, Treasurer

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

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 165 East 56th Street.
Telephone Flam—4100-5416. PHILIP SAUSNER, Secretary.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 61 East 106th Street Telephone: Leligh 3141
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 310 East 104th Street.
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNENFELD, Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N.Y.
Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELD'S HALL, 67 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.
Phone Watkins 9188
LEON E. ROUSE, President
John Sullivan, Vice-President
John S. O'Connell, Secretary-Treas.
Theodore F. Donahue, Organizer

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Stillwell 8594.
Office and Headquarters, 210 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
BENJAMIN A. DAVIS, President.
WILLIAM FIFITA, Financial Secretary.
WILLIAM MEHRETSKY, Recording Secretary.
CHARLES MCADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents.

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL UNION No. 465, of NEW YORK CITY
Office 3025 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4878.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 343 East 84th Street
MATTHEW J. MORAN, President. JOHN WALSH, Vice-President.
FRED DEIGAN, General Secretary. TIMOTHY HOPKINS, Secretary.
GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLDBORN, JOHN RASSETT, PAT DREW, Business Agents.

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL No. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.
Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Phone: Sterling 9733.
Regular Meeting every Monday evening, at 183 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn.
Executive Board meets every Friday evening, at the Office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
THOMAS F. OATES, President. CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

Amalgamated Lithographers

of America, New York Local No. 1
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 305 WEST 14th ST. Phone: WAT kin 7766
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at ARLINGTON HALL, 19 ST. MARK'S PLACE
Near 1st Ave.
ALBERT E. CASTRO, President. Frank J. Flynn, Sec'y. Frank Schel, Treas.
Pat's Hagan, Vice-Pres. Rec. Sec'y

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Eve. at the Labor Temple, 343 East 84th St.
BRIND WAGNER, President.
CHAS. KOENIG, Rec. Sec'y.

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

LOCAL 234, A. M. C. & S. W. of N. A.
178 E. 17th St. Phone: Orchard 8239
Near 1st Ave.
AL GRABAL, President. S. JACOB, Sec'y.
Manager.

WAITERS' UNION

Local 219, H. A. R. E. I. A. & R. I. L. of A.
Office and Headquarters 170 E. 80th St., N. Y.
PHONE LENOX 1874
Regular meetings every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
MAX GOLDBERG, President. MORRIS KAHN, Secretary.
ANDREW SCHWARTZ, MARY SCHWARTZ, Bus. Agent

PARK PALACE

3-5 West 110th Street
Biggest Ball Rooms for Balls, Weddings, Banquets and Meetings.
ROSENBERG & HERTZ, Props.
Telephone: Melrose 4244
Orchestra 90.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

Comrades Debs and Snow have completed their series of mass meetings in Illinois. Both are enthusiastic for the general results. Snow is now on a brief business trip in the southwest and Debs is in New York State.

Charles Pogorelec, the energetic secretary of the Yugoslav Federation, is spending a few weeks in the field and is sending in some glowing accounts of unusual success. He states that organizing work is progressing splendidly. He has organized a new branch at Philadelphia, W. Va., with 15 members, and one at Bridgeport, Ohio, with 6 members, and reports that he has good prospects of organizing in several other localities.

A special effort is being made by the State Secretary of California and the National Office and Emil Herman to have his last two weeks' work in California even more than usually successful. In these two weeks Herman will cover some territory he has visited recently. Already he has the enthusiastic pledges of Socialists at several points to the effect that all possible will be done to make his meetings general party-building events.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

The committee on unemployment insurance is completing consideration of the draft bill for unemployment insurance, which it is intended to use as one of the talking points on our campaign in the next year.

Providence, R. I.

Readers of The New Leader who have not yet obtained tickets for the Darrow lecture, Dec. 14, should do so at once to assure getting in. Clarence Darrow has been asked to speak at a luncheon of "The Town Criers," an aristocratic club in Providence, on the day of the meeting. The Providence Branch decided to have its next study class on the subject of "How Industry Would Be Run Under Socialism." It also ordered bundles of the American Appeal for the first four issues.

Boston

Norman Thomas had a successful meeting in Boston on the subject of "Domestic Roots of Imperialism" and greatly pleased a large number of members and non-members who were present.

Braintree-Weymouth, Mass.

Comrades in Braintree-Weymouth have been deeply grieved over the loss of Helen Holmes, the wife of Frank S. Holmes. Helen Holmes has been a loyal and active party member who stood unflinchingly beside her husband in the sacrifice which active Socialists make.

PENNSYLVANIA

Persons living in Pennsylvania desiring further information concerning the Socialist Party are requested to write Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, 415 Swede Street, Norristown, Pa. News concerning local activities of Socialist and Labor organizations should be sent to the same address for publication in The New Leader.

Westmoreland

Reports from throughout Westmoreland county indicate that the Socialist movement is on the upgrade. New members are being added to the branches and the vote at the last election, despite bitter opposition of the Ku Klux Klan, was higher than usual.

State Office

The State executive committee has initiated a referendum of the party membership on the question of whether or not a State party conference shall be held in place of a State convention in the year 1926. Ballots are now being printed, and will be sent out to the locals, branches and members-at-large. All comrades are urged to vote upon this important question.

Allegheny County

Local Allegheny is boosting the American Appeal and carrying on active propaganda work. Within the past few weeks they have ordered three dozen copies of the "Case for Socialism," by Fred Henderson. Our supply of this very fine book is fast being exhausted, and those comrades who want it should order immediately. Single copies, 50c; \$4 a dozen.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven Trades Council Forum Norman Thomas, recently candidate for Mayor of New York City, and the director of the League for Industrial Democracy, will be the speaker at the next meeting of the Trades Council Forum, Thursday, Dec. 17, at 8:15 at the council hall, 215 Meadow street. The subject will be "Is Organized Labor Drunk with Power?" Members of or-

ganized labor are urged to attend these meetings. The meeting is also open to the public.

New Haven

The Friday Night Club, formerly the Young People's Socialist League of New Haven, is holding a course of lectures every Friday evening at Sloane lecture hall on Liberty street.

Hamden

An important meeting of the local will be held at the home of C. Mahoney, 80 Francis avenue, Friday evening, December 11. The matter of disposing of the calendars that the State Committee has published will be discussed. Ways and means of increasing the circulation of the party press will be considered.

NEW YORK STATE

Capacity crowds are attending the Debs banquets upstate, Schenectady being compelled to arrange for overflow. The last of the series of six banquets is to be held at the New Hotel, Syracuse, next Monday evening.

The Albany Debs banquet, on December 7, surpassed all expectations, and over \$400 was subscribed for Debs Liberty Bonds. Debs rose to the occasion and talked for more than an hour, rising to the noblest heights of eloquence. No less than three groups of children, including the little son of Comrade La Marche, representing Local Cohoes; the little daughters of Comrade Jacobson, representing Local Albany; and the Debs Class of the Albany Workmen's Circle paid their tribute to Comrade Debs by the presentation of floral offerings in the shape of red roses.

LOCAL NEW YORK

A meeting of the County Committee of New York County will be held on Monday, Dec. 14, 8 p. m., at the Peoples House, 7 East 15th street. This meeting is called for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Senator for the 13th Senatorial District for the special election to be held Jan. 7, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Senator Walker. All members of the committee are requested to attend.

Owing to the party meeting called by the City Committee for Wednesday, Dec. 16, the meeting of Local New York will be postponed for the present. Notice of the meeting will be given as soon as decided upon.

The Executive Committee of Local New York will meet on Monday, Dec. 14, at the office of Local New York, Room 505, 7 East 15th street. Important business to transact. Every member must attend.

6th, 8th and 12th A. D.

The 6th, 8th and 12th A. D. is running an educational forum at the headquarters, 137 Avenue B, every Sunday night. Judge Jacob Panken will open the forum Sunday, December 13, at 8:30 p. m., with a lecture on "Law as a Socialist Judge Sees It." Admission is free to all.

BROOKLYN

Central Committee Meeting The central committee will meet Saturday, December 12, 8 p. m., in the office of the county committee. All delegates are urged to attend without fail. Very important matters to be taken up, also the city committee's program of work.

Sixth A. D. Kings

A. I. Shipiloff has been invited to participate in the next meeting at party headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue, on Tuesday, December 16. He will discuss the present situation and will give his views on the work of rebuilding the Socialist movement.

August Claessens in Williamsburg This Friday, Dec. 11, at 8:30 p. m., August Claessens will lecture at 78 Throop avenue, Brooklyn, on the subject: "Social Evolution: Nature Versus Man." After the lecture, questions and answers. This is the third lecture of a series of four arranged by Williamsburg branches 3, 4, 6 and 325 of the Workmen's Circle. Admission, 10c.

BRONX

Bronx Socialists are concentrating all of their efforts upon making their Annual Ball, Concert and Bazaar, which is due on Jan. 31, the biggest event in the history of Local Bronx and the talk of the whole town. Committees on Journal, Prize, Entertainment and Tickets are functioning under the able chairmen, Samuel Orr, Charles Bergen and Sam Grossman. The success of this undertaking will mean the clearing of our Local's debt and the attainment of sufficient funds, morale

and enthusiasm to plan and carry into effect a huge organization campaign.

August Claessens will give his last lecture in the series on "Race Prejudice" next Sunday afternoon at 4 p. m. The subject is "The Fruits of Assimilation." Auspices of Y. P. S. L.

BRONX

The Seventh A. D. has two important

A Plan to Boost the Membership of Every Branch

By Robert Leemans

CONGRESS MEETS

(Continued from page 1)

Join the World Court there will be peace on earth, now and forever.

Senator Borah is one of the few men in Washington who has the good sense to appraise this world court stuff at its true value. But he and a few others will undoubtedly be overwhelmed by the flood of pressure that the world court lobbyists in the pay of Eddie Bok, formerly editor of that progressive sheet, "The Ladies' Home Journal," lately donated of the award for the peace plan, and the banking interests will be able to let loose.

Then there will be some more noise about income and inheritance tax reductions which will thrill the few hundred thousands who pay these things, but leave the rest of us cold as a presidential smile.

When it comes to the things that most affect most of the people, the price of coal, the plight of the farmers, the attacks on unionism, the rising costs of rent and most everything else, this is likely to be the mummer's Congress in years. There may be some talk about Federal control of anthracite, but this isn't likely to scare the hard-boiled operators much less the real radicals in Congress lay out an effective nationalization program for the entire coal industry and fight for it tooth and nail. The amount of sentiment that they could muster behind such a fight would surprise those who say that there is no interest in nationalization of the mines.

Farmers to Get Hukum

As for the farmers, Coolidge has just informed the members of the ultra-conservative Grange gathered in rustic simplicity in the Hotel Sherman in Chicago that they are all sitting pretty if they only knew it. That never, never would the government dream of buying or selling food-stuffs, for that, you see, would put the government into business and that farming "dwells in the open country, among the hills and valleys and over the great plains, in the unobstructed light of the sun and under the glimmer of the stars." This far-voiced scheme for relieving the farmers was received with cheers by the assembled hicks in the Hotel Sherman banquet hall.

Of course, everyone may be expected to go up in the air about the bills for improving our air defense, which will be bound to be introduced. Any subway rider who doesn't know a strut from a nose-dive can tell you in detail his plan for a unified air service. But when it comes to the administration's generous aid to those who would break unionism by tearing up contracts, by the use of the injunction, by fostering the hypocritical "company union" and open shop—well, don't go down to Washington this winter if you want to hear about such matters.

And for heaven's sake don't mention oil around this Congress. Despite the attempts of Senator Walsh to revive it, that subject is very much taboo these days. Didn't the sovereign people of the United States by popular mandate decree that Fall and Doherty and the rest were prime patriots and that they wanted for President the man who sat around saying nothing, while our natural resources were being burgled? To be sure they did. And now they've got what they want, the first simon-pure Coolidge Congress. Big business is in the saddle. Watch it ride the rest of us.

Pauperism is the general leakage through every joint of the ship that is rotten.—Carlyle.

Joint Executive Committee

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

Office: 175 East Broadway. Phone: Orchard 6689 Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening. M. GREENBERG, Sec. Treas. PETER MONAT, Manager.

SEE THAT YOUR ENGINEER WEARS THIS BUTTON!

I. U. S. and O. Engineers' Local 56 Meets every Friday at 8 P. M. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone: Stages 1944. Office hours 8 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 6 P. M. Room 14. F. SACHS, Sec. Gen.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union. Office and Headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone: Stages 6798 Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays. M. REISS, President. S. FINE, Vice-President. E. FRIEDMAN, Sec. Gen. F. WENNER, Fin. Sec. E. SACHS, Local Sec.

events on hand this week. On Friday night, Dec. 11, at the forum established at 4215 Third avenue, Dr. William Durant will lecture on "The Evolution of Marriage." Admission is 25 cents.

On Saturday night, Dec. 12, at the same address, the branch will give a Santa Claus dance that should attract many of the young folks and the old folks who are still young. Admission is 50 cents, which includes wardrobe.

First—Send \$1.55 to the National Office for 100 each of the following leaflets:

What About Coal? Parable of the Water Tank. The A B C of Socialism. What Is Socialism? Objections to Socialism Answered. Do You Really Want Socialism? Four of a Kind.

Second—Buy 700 envelopes—\$1.40 in Woolworth's, perhaps even less elsewhere.

Third—Make a list of 100 sympathizers. Use names of readers of The New Leader, persons who formerly belonged to the Party, who have signed petitions, contributed to campaign funds. It should be easy to make up a list of 100.

Fourth—Deliver the 700 leaflets to these 100 persons—one leaflet a week for seven weeks, in the order given above. Each week place the 100 leaflets in envelopes addressed to the 100 persons for whom they are intended, then seal and deliver the envelopes. Of course, you could mail them, but that would mean an unnecessary expense of \$2 a week, and a few comrades can deliver 100 envelopes in less than a half hour.

Fifth—Arrange for an organization meeting about two weeks after the delivery of the seventh leaflet. Invite the 100 who have been receiving the leaflets to attend this meeting. This invitation should be mailed right after the delivery of the seventh leaflet.

Sixth—A couple of days after mailing the invitation, start a canvass of these 100 persons. Call on every one of them personally and do all you can to insure their attending the meeting. Every member of the branch should take part in this work. Arrange in advance to have an organizer present at the meeting.

If only ten branches adopt this plan, it will mean that for several weeks one thousand carefully selected persons will be receiving Socialist literature urging them to join the Party, followed by an invitation to attend a meeting and a personal call from a Party member. Surely this must bring results. And the expense, both of money and effort, is so trifling that certainly every branch should give this plan a trial.

PABLO IGLESIAS, NOTED SPANISH SOCIALIST, DIES

The international Socialist movement has suffered a great loss in the death of Pablo Iglesias, founder of the Spanish Socialist and Labor movement and the first Socialist member of the Spanish Cortes (Parliament), in which he served for fifteen years from the time of his first election in 1910 until the day of his death, on Wednesday of this week.

Comrade Iglesias was one of the most striking figures in the international and one of the few survivors of the First International of Marx and Engels. He was seventy-five years old, and for the past few years he had been in feeble health, but his spirits were undimmed and his great enthusiasm for the cause of Socialism never flagged.

Iglesias was a familiar figure at all international Socialist gatherings until the Copenhagen Congress, in 1910, at all of which his glorious eloquence won the passionate cheers of his comrades. While the Spanish party under his leadership joined the present Socialist and Labor International, his feeble health made it impossible for him to attend either the Hamburg or the Marseilles congresses.

With the death of Iglesias another of the first generation of Socialism passes, the present year having seen the death of the Dutch pioneer, Van Kol, and the Swiss veteran, Greulich. Socialism will not forget their lives and their inspiration!

FUR FLOOR WORKERS

UNION LOCAL 3, F. I. U. A. S. Office and Headquarters, 249 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stages 6220. Regular Meetings Every First and Third Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Thursday. FRANK BARROSI, JAMES CARUSO, President, Secretary

NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L. 7 E. 15th St. Streetview 7878 Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street. Fred Vassilopoulos, N. Ullman, Recording Sec'y. Henry Lutz, President. J. Kaczmarek, Financial Sec'y. Gus Levine, Recording Sec'y. Business Agent. Treasurer

FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15 Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 22nd St. M. SUROFF, Chairman. L. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman. J. HOFFINGER, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS' UNION

LOCAL 1 Executive Board meets every Thursday 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 22nd St. J. SHAPIRO, Chairman. L. ELSTER, 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 2149 MORRIS SIGMAN, President. ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

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

Office 221 East 14th Street. Telephone Exchange 4199 EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION. DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office: 2 WEST 14TH STREET. Telephone Chelsea 2149 The Council meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday. The Board of Directors meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. H. GREENBERG, President. S. LEPOVITS, Manager.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 221 E. 14th Street. Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. SALVATORE NINNO, Manager-Secretary.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS

UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U. Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 15th St. Malrose 7899 CARL GRABHER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

Italian Dressmakers

Union, Local 26, I. L. G. W. U. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 311 West 31st Street. Telephone 7748-Walking. LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

Waterproof Garment Workers

UNION, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U. 120 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934 Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. D. GINGOLD, Manager. A. WEINGART, Sec'y-Treas.

United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11914, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th St. Phone: Streetview 7899 Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office. LOUIS FELDHEIM, President. ED. GOTTSMAN, Sec'y-Treas. L. D. BERGHEIM, Manager. LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 20, I. L. G. W. U. 117 Second Avenue. Telephone ORCHARD 7104-A. A. SNYDER, Manager. MOLLY LEVITSKY, Secretary.

BONNAR EMBROIDERERS

UNION LOCAL 63, I. L. G. W. U. 1 East 15th St. Tel. Streetview 8899 Executive Board meets every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. FREDERICK MAN, President. M. M. EISENBERG, Manager. NATHAN RIBBEL, Sec'y-Treas.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Telephone: Streetview 6500-1-3-4-5 SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA 511-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7000-1-3-4-5 DAVID WOLF, General Manager. ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA 700 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Streetview 4330, 3010, 3015 JOE GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four." Office: 44 East 15th Street. Streetview 8899. Regular meetings every Friday night at 215 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office. PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1299 Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday. MORRIS BLUMENBERG, Manager. HYMAN KOVODVOR, Sec'y-Treasurer.

Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10 A. C. W. of A. Section "C" Office: 335 Bushwick Ave., Pulaski 2120 Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m. Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m. J. Barzovita, Sec'y. Sam'l Berger, Chairman. J. Kleinhals, Fin. Sec'y.

Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10 A. C. W. of A. Section "C" Office: 335 Bushwick Ave., Pulaski 2120 Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m. Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m. J. Barzovita, Sec'y. Sam'l Berger, Chairman. J. Kleinhals, Fin. Sec'y.

Lapel Makers & Pafters

Local 191, A. C. W. of A. Office: 2 Delancey St., Drydock 8899 Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M. IRE SCHNEIDER, Chairman. BENNETT F. WARD, Secretary. ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. of A. Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple 11-12 N. Y. LOUIS CANTON, Chairman. M. TAYLOR, Sec'y. LEON RECK, Fin. Sec'y.

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

GENERAL OFFICE: 11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3084 JOHN ZEICHNER, Chairman. CHARLES KLEINMAN, Secretary-Treasurer. OSKIP WALINSKY, General Manager.

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK Office and Headquarters, 9 St. Mark's Place. Phone ORCHARD 1299 Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M. THOMAS DINONNO, FRED CAIGLA, SAM SCHNALL, FLORENCE GELBER, President, Manager, Treasurer. JOHN REBACK and JOE DINONNO, Organizers.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union Downtown Office: 410 Broadway. Phone Spring 4118 Uptown Office: 36 West 87th Street. Phone FIDAY 1294 Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening. HYMAN LEDERMAN, E. MULINALE, Chairman, Recording Secretary, Secretary-Treasurer. ORGANIZERS: NATHAN SEFTOR, L. E. GOLDBERG, M. GOODMAN.

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

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 225). Phone Spring 2158-2559 ALDO CURELL, Manager. E. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer. Joint Board Meets every Second and Fourth Monday. Board of Directors meets every First and Third Monday. Local 245—Executive Board meets every Tuesday. Local 248—Executive Board meets every Thursday. Local 249—Executive Board meets every Wednesday. These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union.

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office: 22 East 22nd Street. Phone: CAL edonia 0350 MEETS EVERY TUESDAY EVENING IN THE OFFICE. Chairman, M. ZETTLIN Vice-Chairman, I. SHAPIRO Rec. Secretary, J. SKOLNICK

FUR NAILERS' UNION

LOCAL 10 Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 22nd St. L. COHEN, Chairman. S. RESNICK, Vice-Chairman. J. HORN, Secretary.

FUR OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 5 Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St. L. COHEN, Chairman. S. MALAMUD, Vice-Chairman. S. BARAZ, Secretary.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. BUSHWICK 7410 O. SCHACHTMAN, General President. I. WOHL, General Secretary-Treasurer.

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Co-operative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.

S. JOHN BLOCK, Attorney and Counsel

Labor organizations can obtain full information regarding cost of membership, etc., from the office, 198 Broadway, Room 1100, New York. Board of Delegates meets on last Saturday of every month at 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, New York.

ED GRIFF, President. ALEX ECKERT, Financial Sec'y. ALBERT HELB, Secretary.

WHEN YOU BUY CLOTH HATS AND CAPS

Always Look for This Label



-:- DRAMA -:-

-:- THEATRES -:-

The I. L. P. Arts Guild Brings Joy to Workers

MANY of the little band of workers who gathered together six months ago to inaugurate the I. L. P. Arts Guild in England had dreamed great dreams of the part that such an organization might play in the future life of the community, and of the immediate joys it might bring to thousands of workers, wearied by a monotonous and arduous struggle for the bare necessities of existence. Dreams are usually such elusive things, however, that few could have expected the startling suddenness with which, in this instance, they would begin to materialize.

One can still say no more than that they have begun to materialize, but no one who has followed the progress of the Guild so far can now doubt their ultimate fulfillment. The cynics who smiled a little when Lewis Casson described the movement as "the rebirth of the English theatre" will probably refuse to accept the evidence of our six months' work as proof of this, but the achievements of which the Guild can already boast will rejoice the hearts of true believers, and before our annual meeting next Easter we shall have such things to tell as will confound the most obstinate of our critics!

The most rapid and necessarily the most obvious developments have taken place in connection with the Dramatic Groups.

When the Guild was formed there was definite knowledge of about ten of these groups. Within six months over sixty applications for affiliation have been received, the majority the result of stimulation by the Guild of an already existing interest. In addition, at least thirty other applications for assistance are being dealt with, which

will probably result in as many new groups within a week or so.

Miles Malleon, the Director of the Guild, has already traveled several hundreds of miles, helping new groups over the difficult first stages of their existence, addressing big meetings on the implications of the movement, conducting rehearsals, and helping to turn small grimy halls and back rooms into "Little Theatres."

While these developments have been taking place in connection with the Dramatic Groups, a parallel and almost as rapid development has taken place in musical activities. A year ago, when branch choirs were mentioned, one thought only of the few outstanding examples such as the Neath and Briton Ferry Choirs in South Wales, the London Choir and the William Morris Choir in Glasgow. Recently, however, numbers of smaller choirs have been springing up all over the country, and some of them are already doing extraordinarily good work. In addition, many of the stronger branches have their own orchestras, which double the attraction of propaganda meetings.

Closely linked up with these musical developments has been a rapidly awakening interest in dancing—especially Folk Dancing, which is, perhaps, the most natural and inevitable expression of a desire for rhythmic movement.

Miles Malleon visited Halifax recently where the local Dramatic Group were producing "An Enemy of the People." He came back enthusiastic about some posters specially designed by one of the members of the branch, which had been used to advertise the play. The possibilities of development on these lines are practically unlimited, and the Arts Guild hopes to see small groups springing up all over the country, engaged in such work and in all forms of handicraft.

"Phantom of the Opera" and "Parisian Galities" Enter- taining at Colony Theatre

THE bill at the Colony Theatre is unusually attractive, for, in addition to presenting Lon Chaney



Lon Chaney

The cast is large and quite effective for a production of this sort and the score calls for seven musical numbers all of which are sprightly and in keeping with the photoplay that follows. The music and dancing are on the accepted Broadway level. Altogether "Parisian Galities" provides an elaborate tuneful and out-of-the-ordinary prelude to a photoplay.

"The Phantom of the Opera" has been sufficiently reviewed before this at its initial presentation in New York to need only passing mention here. Again we have to comment on the unique character work of Lon Chaney, although his portrait of Erik, the Phantom, does not have the splendid ring of truth that his Quasimodo did in the "Hunchback of Notre Dame," and this is due to the fact that the plot of the picture is so highly fantastic and improbable, but no one could probably do better with the role than Mr. Chaney.

Mary Philbin and Norman Kerry are excellent as the Prima Donna of the Paris Opera and her lover with gorgeous scenes revealed in and around the famous edifice of historic renown in Paris, but from start to finish the plot and action of "The Phantom of the Opera" is so unreal that it is greatly a matter of the mood in which one happens to be whether the picture is enjoyed or not.

Houdini, the "master mystifier," and his company, will begin a fortnight's engagement Monday evening, at the 44th Street Theatre.

THE NEW PLAYS SATURDAY

"THE MAN WHO NEVER DIED," a play by Charles Webster, will be presented this Saturday night at the Provincetown Playhouse. The cast is headed by Vossburg, Bennett Southard and Robert Lynn.

MONDAY

"MERCHANTS OF GLORY," by Marcel Pagnol and Paul Nivoix, opens Monday night at the Guild Theatre, presented by the Theatre Guild. In the cast are Jose Ruben, Augustin Duncan, George Nash, Lee Baker, Helen Westley, Betty Linley and Armina Marshall. Philip Moeller directed the play. Ben Webster designed the settings and costumes.

"SO THAT'S THAT," by Joe Byron Totten, will open Monday night at the Cherry Lane Theatre. The cast includes Charles Gilpin, Mona Morgan, Leslie Bingham and Anne Gregory.

"OPEN HOUSE," by Samuel Golding, will come to Daly's 43rd Street Theatre Monday night, starring Helen MacKellar. The play is presented by the author. Featured in it are Ramsey Wallace and Bela Lugosi.

TUESDAY

"THE DYBBUK," a folk tale by the Russian-Jewish poet Ansky, will open at the Neighborhood Playhouse—its twelfth season—on Tuesday night.

"CHIVALRY," a new play by William Hurlbut, will be presented at Wallack's Theatre Monday night by Joseph E. Shea and L. H. Bradshaw. The cast will include Edmund Breese, Violet Heming and Doris Rankin.

FRIDAY

"THE TAMING OF THE SHREW" will be produced at the Klaw Theatre for a series of special matinees, beginning Friday, Ann Harding, Estelle Winwood, Horace Braham, Wright Kramer, Jollo Peters and Ernest Cosart are in the cast.

JOSE RUBEN



returns to Broadway in the Theatre Guild production, "Merchants of Glory," opening Monday night at the Guild Theatre

Madge Kennedy In Light Farce

"Beware of Widows" Provides Amusement at the Maxine Elliott Theatre

CROSBY GAIGE is presenting Madge Kennedy in a new farce-comedy by the prolific Owen Davis at the Maxine Elliott Theatre. The play, although by far not in Mr. Davis' best vein, provides a pleasant and laughable evening's entertainment, and, if one is a Madge Kennedy fan, the show will appeal all the more, for whenever the chic, vivacious and "cute" star is on the stage, her delivery of many bright and telling lines keeps the audience in good humor.

The plot of the play itself is given away by the title and like all farce delineations is so complicated that an outline of the action would be difficult to present briefly. In short, it concerns the fascinations of a pretty young widow, played of course by Miss Kennedy, and her onslaught on a man she has previously and intermittently loved, who has taken refuge on a house boat to escape with his young fiancée. Further complications are presented by the fiancée's father becoming involved with a gay young divorcee, who also shows up on the

MADGE KENNEDY



the charming favorite of the stage and screen, is featured in "Beware of Widows," the farce now playing at the Maxine Elliott Theatre

houseboat to whom the widow's "prey" has likewise been attentive in the past. In the course of the evening the "hero" becomes successively engaged to all three women amidst the usual farce complications, but through it all the widow persists with her plotting and scheming to upset everybody's plans and ultimately has the houseboat set adrift to prevent the man, whom she is intent upon, marrying the divorcee. All the other guests take to the boats, leaving the widow alone at last with the object of her schemes with the inevitable result that at the fall of the curtain everything is adjusted happily and prospective husband number two becomes a reality.

The play has been unusually well cast and set, but from first to last is designed to exploit the charm and manner of playing of Miss Kennedy herself.

"Beware of Widows" cannot be reckoned as good as some of recent offerings from the pen of the same author, but all in all it provides an undull evening in the theatre.

The Criterion Theatre to Return to Legitimate Field

The Criterion Theatre, which has been a motion picture house for more than eight years, is to be re-established as a home of legitimate productions. The house will be operated by the Charles Frohman Company.

"The Vanishing American," now at the Criterion, will end its engagement a week from Saturday night, and a play, "Fool's Bells," by A. E. Thomas, will open there on Wednesday night, Dec. 23. The cast will include Donald Gallagher, the play's producer; Beryl Mercer, Sara Sothorn, A. G. Andrews and Donald Mack.

Robert Lorraine, the English star, who recently appeared in "The Man With a Load of Mischief," is to head the cast of "The Master of the Inn," the Bruce & Street production which is due on Broadway within the next fortnight. The play is an adaptation by Catherine Chisholm Cushing of Robert Herrick's novelette of the same title.

WINTER GARDEN

EVENINGS, 8:15
MATS, TUES., THUR. & SAT.
NOW, AS ALWAYS, THE
WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS REVUE



GREAT CAST
IN GERTRUDE HOFFMANN GIRLS

WINTER GARDEN SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT

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

FORREST

THEATRE
49TH STREET
West of BROADWAY.
Evenings at 8:30. Mats.
Wed. and Sat. at 2:30.

New York's Best Liked
Musical Comedy
MAYFLOWERS

With
Joseph Santley and Ivy Sawyer
And a Great Cast
Including
ROBERT WOOLSEY

Scores of Pretty Girls!

LAUGH

"Unrestrained in the funniness of it."
—Gabriel, Sun



MORALS

BRILLIANT ACTORS' THEATRE CAST IN
LUDWIG THOMA'S
BOLD, WITTY COMEDY
COMEDY THEA. 41st Street,
nr. 6th Ave.
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday

GEORGE S. KAUFMAN'S BROADWAY'S FUNNIEST COMEDY

"BUTTERED EGG
ON A HOT PLATE"
WITH
GREGORY KELLY
LONGACRE THEATRE
WEST 45th ST.
MATINEES WED. & SAT.

CROSBY GAIGE SUCCESES

MADGE KENNEDY
BEWARE OF WIDOWS
OWEN DAVIS LATEST
FARCE
MAXINE ELLIOTT THEATRE
39th Street & 6th Ave.
MATINEES WED. & SAT.

Richard Herndon will begin rehearsals of Samuel Shipman's new play, "The Day-Lady," on Thursday. The play will be directed by Arthur Hurley and the cast will include Minna Gombel, Beatrice Nichols, G. Pat Collins, David Landau, John Marsten and Sidney Toler.

WARREN WILLIAM



makes a splendid and romantic hero in "Twelve Miles Out," the melodrama now crowding the Playhouse

After more than a year at Jolson's Theatre, where it made theatrical history and established new box office records, the most glorious musical play of our time

The STUDENT PRINCE

HEIDELBERG
AND HOWARD MARSH
Will Move Monday Night
to the AMBASSADOR THEATRE
WHERE IT WILL REMAIN INDEFINITELY
STAGED BY J.C. HUFFMAN
SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA OF 40
Eves. 8:30-Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30--Balc. Seats (Orchestra) \$1.50-4.50-6.50-8.50-10.50

SHUBERT THEATRE

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

The Continental Revue

GAY PARADE

SUPERB CAST
and
America's Most Beautiful Girls
MOVES TO THE 44TH STREET
MONDAY, DEC. 7

CHANNIN'S 46TH ST. THEA. W. OF B'WAY
EVENGS. 8:15. Mats. WED. & SAT.

12TH MONTH
of the LAUGH
SENSATION!

IS ZAT SO?

By
JAMES GLEASON
and RICHARD TABER

CENTURY THEA. 62nd ST. & CENT. PARK WEST
EVENGS. 8:15. Mats. WED. & SAT. 2:30

PRINCESS FLAVIA

"MOST SUMPTUOUS AND CAPTIVATING OF OPERETTAS."
H. J. Mankiewicz, "Times."
Musical Version of "THE PRISONER OF ZENDA"
Box Seats (Orchestra) \$1.00-1.50-2.00-3.00-4.00-5.00-6.00-7.50-9.00-10.50

MARY NASH
A LADY'S VIRTUE
by RACHEL CROTHERS
with ROBERT WARWICK
BLUON THEA. 45th St. W. of B'WAY
MATINEES WED. & SAT. 2:30

Wherever intelligent people meet they discuss

FAY BAINTER

in THE ENEMY

Can you afford not to know about Channing Pollock's Great Play of "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men" at the

TIMES SQ. THEATRE, W. 42nd St.
Pop. Mat. Thurs. Reg. Mat. Sat.

XMAS WEEK MATINEES FRIDAY (XMAS DAY) AND SATURDAY
3 Matinees New Year's Week
THURS. (POP. PRICES), FRI. & SAT.

A-H-WOODS PRESENTS
Green Hat
BY MICHAEL ARLEN
STYLING BY GUTHRIE MCCLINTIC
THE DRAMATIC SENSATION OF THE CENTURY
KATHARINE CORNELL
WARGALD GILMORE
LESLIE HOWARD
Broadhurst THEATRE 145th St. W. of B'WAY
MATINEES THUR. & SAT.

SUPERB direct whole-hearted emotionally moving acting such as has not been seen in months H.J. Mankiewicz, Times

STOLEN FRUIT

BEAUTIFUL LOVE DRAMA
WITH ANN HARDING, ROLLO PETERS
HARRY BERESFORD, FELIX KREMB
ELTINGE THEATRE WEST 47th St. Eves. 8:40
MATINEES WED. & SAT. at 2:40

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

OPENING MONDAY NIGHT 8:30

MERCHANTS OF GLORY

(Courtesy E. Ray Goetz)

with
JOSE RUBEN, AUGUSTIN DUNCAN, GEORGE NASH,
HELEN WESTLEY, LEE BAKER, BETTY LINLEY

GUILD THEATRE 52nd Street, West of Broadway,
Matinees Thursday and Saturday.

ARMS AND THE MAN

ALFRED LUNT and LYNN FONTANNE
Garick 65 W. 35th St. Eves. 8:30,
Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30.

ANDROCLES AND THE LION

BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY
Klaw West 46th St. Eves. 8:30,
Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30.

Broadway Briefs

The Children's Theatre will give a benefit performance this Sunday night at the Princess Theatre of Lady Gregory's Irish fairy play, "The Golden Apple."

Shaw's "Arms and the Man" will play its 100th performance next Monday night at the Garick Theatre.

The edition of the Vanities now current at the Earl Carroll Theatre will end its present run Christmas week and open at the Shubert Theatre in Philadelphia December 28. The new winter edition of the Vanities opens at the Earl Carroll Theatre the same date, December 28.

There will be five road companies of "The Enemy" next season.

The seventh "Greenwich Village Follies" is due here Christmas eve at Channing's Forty-sixth Street Theatre. It is now playing in Boston. "Is Zat So?" now playing there will be moved to the Central.

The producers of the "Greenwich Village Follies," A. L. Jones and Morris Green, have taken over the management of "A Man's Man," which will continue at the Forty-ninth Street Theatre.

"Desire Under the Elms" Returns to Bronx Opera House

"Desire Under the Elms," the O'Neill play which played at the Bronx Opera House seven weeks ago, returns to that theatre on Monday night for a week's engagement. This will be the fifty-fourth week for this tragedy in New York city, a record for a play of this type. The company is again headed by Frank McFlynn. Helen Freeman plays the role of Abbie Putnam, and Howard Merling is the son, Eben. Anne Nichols' production of "White Collars," last seen at the Sam H. Harris, will be the following attraction.

John Golden to Build His Own Theatre

John Golden announced yesterday the conclusion of negotiations for a forty-two-year lease of the property at 202-206 West Fifty-eighth street from the Durham Realty Company. A modern playhouse, to be known as the Fifty-eighth Street Theatre, will be built on the site by Mr. Golden, and his future productions will be made there.

THEATRES

B.S. MOSS THEATRES
GREATEST AMUSEMENT
BUY IN NEW YORK

2 BIG SHOWS IN ONE AT POPULAR PRICES

The PHANTOM OF THE OPERA

WITH **LON CHANEY**
MARY PHILBIN—NORMAN KERRY
AND CAST OF 5000
—ALSO ON THE STAGE—
PARISIAN GAITIES
A GORGEOUS EXTRAVAGANZA
OF SONG AND DANCE WITH **75 ARTISTS**

COLONY
BROADWAY and 53rd STREET
CONTINUOUS 10:30 A.M. to MIDNIGHT

Playhouse
12 Miles Out

Dear McGuire,
If Twelve Miles Out were
signed by Robert Louis Stevenson
or Joseph Conrad, it would be
the sensation of the decade.
—Augustus Thomas

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

ALL NEXT WEEK
First N. Y. Presentation
BLANCHE SWEET
in
WHY WOMEN LOVE
Adapted from Willard Robertson's play
"The Sea Woman"

BERLEBACH-DELANEY
FIGHT PICTURES
JOE LAURIE, Jr.
OTHER BIG ACTS

B.S. MOSS CAMEO 42d St. and B'y

3rd BIG WEEK
STARTS SUNDAY
GLORIA SWANSON

in
"STAGE STRUCK"
From an Original Story
By FRANK R. ADAMS
Famous Cameo Theatre Orchestra

BRONX OPERA HOUSE
140th St., E. of Third Ave.
POP. PRICES / MATS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT
EUGENE O'NEILL'S GREATEST PLAY
DESIRE Under the Elms
with **FRANK McGLYNN**
and the original cast
Direct From Its Successful Run of One
Year on Broadway
The Most Talked About Play of
This Generation

Week of December 21st
"WHITE COLLARS"
With Broadway Cast Intact

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

PHILHARMONIC
WILHELM MENDELSSOHN, Conductor
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE
Sunday, Dec. 13, at 8
"SCHEHERAZADE"
Wagnerian. Excerpts: "Farsfal,"
"Lohengrin," "Tristan and Isolde."
Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve., Dec. 17, at 8:30
Fri. Aft., Dec. 18, at 2:30
Soloist: **ETIENNE ZIMBALIST**
Bruckner: Second Symphony Men-
delsohn: Violin Concerto, Beethoven
"Lectures," Op. No. 8.
Carnegie Hall, Sat. Eve., Dec. 19, at 8:30
5th STUDENTS' CONCERT
Arthur Judson, Manager. (Steinway.)

GERHARDT
Schumann, Erich J. Wolf, Techniko-
sky, Hugo Wolf, Richard Strauss
Mst. GEORGE ENGLISH. Steinway/Piano.
Carnegie Hall, Wed. Eve., Dec. 16, at 8:30
ONEGIN
Frans Dorfmüller at Piano. (Steinway.)

MUSIC

Aristophanes' "Lysistrata" to
Open Russian Season of Lyric
Drama at Jolson's Theatre

Vladimir Nemirovitch-Danchenko announced yesterday the repertory for the first five weeks of the limited engagement of seven weeks of the Moscow Art Theatre Musical Studio. The premiere will take place at Jolson's 59th Street Theatre, Monday evening, with Aristophanes' "Lysistrata," one of the epoch-making productions of this new company from Russia.

"Lysistrata" will continue to be the bill throughout the first week of the engagement. This masterpiece of Greek comedy served to introduce the company's brief season in Leningrad and Berlin, and, with its unexpurgated text, its new style of staging, it established the Moscow Art Theatre Musical Studio as the most stimulating development in the art of the theatre in many years.

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Paderewski's only orchestral appearance here with the New York Symphony Orchestra is next Thursday afternoon and Friday evening in Carnegie Hall. He will play Schumann's Concerto in A Minor. Following the

JULIA CLAUSSEN



the favorite song bird of the Metropolitan, will give her recital this Friday evening in Carnegie Hall.

Friday concert he will start on a tour which will take him as far south as Havana and as far west as San Francisco.

One other number is listed on the program for the Thursday and Friday concert—Brahms' Symphony No. 1 in C Minor.

STATE SYMPHONY

The third of the Saturday evening series takes place this Saturday night at Carnegie Hall. Mr. Dohnanyi will open the program with Brahms' Third Symphony, followed by Six Bagatelles by Georg Kosa. The Six Bagatelles consist of: "Loneliness," "Humor of the Galloway," "Prayer in Doubt," "Timid Longing," "Spitefulness," "Despair." The program will close with Liszt's E flat Concerto played by Alexander Brailowsky.

Music Notes

Polish music from the XVth and XVth centuries will be featured by Adam Kurylo, Polish violinist and composer, who appears in recital at Aeolian Hall on Wednesday evening, December 30.

The Yale University Glee Club will include many Christmas carols and a number of mountain songs of North Carolina at their concert at Town Hall this Saturday night.

The Tollefson Trio will give their only local concert this season next Friday evening at the Town Hall.

Elena Gerhardt will include a group of Schumann, Techniko-
sky, Hugo Wolf and Richard Strauss at her song recital this Sunday night at Aeolian Hall.

Paul Kochanski will give a violin recital at Mecca Temple this Sunday afternoon, with Walter Damrosch at the piano. A small string orchestra will assist in the program.

Nancy Wilson, cellist, will make her debut Monday evening, December 14, at Town Hall.

The first rendition of Henry Hadley's "Prophecy and Fulfillment" will be sung by the choir of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Eleventh Street west of Seventh Avenue, Sunday evening, December 20. The composer will conduct his work with an orchestra from the Philharmonic Society and Inez Barbour, soloist. Admission is free.

Renee Thornton, whose recital was announced for Wednesday evening, December 9, at Aeolian Hall, has been

postponed on account of illness. Miss Thornton will appear later in the season.

The Cleveland Orchestra will give their recital under the direction of Nikolai Sokoloff, at Carnegie Hall Sunday afternoon, December 13.

Richard Hale, baritone, will give a song recital at Aeolian Hall Saturday afternoon, December 12.

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ADOLPH LINK



plays the amusing role of Toni in "The Student Prince." The Shubert opera, after a year at Jolson's Theatre, moves Monday to the Ambassador

A New School
Of the Theatre

THE John Murray Anderson-Robert Milton School of the Theatre opens January 18 in the Park Avenue Theatre Building, 130 East Fifty-eighth street. Classes now forming include dancing of all types, under the direction of Mr. Anderson, who will be assisted by a corps of teachers.

Mr. Anderson will also have charge of the students of musical comedy. M. Clark Jeannette will instruct in opera. Robert Milton and Blanche Bates will have charge of the classes in drama and Frank Lee Short will instruct in diction. Those who require to be coached in operatic roles and pantomime will be in charge of Madame Pilar-Morin.

The school offers a complete course of instruction in theatre technique as well as expression. The curriculum will include courses in physical training, fencing, stage direction and lighting and stage management. Clark Robinson will be in charge of classes in scenic design and costuming. Lecturers for this course will include Herman Rosso, Robert Edmond Jones, Livingston Platt and Robert E. Locher.

"The Constant Nymph"
To Be Staged Soon

"The Constant Nymph," Margaret Kennedy's popular story of musical genius, a "best seller," both in the United States and in England, is at last to be turned into a play.

Basil Dean, the English producer of "The Vortex" and other recent plays, will make the dramatization himself in conjunction with Miss Kennedy, who will provide a large part of the dialogue herself. It was the dialogue that made up a great deal of the charm of the novel. The work is to be completed in the spring, and in the fall Mr. Dean will produce the play himself in both countries.

Broadway Briefs

This Friday night Maurice Schwartz will present in Yiddish at the Bayes Theatre "A String of Pearls," a new play by Sholom Ash (author of "The God of Vengeance.") The presentation will be made in honor of the twenty-fifth year of Ash's literary career.

Tony Sarg's marionettes will play a limited engagement in "Treasure Island," at the Charles Hopkins Theatre, beginning next Thursday night.

The Hampden-Barrymore "Hamlet" will close at Hampden's Theatre this Saturday night and the same stars will

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D R A M A

The Professional Moralist

Ludwig Thoma's "Morals" Makes a Good Play, If
Not a Good Life, at the Comedy Theatre

IN Ludwig Thoma's "Morals," translated by Charles Recht and adapted by Sidney Howard, The Actor's Theatre puts forward at the Comedy Theatre a strong and amusing attack upon the professional moralist. Indeed, we come to think that the professional moralist is in reality worse than the professional immoralist; sharing the opinion of good Frau Lund, who sees that had taste is the root of most evil, and who is naturally and effectively played by Jennie A. Eustace. The drama is built around the old and obvious game of showing that the officers of a society for the suppression of vice are really often vicious, but in its development the play works through interesting situations, with dialogue of better fuel though less flame than Shaw's.

The situation grows in a German town in 1900; a professor on the vice society's staff, who boasts the best collection of obscene literature in the country (as our late friend in a similar post is said to have boasted), is led by his natural revulsion, after a professional visit to discover what sin is like in its lair, to write an anonymous letter denouncing the lady who had entertained him. Unfortunately for the police, when they arrive, she is similarly entertaining the Crown Prince, who hides in a closet during the arrest. And to the terror of the vice society, Miss De Hauteville's diary is borne to the police station with her, a book in which she has kept the names and addresses of her clients, with little comments upon their eccentricities.

Of course, all the vice society's prominent members are in the book, and, though they are finally left to their consciences, rather than to public scorn, they are well shaken. And Herr Beerman, the president, discovers that his wife has for some time seen through him.

In the course of the play, the old judge, who is an amused onlooker at the propriety his younger friend pretentiously seeks observes that there are two ways of reaching the primrose path; the thoughtless leap over the fence, and the slow squirming under the rails. The second is the method of the puritanic moralists who are the chief support of vice societies; men who justify their interest in the obscene as a desire to see what is being produced to harm others, so that they can then protect the weaklings who might some day read what these folk have so carefully gone over first. The entire question of censorship is soundly and roundly laughed out of any right and reason in this effective presentation of the accepted standard of "Morals."

The acting of the play is of the Actor's Theatre's usual high level. Dudley Digges substituting without hesitation in the part of Herr Bolland, Alice John and Edwin Nicander perhaps standing out, as husband-chairman of the Vice Society and his wife protesting against his hypocrisy. The women in the play seem closer to understanding of the always perplexing problem of public and private morals, which only sincerity can hope to solve.

J. T. S.

The New Cinemas

BROADWAY—Blanche Sweet in "Why Women Love," adapted from Willard Robertson's play, "The Sea Woman," with Robert Frazee and Dorothy Sebastian.

CAMEO—Gloria Swanson in "Stage Struck," by Frank R. Adams, with Lawrence Gay, Ford Sterling and Gertrude Astor.

CAPITOL—"Time, the Comedian," with Lew Cody, Mae Busch and Gertrude Olmstead.

COLONY—"The Phantom of the Opera," with Lon Chaney, Mary Philbin and Norman Kerry.

RIALTO—Bebe Daniels in "The Splendid Crime," with Anthony Jovitt and Anne Cornwall.

RIVOLI—Pola Negri in Carl Van Vechten's "A Woman of the World," with Charles Emmett Mack and Holmes Herbert.

thing which we might as well face. In two years of campaigning I have become convinced that in New York State, although the Ku Klux Klan as an organization does not cut much figure, farmers and city workers and even some members of the employing class, when it comes to political action are more conscious of prohibition, race, and religion, than any other issue. Socialists are going to have hard sledding so long as these three R's, rum, race and religion, hold such great sway in men's minds. For this situation I think the tactics of the Anti-Saloon League and the more intolerant Protestants primarily responsible. Our present prohibition law is not adapted to the facts of the situation in our great cities. The unwritten custom that only a Protestant of so-called "Nordic" stock is eligible for the Presidency ought to be smashed. At the same time I do believe that the right to think is more important than the right to drink. And I know that the Catholic Church is no innocent babe in politics. The present situation, while it may not have been deliberately plotted by a capitalist class, is ideal for its needs. So long as this rapidly growing imperialism of America can let fall from the rich men's table enough crumbs to make the workers think they are better off than those in Europe, so long as it can amuse them with fake fights between the two old parties, so long as it can set them quarrelling over our new three R's, our lords and masters are in clover. They are sitting pretty—until the next war comes.

Now it is the job of the Socialist Party to wake Labor up out of this situation which is so satisfactory to our business interests and our militarists and so dangerous to the rest of us. It isn't primarily a question how long it will take Socialism to arouse and educate Labor. It is primarily a question of how Socialists undertake the task most effectively. And that will be the subject of our next article.

A new hobo play, "Bums, Inc." by Robert Sparks and Howard Lindsay, will be produced by Mr. Lindsay. The play is due here next month.

William A. Brady and L. Lawrence Council last Tuesday afternoon with a plea for alteration of the Equity rule forbidding Sunday performances for bidding Sunday performances for members. The council took the matter under advisement.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

heartily as ever. No wonder that Ex-Ambassador Gerard, speaking for the more enlightened business men, hailed Tammany Hall as the great bulwark against Socialism.

A Big Job Is Before Socialists

This attitude of Labor is, of course, proof of the big educational work before the Socialist Party to make Labor intelligently class-conscious. To some extent it is also proof of the fact that labor leaders find it more profitable in jobs and favors to take what Tammany Hall gives them than to lead a gallant fight for what is Labor's right. But there is another aspect of this

LADY MOSLEY'S
SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 1)

of votes in America. Therefore, I was quite entitled to say that there was greater prejudice and misunderstanding of the word 'Socialist' existing in America than in England. It is absurd to read into this argument a suggestion that the prejudice against Socialism in America is true. It is no more true that the same prejudice which I spend my life fighting against is true in this country.

"I know that American Comrades hold practically the same view on all great questions that we do here, and I believe as warmly in American So-

FAY BAINTER



is the heroine of Channing Pollock's anti-war play, "The Enemy," now in its third month at the Times Square

Old Manuscripts
Found in Paris

DURING the recent dismantling of the Theatre du Vaudeville in Paris, which is being converted into a picture house by the local Paramount interests, a number of original manuscripts have been brought to light, stored away in cupboards.

Among the finds are the original copy of Sardou's "Marquise," created in 1899, and Anatole France's "Le Lys Rouge" of the same year. There are also the original stage script of Alexander Dumas' "La Dame aux Camelias," played in 1852; Becque's "L'Enfant Prodiges," 1869; Flaubert's "Le Candidat," 1874; Emile Zola's "Renee," 1887; Sardou's "Les Surprises de Divorce," 1898, and "Madame Sans Gêne," produced at the Vaudeville in 1899.

About 450 manuscripts of plays, dating since the theatre existed in 1850, were discovered.

challam as in British. "I send you every good wish in your struggle against prejudice, and will always do any little that I can to help."

"Yours fraternally,
"CYNTHIA MOSLEY."

The interest in Lady Cynthia's conversion to Socialism was due very largely to her antecedents. Her father was that "most superior person, George Nathaniel Curzon," Marquis of Kedleston, once Viceroy of India, the most terrible enemy in the British Empire and the most magnificently aristocratic Tory. Her mother was the daughter of one of the great Chicago millionaires, she is one of the most beautiful women in England, and when she married the blue-blooded Oswald Mosley, youthful Tory M. P., the King and Queen (God bless them) attended the wedding, and the King was godfather to their child.

About two years ago Mosley quit the Tories and joined the Labor party and the I. L. P., becoming one of its most brilliant speakers and debaters. He has been active in Socialist party work ever since. A few months ago his wife joined him, declared that she wanted to be known as a Socialist rather than a Laborite; that she wanted to be known as Comrade Cynthia; that she was a Socialist candidate for Parliament, and that she was going to do everything in her power to bring about Socialism.

Recently Comrades Oswald and Cynthia made a propaganda tour, going into Red Glasgow, where they spoke to twelve huge meetings in a single day. After the last meeting the two went to the streets surrounded by thousands of workers and led them in singing "The Red Flag."

The Mosleys expect to make a trip to the United States shortly, when it is expected they will speak for the party.

Quinlan Lecture Sunday

Patrick L. Quinlan, who recently returned from England where he studied social and industrial conditions, will lecture at the Labor Temple, 344 East 14th street, near Second avenue, on Sunday, Dec. 14, at 7:45 p. m. Quinlan attended the British Trade Union Congress that frightened the reactionaries. He also attended the Labor Party Conference and met the leading men there. He will explain the economic and political reasons for British Labor's anxiety for a more friendly arrangement with Soviet Russia.

MARX'S DAS KAPITAL

(Continued from page 7)
takes in calculating the speed with which the great change was to be brought about, but he prophesied with remarkable insight the general direction of that change and he has the merit, as Harold Laski points out, of being "the first thinker to expose in all its hollowness the moral inadequacy of a commercial civilization. He put in the forefront of social discussion the ultimate question of the condition of the people. And he performed the incalculable service of bringing to it a message of hope in an epoch where men seemed to themselves to have become the hapless victims of a misery from which there was no release. In every country of the world where men have set themselves to the task of social improvement, Marx has been always the source of inspiration and prophecy.

"Where he was also irresistibly right," continues Laski, "was in his prophecy that the civilization of his epoch was built upon sand. And even the faults of his prophecy may be pardoned to an agitator in exile to whom the cause of the oppressed was dearer than his own welfare."

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1925

THE PARTY MEETING

THE general meeting of the Socialist Party of Greater New York, which is to gather in the People's House next Wednesday night, is so important as to require special mention. There is nothing the matter with the Socialist movement except the Socialists. The movement is sound. It has a future. It is certain to grow, but its progress depends upon the energy we put into it.

We have occasionally heard a pessimistic note to the effect that we should turn to some other form of organization, program or activity. Happily, that advice comes from very few. But considering it for the moment one may well ask, Why turn to anything else? Every political and economic organization in the United States for the past five years has marked time and some have disappeared.

Only recently has the A. F. of L. shown slight signs of recovery. The I. W. W. had less than twenty delegates at its recent convention. The Conference for Progressive Political Action collapsed when we withdrew from it. The "Progressive Party" that was to be organized by its remnants was not able to hold a convention. The Farmer-Labor Party has disappeared. The Communists are at work "bolshervizing" themselves into oblivion. Non-partisan political action has absolutely nothing of progress to show for it.

Turn where one will, going down the line to the extreme Left and then down the line to the extreme Right, the one organization that shows some semblance of life; that has functioned, is the Socialist Party of this country. In Greater New York the field has been surveyed and plans will be reported next Wednesday night. Be there. If there is anything lacking in the Socialist Party be sure that it is not YOU!

THE TINHORNS

NOT to be outdone by Florida and California, the Babbitt sharks of Maine are preparing to lure pilgrims up that way for a good skinning. A press bureau has been opened in Boston and publicity is coming through. A communique announces the coming of "the most remarkable land boom ever witnessed," which will "take place in the State of Maine in the near future." Save your coin, boys, and trek for Maine, for there are some perfect gentlemen up that way who need the money.

The same mail that brought this publicity also brought a copy of the "Fairhope Courier" of Fairhope, Ala. Therein is found a letter from an Alabama pilgrim who had gone to Florida and managed to escape in his flivver. Arrived at Miami, every garage was full and no place could be found to park. A kind lady charged two dollars to park the lizzie by the side of her residence. Next, a bunk for the night. The best he could do was a cot in a hall, for which nine dollars was asked. Back to the car to curl up on its cushions for the night, only to find two birds asleep inside. Inquiry revealed the fact that the kind lady had charged said birds two dollars each for occupying the car for the night! Kind lady, forced to disgorge four dollars, the birds seek another roost, and our pilgrim occupies his cushions. Sunrise in glorious Florida. A breakfast consisting of a small steak and French fried potatoes. How much? Oh, \$1.75. Pilgrim, still possessing shirt and trousers, scoots for Birmingham. Arrived there, he megaphones through the Birmingham "News" that "Florida is no place" for working folk.

Maine is next. As Jack London once observed, we are a "race of tinhorns." Vast areas of settlement have been so many poker tables with sharpers in charge inviting gudgeons to "play the game." A few win and the mass "go broke." However often the gudgeons may be skinned, there are plenty of others ready to part with their hides and the trek to the Maine woods is the next lure of the sharpers.

GEORGIA CONVICT LABOR

GEORGIA officials are going to investigate the State prison camps to learn whether there are any cruelties practiced in them. Publicity regarding the use of heavy shackles, "sweat boxes" and "stretchers" in use has also stirred interest in the question. Negro workers are the heaviest sufferers in the chain gangs and convict camps, while the poor whites also supply a good many victims.

The system that prevails in many Southern States is a glaring case of class rule. The working class is a recruiting ground for the thinly disguised form of slave labor that prevails. The offender with ample financial means is not sent to the chain gang or to a convict camp. His status as a property owner exempts him from this state of servitude. He can afford expensive counsel and if a case goes against him he can pay a fine. If there is a prison sentence he generally finds his way to a cozy cell, where his fellow politicians see that his health does not suffer.

But workingmen have no funds to pay lawyers' fees and they are generally dragged be-

fore petty courts whose function is to provide the State or the county with cheap convict labor. The days when the ears of workers were cropped or the forehead was branded are no more, but the spirit back of this old colonial savagery survives. What is difficult to understand is that millions of workers in the South stand for this unspeakable and glaring phase of class rule without breaking with the Democratic Party that protects it.

It is unnecessary for Georgia to investigate her foul prison pens, chain gangs and peonage for Negroes. That State has been a suburb of hell for the working class and it is time that the thinking section of the workers should break with the Democratic strumpet by organizing a party of their own.

PROTESTING BABBITS

WITHIN a few days of the opening of Congress a protest meeting is held in Washington. Representatives of a variety of commodities, shipping, coal, fertilizer, steel, petroleum, lumber, brick, tinplate and paint were on hand as a coalition to protest against "government in business." They have surveyed the situation and find that the Government is engaged in the following businesses: warehousing, insurance, shipbuilding, printing, building, manufacture of clothing, firearms, saddlery and harness, shoes, metal furniture and explosives, and is handling cement, sand, gravel, brick and grain.

What is the objection? That the Government is engaged in "extensive and subtle use of public funds for the sake of political expediency and furthermore of bureaucratic domain." That's all. They are opposed to all this. It's wrong, it's unpatriotic, it's bureaucratic, it's subtle. There must be an end to it. Therefore a mass meeting to protest against it.

What puzzles us is that nothing is said about these gentlemen making any money out of all these activities if they are turned over to them. It isn't mentioned. They are only interested in putting an end to bureaucracy. It is the most disinterested, God-fearing and sacrificing collection of Babbitts ever gathered together in this country.

Let us be candid. If they said what they really have in mind it would be this: "We're in business to make profits, all the profits we can get. The Government is in business. We want every business of the Government that will bring profits handed over to our gang. Anything that isn't profitable the Government can keep. To h— with it. We want what we want when we want it and we insist on getting it."

That is what these Babbitts have in mind but it isn't what they will say. The Government can be an autocracy for all they care but it should keep out of business. Will they get what they want? They probably will.

NOT OUR ROSE

JUST why the Brooklyn Standard Union should pin the same rose on Socialists that it does on Prohibitionists is beyond our comprehension. Possibly the author of the idea was imposed upon by his bootlegger by the delivery of the wrong sort of hooch.

Be that as it may, he tells his readers that "the Socialist creed is that there should be no right of private judgment." He must have been in a coma during the entire period of the war for democracy and much of the post-war period. Our recollection is that we were so stubborn in our insistence upon the right of private judgment that the Government and official "patriots," with the approval of the Standard Union, broke up our local organizations, threw our papers out of the mails, suppressed our meetings and locked up some of the most stubborn of our kind.

As a matter of fact, all those who think the present capitalist system is a model of perfection did not want us to have any judgment at all. Many others who were suspected of having opinions not in accord with our bankers, trust magnates and politicians were listed as suspects in Washington and were told that the opinions to be held in this country were being rationed out by George Creel with the sanction of our elective emperor. This continued into the post-war period and it is a view still held by our great money bags and their intellectual sycophants, a few of whom may be found editing daily newspapers.

No, the rose does not belong to us. We toss it back to the editor of the Standard Union with the hope that his bootlegger will deliver stuff not quite so strong as that which influenced him to write that editorial.

COOLIDGE EXPOUNDS MYTH

THE keynote of President Coolidge's address before the convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation was a bit of fiction that appears in all his addresses. This is the assumption that throughout our history no class or group has received "any special artificial support." Government has been a sort of spook hovering above economic classes, aiding none and opposing none.

Following the controversy over the address of the late President Harding in Oregon in which Harding expounded the old Marcus Whitman myth, his secretary, George Christian, wrote to the New York Times saying that Harding believed that it was necessary to keep myths alive for the masses. Coolidge is a subscriber to this view. Like our old friend Podsnap, Calvin sweeps aside more than a century of history by repeatedly asserting that no class or group in this country has ever used government power to enhance its prestige and to increase its social and political dominion.

This myth is in conflict with the facts. The government itself had its origin in a conflict of economic interests, the Federalist coalition of finance, commerce and the larger plantation interests writing a "Constitution to serve its interests. Following this various economic classes have controlled the government and today Coolidge represents the greater capitalist interests that have succeeded to all the other economic classes which, at one time or another, have owned the government as their private department.

The News of the Week

Red Grange Gets The Mazuma No item of the news this week obtained greater display than the signing of contracts by Red Grange, the football star, which in a few days have netted him about a half million dollars. The contracts include a film engagement which alone brings him \$300,000. Other checks rolled in for lending his name to various forms of merchandise, including his endorsement of a certain brand of tobacco, although Grange does not smoke! This episode is characteristic of the ultra-materialistic capitalism of the United States. No country shouts louder its "idealism" and no country has more fat and ideals are really superfluous baggage. Not that we oppose a healthy interest in sports. It is essential in this age of monotonous grind in office, mine and factory. If Christ were to return to the United States, our Babbitts would immediately press him for contracts that would enable them to translate his mission into large wads of cash. This is what we mean. American capitalism is all bowels and little brains. Faugh!

Dramatists' Fears Of Film Control The evolution of the film industry is one of the remarkable French air and wireless services. How nicely this dirty work fits in with the beautiful sentiments recently voiced at Locarno and London!

Now Spain Has a Civilian Dictator Spaniards now have the opportunity of discovering if the suppression of their rights is less painful when carried on by a civilian dictatorship than by a military one. Primo de Rivera, possibly influenced by King Alfonso and Queen Victoria, who are said to have realized that their "prestige" abroad was being injured by the continuance of barefaced military rule, has dropped his title of Head of the Military Directorate and is now Premier of a so-called civilian Cabinet made up of members of his hand-picked party, the Patriotic Union. That there has been no real change in the dictatorship has been obtained since Sept. 15, 1923, is evident from an announcement that the censorship will be maintained and the fact that nothing is said about the election of a new Parliament in place of the abolished Cortes. Spain is in a bad economic condition and has need of foreign capital which may also help account for the change in label of the dictatorship. The Spanish Socialist Party and the trade unions have managed to hold their members in line, despite the unusual conditions, and are awaiting a favorable chance to make their influence felt.

Mussolini's Plan Denounced Here Direct interference in American affairs by the Fascists, as proposed by Mussolini in his recent instructions to Italian diplomatic representatives, has aroused much indignation among prominent Italian-Americans and Italians living here, with the exception of a few local Fascist agents or supporters. Even in Washington, where such "heroes" as Mussolini and Horthy are held in high esteem, there are rumors of uneasiness and it is intimated that the Italian Ambassador may be asked to explain just what his boss means by these proposed "recreation centers" for Italians living abroad. That 100 per cent Fascism would be taught in such places, with perhaps a slight veneer of Italian and local culture, is taken for granted. At home the dictator continues his policy of suppression, the latest big labor organizations dissolved being the Printers' Union and Teachers' Federation. Addressing the Fascist teachers' organization, Mussolini laid great stress upon the necessity of educating Italian youth to "comprehend Fascism and the noble aims which Fascism proposed to accomplish." Confirming the findings of the State Prosecutor in the Matteotti murder case, announced on Oct. 9, the Court of Public Prosecution has freed all of the arrested men except the five underlings who are held for trial. The reasons adduced by the court for releasing the "men higher up" and holding the others for "unpremeditated" manslaughter, were so ridiculous as to draw a scathing editorial from the usually complacent New York Times entitled "Matteotti's Suicide." Il Nuovo Mondo, the new anti-Fascist New York daily, announces that it has already attained a circulation of 15,000 and is going strong, despite a boycott by advertisers, presumably inspired from Rome.

More Inflation For France Dropping his announced plan of a 10 per cent capital levy at the last moment, Louis Loucheur, the French Minister of Finance who, like Secretary of the U. S. Treasury Mellon, is a multi-millionaire, managed to get Parliamentary approval for the printing of 7,500,000,000 francs with which to take care of immediate necessities. Backed by the eloquence of Premier Briand and promising all kinds of special taxes and schemes to raise an extra 8,000,000,000 francs during the coming year, M. Loucheur succeeded in avoiding the capital levy, the very idea of which seems to scare the French bourgeoisie into convulsions, although in practice it would probably not cost property owners much more than the increased taxes now proposed. That nobody is really satisfied with the latest development is apparent and it seems probable that only the faith that a large part of the French people have in M. Briand's ability to bring about some sort of international disarmament through conferences in Geneva prevents the forcing of a political crisis and new elections. In the meantime, a classic example of the workings of militarism is afforded by the arrest in Paris of a French girl and three Englishmen on a charge of having plotted to obtain secrets of the

Rumanian Court Convicts Peasants The court-martial of several hundred Bessarabian peasants in Kishinev charged with high treason for having taken part in a revolt against Rumanian troops in Tatar-Bunar in September, 1924, has ended with the conviction of eighty-five and the acquittal of the others. Evidently the Rumanian authorities were impressed by the interest in this outrageous trial manifest throughout Europe, despite Governmental attempts at keeping the news from the public, as the convicted men got sentences of only from two to twenty years, instead of the death penalty. Of course a few years in a typical Rumanian jail is equivalent to execution, so it is up to the Liberals of the world to demand amnesty or liberal commutations. These poor peasants were accused of having attempted to set up a Soviet republic on the Rumanian side of the Dniester, but what really happened was a spontaneous uprising provoked by the cold-blooded murder of a peasant by a gendarme. It spread so fast that the Rumanian Government sent several regiments of troops to suppress it. Five villages were destroyed by artillery and many hundred peasants killed in battle or massacred after having surrendered. During their confinement the prisoners were subjected to revolting tortures in order to make them confess.

THE CHATTER BOX

Manhattan

The city is not narrow—
Her canyoned trails
Through clean-faced bluffs of marble
Are patterned by an equilateral god
Whose pulse, unorthodox, flutters
With sharp expectancy
Under the dull staccato
Of ceaseless worshippers.
These paths through endless perpendiculars
Are yet as wide as prairies
And the inch between our elbows
Is a mile of reticence.

Down in the pregnant street
Amid the clamoring crowd stalks Loneliness,
Burned by that hot vacuity of soul
Which craves a spoken syllable
Be it the savage, hell-born hiss
Of some blind beggar in defeat
Or the shallow sneer of one demoted lady.

But here are friendly towers
Who drape a soft incognito
About your sin-burned shoulders.
The pilgrims of the pavement feel
No pained compression in their walls
And on their necks they bear
Light decalogs of stone.

Oh, the city is not narrow
But has a fine capacity for souls—
Souls who won't repress the circumstance
But with a keen resiliency
Rebound from Sin's warm rendezvous
To wash their minds in cool Oblivion,
Remembering the dawn.

—A. M. Sullivan.

Little did Professor Whittemore, who holds the chair of Philosophy, Ancient and Modern Literature, and Fourth Dimensional Mathematics at the Illinois University, know what a brilliant American success he was lecturing to during the last three years when the humble teeman, Red Grange, attended in his class room. Little did the Prof. know that the genius he possessed as an instructor at thirty-five hundred dollars per annum, was to turn out in Red a one hundred thousand dollars per week prodigy. It may be true that Red Grange's particular ability as a bone crushing battering ram on the football field owes very little to Prof. Whittemore's vast knowledge in philosophy, etc. But we can figure out the connection between Red Grange's success and the Professor's lifetime of study and sacrifice. If there were no professors, there would be no universities; if there were no universities, there would be no college football; if no college football, there would be no Red Grange's; and with no Red Grange's, you couldn't get five thousand fresh air flunks together to pay two dollars to see a professional football game at the Polo Grounds. All in all, we all have a great deal to be thankful for in having learned Professors who, in the regular course of our above logical conclusion, bring into the world such brilliant football stars and money makers.

Seventy thousand red blooded Americans came out into the open spaces of the Polo Grounds and paid Red Grange two thousand dollars a minute for carrying a muddy pigskin one hundred and twenty yards over bone muscle and mire sogged jerseys of some score of football gladiators. It is rumored that he has already received about a quarter of a million dollars for his professional activities, which includes movie contracts, news assignments, etc., besides actual games in which he has taken part.

A year or two will pass, and so will Red Grange

as a money maker; but he shall at least have the consolation of a life time's competence for his ephemeral fame. Almost a hundred years will have soon passed since the heyday of Edgar Allen Poe's creative genius as an American poet and litterateur. He died miserably neglected and condemned. His life and death will ever remain in the minds and memories of normal men and women as the epitome of the injustice and shame that our modern civilization rakes out in payment for genius in literature, art and music and all of the higher human expression.

Thousands of Poes, Degases, Beethovens and Pastors abound in this world today, eking out a harsh existence at work alien to their inner talents, silencing the cry from within for creation, so that the flesh may have cloth, food and shelter. Babe Ruth, Jack Dempsey, Red Granges have their day today, and the world has bayleaf and laurel for their sloping brows. If there were no other reason to struggle for an end to this civilization, we would find more than enough incentive in this condition to keep battling for a Socialist world.

To a City Sunbeam

Sunbeam, sunbeam,
Do you hide your store
Of golden light and laughter
Underneath my floor?

Oftendays I see you
Steal into my room,
Like a silver fairy
With a fairy broom,
Dusting every cranny
Cleansing them of gloom;

Then you rest a little
Near the kitchen door,
And then all of a sudden,
You ramsh through the floor.

I think I know your secret,
Gracious, glistening mile;
Underneath the flooring
You are hiding light.

Time will come, I wonder,
When the sun will die,
And days will stumble blindly
Through a blinded sky,
And when the dark is deepest
In that hopeless night,
I'll tear up the flooring
And flood the world with light.

Sunbeam, sunbeam,
Come and hide your store
Of silver light and laughter
Underneath my floor.

We are preparing now for our promised vacation. Next week, unless the impatient Henry Harrison fails us, the Grub Street Club troubadours, balladists and rondellers are going to cavort through this space to our total eclipse. Honestly we need this respite. For two years we have been continually before you, indulging you with a luminously inoffensive dark lady, a blue-eyed one, ladies pro and ladies con, and what with other less significant subjects such as well-schmers, economic chaos, medical bunkerino, et al., until a state of mental and material exhaustion impends. We trust the poets of Grub Street will besport themselves entertainingly and honorably. We have our fears, however, since all poets are such uncertain entities. Ave et vale. Until Christmas.

S. A. de Witt.