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## COMMUNISTS BOLT GARMENT UNION

### TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

I DON'T pretend to be a prophet. I don't know when Socialism will win in the United States. I don't know it will win. I will go farther and confess that I am not sure it will win at all. But of this I am sure. If Socialism does not win, the victor will be chaos and despair. For that reason it seems to me tremendously worthwhile to go on working. It is necessary to keep the Socialist ideal alive. And that logically means keeping the Socialist Party alive. No, it means something more than keeping the Socialist Party alive. I suppose the Socialist Labor Party is alive, but its narrow sectarian aloofness from American life makes it today more of an injury than a help to Socialist ideals. We don't want that kind of life. We want life that goes along with growth and activity.

#### After the Reign of Cal

It is possible that after we have lived through the era of Coolidge the Socialist Party itself may become a real labor party with a wide basis of support in the labor unions and among the farmers. I think such a result unlikely. More probably a demand for their own political party will arise in the labor unions and in farmers' organizations, and as a result a party will be formed of the sort some of us hoped might grow out of last year's La Follette movement. From the point of view of tactics I think it is the job of the Socialist Party to make it easier and not harder for such a party to arise, no matter what happens to the Socialist Party itself in the process. I believe that the Socialist Party will become an integral and important part of such a labor party; I know that no genuine labor party can arise which will not be socialistic in philosophy and which will not move steadily in the direction of Socialism. This attitude, however, of being willing to lose our party's life in order to find it is entirely consistent with an immediate and vigorous drive for members. It is entirely consistent with a genuinely educational campaign. It is entirely consistent with criticism of some A. F. of L. policies when criticism is necessary. It is wholly inconsistent with a narrow sectarian bitterness; an old-maidish kind of fault finding, with everybody and everything outside of our own ranks, and continual theological wrangling within our own ranks.

#### The Test Of Victory

We all agree that in the immediate future the function of the Socialist Party must be primarily educational. And its success will be judged not by isolated victories here and there at the polls, but by its growing effect on public opinion, more especially labor opinion. Well, what is meant by socialist education? Not such hair splitting study of Marx as Jewish scholars gave to the Talmud and Christian theologians to their creeds. Not parrot-like repetition of slogans and catchwords. Not a continual rolling around in the mouth of the blessed word "revolution." We can afford to leave that to the Communists. The average American, even the average American worker, is suspicious of it, not without reason. He thinks of some wild tale of bloodshed depicted in a novel or on the movie screen whenever he hears the word revolution, and he wants to save his own Ford, his own radio and his own family from that fate. Of course Socialism as distinguished from mere social reform is genuinely revolutionary. It seeks nothing less than a new society built on other economic foundations than those which have already begun to crumble. That fact we must explain, and any immediate program must be related to our ultimate goal. But to shout "revolution" and to educate men so to act as to bring about the right kind of revolution, are two different things. Shouting "revolution" may, now and then, get you a crowd, but that's all it will do.

#### A Broken-Down System

Even the repetition of that inspiring slogan: "Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain," is not education. It is not, literally speaking, true. American workers in their present stage of development and under existing economic conditions have a good deal beside their chains to lose, and they are extremely anxious not to lose what they have. It is the job of the Socialists in America not so much to prove that the worker has nothing, but that he has infinitely less than in a sane cooperative commonwealth ought to be his. The capitalist propagandist is always telling the worker that he is better off than kings

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### COAL STRIKE IS ENDURANCE TEST

"Fight to the Finish" Starts Throughout Vast Anthracite Field

By McAlister Coleman

**"A FIGHT to the finish with no quarter given."** In words to this effect, two spokesmen for the anthracite operators, Walter Gordon Merritt, chief counsel for the hard-coal owners, and Daniel T. Pierce, head press-agent, framed their defi to both miners and the public at meetings held in New York this week. Boiled down, the position of the anthracite operators in regard to the present strike comes to this:

The operators will consider no plan other than their own, which is resumption of work with wages left to "impartial arbitrators." They denounce in the same breath Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania and John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers. They frankly state that they will not meet with the Governor and that they want to get rid of Lewis. And as the week draws to a close the prospects for peace in the hard coal fields are as remote as ever.

While the operators are loud in their public protestations that they are making no attempt to break the anthracite miners' union of 158,000 men, "The Leader" is reliably informed that there is under way and under cover too, an ambitious project for introducing the notorious "company union" plan in the hard coal regions. It is said that the operators have employed for this purpose a former coal miner who was high in the ranks of "Leftism" within the union and was famed for his extremist tactics. Now that his war-chest is empty, this "Wild Man" has suddenly become tame and is urging his glibbie fellows to join a company union organized along the lines of the fake Pennsylvania Railroad's "union." Those who know the miners predict that as soon as this plan becomes known to the rank and file its proponents will be driven from the fields, for the hard coal diggers will fight for real unionism to the bitter end. Despite reports in the capitalist press that the miners are wavering there has not been the slightest indication of a break in the ranks. If anything the miners are more determined than they were three and one-half months ago to carry on

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### PORTERS' UNION DEMANDS PROBE OF GOVERNMENT RELATIONS WITH ROADS

A Resolution Adopted by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Whereas, We, the Pullman porters of the Eastern Districts, in conjunction with Pullman porters throughout the United States, are organizing a union of, for and by ourselves, known as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, for the purpose of improving our wages, our working conditions and restoring our self-respect, and

Whereas, Our inalienable right to organize, as granted by the Statute of Congress and sustained by decisions of the United States Supreme Court, is being met with unusual and illegal efforts to interrupt, obstruct and hinder our organizing, by parties prominent in our race, and whose prominence and influence come from the political and economic values of the great masses of Negro workers,

Therefore, be it resolved, That we go on record vigorously protesting against such illegal efforts to obstruct us in our legitimate right to organize,

And, be it further resolved, That the recent activities of U. S. Assistant Attorney General Perry W. Howard be called to the attention of the Department of Justice, with a view toward curbing this Negro from using the prestige of his high office to serve the interest of the Pullman Company. We urge every delegate in Congress to inquire into the relationships existing between said U. S. Assistant Attorney General and the Pullman Company,

And, in conclusion, we appeal to every liberty loving American who believes in justice for all men regardless of race, color or creed to rally to the support of the 12,000 Pullman Porters of the Nation, fighting for a chance to exercise their God given right to life, liberty and happiness.

### West Virginia Miners Face Gloomy Christmas Unless You Help Them

West Virginia's striking miners and their families, camped out on the hills in tents these bitter cold days and nights, face a gloomy Christmas unless the workers in other parts of the country come to their assistance immediately.

What is needed in order to make the cold weather bearable for these brave fighters is warm clothes. The garments need not be new. Your old suit or overcoat will help a lot. The Socialist Party has received a letter from Secretary William G. Thompson of the West Virginia miners thanking the organization for the clothes it has sent, and urging the dire need for more.

There can be no better expression of the Christmas spirit for a Socialist or progressive worker than to meet this appeal with generosity. Bring your clothes to the Socialist Party, 7 East 15th street, and they will be rushed out to West Virginia.

### Pocketbook Makers' Union Demands a 40-Hour Week

**THE International Pocketbook Workers' Union** just concluded its second biennial convention. The administration came to the convention with a record of great achievements, with a largely increased membership; the unionization of a number of anti-union strongholds; the bringing back of run-away shops from New York to this city, or placing them under the jurisdictional control in the localities where they have settled; with a record of renewed agreements with the Manufacturers' Association and with independent employers resulting in an increase of 10 per cent. in wages, jurisdiction over the contracting and sub-manufacturing shops, and other great economic and industrial improvements.

The union is to renew its agreements with the manufacturers on May 1, 1926. The delegates, 138 in number, in convention assembled, decided to instruct the incoming administration to demand:

The 40-hour week instead of 44; to make May 1 a legal holiday; to introduce week work in the pocketbook branch of the trade (the only branch working on piecework yet, while the cutters, operators and others have long been working on a week work system); minimum scales of wages for helpers, packers, examiners, handsewers and general workers (the only people who had no minimum scales until now; the minimum scales of wages in the fancy leather goods and pocketbook trade covered only the cutters, operators, pocketbook makers and framers).

The International Pocketbook Workers' Union will, after the first of the year, become part of the American Federation of Labor, the result of long and continuous negotiations conducted by its president, Ossip Walinsky, with the American Federation of Labor and the United Leather Workers International Union, a union composed of harness, tannery and saddlery workers, which obtained jurisdiction over the fancy leather goods and pocketbook trade at a time when the fancy leather goods and pocketbook workers were non-existent. The entrance of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union will, for the time being, be under the status of a Federal Labor Union, the International Pocketbook Workers' Union having been awarded the jurisdiction over the States of New York, New Jersey and the city of Philadelphia, the three main centers of fancy leather goods and pocketbooks; and it is hoped that the next convention of the A. F. of L. in Detroit will give the entire subject matter more careful consideration, so that the Pocketbook Workers' Union, one of the strongest in the United States, controlling 85 per cent. of the shops in New York and not less than 85 per cent. of the market in New Jersey, having funds close to \$150,000, will be given an opportunity to organize the unorganized throughout the country.

### DR. LAIDLER TO SPEAK FRIDAY EVE. IN BRONX

Dr. Harry Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and well-known author and lecturer, will deliver an address Friday, December 18, 1925, at 8:20, at the club-rooms of the 7th A. D. Socialist Party, Bronx County, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue, on "The New Political Alignment."

Dr. Laidler will make a survey of the political alliances in the United States in the past, will analyze the factors shaping the issues between the present political groups between industrial autocracy and industrial democracy, eventually creating new political cleavages or alignments.

### Garment Union Lefts, Facing Responsibility, Tone Down Program

Philadelphia Convention Places Communists in New York Joint Board to the Test—President Sigman's National Leadership Is Strengthened

Philadelphia.

**THE vast gulf between the mouthing of revolutionary-sounding phrases and the translating of such ideas into concrete practice was strikingly demonstrated in the final sessions of the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in this city.**

The Communist Left Wing served as an instrument for demonstrating this. Their object lesson should be of benefit to the entire Labor movement and particularly that small part of it which seems in danger of being carried off by the magic of phrases.

"No class collaboration" was one of the biggest tenets of the Communist up until Monday. After having introduced a resolution denouncing the "class collaboration policy of the American Federation of Labor," the Left Wingers proceeded to demand that, in the New York market, the union immediately withdraw its case from consideration by Governor Smith's advisory commission, present their demands directly to the manufacturers, and, if the latter fail to meet the demands, strike.

This program was the Left Wing Policy until Monday morning. By that time they had been given to understand by President Morris Sigman that having won control of the New York Joint Board, it was up to the Left Wingers to take over the negotiations in that city. If they opposed what they term "class collaboration" and were irreconcilable to any form of mediation, well and good; but it would devolve upon them to translate this policy into actual action.

Faced for the first time with responsibility, the Communist Left Wing

staged a complete volte face. On every point of their industrial program they made concessions until the force of the situation was evident even to themselves.

In the first place they agreed to drop altogether the first part of their resolution denouncing "class collaboration"; their demand for breaking off of relations with the Governor's commission was modified to mean that they wait until June 1 and see what the commission has to say, and then, if necessary, strike; their uncompromising stand against mediation and arbitration was amended to mean that no arbitration be resorted to "unless the strike should reach a deadlock." Finally, the Communists dropped their demand that the union sign no agreement which denies the right to strike at all times. They amended this demand to that such an agreement will be secured "if possible."

All of these modifications and amendments were made on the floor of the convention by outstanding Left spokesmen, Louis Hyman, Julius Fortney or Charles Zimmerman, with the approval of their entire delegations.

The modifications were accepted by the convention.

### Pres. Green Urges Labor Representatives at Panama

**A LETTER similar to the following has been addressed by President William Green of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to all the presidents of the Pan-American Republics, suggesting they appoint labor representatives in the delegations to the Pan-American Congress, to convene next June in the Republic of Panama on the centenary of the first Pan-American Congress, which was held on June 26, 1826:**

"In June of next year a Pan-American Congress will convene in the Republic of Panama on the centenary of the first Pan-American Congress, which was held on June 26, 1826, in response to invitations issued by the great liberator, Bolivar, whose name is so cherished throughout the Americas. These congresses are primarily for the purpose of advancing the cause of human freedom and I assume it to be the aim of every nation to strive to achieve that end through the instrumentality of these recurring gatherings of international delegations.

"May I suggest and urge the great advantages in human progress that may be achieved through the inclusion of representatives of labor in the delegation of our country? I am convinced that it would be a striking illustration of the progressive spirit of the American nation if in the delegation of our country to the forthcoming epoch-marking Congress there could be representatives of the wage earners, chosen from among the ranks of the bona fide Labor movement."

"All too often the great masses of the people are unrepresented in international gatherings. Only the voice of the professional diplomat is heard in all too many cases, and the aspirations of the multitudes are left unvoiced. Likewise, their yearning for friendship and understanding with their neighbor nations fails of expression. It is my firm conviction that by calling into cooperation the bona fide Labor movements of our country as well as of the various other countries, the governments can have at their service a most powerful factor for the development of cordial, friendly and helpful relations to the great benefit of our whole hemisphere and its wonderful civilization.

"As President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, speaking for that organization and in conformity to its declared spirit and purpose, I appeal to you similarly, as I am addressing myself to all of the other chief executives of the American Republics to invite and give the opportunity to the representatives of labor, to join in the forthcoming international congress in order that the greatest possible permanent good-will and helpfulness may result.

"With assurances of my esteem and high consideration, I have the honor to be

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,  
President, Pan-American Federation of Labor.

### START TO DICKER FOR RETURN, HOWEVER

Sigman Tells Them They Must Abide by Majority Decisions in Convention

Philadelphia.

**THE Communist Left Wing bolted the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union today. At a late hour Wednesday night they had sent a delegation into the convention to dicker for terms on which they could return. President Morris Sigman told them they could return only on the understanding that they abide by the majority decisions of the convention.**

The bolt came during the afternoon on the question of proportional representation. Under the peace agreement reached by the Left and Right in New York City last summer the question of proportional representation was to be submitted to the convention and then sent out for a referendum vote.

Chairman Salvatore Ninfo of the Law Committee reported a recommendation for a modified form of proportional representation. Whether the convention approved of this or not, it was to be sent out, with the minority proposal, for a referendum vote.

The Lefts did not wait for a decision on the Ninfo proposal. Led by Louis Hyman, who charged that the convention intended to withhold proportional representation, they marched out, leaving Rose Walkowitz, a Left leader, behind as an observer.

Near midnight a committee consisting of Charles Zimmerman and Delegate Borochovitz returned and announced they had been instructed to offer the return of the Left delegates if their conditions would be met.

"You have bolted this convention, and if you succeed in your effort you will have accomplished in the name of revolution what the manufacturers have tried to do for years at the cost of millions of dollars. If you come back to this convention, you come back as equals, ready to abide by the majority decisions," Sigman told them.

At the time of going to press no further word has been received.

### COLLEGE STUDENTS ORGANIZE TO DISCUSS VITAL PROBLEMS

By Gertrude Klein

**A CONFERENCE, resounding with idealism, closed last Sunday on the campus of Princeton University. Student delegates from 245 colleges throughout the country met in a National Collegiate World Court Conference, listed the problems of "youth in revolt in America" (according to student statements), overwhelmingly endorsed America's entrance into the World Court after a vigorous two days' discussion, and formed a permanent organization, the National Students' Federation, for the purpose of furthering student unity, discussion of student problems, and the establishment of World Peace.**

Despite the newspaper headlines which stated that the conference was nearly wrecked at the start by race prejudice and despite the confusion which sometimes prevailed, the conference marks a decidedly encouraging departure in college student history. There have been efforts, mostly by older "youths"—professional "youths" some of them jokingly call themselves—to bring the young people of different communities together for the discussion of vital questions. But this is the first effort of college students to get together nationally in order to develop a group consciousness and to arrive at some unity of opinion and purpose on questions affecting their welfare.

The fact that they so wholeheartedly endorsed the World Court is of minor significance. After all, the whole World Court plan seems so closely tied up with the League of Nations that it is not quite clear how it is going to further the cause of world peace.

How we are going to prevent war, how we are going to substitute justice for arms through the World Court when behind the World Court stands the League of Nations with its armed and economic power to enforce decisions, is a question which we wish this student conference had tackled more searching. But it doesn't really matter much.

If college student bodies, usually the strongest bulwark of conservatism, are really going to attempt to think for themselves, we may await some very interesting developments. Among these young people are many future leaders of national thought and policy. They seem to be sincere in their desire to break away from the old goose-step

alignment. Their path will not be an easy one. Not only will all the powers of the conservative adult world be brought to bear against them, but they will find difficulties enough reaching the students themselves. Such incidents as the withdrawal from the conference of a southern delegate because of the choice for the executive committee of Miss Mabel Holloway, a Negro delegate from Howard University, indicated which way some of the difficulties may lie. While regrettable, it served to show, however, that the majority of the students were frankly intolerant of race prejudice. But, of course, everywhere students will be encountered whose entire point of view and method of thinking will have to be changed. Not an easy task, but not an impossible one.

Another interesting sidelight on the conference was the refusal of the students of the College of the City of New York to have the president of their college select their delegate for them. The faculty appointed delegate went, but with him went Mr. Felix Cohen, editor of the Campus and leader in the recent anti-militarism rumpus in City College. Mr. Cohen was recognized and seated as a delegate by the conference.

#### Bronx Free Fellowship

A special Christmas program will be given at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston road, Sunday, December 20, beginning at 8 p. m. Leon Rosser Land, leader of the Fellowship, will speak on "Jesus—Smasher of Shams." Sam DeWitt will follow Mr. Land on the program and give a number of his original poems.



# BOSSSES' VENGEANCE STILL PURSUES FORD AND SUHR

**M**ORE than ten years after the famous Wheatland Riot in California, in which Deputy Sheriff Riordan was killed and Ford and Suhr were railroaded to prison, Richard Ford will soon go on trial for murder in Yuba County. A vindictive prosecutor attempted to force an early trial in spite of the fact that Ford's witnesses are scattered over hundreds of miles. The trial date was finally set for January 4 over the prosecutor's objections.

The Wheatland affair occurred on August 3, 1913, and for the first time the people of California became aware of the beastly labor conditions that prevailed in the hop fields of the state. The so-called "riot" was the logical result of resentment which had been accumulating among the workers for a year or more.

"The blood of Ed Maxwell calls for the ground for vengeance," cried Special Prosecutor W. H. Carlin in his closing address to the jury in the trial in January, 1914. In that utterance will be found the motive of the prosecution and the reason why a conviction was obtained against the two men.

The prosecutors pled for vengeance, not justice. They secured vengeance, not for the death of the two officers who were killed; not against the posse that, drunk with authority, ran amuck firing shot-guns into a crowd of unarmed men, women and children; not against the man who was really responsible for the perpetration of this dastardly deed; but against two itinerant workers who had the temerity to advocate and lead a strike in protest against the most intolerable conditions ever recorded in the State of California.

Playing on the prejudice and sympathies of the citizens and jurors, most of whom were long standing friends of the District Attorney who had met his death, they succeeded in so far as judicial circles were concerned, in vindictive the men who were responsible for the affray in saddling the blame on the shoulders of two penniless hop pickers. We know of no words more fitting to describe this particular fact than those uttered by the President of the Alameda Building Trades Council in his statement issued in 1915: "We maintain that Ford and Suhr are not guilty of the murder of District Attorney Maxwell. On the contrary, we maintain that, considering the conditions on the Durst ranch and the behavior of Durst, his assault on Ford and his wanton resort to violence, that Ford and Suhr, so far from being the aggressors and murderers, were in reality pacifiers and moderators."

"Ford and Suhr are in prison because they fought for better conditions for the hop pickers. If we are to reapportion responsibility in these cases; if we are to go out of our way to say a labor leader who did not murder did murder, shall we not go a step farther

## Defender of Exploited Hop-Pickers, Released, Is Seized Again to Face New Frame-Up

and say that the real murderer was the man who was responsible for the original wrong, and that Durst ought to be on trial for the murder of the District Attorney? . . ."

So well did they succeed in saddling the blame for this most unfortunate affair on the shoulders of these two hop pickers that a sentence of life imprisonment was pronounced against Ford and Suhr by the trial judge. The desire for vengeance in Yuba County had been appeased—for the time being.

Came a day nearly twelve years later when Richard Ford, one of the ill-fated men, was granted a life-time parole by the State Board of Prison Directors. The present prosecutor, in the throes of the same malevolent spirit which characterized his predecessors in their conduct of this case, allowed his atavistic instincts to rule. Blinded by passion and prejudice; paying no heed to law or public sentiment; with but one desire in mind, to supply the yawning patibulary at Folsom with "gallows food," he caused a sheriff to be at the prison gates with a warrant for the return of Ford to the scene of his first trial. After Ford's reincarceration in the sweltering, putrid tank of the Marysville jail, the Grand Jury indicted him for the murder of Deputy Sheriff Eugene Riordan. This indictment was secured without the formality of taking down the testimony of the witnesses, thereby leaving the defendant in a position of not knowing what evidence had been introduced against him.

This present indictment calls for a

brief resume of the circumstances and events which led up to the strike, riot and subsequent trial, in which the defendant, Ford, and co-defendant, Herman Suhr, were found guilty.

In August, 1913, there were gathered on the Durst hop ranch, adjacent to the village of Wheatland, some twenty-three hundred hop pickers, speaking twenty-seven different languages. They had been recruited from the ranks of the unemployed and inveigled to this ranch by means of fraudulent advertising. The advertisements in question offered an alluring proposition, but on arrival at the ranch, instead of the haven so vividly pictured, they found conditions which, in the words of former Governor Hiram Johnson, were "unsanitary, disgusting and revolting."

Picture a field of some six acres dotted with small pup tents, mere rags, wedged one against the other, barren of furniture of any sort and without floors. Old irrigation ditches filled to the brim and overflowing with reeking garbage formed aisles between the tent rows. To the north a huge barn could be seen. At its side and extending half the length of the field was a manure pile sending stenching fumes into the heavens. Millions of flies and gnats swarmed over and around it. Here and there old wooden pumps stood on planking which lay loosely over the wells. At distances of seventy-five or one hundred feet from the wells, five barnlike toilets without doors were located. The floor of each and the ground for a radius of ten feet on all

sides was indescribably befouled. That appalling condition was due to the fact that they were the only such receptacles for the entire assemblage of men, women and children, and had been placed over holes only two feet deep some years prior to 1913. Being in close proximity to the wells, and no other water being obtainable, the workers could not guard against typhoid fever and other contagious diseases.

### Loathsome Conditions In Hop Fields

With that ugly picture in mind, visualize these 2,300 humans bustling around preparing for their day's toil. At each lavatory a long line of men, women and children await their turn, both sexes using the same toilets, thus forcing the women to discard all modesty. Often, due to the prevalence of dysentery, they were compelled to use the open fields.

Neighboring ranches paid ninety cents per hundred pounds for picking hops. Durst's wages were fifty-five cents per hundred pounds. A bonus was offered if the pickers stayed through the season. The hops had to be free from leaves and twigs or Durst would deduct heavily, which made the picking very difficult.

In the fields women were forced to carry these hundred pound sacks from fifty to one hundred feet and throw them on moving wagons. There were no "high-pole men" and it was very difficult for anyone to get the hops down from the poles, which were twelve feet high.

Water was not to be had in the fields unless one bought "Stew" or "Lemonade" from the Durst concessionaires. If they wanted a drink, it meant walking sometimes as far as a mile to camp or else buying the above mentioned dope from the peddlers. One glass of water was given with each dish of stew or glass of the citric acid lemonade. This lack of water and the intense heat ranging as high as one hundred and twenty-two degrees Fahrenheit, made the hop fields nearly intolerable. Moreover, the hop vines prevented any slight wind from cooling the workers.

The aforementioned were, in brief, some of the vicious conditions which the hop pickers were expected to contend with. Goaded beyond human endurance by these loathsome conditions, a spirit of discontent arose and found expression in the voicing of their grievances in a meeting attended by the entire aggregation. At this meeting, on August 2, it was voted to declare a strike unless conditions were bettered.

Richard Ford was elected to present the demands to Durst. This he did. Durst, with an armed gunman at his side, read the demands and deliberately slapped Ford's face with his gauntlets, stating that he would notify the workers of his decision in one hour.

While awaiting Durst's decision the hop pickers talked and sang songs. In the midst of a song two cars drove up loaded with armed possemen. While the crowd gazed in astonishment at the sight of armed men in their midst,

the posse, which consisted of the district attorney and sheriff of Yuba county, the Wheatland constable, Durst and several special sworn deputies, closed in around them. A sheriff fired a shot. In an instant the crowd was in a frenzy. Not one of the hop pickers was armed. In their efforts of self preservation they milled around, striking whoever came in their way. More shots were fired. When the smoke finally cleared away, the district attorney, a deputy sheriff, a giant Porto Rican and a slight English lad lay dead.

The crowd scattered to the four winds. Chaos reigned supreme. Commenting on that phase of the case, the late Jack London stated: "I saw a good many of the hop pickers afterwards. They reminded me of nothing so much as refugees after an earthquake. When they told of the affair they all spoke of it as an accident, a spontaneous, unpremeditated explosion."

Months of excitement passed, in which the workers were harassed and intimidated. Burns' detectives, whom the district attorney of Yuba county engaged and for which the taxpayers paid some eleven thousand dollars, caused numberless witnesses to the affair to be arrested; held for long periods of time and given the "third degree" incessantly. One was driven insane. Others were horribly beaten. Herman Suhr was forced to undergo an ancient Chinese method of torture. He was not allowed to sleep for an entire week. A boy fifteen years of age was kidnapped and held incommunicado for weeks. One other victim was found dead in his cell at Marysville from strangulation. THERE WAS NOTHING IN THE CELL HIGH ENOUGH FOR HIM TO POSSIBLY HANG HIMSELF FROM! THE MAN WAS MURDERED BY FIENDS! These inhuman tactics were pursued in an effort to force someone to make a "confession" that he had seen Ford and Suhr with weapons during the riot.

Came the trial in January, 1914. The trial started with four men as defendants. For three weeks it continued. Defense witnesses had been secretly jailed elsewhere and could not be located. The judge who tried the case, the jurors and local newspapermen were life long friends of the dead district attorney. The prosecution, being aware of these friendships, showed their cunning by bagging their case on vengeance. Each day the papers printed vilifying stories about the accused. These newspapers were taken by the jurors, who were allowed to go home each night. Finally the case went to the jury and by their verdict, Ford and Suhr were convicted of second degree murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. The other two were acquitted. At that time the Riordan murder charge was dismissed against the two convicted men.

Shortly after the close of the trial, the Sacramento Bee very aptly described the case when it made the following statement: "The methods by which Ford and Suhr were brought to bar were a blot upon the County of Yuba, a stain upon the State of California and a blemish upon civilization itself."

## PRISON AS A CRIME REDUCER

By Kate Richards O'Hare

**W**HENEVER any widespread demand comes for more sane, scientific and humane handling of prisoners the prison labor contractors, the politicians, and all too often the newspapers they control, raise the cry that sentimentalists want to coddle the prisoners; that the woes of the convicts are paraded, but that nothing is said about the viciousness of their crimes, and the suffering they have caused.

There is nothing sentimental about the average American farmer or trade unionist, nor is coddling wrongdoers their weakness. On the whole, they are pretty "hard-bolled," and their interest in the prison problem is the broad one of social service and efficiency. They are more interested in what the

### A Never-Ending Stream Of Uncured Criminals

prison system and the convict does to them than what society does to the criminal. The average producer is not concerned with the prison system because of his sympathy for criminals, but because of a hard-headed, common-sense interest in self-protection. He might take the position that every man behind prison walls is guilty, and that no sympathy is deserved. Yet, intelligent self-interest makes him deeply concerned in whether or not the prison does efficiently the job of protecting law-abiding citizens, reducing crime and reforming criminals. Since it is the producer who pays all the bills, he certainly is interested in getting the

worth of his tax money.

If every convict were sent up for life, and never came back to mingle with respectable folk, intelligent men might be less concerned. But in reality only a few convicts are sentenced for life, and fewer still fail to secure a pardon or parole. The average length of the prison terms served is less than two years, and the vicious abuses of the pardon and parole make it easy for real criminals to secure release from prison, even though they may have been sentenced for long terms. In the end practically all convicts come back, and the prison fails, even in segregating the criminals.

And certainly we have the right to expect that from our prisons will come back convicts who will be better citizens than when we shut them behind the walls. And in this the prison fails. The convicts enter our prisons, stay a year or more, and have grafted on their abnormality of body and mind the degenerating results of prison life. They come back branded with the stigma of shame, the lawful prey of harpies, penniless, ill-clad, anaemic from underfeeding, broken by slave labor, and contaminated with sex perversions and loathsome diseases. The released convict brings back from prison all the dangerous characteristics which he took to prison, and a lot more he acquired there, and with all his anti-social traits and criminal tendencies set and hardened by stupid handling and brutality.

And in the final test of efficiency—reducing crime—the prison fails also. The criminal population of this country is increasing rapidly. Criminal courts are everywhere so crowded that speedy trials are impossible. Innocent persons charged with crime must bear the stigma for months, often forced to remain in filthy jails for months or years before trials are possible. And guilty persons escape because witnesses scatter or die of old age. And the continual money cost of crime makes the taxpayers groan under the crushing burden of taxation.

In all possibility the reason prisons fail to reform criminals is that "good" people are usually normal people, whereas "bad" people are almost always sub-normal. And our prison system ignores this fact. My study of convicts convinces me—and this opinion is verified by every prison survey ever made—that the large proportion of prisoners are abnormal in some way. Many are feeble-minded, ranging all the way from borderline cases to real imbecility, and most of the others are either demented or psychopathic. And, so far as anyone knows, brutality, torture, starvation and slave labor never provided cures for feeble-mindedness. There is no evidence that a "bat" overpounded intelligence into a stupid

brain, or that a nit-wit ever found a supply of intelligence in the "hole." A power sewing machine and a brutal overseer grinding out a task and a dose of cat-o-nine-tails or "water cure" never healed a sick brain nor stabilized an unstable soul.

The brutalities that are the very foundations of our prison system may gratify the old savage instinct for revenge; they may satisfy our desire to inflict social vengeance, but they do not reduce crime, nor do they cure the criminal or his abnormalities. "We are face to face with the hard, cold fact that our prison system is punitive but that it is not curative. And because we merely punish the criminal, we must administer punishment again and again. And each time the uncured criminal is punished we dig down in our pockets for the taxes to pay the costs. It is estimated that it costs the taxpayers \$1,500 to send each convict to the penitentiary, on the average, and that is a stiff price to pay for failure."

There is a never-ending stream of uncured criminals coming from our prisons every year, and most of them go back again by the long, expensive and futile path of rearrest, retrial, sentence and recommitment. We do not seem to learn that if one sequence of arrest, trial, sentence and prison term does not cure, another will be just as expensive, and more useless. And all this waste of money and human life is the price we pay for permitting prison labor contractors to run our penal institutions. And every time you buy a prison-made garment you are shouldering your share of the responsibility.

### BLOOD PRESSURE By Ryan Walker

**T**HERE is much sound advice given in this rather badly written and edited book. For the person who has high blood pressure, Dr. Sadler does not always tell why or the conditions that produce it and there are many organic afflictions that when removed, the blood pressure becomes normal.

The chapter on diet is alone worth the book and the author sounds a warning against the high speed at which the average American man and woman is rushing through life—but unfortunately very few of us take heed of good advice.

The doctor raises his voice against tea, coffee and tobacco and in speaking of the latter he says: "It has always been a mystery to me just why in the recent World War, our military medical officers didn't object to the cigarette craze that so insidiously spread abroad in the army. I have often wondered if the tobacco trust had anything to do with the origin of that slogan to donate money for 'smokes for soldiers.' It was, to say the least, a mighty good stroke of business."

If you are well or sick it will pay you to read this little volume.

\*AMERICAMITIS, BLOOD PRESSURE AND NERVE. By William S. Sadler (Macmillan).

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# A BOLSHEVIK TAX MEASURE :-

By Congressman Victor L. Berger

(From an Address Delivered in the House of Representatives)

THE pending revenue bill is, in some respects really a Bolshevik measure, and if Trotsky and Zinoviev were members of this House they would probably vote for it, because the method of taxation it proposes must hasten the concentration of wealth, and that must bring about the downfall of the present system.

This bill has been framed with a great deal of foresight—and also hindsight. It cuts down the income tax of the richest of the rich, about 3,000 in number, about \$100,000,000 a year. This will help big business, and thus it will help incidentally the campaign funds of both old parties. So much for the foresight. On the other hand, increasing the exemptions of the small taxpayers will release several million persons, and this is undoubtedly hindsight, because its framers will then be able to go to these millions for their votes.

As a matter of fact, 42 men get just as much reduction as 2,300,000 small taxpayers put together do. Nevertheless, it is a bright bill from the business point of view because it adopts the old-age tradition of the rulers to throw a sop to the little fellows whenever the big fellows are making a big haul.

## The Workers And Taxes

So far as the workers are concerned, the income bill has only an academic interest for them. There are over 41,000,000 wage earners in the United States, and only a little more than 4,000,000 income tax payments were made last year. You can see how many wage earners pay an income tax. So the people without whose work American civilization could not exist a single day are not very much concerned by the way you make the brackets in this bill.

Not only do they not earn enough to pay income taxes, but they do not earn enough to live decently. Over 78 percent of our people earn less than \$1,600 annually, while some economists regard \$1,800 as the lowest on which one can maintain a family. I think it is too low—but 78 percent of the people do not earn even that much. It is re-

## Proposed Measure Would Make the Rich Richer

ported that one out of every twelve corpses in New York City is buried in Potter's Field.

The surplus that these workers produce represent the income of the ruling interests, and the re-investment of the surplus continues to increase the concentration. Even now two percent of the people, the very rich, own 60 percent of the national wealth, while the poor 65 percent of the people own only five percent of the wealth, according to the Commission on Industrial Relations' report.

Some of the surplus—about nine and one-half billions of dollars—is invested abroad, and the surplus is piling up so rapidly that American investments abroad are now thirty times each year what they were in the years of the pre-war period.

## Aims to Make The Rich Richer

The tendency toward concentration is more marked than ever, and this bill is in accord with that tendency. Its purpose is to make the accumulation of the surplus easier to accomplish. And both Republicans and Democrats unite in supporting the measure.

Mr. Mills, the able defender of his class, in defending the 20 percent surtax, maintains that if it is more than 20 percent, the capitalists will evade the tax in some way. Why will they not evade it when it is 20, and evade it when it is 25 percent? Why do they not want 10 percent, or 15 percent as the surtax? Why does the capitalist's honesty reach its limits at 20 percent? If we had a real opposition party

in this house, instead of two political parties absolutely devoted to the same thought—"two minds with but a single thought, two hearts which beat as one"—for capitalism, this bill would be opposed on the ground that it hastens the concentration of wealth. The Socialists want this system to disappear, and to be replaced by a more beneficial system, but they want to avoid a sudden catastrophe, such as this method is likely to produce.

This bill is defended on the ground that it will promote prosperity. The idea that revenue bills or laws can be almost absurd as the idea generally voiced that we have become great and prosperous because of our constitution. The discovery of this country and the tremendous resources it opened to those who settled it, and the large immigration of men who came here at their own expense to work long hours at low wages, and the colonial conditions which prevailed here, will explain the cause of the so-called prosperity, which means fortunes for the rich, and an escape from starvation for the poor.

## The New Leader Mail Bag.

Is Mussolini Afraid?

Editor, The New Leader:  
So His Excellency, Mussolini, will not go to London! Is he afraid of the British workers who have announced that the railroad workers will not take care of the train in which he was to travel? Or perhaps he is afraid of something worse.

It is possible that he remembers an event which was widely described in the Socialist press many years ago concerning a brutal Austrian Court Martial General who, in putting down a Hungarian revolt did not hesitate to whip women and girls. This general, if I remember right, his name being Prince Windischgratz, later made a visit to London where, as it is customary, he intended to visit a number of institutions, among others being a brewery. The Brewery Workers who happened to be assembled in that brewery took advantage of this favorable opportunity to separate him from the rest of his party. They took him into their midst and gave him a chance to taste a dose of his own medicine by giving him an appropriate whipping. With what feeling he re-

turned to his friends it is hard to describe. The Austrian government did not dare to enter a protest against this punishment of the brutal General by the workers of London.  
New York City. R. M.

Mitchel, Parker and Bryan

Editor, The New Leader:  
Kindly inform me through the columns of The New Leader on what political ticket the late Mayor Mitchel was elected and the party he affiliated with. Also whether Parker was ever a nominee of the Democratic Party for President at any time and how many times was the late William J. Bryan a nominee for the Presidency.  
WILLIAM GREENBERG.

Mayor Mitchel was known as an anti-Tammany and Jeffersonian Democrat. He was elected in 1913 with the endorsement of the Republicans and his name appeared on the ballot under the Republican emblem. In national politics he was known as a Wilsonian Democrat. Alton B. Parker was the candidate of the Democratic Party for President in 1904. William J. Bryan was the candidate of the Democratic and Populist parties for President in 1896. A section of the Populists refused to accept Bryan as the candidate and supported the late Thomas E. Watson of Georgia. Bryan was again the Democratic candidate in 1900 and in 1908 and it is rumored that he is still the candidate of the Fundamentalists.

Insurance for Socialists

Editor, The New Leader:  
Don't you think that the Socialist movement would make more headway if it would get active also in doing something for Labor as some of the lodges are now doing, like insurance, old home, accident insurance, pensions, or anything that benefits the workers? I believe it would make one of the biggest lodges in the world, where nobody but Socialists would be admitted.  
A. ROLLER,  
Ontonagon, Mich.

Many trade unions undertake this work, and it is doubtful whether a political organization could undertake it. Insurance laws of the states are

also a factor that would have to be considered.

In the Province of Steel

Editor, The New Leader:  
I have been a reader of The New Leader ever since it took over The New York Leader, and I ask space for what I want to say. I read in the Review of Reviews an article stating that the judges of the various courts of New York are other than industrious and intelligent. I wish that could be said of the judges of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, in the common pleas court.

It says they do not sell favors to the rich, deny justice to the poor, encourage delay or conspire to make the cost of legal proceedings prohibitive. I have sat on juries in the common pleas court and have noticed special favors shown to the wealthy and aristocratic class, such as ruling out testimony of the poor that would be against the aristocracy. When I come to think of it, I don't wonder why there are so many holdups, burglaries and robberies in and around Pittsburgh. I just wonder that there is not more of them. Legislation makes as many outlaws and paupers as the liquor traffic. It is an imposition on the taxpayers to have such men on the bench.

Before the Prohibitionists think of reforms, they ought to get a new set of judges for Common Pleas Court in this county.  
OBSERVER,  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

## L. I. D. to Celebrate 20 Years of Work

THE League for Industrial Democracy is planning to celebrate its twenty years of activity both in its own right and as successor to the Intercollegiate Socialist Society at an anniversary dinner on Dec. 30. The dinner will be held at the Fifth Avenue Restaurant, 5th Avenue and 23rd Street, at 6:30 P. M., and will be devoted to a discussion of "Twenty Years of Social Pioneering."

The program will be opened with a number of ten-minute addresses. Mrs. Florence Kelley, general secretary of the National Consumers' League, and formerly president of the old I. S. S., will speak on "Social Reform, 1905-25." Morris Hillquit, who was a member of the first Executive Committee of the I. S. S., will speak on the development of Socialism and social thought during that period. James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and a vice-president in the L. I. D., will talk on the Labor Movement. The other speakers will be Stuart Chase, author of the "Tragedy of Waste," on the "Technician, 1905-25"; Paul H. Douglas, of the University of Chicago and one of the most brilliant of the younger economists and formerly head of the I. S. S. Chapter at Columbia, on "Economic Science, 1905-25"; Paul Blanshard, field secretary of the L. I. D., on the "College, 1905-25"; and Norman Thomas will sum up with a look to the future.

There will be a song or two by Agnes Laidler, accompanied by Carroll Hollister, and one to two-minute greetings from friends of the society, including: Leonard D. Abbott, of the Current Opinion; Katherine M. Meserole, a member of the first Executive Committee; Mary B. Sanford, Helen Phelps Stokes, Jessie Wallace Hughan, David Sinclair (son of Upton Sinclair), Justine Wise, Alice Hall, Robert Halpern, H. B. Raushenbush, Jessica Smith, Roger Baldwin and Louise Adams Floyd. Tickets are \$2.50 and should be obtained from League headquarters, 70 Fifth Avenue.

The dinner will be preceded by the Intercollegiate Conference of the L. I. D., which will begin on Tuesday morning, December 29, at Miss Stokes' studio, 90 Grove Street. The conference sessions will be open to delegates from various colleges and other student guests. The Tuesday morning session will be given over to reports of delegates. On Tuesday afternoon Otto S. Beyer, Jr., Ordway Tead and J. B. S. Hardman will deal with the "Intellectual in the Labor and Industrial Struggle." Wednesday morning "Humanized Economics" will be discussed by Alvin Johnson, director of the New School for Social Research,

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"Government and the New Social Order."  
Jan. 26—NORMAN ANGELL and JESSIE W. HUGHAN:  
"International Organization and the New Social Order."  
Feb. 2—JOHN BROPHY and A. J. MUSTN:  
"Trade Unions Under the New Social Order."  
Feb. 9—Prof. WM. H. KILPATRICK and HARRIET STANTON BLATCH:  
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## A Criticism of Freedom

By Montgomery Mulford

IN 1215 the Barons of England forced their tyrannous King John to sign the magnanimous Magna Carta, the first instance where the people gained theoretical liberties. But no sooner had King John pledged himself to the Great Charter than he broke his pledge. A hundred years later, 1315, three leaders of the Swiss peasants led a resurrection against Rudolf of Hapsburg, the obstreperous Austrian Emperor. Switzerland came to blows with Austria on the field of Morgarten and triumphed. Then, for the first time in the history of the world, the people obtained the whole voice in their affairs without the meddling of a supercilious monarch or bureaucratic government. These were the beginnings of that freedom which, after the United States was born at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, was soon to extend throughout the world, in the establishment of numerous democracies.

But freedom was still but a vague dream and a precarious possibility to most of the people of the world. We are apt to speak of the Lycian Confederation or of the Achaean League as composites of freedom-loving organizations. But freedom, as we know it, was not known to the ancients; representation was still an unknown doctrine. The Achaean League was based upon the primary, with a General (Strategos) who dominated the General Assembly. But the main objectives of this league were military and diplomatic. The people had no actual voice in governmental affairs. Even Switzerland was but a league of cantons, bound together for the common defense, each of which, at the time, pursued their own separate destinies, except that they kept together for fear of falling into the hands of a stronger neighbor. The framers of our constitution studied the methods of these states; and even of the United Netherlands—Holland; but Holland, though a defensive league perpetuated as a federal state, was too clumsy a model, too ill-compacted, to serve any useful purpose. We are often misled by the term of "Republic"; for a Republic was not democratic in the least until the United States pioneered the way. Even the "Republican" city-states of Italy were ruled by forces undemocratic in spirit and undemocratically. The Basque and Biscayan provinces of northern Spain enjoyed a

# ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

## BELGIUM

### Gains in Provincial Elections

Although the Socialist popular vote in the Provincial elections of Nov. 8 in Belgium was somewhat smaller than in the national election of April 5 last, it was 117,728 larger than in the Provincial elections of 1921 and the Labor Party elected 246 members of the Provincial Councils, a gain of 39. These gains were distributed over all nine Provinces. The Communists entered the Provincial Councils for the first time, with two seats in Hainaut, two in Brabant and one in Liege. The Liberals and Catholics lost about what the Socialists and Communists gained. The number of Socialists in the Provincial Senate will be increased as the result of the Provincial elections, as forty of the 153 Senators are chosen by the councils. In the old Senate, elected in 1921, the Socialists had 52 seats. The drop in the Socialist vote compared with that of last April is attributed to the fact that local considerations weigh much more in the Provincial campaigns than in a national fight. Control of the councils is important, as they vote the budgets of the various provinces and have considerable administrative powers. The Socialists are in the absolute majority in Hainaut, as before, but in Liege, although they won two extra seats, they lost their majority

position, electing 43 councillors against 43 for all the other parties combined.

During the last few weeks there have been joint meetings of the General Council of the Labor Party and Trade Union Commission and also of the Brussels Labor Party organization at which considerable criticism of the activities of the four Socialist Cabinet Ministers has been voiced and resolutions adopted urging them to make more strenuous efforts to carry out the labor program of domestic reforms, such as reduction of military service, extension of rent control, legalization of the eight-hour day, etc. Satisfaction was expressed with the part played by Foreign Minister Vandervelde in putting through the Locarno arbitration treaties and in the general work for international peace.

## ESTHONIA

### Anti-Labor Terrorism Continues

Under the pretext of safeguarding the Estonian Republic against possible Communist machinations, the police and courts-martial are continuing to terrorize labor men and Socialists, according to reports reaching the secretariat of the Socialist and Labor International. At the last meeting of the executive of the S. L. I. the sec-

retariat was instructed to make an inquiry into conditions in Esthonia.

In the meantime, Socialist leaders are being persecuted as "Communist conspirators," until, on evidence of police agents they are sent to prison for years by the district courts-martial. Workers' organizations, which are known to be non-Communist, are being dissolved. Thus intimidated, the workers do not risk joining labor organizations. Recently five students of the Dorpat University, members of a students' society, were before the district court-martial. The accusation asserted that the society had taken an active part in "Communist activities" and was connected with the Communist organizations. No other charge was made except that the accused were members of this society. Only police agents appeared as witnesses for the prosecution, while a number of professors gave the accused the best of testimony. Nevertheless, the court sentenced them to six and eight years' penal servitude.

In a question which the Socialist Party has put to the government in the Estonian Parliament the fact is referred to that members of the party are being prosecuted as criminals although they have merely taken part in the activities of the party, and that on the same ground a number of officials have been dismissed. "In our domestic policy," it is said, "a tendency is making itself felt more and more, which stands in the sharpest contradiction to the democratic basis of the state. While purporting to check the Communist attempts at overthrow, the whole pressure is in reality directed against the whole of the Labor movement."

## CUBA

### Havana Leads Party Organization

After preparatory work extending over several years, the Cuban Labor Party is now in existence. Not as a national organization as yet, but in the shape of municipal groups in several of the larger cities, with Havana in the lead. Based on a Socialist program laid down by the Socialist Club of the Cuban capital, the Havana political group has filed its papers with the Board of Elections and is getting ready for the next campaign. It is expected that within a short time the city groups will be united in the National Labor Party of Cuba and the oppressed workers of the earl of the Antilles will have a chance to vote for their own men and not depend upon the uncertain promises of alleged friends of labor. Accion Socialista, the fighting labor weekly of Havana edited by Juan Arevalo, is doing most of the organization work. The Cuban Socialists have protested vigorously against the recent deportations of foreign labor agitators or alleged Communist propaganda and have insisted upon the right of agitation and labor organization.

## GEORGIA

### Socialists in Secret Meet

The Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Georgia (Mensheviks) recently held its third secret national conference in that country. This was

## Rand School Notes

There will be no classes in the Rand School on December 24, 25, 31 and January 1, but on other nights during holiday week classes will be held as usual.

Next Tuesday evening Herman Epstein will give the last of his series of lectures on Wagner's Ring of the Nibelungen, dealing with the closing work of the cycle, "The Fading of the Gods."

In the physical education department the children's hour for children up to nine years of age and the children's interpretive dancing class for those between nine and fourteen are open for registration. Both these classes meet on Saturday from 4:30 to 5:30 p. m., the former in the studio and the latter in the gymnasium. The fee for either course is \$2 for four lessons.

There are a few vacancies in the folk dancing classes. The two elementary classes meet on Wednesday at 6 p. m. and Thursday at 6:30, respectively, the intermediate on Wednesday at 7:30, and the advanced class on Monday at 6:30. The fee in each case is \$2 for five lessons.

The classes in social dancing meet on Thursday at 7:30 and on Saturday at 6:30, respectively.

## Community Church Program

The Venerable Anagarika Dharmapala, official head of the Buddhist movement in India, Burma, Siam and Ceylon, and a man of great distinction in the Far East, will speak in the Community Church, Park Avenue and Thirty-fourth street, Sunday at 11 a. m. Subject, "A Christmas Message."

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Rann Kennedy, assisted by Miss Margaret Gage, will present Mr. Kennedy's five-act religious drama, "The Chastening," at the Community Forum Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the church. Admission free.

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## The Spirituality of Capitalism

By Geo. R. Kirkpatrick

"A CABLE dispatch from a resident in Argentina says that wheat is a 50 per cent. dead loss and that the remainder of the crop in the leading provinces is poor in quality—because of a drought."—News Item.

So far as it goes this is good news, very good news (at least under capitalism)—because Argentina wheat competes with our wheat all over the world. It is regrettable that the Lord, in favoring us so handsomely, did not go a little further and cut the Argentine wheat crop at least 90 percent. This would more clearly have indicated that the Lord loves us better than he does the Argentinians. What we want is that the Lord, in speaking to us, should make things perfectly clear. Now if only the wheat crop in India, South Africa and Australia also is given the heavenly treatment to the tune of about 50 percent crop failure, our farmers, and our whole country in a general way, will have so much more to be thankful for—thankful to the Lord, you understand.

Of course the Argentinians will find it a bit difficult to rejoice to the Lord this season. However, their "spiritual leaders" can easily and so happily explain the whole thing as a "mysterious visitation of the Lord," and our capitalist newspapers can also carry to Argentina the glad news that we have been specially happy this season, have deeply enjoyed their 50 percent wheat failure, because it has meant so much more profits to us on our own wheat.

Since we live under a system of industry conducted primarily for profits we sinfully thank God—don't we?—for the precious favor of making the sun shine blindingly hot on the Argentine wheat fields. Speaking spiritually, let 'em sizzle! Bake 'em! Blast 'em! It is all so wonderful that in a society that shouts so eloquently of the brotherhood of man the disaster of our neighbors works so happily, so beautifully, for so many of us. If the town burns down the lumber business improves so delightfully. If ten thousand children get diphtheria the doctors are happy.

It is all so wonderful, so beautiful, so spiritual, so perfect. It must be perfect, for it is profitable—and that, you know, is what the capitalist system is managed and manipulated for, primarily.

The deep piety and the noble spirituality of our best people are so easily understood; the opposition of our country's "most successful business men" to the anti-child labor amendment is perfectly natural, for child labor is cheaper and thus more profitable. In their wolfish hunt for profits, the enjoyment of their neighbors' disasters, makes our profit-made capitalists of industry so nobly Christlike in the charming graciousness of their spirituality.

## Judge Panken Lectures Sunday at 6th-8th A. D.

Judge Jacob Panken will deliver the second of a series of lectures at the Forum of the 6th-8th A. D. this Sunday evening, December 20, at 8 p. m. His subject for this lecture will be "Land, Housing and Land Values." The lecture held last week attracted a capacity audience. The admission is free. The lecture is conducted at the party club house at 137 Avenue B.

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Freedom, as the world today knows it, is a poor thing. It is not freedom at all. The United States is building up a bureaucracy. Italy has a Czarist dictator. Hungary is ruled by a tyrannical admiral. The people have some word in some governments; but not sufficient to make it amount to much. Orators and patriots rant and rave over the freedom possessed; but they are deluded—or perhaps paid by their governments or some "patriotic institution" to broadcast falsities.

But the day will come when Freedom shall triumph. This is certain, for an old Latin motto goes, "Magna est veritas, et praevalabit," which means, "Truth is mighty and will prevail." But truth seems a long while in dawning. Will the Socialists help to bring about the advent of Truth?

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# H. L. MENCKEN, THE VAUDEVILLE CRITIC

By V. F. Calverton

**M**R. MENCKEN is more than an impolite essayist, a critic, and a poetaster. He is a mode of mind, a wind of doctrine. He is the playboy for the growing smart-set in America.

Perhaps no man in American letters has created such a furore of comment and controversy as Henry L. Mencken. Critics discuss him, preachers denounce him, women abhor and exalt him all in a moment, professors scorn him, radicals laugh at him—and Babbitts read him! The vaudeville critic of literature, Mr. Mencken has become a meteoric sensation in the States. With his increasing familiarity with the theatrics of verbal legerdemain, the Keith Circuit promises him hope for a precocious senility.

To employ the apt phrase of Herbert Read, the English critic, Mr. Mencken's "heavenly messenger appears in pink tights." One can feature Mr. Mencken perspiring prouetting above the

\*The Man Mencken. By Isaac Goldberg. New York: Simon & Schuster. \$4.

\*\*Henry L. Mencken. By Ernest Boyd. New York: Robert McBride Co. \$1.

## Two Books That Deal with America's Playboy, "A Heavenly Messenger in Pink Tights"

saw-dust arena of a circus, gesticulating behind menagerie-bars to the delight of unambitious groundlings, even thumping at the grotesque chateaus of Lesbian flappers and cuckold clerks; but to conceive him as "essentially lyrical, emotional, artistic," and to endow him "with a second-sight, a piercing vision" is as risible as it is ridiculous.

Isaac Goldberg's book\* is devoted to the delineation of two personalities: Henry L. Mencken and Isaac Goldberg. What is unfinished in Mencken is supplemented in Goldberg; what is unfulfilled in Goldberg is realized in Mencken. That this process of fulfillment and completion, of divergence and convergence, is an unconscious reaction entirely on the part of the biographer does not in any sense affect its reality. In fact its very unconsciousness fortifies it. Mr. Mencken's gross faults are mentioned once or twice, usually neglected, however, and never reprehended. Only when Mr. Mencken's affected hardness and immature Nietzscheanism conflict with Mr. Goldberg's more sensitive and

softer nature does stricture intrude. It is only Mr. Mencken's inhibitions and repressions that prevent him from being Mr. Goldberg—in idea!

Mr. Goldberg's book fits his theme. It is as contradictory as Mr. Mencken. On page 14 Mr. Goldberg quotes Mencken as a denier of truth, an apostle of paradox and contradiction: "I do not pretend to know what truth is. I can only present it as it appears to me today. Tomorrow it may seem something else."

"I believe fully only in what may be demonstrated scientifically. All the rest is pure speculation—beautiful, perhaps, but not important. . . . The fact that there is sodium chloride in the blood will never be abandoned. It is immutably true."

With such glaring incongruities, such dismal illogicalities, confronting him, Mr. Goldberg makes the astounding if slightly unconvincing conclusion that, despite these contradictions of statement and attitude, Mencken's outlook upon life "tends toward order, clear-

ness and serenity." One must love one's here devoutly to derive such a conclusion from such premises!

In his endeavor to annihilate the attacks of those who have criticized the monotonous pyrotechnics of Mr. Mencken, Goldberg lights on amusing evasion. The critic who tries to apply logic to criticism, who aims to substitute reason for prejudice, fact for feeling, is guilty of intellectual suicide. Goethe is quoted:

"All the thinking in the world will not lead us to thought."

And Havelock Ellis: "The phenomena of dreaming furnish a delightful illustration of the fact that reasoning, in its rough form, is only the crudest and most elementary form of intellectual operation, and that the finer forms of thinking involve more than logic."

Did it ever strike Mr. Goldberg that he and Goethe and Ellis are all using logic to disprove logic, employing the same logical abstractions to reveal the illogicality of scientific logic? Where one must use the same instrument he attacks, he must be exceedingly cau-

tious as to its application. This is like the Freudian theory of rationalization, which if carried to an extremity leads to emptiness and absurdity. If all conclusions are rationalizations, all science a rationalization, then the doctor's diagnosis of the patient's rationalization is but a rationalization on the doctor's part, and since every reasoning process can be reduced to this basis, according to orthodox Freudianism, the term rationalization becomes meaningless and useless. So with the logical objections to logic. That the logic of fact-relationship and inductive reasoning may not allow us to coquette with the sesame of creation, or elucidate the mysterious "why" and "wherefore" of the universe, does not necessitate our scrapping it as the futile flotsam of the mind. If criticism means judgment—and such is the origin of the word *krinein* (Greek), to judge, then the only safe and satisfactory approach we can make to it is the logical.

With all of these animadversions, it would be unfair to say that Mr. Goldberg has not written an interesting

book. He has! The book is entertaining if sentimental, amusing if uncogent. Although often vague and sometimes wooden-winged in its flights, the style flashes if not flows and is at least inviting if not seductive.

Ernest Boyd's book\*\* is a less detailed but more sound criticism of the Mencken myth. Mencken, the vaudevillian, is not camouflaged in these pages.

"The man (Mencken) and the legend are one, and conjointly they present the inspiring and fascinating spectacle of a real American, as distinct from the modern ex-European substitute, known as a one hundred per cent American."

Categorizing Mencken thus as a 100 per cent American, Mr. Boyd goes further to show that "in his American innocence of economic fundamentals," Mr. Mencken's anachronistic advocacy of the "pre-Jacksonian period of capitalistic individualism" is readily explicable. Mencken's superficial and distorted Nietzscheanism is exposed with genuine logic and skill. Nor are Mencken's sprightliness of style, gaudy and boisterousness, his art as a humorist, as an impolite essayist, left untouched.

In brief, it is a striking piece of environmental criticism. It reflects the criticism of one age by another, a static order by a moving one.

### NEW RADICAL MAGAZINE

Memories of the old days when The Masses, the "Vanity Fair of the Radical Movement," was banging away at capitalism with satire, poetry and cartoon, were revived last week with the announcement that in about six weeks "The New Masses" will appear. The new magazine is backed for the first three years of its existence by funds from the American Fund for Public Service (The Garland Fund).

The New Masses will print poetry, short stories, book reviews, dramatic and movie criticism, first hand reports of big strikes and other national events, cartoons, serious drawings and sketches. The editors are Michael Gold, Joseph Freeman, James Rorty, Hugo Gellert and John Sloan. Among the list of contributing editors are Upton Sinclair, Sherwood Anderson, Van Wyck Brooks, Carl Sandberg, Eugene O'Neill, Boardman Robinson, Howard Brubaker, M. J. Glintenkamp and Charles W. Wood.

## SLAVERY ON THE HIGH SEAS

By James Oneal

**O**NE OF the most important grievances which Americans in the colonial period and after independence had against Great Britain was her custom of seizing American seamen and forcing them to serve in British ships. For that matter, British ship captains and army and navy officials for generations had been accustomed to seize British workers and press them into service.

Throughout the eighteenth century British seamen who returned from long voyages and looked forward to seeing

\*IMPRESSMENT OF AMERICAN SEAMEN. By James Fulton Zimmerman, Ph.D. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$3.

### Some Phases of the System Of the Impressment of Seamen

their wives and children were seized off the British coast by British officers. Press gangs in London and other cities kidnaped young men for the service. They were often secretly confined and treated with the utmost cruelty.

This policy is one of the darkest pages in British history, and now we have for the first time a study\* of this custom and its effects on the relations between the United States and Great Britain. Professor Zimmerman considers the question in relation to the diplomatic history of impressment, but at the same time the economic backgrounds of this issue as it affected American seamen are considered. The popular American histories generally condemn the British for this policy of seizing American seamen, and one is left with the impression that the Americans were filled with horror over the practice. No doubt most of them were, but there were also sea dogs among them who thought the custom a good one and who profited by it in a number of ways.

In considering this phase of the theme the author has added to our knowledge of American working class history. Great Britain claimed the right to search American ships for deserters as the much higher wages paid American seamen provided an inducement for British seamen to desert on reaching an American port and sign up with an American ship. Great Britain has been dependent upon her sea power, and one can understand why she would insist on the right of search and acquiescence in the cruel work of the press gangs. Moreover, inability or unwillingness to compete with the American wage standard provided another incentive for impressment, while drawing

upon American seamen augmented British naval forces. The British policy, of course, could not have been maintained against a strong power.

But that the economic injustice of which American traders and shipmasters complained was one which these nascent American bourgeois would take advantage of on their own account when opportunity offered is evident from this study. When in the last decade of the eighteenth century Britain prepared for war with Spain and Russia there was a general rise in the wages of seamen in the United States and Europe. Many American "landmen or half-seamen" entered the service, and in some cases whole crews of American seamen were impressed in British ports. But the expected wars did not materialize and many of the impressed seamen were released. Now for the sequel:

"This action resulted in a large oversupply of seamen in British ports, and American captains were not slow in discovering that they could secure regular seamen in these ports for one-half the price that they had agreed to pay to their crews, many of whom were inexperienced. Acting on this discovery, many American captains, regardless of contracts, abandoned their crews, or large parts of them, and engaged regular seamen, refusing in most cases to provide for the needs of those abandoned, or for their return to the United States."

At a later period arrangements were made with the British by which American sailors carried papers indicating the nationality of their employment, but these "protections" did not always protect them against avaricious American employers. Some American sea-

men tell of "how their own captains who owed them wages had stolen their protections and turned them over to the British." One American sailor wrote that his captain owed him fourteen months' wages, had stolen his clothes, and "allowed him to be impressed on the charge that he was a British subject," although he had a wife and two children in the United States. An American consul also reported to the State Department that in some cases "American captains expelled American seamen who had regular certificates, either to avoid payment of their wages or to secure other seamen for lower wages."

These incidents show that while the British ruling classes were content to raid American ships for conscripts and sea workers, American shipping masters were only too willing to take advantage of various phases of the policy of impressment to rob and swindle American workmen. Beneath the diplomatic history of the impressment controversy runs this story of working class grievances against both British and American shipmasters which is lightly passed over by American historians.

The main theme of the book is the diplomatic, party and legislative history of the impressment controversy, which has served as a good moral for many patriotic orators at celebrations of the Fourth of July, but one rather cools off when hearing the old one-sided version of this diplomatic duel. Great Britain never specifically abandoned the "right" of impressment, but, as the author says, "the long years of peace in Europe following the defeat of Napoleon, combined with the subsequent establishment by Great Britain of a volunteer system for manning her navy, contributed largely to the prevention of a revival of the practice of impressment." Professor Zimmerman appears to have consulted all the important documentary material in writing the book, and there is little doubt that it will take its place as the leading authority on the subject.

### AN INTERESTING NOVEL

**T**RUE to his title, Louis Bromfield shows what a huge part of our lives is determined by the people who possess us and by those we want to possess. Sometime it is not people but things which we either possess or which possess us. In the case of Ellen Tolliver it is the career she wants to possess against all the people who want to possess her which is her own private struggle.

For Ellen is beautiful, clever, and possessed of an extraordinary ability at the piano. Born and bred in one of those small American towns becoming so famous in contemporary literature, she is desirous of freeing herself from her mother, who wants to possess her, and of entering the great world where she is sure she can easily make her mark with her splendid musicianship, capped by her forceful personality and her personable appearance. She uses a man as her first step: marries a lukewarmish poor New York salesman in order to land in New York. Once there she begins to make her way ahead, only to find that a young and handsome scion of society is in love with her and would possess her body and soul, in return for which he would never give possession of himself.

Ellen, however, sticks to her first mate, who commits suicide when he learns of the futility of his attempts to possess Ellen. Her society lover marries Sabine, a woman of his own set. Years later Ellen, widowed, Sabine and her husband meet in Paris, and their troubles start afresh. The end of the book finds Ellen separated from her second husband, but the proud possessor of young Fergus, her baby son, plus a tidy fortune from her divine playing.

Mr. Bromfield has taken a big task in his hands, this recounting of the tale of a girl who always got what she wanted. Methinks he makes Fate play into her hands a bit more easily than it generally does with those musicians who have neither money nor influence. Society seemed unnaturally anxious to sponsor Ellen Tolliver. However, her character is splendidly developed, as are all the persons in the tale. They all struggle and suffer and often enjoy themselves in true human fashion. Mr. Bromfield has done an interesting and commendable piece of work in this, his second novel.

Madelin Loef.

POSSESSION. By Louis Bromfield. New York: Stokes. \$2.

### '\$1000 REWARD,' Says Finkelstein

"Right," agreed his partner, Maisel. "But say it so the public will know we are offering it in their interest as well as ours."

"Maisel," said Finkelstein, "you can safely trust the public. They know us well by now. They know we state only what is true. They know when we repeat this \$1,000 reward we must have a good reason. They know we are really clothing manufacturers and we really are giving them every advantage in buying clothing like ours at really big savings."

"All right, Finkelstein," said Maisel, "I know all about it; so go ahead and put it in a statement."

"I will, but I'd like to make it \$5,000," said Finkelstein.

"You could make it \$10,000," replied Maisel, "and I bet you couldn't land any one of the slanderers in court. So let it go at \$1,000."

"But don't forget," said Finkelstein, "we want to remind the public again, and as strong as we can, that our prices are wholesale; that this is a factory, upstairs; that our rent is low, and so on, all of which they otherwise would have to pay for."

"That's good," said Maisel, "but also remind them that there isn't a piece of cloth in our place that isn't 100 per cent pure wool and that we use only the finest trimmings."

"Also, that we will give any customer's money back instantly if they can duplicate our values at anywhere near our prices."

"I'll make this a condition of our guarantee," said Finkelstein.

"Sure," said Maisel, "but what about our prices?"

"Maisel," said Finkelstein, "if the people could only realize the values we are offering, it would take the whole police department to keep the crowds in line."

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### A Happy New Year, Comrade:

The Harlem Socialist Educational Center is here again to extend a cordial invitation to you to be present at the annual dinner and dance to celebrate the fifth anniversary of its successful enterprise.

Friends and comrades who have been with us nearly every year for the last five years, and especially those who were with us last New Year's Eve, well remember the wonderful time we gave them. This year we expect to surpass all past achievements, the program including, in addition to a swell supper, dances between courses to the tune of a fine band of music, a grand concert and reception to special guests for this occasion, not to mention the paper hats, blowing of horns, whistles, ringing bells, etc. You are again invited to help us celebrate this great event, which will take place at our ballroom, 62 East 106th Street, on New Year's Eve, December 31, 1925, at 8:30 P. M.

The Committee estimates that the charge of \$2.50 per plate will just about cover the cost of the affair, as it seeks no profit on this occasion. Due to the great demand for reservations for this annual dinner, a regular charge will be made for children. Reservations can be made until December 23, 1925.

Hoping that you will give this your immediate attention, and that you will honor us with your presence, I am

Fraternally yours,

Harlem Socialist Educational Center

NATHAN ZUKOFT, Manager.

P. S.—Please make checks payable to I. Fried, Financial Secretary, 62 East 106th Street, New York City.

### THE STORY OF A LIVING SCHOOL

By Raymond Fuller

**T**HERE is nothing short of poetry that will adequately review a dream like this. Stelton School is essentially a dream—come true in part—never to come true in entirety, for that in the nature of it cannot ever be. When I had finished reading this book\* I reached for Francis Thompson, turned to page 183—and here it is: Pierce thy heart to find the key; With thee take Only what none else would keep; Learn to dream when thou dost wake; Learn to wake when thou dost sleep; Learn to water joy with tears; Learn from fears to vanquish fears; To hope, for thou dar'st not grieve; Plough thou the rock until it bear; Know, for thou else couldst not believe; Lose, that the lost thou may'st receive; Die, for none other way can'st live.

When thy seeing blindeth thee To what thy fellow-mortals see; When their sight to thee is sightless; Their living, death; their light most lightless; Search no more—

Pass the gates of Luthany, tread the region Elenore!"

Like tales from darkest Russia read the struggles, disappointments, privations—determinations—that drove a little group of anarchistically-minded

\*MODERN SCHOOL OF STELTON. By Joseph Cohen and Alexis Fern. Printed by Modern School Association, Stelton, N. J.

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people in America to establish an unfettered school in the name of Francisco Ferrer, the Spanish martyr-teacher. Like tales from the history books, too, when their writers wish to glorify some approved spiritual crusade's beginning: Washington praying in the snow at Valley Forge; the early Christian Romans meeting in sewers

#### Erratum

Printers' errors happen in the best-regulated volumes, and by the whim of collectors they sometimes put a premium on a book instead of a curse. None the less, B. W. Huebsch and the Viking Press are genuinely sorry to announce that earlier copies of "Two Lives," by William Ellery Leonard, contain an unfortunate mistake in the text. This consists of a transposition of lines 2 and 3 on page 63, spoiling the sense of the stanza. Nearly all of the limited editions and about 800 copies of the regular edition (including review copies), were distributed before the error was discovered. If these are returned to the publishers, 30 Irving Place, New York, the faulty page will gladly be replaced.

There are many people who are afraid of modern thought. I am not. What I am afraid of is modern thoughtlessness. So many put out their thinking to be done by their newspaper; they act more from prejudice or passion than as the result of thought and thinking. The call to repent is the call to think—and think again. Repentance is not simply a matter of the emotions; it is a matter of the mind.—Dr. Charles Brown.

The dreams of today are the realities of tomorrow.—Frank Harris. Conquer your foe by force and you add to his enmity; by love, and you reap no after-sorrow.—Buddha.

The present system is both wasteful from a business point of view, and unjust from an ethical point of view.—J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Of all kinds of pride I hold national pride the most foolish; it ruined Greece, it ruined Judea and Rome.—Herder.

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# THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE HYSTERICAL

By Edward Levinson

THE convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in its first eight days, reminds one of a barnstorming troupe of tragedians. There were dramatic gestures galore; there was the cursed villain and the fair-haired hero; wild gestures of fury and purring pats of gentility; there was a mob scene with wild outbursts of cheering. But through it all was the shoddy substance of cheap "meller-drama." Nothing real about it. All froth and fury. No sense.

But even in these "stupendous spectacles" there came often moments of genuine drama. More through misfortune than anything else a real artist may have found his way to the troupe. But these thrills of genuine moments were sure to be dashed by more declamatory rubbish.

So in this convention, the Communists satisfied their hunger for cheap dramatics. They had their demonstrations almost every day. They raised their voices and daringly sang The Internationale in a congress of a Jewish Labor Union. They have paraded and flaunted banners with scorching slogans. Every motion, no matter how innocent, brought the thunderbolts of defiance. They frowned on mild attempts to get the gallery to soften its tumultuous applause and cheers. With more than half the time wasted, their accomplishments faded out of the picture like so much wind of another day.

## Nagler's Duel With the Communists

Among the moments of seriousness that stood out in all this tumult were two that will be particularly remembered. First there was the thrilling duel delegate Isadore Nagler fought with the Communists when he was summing up for the Credentials Committee of which he was secretary. Then, again, Tuesday afternoon, there was President Morris Sigman's vigorous castigation of the "left" for the manner in which they wasted precious days in soap and bubble thunderbolts.

Here is a brief summary of typical days of the convention:

FIRST DAY. An opening celebration and reception at the Arch Street Theatre. Addresses by James H. Maurer and other leaders welcoming the delegates. The seats of the "left" delegates were empty. Soon enough

## The Shoddy Melo-Dramatics of the Communists At the Ladies Garment Workers' Convention

we learn why. There was a slight commotion in the rear while Elias Reissberg, of Philadelphia, was speaking. Demonstration No. 1 is on. The "left" marched bravely to their seats carrying banners and singing The Internationale.

SECOND DAY. The credentials committee reports. There were fewer delegates challenged than at any recent convention of the Union. "Count that day lost when we don't demonstrate at least once," seemed to be the Communist slogan. So Louis Hyman rises and informs the delegates that if the "left" doesn't like the rulings of the convention they won't obey them. Curtain amid cheers.

THIRD DAY. The discussion thus created on the Credentials Committee report consumed another day. The discussion soon broadened out to include every subject each delegate happened to have on his or her mind. This did some good for it gave many a chance to get rid of their steam and get down to bald facts. But some seemed to have an inexhaustible supply of steam.

The third day brought the speech by Nagler, a delegate from Local 10, the Cutters of New York. It is worth pausing to examine.

The Credentials Committee had referred to the Appeals Committee certain protests which had been made against the entire delegation from six locals, three of the Left Wing and three of the Right. Since the charges were based on alleged illegal elections, the Committee felt that the charges were not against the delegates but rather against the Union which had elected them. Nagler's speech and reply to questions gave a great insight into "Left Wing" tactics. Let us here read some excerpts from the minutes: "Delegate Nagler":

"Some statements have been made here about an artificial delegation at this convention. May I ask you, Brother Portnoy, about the delegation of Local 45, the designers' local, a 'militant' organization—are they artificial or are they not? After it was proved before the Credentials Committee that this local had issued receipts to their membership in the last five months for dues instead of placing stamps on their books we did not recommend the unseating of these delegates, although we had good grounds for doing so. This cannot be denied. We took into consideration the unity purpose of the convention. You agreed to these artificial delegates because it suited your purpose and you did not say anything about it (applause)."

"Brother Zimmerman stated the fact that delegates to this convention were appointed instead of elected. Brother Zimmerman, in the City of New York when it was a question of business agents in the Joint Board, did you not confer with the officials of Local 10 about 3 and 2 and 4 and 1 and 4 and 2 trading propositions? (applause). How could you tell whether it was going to be 4 and 2 and 3 and 2 or 4 and 1 (laughter and applause)."

"Brother Zimmerman stated at this convention that Delegate Dubinsky was trying to bulldoze the members. Brother Hyman bulldozed the convention yesterday, but he took water today. The reason no member of the Credentials Committee answered Brother Hyman's statement yesterday was because we had to adjourn, to my sorrow. These threats will not work, especially with a member of the Credentials Committee who is also a member of Local 10. (Great applause)."

"Brother Portnoy referred to a convention which was held in 1922, when an objection was raised against the

delegates of Local 9. Brother Portnoy, do not misconstrue the proceedings of that convention, as you know it has nothing to do with the present report of the Credentials Committee. The objection raised at that time was against each and every delegate. They had participated as individuals in an illegal caucus, which was contrary to the constitution of our International, and it was not as a local that they were charged with committing a crime. "DELEGATE PORTNOY: Answer in regard to Local 49."

"DELEGATE NAGLER: Yes, Brother Portnoy, you will take water as soon as I answer. When you mention Local 49, I want to call your attention to the fact that as a constitutional authority you don't know what you are talking about. (Applause). Aren't you aware of the fact that the constitution was revised in the City of Boston in 1924? And that this revision deals with the powers of the Credentials Committee?"

"Look it over. Delegates, if the so-called 'rights' were not sincere, I want to call Brother Rubin's attention to the fact that he might not have been sitting here as a delegate to this convention were it not for the fact that we were interested in securing harmony. (Great applause). None of these delegates can be accused of organizing a dual union, Brother Rubin, and of having advertised in the press that you will settle shops under piece-work when Brother Sigman, as the manager of the New York Joint Board, enforced the week-work system. (Great applause). I am glad, Sister Worts, that you spoke in a fairer spirit when you said, 'I do not accuse the Credentials Committee of any malice in submitting this report.' But you had an opinion as to the manner in which the Committee should have reported. You said that the reason

the Credentials Committee brought in this report was because of the victory of the militant workers in the New York Joint Board. You claim before these delegates representing the United States and Canada that you were victorious, and you are trying to make an impression on the delegates. Let me tell you, Sister Worts, I am representing here a local which I also represented in Boston. Our delegates come to this convention with our manager as the leader of that local, representing even a better organization than we had represented in the City of Boston. We bring our same local, stronger, if possible, to the City of Philadelphia—but it is a tragedy that you have lost the confidence of your membership to a certain extent in the shops."

"In the election for the Executive Board of Local 2, they voted at the same time on the question of 35-cent dues and 40-cent dues. You wanted 40-cent dues. You cannot fool us. But the membership decided on 35-cent dues and they would have voted for 25-cent dues if you had given them the opportunity; 5,000 voted. But when it came to the election of delegates to the convention, how many votes were cast? The same amount as was cast for the Executive Board? No, there was no question of 25-cent dues then (great applause). A membership of twelve thousand in Local 2 cast a vote of one thousand and a membership of four thousand in Local 10 cast twelve hundred votes. And let me call your attention to this, that out of the twelve hundred votes that were cast by Local 10 in New York eleven hundred, according to the records, paid dues that day."

"After you had demonstrated that you could get the membership to vote for lower dues, you came with that report to our membership, and by a vote

of four hundred against ninety, they voted for 40 cents after the brilliant revolution that took place in the City of New York, and we permitted the so-called 'left' to count the vote. Who represents the membership here? Is it you or we? (Great applause.)"

"The first objection that came into the Credentials Committee was against the conservative Local 10, as you call it, and when we sent out telegrams which I have in my possession here, that they appear before the Credentials Committee that we may inform them as to the proper procedure, why did these comrades not appear, if they had objections?"

"As Brother Hochman stated, we took cognizance of what was going on in New York. We tried our best to bring about peace and unity. We did not expect what took place yesterday. We were not after the scalp of an individual. We had in mind the entire membership of our International. We had in mind the manufacturers that we have to face in our daily lives in order to protect the interests of our workers, and it was for this reason that the Credentials Committee did not miss in its business to dig into every minor proposition in order not to bring about any ill-feeling in the convention. Instead, of being criticized, we should have been congratulated. We stated in our preamble: 'In this work it was actuated by a spirit of genuine impartiality and has left personal opinion play no part in its decision or recommendation.' We wanted the convention to be unified in order to face the employers in a solid phalanx. I hope, delegates, that you will vote for the Credentials Committee report, and as for those who do not care to do so, we will see their color." (Great applause.)

Nagler's address, the effect of which was so sweeping that mere quotations cannot convey it, left even the Communists dumbfounded. It ended the third day's session.

And so the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th days went futile demonstrations and fire-cracker oratory of the much-depised Fourth of July type.

The refusal of the Communists to attend committee meetings provided another heated debate on the floor of the convention the eighth day, Tuesday. The debate took place on a motion by Portnoy, Left Wing delegate from New York, that the Committee on Officers Reports be instructed to bring in their recommendations tomorrow morning. He charged the Right Wing was responsible for "wasting time."

President Sigman was quick to deny Right Wing responsibility for holding up the convention.

"For a week," he said, "delegates, contrary to my advice, have been talking about every subject under the sun, ignoring the questions at issue. They have made it impossible for the convention to proceed. In reply to the charges against the committee appointments, I am satisfied that it is clear that I have applied a full measure of fairness in this matter. The Left Wingers have insulted the delegations from the other unions by their attitude. Their spokesman has slapped the convention in the face. It is sabotage, a strike against the interests of the thousands of workers whose welfare is involved."

"This is not a matter of principle on which you Leftists have decided to make a fight. It is a question of bulldozing this convention and the entire union. It is an effort to seek new fields with fertile issues to be able to bluff your constituents. Let me tell you delegates who have appropriated the progressive and revolutionary labels that you have struck a blow at the entire union with your devastating methods."

## SOME SOCIALIST LEGISLATORS

By Herman O. Kent

THE 1925 Legislature did not prove to be the progressive body that was looked for by many after the elections were announced last fall. Many who were brought forward as progressive, during the campaign turned out to be the opposite."

The foregoing is the introductory paragraph of the official report of Henry Ohl, member of No. 23 and general organizer of the State Federation of Labor, made to the 1925 federation convention recently held at Lake Geneva.

The statement is not new, for it is the same old story over and over again. It was so while both Mr. Ohl and the writer were in the Legislature in 1917; it was so in 1915, and before that and since, when a few had to battle for labor. If we could give a resume of the attacks on labor by so-called progressives who run on old party tickets and before election declare themselves friends of the workers, but afterwards betray them, we could fill the Typographical Journal with interesting reading. At this session many bills viciously attacking labor were introduced—all by Republicans and "progressives"; and some, if passed, would have completely wiped out several labor organizations, as, for instance, a bill "imposing a fine of \$250 or imprisonment for any city, county or State

### Their Record of Activity in the Wisconsin State Assembly

employe for belonging to a labor organization." In Milwaukee most carpentry, masonry and other work is done by union labor or else union workers are employed; so one can see the disastrous effect it would have had. The Socialists led the fight and defeated this bill as well as all the other anti-labor bills.

If union members would read a little more of legislative matters and not spend all their time on the sport page, labor would make better strides and legislators who vote against the workers would not be re-elected time and again by votes of the workers, as takes place year after year.

Milwaukee county has seven Senators in the 1925 Legislature—four Republicans and three Socialists. All four Republicans voted for the private detective agencies against labor. All three Socialists voted for labor against the detectives. Here they are. For the detectives:

Senator Daggett, West Allis. Senator Gettelman, representing the 15th, 19th, 20th and 22d wards. Senator Morris, representing the 13th, 18th, 21st and 25th wards. Senator Mehlgan, representing the 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th wards.

Socialists voting for labor: Senator Padway, 9th ward district. Senator Polakowski, 8th ward district. Senator Quick, 17th ward district. In the Assembly from Milwaukee there were 13 Republicans and seven Socialists. Eight of the 13 Republicans voted for the private detectives. These eight legislators received a total of 75,000 votes, mostly from working men and women, and from organized

workers, too, and several of these had been members before with a bad record against labor. Voting for detectives: Conway, 3d ward, former union member, elected as progressive, as were also the others.

Engel, 15th and 19th wards. Hinkley, West Allis. Jensen, 5th and 12th wards. Laffey, 2d ward. Perry, Wauwatosa. Prescott, 18th ward. Smith, 17th ward.

All the Socialist Assemblymen—Weber, Ruffing, Klesner, Duncan, Coleman, Ciesynski, Olsen—voted for labor and led the fight, and, in fact, are responsible that labor is now rid of these pernicious agencies. Only five out of 17 Republican Assemblymen and Senators from Milwaukee voted for labor on this bill.

This may not pertain to printing, but it is reading matter that should be digested in preference to workers knowing all the details of baseball and other sports, which is well and good, and we like it, too; but it does not make for better working condition and more justice.

Just think of it! Seventy-five thousand workers voting to keep the private detectives to battle labor and beat down their conditions! Where were the brains of these workers? Surely there was no excuse for labor casting 75,000 votes to elect Republican betrayers of labor. But we must remember that these were the "progressives" that organized labor, headed by some of the leading labor men of the State, went out to elect, with the statement that Socialists could not win.

Moral: It is better to vote for Republicans who vote for private detectives against labor who can win than to cast a vote for Socialists—real labor men—who will stand true but may not be elected?

### GERMAN UNIONS REPORT GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP

When 313 delegates met in Breslau in the Twelfth National Convention of the General German Federation of Trade Unions, August 31 to September 4, they were cheered to hear that the heavy decline in membership, due to Communist dissension and economic crises during the inflation and stabilization periods, had come to an end on December 31, 1924, when the total had fallen to 3,975,000 from a high of 8,068,936 in September, 1922, and that during the present year there had been substantial gains. The present membership is well above the 4,000,000 mark. Another cause for rejoicing was found in the practical liquidation of the Communist movement among the German unions, it being represented at Breslau by only a couple of delegates, against 88 at the Leipzig convention of 1922.

The satisfaction of the delegates with the tactics of the Executive Committee was shown by the re-election of all its members, namely, Lelpart, Grassmann, Mueller, Kube, Umbrie, Knoll and Eggert, and the almost unanimous approval of President Lelpart's report of the committee's activities.

Among the numerous resolutions adopted by the convention was one lauding the work of the recently organized Labor Bank and advising all unions and unionists to make full use of its facilities. The discussion on the advisability of hastening the transformation of craft unions into industrial organizations was long and lively, resulting in a compromise resolution pointing out that the unions must be organized industrially, but this can only come with time. Meanwhile, in view of the fact that in certain industries some

of the unions have suffered serious prejudice in wake actions owing to independent action being taken by other unions in the industry, regulations restoring the previous mutual agreement system have been made to carry the unions over the transition stage. It was decided that no trade union shall formulate demands for itself independently, without first endeavoring to come to an agreement with the other unions involved.

The congress called for the formation of a uniform and genuinely social labor code, and particularly for legislation regulating labor and wage agreements and unifying social insurance. Finally, it protested against the obstacles now being placed by the Arbitration Court in the way of the right of combination, and demanded that strikes be allowed to take place without hindrance.

The congress called upon the government to pass a law regulating working hours and enforcing the eight-hour day. An amendment was also adopted instructing the Executive to intensify its efforts for the introduction of the legal eight-hour day if necessary by means of a referendum.

### Labor Men to Discuss Control of Coal Industry

Control of the coal industry to end unnecessary wastes by stabilizing employment and increasing safety in particular is to be discussed by the nineteenth annual meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation, December 28-30. President William Green, American Federation of Labor; Stuart Chase, the Labor Bureau, Inc.; Leo Wolman, New School of Social Research, and others will attend and speak on various topics.

## Labor's Dividends

Calgary, Alberta, Nov. 14.—Three men were killed by an explosion in a new coal mine shaft near Kirkpatrick, five miles from Drumheller, last night.

Buffalo, Nov. 16.—Four lives were lost when a fierce gale tore three barges from their tow and wrecked them on the breakwall of the Buffalo harbor early today.

Montreal, Quebec, Nov. 13.—Three men were killed by an explosion which destroyed the packing room of the Canadian Explosive Company at Beloeil, about twenty-five miles from Montreal, this afternoon.

Minneapolis, Minn., Nov. 15.—The Columbian, fast train on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, collided with a freight train near Renville today. Four trainmen were killed.

While repairing a rail of the Long Island Railroad at Foster Meadow Road, Dominick Masone, 20, was struck and instantly killed by an eastbound train early yesterday.

New York, Oct. 24.—Struck on the head by a beam falling from the third floor of a building under construction at Wall and William streets last night, Salvatore Liale, of No. 51 Orchard street, a construction worker, died before the arrival of Dr. Levanthal from Beekman Street Hospital.

Terre Haute, Ind., Oct. 20.—Joseph Stevenson, superintendent of the Little Betty mine near Linton, and his son, William, were killed in an explosion when a gas pocket was ignited. The mine, owned by the J. W. Gould Mining Company of Indianapolis, had been idle several months, and the men had entered the shaft to make preliminary arrangements for reopening it.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Cal's Busy Day

THE eventful days of President Coolidge are of fascinating interest to us and we hate to miss news of one precious minute of them. Listen to all he did just in one day recently:

First, he gave out the Thanksgiving Day proclamation, announcing to a breathless world that this year Thanksgiving would come on Thursday, the 26th of November, and that we should all be thankful on that day for something, never mind what. Then he helped unveil a statue of Jose de San Martin, the liberator of Argentina, amid the cheers of countless thousands who had just got the news that Argentina had been liberated. At 10 o'clock he dictated a letter declining with thanks the offer of an apple pie for Thanksgiving from the Girls Club of Vermont University. At a quarter of one he wrote out a check for \$25 for the Red Cross. At a quarter of two he received a delegation of seventy-five attending the convention of the Young Men's Christian Association. Half an hour later he received Senator Cummins of Iowa, who brought the startling information that the farmers of Iowa need money badly to move their corn crop. This so affected the President that he went and took a nap until four o'clock, when he hastened to assure reporters that there was no significance in the sudden departure of Attorney General Sargeant for Vermont. It seems that the Attorney General had again become a grandfather.

There is no record in the public prints of what the President did from four until supper, but right after the dishes had been washed his old pal, Andrew Mellon, dropped in to tell Mr. Coolidge that everything was all right with the world, as an agreement had been reached between this country and Mr. Antonious Piip. In case any of my readers are so ignorant as not to know who Mr. Antonious Piip is, I will inform them that he is Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the Republic of Estonia and that he and Andy have come to terms and that Estonia has agreed to pay her debt to us over a period of sixty-two years. Greatly relieved over this, Mr. Coolidge went upstairs to tell the Missus the good news and then he and she went to a show and both tottered home exhausted with the arduous toil of the day.

So you see there is no time left to worry about the miners' woes. He just can't be bothered about the union contracts that Andy breaks, about the conscienceless profiteering of the anthracite trust; nor about freight rate decisions that discriminate against the union mines and certainly not about the fact that miners are in need of work and people beginning to need coal. Such trifling matters are not for the consideration of our great president!

I wish somebody would pass a law against this war debt negotiation hokum. Now it's the Italians. They say if nothing happens between times they'll settle up in full in 62 years provided we loan 'em the money to pay us the first installment.

Borrowing money to pay debts is an old scheme. I've done it myself, but it never got me anywhere.

The best way to handle those European war debts is to forget them. What's the use hurting a fellow's feelings by dunning him for money he hasn't got?

Why not be magnanimous in such a case? Why can't this great democracy say to the European brethren:

"You have fought a noble war for democracy, for freedom of the sea, and self determination of all nations—and the other beautiful things so touchingly lied about. You have spilled your blood and spilled our beans and brains without stint and stinginess. It was a glorious jag—but everybody feels blue now. You, our associates, are all in, flat busted and dead broke. If we sat on your doorsteps a thousand years dunning you—all we could get would be a bad cold. So keep the filthy lucre! We've got more of the durned stuff than is good for us anyhow. Keep the gold which you haven't got. Keep the goods which we don't want. Let us live happily ever after in the childlike faith that while our heads were off their bases for several years—our hearts still beat for the dead beasts who swindled us into the gruesome mess and the war for the abolition of war."

The glorious little band of American aviators who went overseas to help the French bomb the open village of the Rifian tribesmen is now being disbanded. These heroes have had a perfectly splendid time during their trip abroad and have set up several new records for our hardy militarists to shoot at. They spent several months bombing the pretty little town of Sheshuan, an Arab village of about 12,000 inhabitants and all told they managed to kill 200 persons and destroy fifteen houses. These raids were made at times when there were no Rifian troops in town. The dead were exclusively non-combatants, women and children. "A perfectly natural result," says a correspondent who was in the town, "since the Arab women lose their minds completely under air raids and run about wildly like frightened animals."

This achievement should certainly go down as a high spot in the annals of American history. When one of the children of these aviators climbs up on his father's knee and says, "Daddy, what did you do in the Rifian War?" Daddy can stick his medal-hung chest out and answer proudly, "Oh, I killed 200 women and children at Sheshuan. Sit quietly and I will tell you a nice bedtime story of how funny they looked running about wildly when they saw us coming."

Adam Coldigger.

## While God Wasn't Looking

### LAY NOT UP TREASURES ON EARTH



## Organize the Premiers; Fun for Winter Evenings

WE HAVEN'T read the papers for the last ten minutes, so we don't know just who is in charge of the French financial office right now, but whoever he is, he has our sympathy.

We used to think that the labor turnover in the New York Telephone Company held the world's record, but now we realize that the brown derby goes to the French Cabinet. We understand that they are going right through the Paris city directory for the selection of a cabinet officer. It is our advice to these Premiers and Ministers of Finance to get organized. Once they had a good union they could picket the Hall of Deputies with signs reading, "Unfair labor conditions. We want double pay for overtime." There must be enough ex-Premiers hanging around the boulevards to make a good-sized union. Of course, the trouble with a politicians' strike in France or any other country is that it would be suicidal. The public would be so tickled that they would undoubtedly subscribe heavily to the strike funds, but only on the condition that no one went back to work.

Speaking of strikes, we received a communication the other day from Mr. Frank L. Burns, the head of the coal company that bears his name. Frank wrote us that the coal strike was still going on. In the meantime he suggested that we keep warm playing a little game that he had doped out and which he enclosed for our edification. This game consists of moving blocks back and forth across a ruled board until you get each block in its right place. It's more fun, girls. Come around some cold night and play it with us. It keeps your mind off such disagreeable matters as strikes and naughty coal-miners who don't love their kind bosses and all that sort of thing, and if you can beat us at it we will give you one piece of Frank's best buckwheat coal as a prize.

At that, Frank's plan for ending the coal-strike is about as sensible as Cal Coolidge's. Besides, it's more amusing. Almost anything is more amusing than Cal Coolidge, for that matter. When that puckered-mouth little New Englander first began twanging his political lyre, we instantly acquired a mild dislike for him and his ways. As time went on that dislike deepened into a hearty abhorrence. But now even that has worn off and we are just plain bored by him.

But the Christmas season is almost here and we mustn't harbor any wicked thoughts about anybody. Let us rather put on our rose-colored glasses and look out on the world with a happy smile. Let us look at West Virginia, for example, where twenty thousand men, women and children, evicted coal miners and their families, living in wind-swept huts and leaky tents are waiting with glad hearts the approach of the joyous Yuletide. Let us rejoice with them that on clear days from the doors of their shacks in the Kanawha Valley they can see the spires of the churches in Charleston and realize that the good Christians of the town are worshipping the Prince of Peace beneath those spires. And at nights they can see the gay lights in the windows of the homes of the operators along the river front and know that in those homes candles are being lighted in honor of the birth of the babe in the manger. Surely these men who have so far strayed from the path as to organize into a union will repent of their ways when they behold these touching sights and go back into the mines and work for the great-hearted operators at a thirty-five per cent. wage cut.

Of course, at this time of year all merry gentlemen get together in a spirit of true brotherhood and partake of the cup that cheers. That, for example, is what the Investment Bankers were doing the other day at their convention in the Sereno Hotel at St. Petersburg, Florida, when an unsentimental Sheriff broke in and pinched the bunch. Of course, the Sheriff didn't know the sort of crowd he was up against. He thought they were plain drunks, but when matters were explained the following item appeared in the papers:

St. Petersburg, Fla. (A. P.).—Sheriff Roy Booth of Pinellas County said today that the raid made by his officers on a room in the Sereno Hotel, where whiskey was seized, Wednesday night, will go no further. The Sereno Hotel is convention headquarters for the Investment Bankers' Association of America. The meetings, which 850 bankers attended, were adjourned today after a five-day session. The Sheriff said no arrests would be made.

One of the most thrilling things that has happened to us in a long time came the other night when we attended an organization meeting of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The hall was crowded with the most intelligent looking men and women that we have seen under one roof in a month of Sundays. Every speaker put fire and color and go into his remarks. Organizer Des Verney, a veteran Pullman porter, who was forced to resign from the service because of his activities in forming the union, made a speech shot through with genuine humor and real eloquence. Our own Frank Crosswaith was his fascinating self. Roy Lancaster ran the meeting off in magnificent fashion.

The Brotherhood is coming along in magnificent shape. In every railroad center the porters are marching into headquarters and signing up. The company is plainly nervous about the progress that is being made. Already they have imported Negroes from the South and are holding them in readiness to break the ranks of the Brotherhood, but from what we saw at that meeting this will be no easy job. These porters have the fighting spirit of pioneers. They are bringing a much needed enthusiasm and idealism into the labor movement. We wish them and their organizers all the luck in the world.

McAlister Coleman.

## The Interpretation of History

### THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

By Harry W. Laidler

**THE Meaning of the Term.** The three cornerstones of Marxian theory are the materialist or economic interpretation of history, the class struggle and surplus value. The materialist or economic interpretation of history to which we have referred elsewhere means that in any given epoch the economic relations of society, the means whereby men and women provide for their sustenance, produce, exchange and distribute the things they regard as necessary for the satisfaction of their needs, exert a preponderant influence in any given epoch in shaping the progress of society and in molding political, social, intellectual and ethical relations.

Edward Aveling in his "Charles Darwin and Karl Marx," thus defines this theory:

"The materialist conception of history is that the chief, the fundamental factor in the development of any nation, of any society, is the economic factor—that is, the way in which the nation, or the society, produces and exchanges its commodities. . . .

"Now, whilst it [the economic factor] appears to be the fundamental, there are others developed from it and reflexes of it, that also play their parts, acting and reacting upon their parent, the economic factor, and one another. The art, the science, the literature, the religion, the legal and juridical formulas of a country, have to be reckoned with."

Marx nowhere formulated that theory in a comprehensive manner, although he referred to it in many portions of his writings, particularly in the Communist Manifesto and the

Preface to the Poverty of Philosophy. His book on Logic in which he planned to examine the theory in detail was never written. His aim had been not to discover origins of things, but the causes of social change and development. He searched for the "dynamic law of history."

**Predecessors of Marx.** Predecessors of Marx had found the explanation of the great changes in history in "great men," in the development of ideas, in religious beliefs, or in the physical environment in climate, food and soil. Suggestions of the theory were found in the works of a number of the utopian writers, "but if originally can properly be claimed only for those thinkers who not alone formulate a doctrine but first recognize its importance and implications, so that it thereby becomes a constituent element in their whole scientific system, there is no question that Marx must be recognized in the truest sense the originator of the economic interpretation of history."

From Hegel, the young social scientist had become a firm believer in the idea of process, the belief that all that exists is destined some day to pass out of existence, and that growth and change occur as a result of the conflict of opposites. He was also strongly influenced by the naturalistic interpretation of Feuerbach, and "the naturalism of Feuerbach, combined with the conception of process in the dialectic of Hegel, led him finally to the theory that all social institutions are the result of a growth, and that the causes of this growth are to be sought not in any idea, but in the conditions of material existence. In other words it led him to the economic interpretation of history."

**Marx's Explanation of Theory** In his preface to the critique of Political Economy Marx explains how,

in revising Hegel's Philosophy of Law, published in 1844, he was led to the conclusion that "legal relations as well as forms of state could neither be understood by themselves, nor explained by the so-called general progress of the human mind, but that they are rooted in the material conditions of life."

"The general conclusion at which I arrived and which, once reached, continued to serve as the leading thread in my studies," he added, "may be briefly summed up as follows: In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life."

"In changing the modes of production," Marx maintains in his *Misery of Philosophy* (1847), "mankind changes all its social relations. The hand mill creates a society with the feudal lord; the steam mill a society with the industrial capitalist. The same men who establish social relations in conformity with their material production also create principles, ideas and categories in conformity with their social relations. . . . All such ideas and categories are therefore historical and transitory products."

As we recall, Marx and Engels in 1848 pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto* how the bourgeoisie, in revolutionizing the means of production, change in so doing the entire character of society. Following the Manifesto, he made several attempts to apply his theory to the existing political situation.

In his work on *Capital*, published in 1867, Marx nowhere formulates his theory, but continually takes it for granted. Continental writers in general failed to grasp the real significance of the theory until the publication of the third volume of *Capital*, with its great amount of historical interpretations, in 1894.

**The Economic Not the Only Factor** Much of the criticism aimed at the economic interpretation of history is based on the assumption that Marx and Engels utterly denied the influence of any except the economic factor. This they did not do, although at times, in the rough and tumble of debate, they failed sufficiently to safeguard themselves against that charge.

"Marx and I," wrote Engels to a student in 1890, "are partly responsible for the fact that the younger men have sometimes laid more stress on the economic side than it deserves. In

(Continued on page 11)

## 20TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER

### LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

(formerly Interscholastic Socialist Society)

Wednesday, December 30, at 6:30 P. M.,  
AT FIFTH AVENUE RESTAURANT

200 Fifth Avenue (near 23rd St.) New York City

Subject: "Twenty Years of Social Pioneering"

TEN-MINUTE ADDRESSES BY

MORRIS HILLQUIT

"Socialism, 1905-1925"

JAMES H. MAURER

"Labor, 1905-1925"

FLORENCE KELLEY

"Social Reform, 1905-1925"

PAUL DOUGLAS

"Social Science, 1905-1925"

One-minute greetings from members, past and present students.

AGNES LAIDLER will sing, with CARROLL HOLLISTER at the piano.

Tickets at \$2.50 should be purchased AT ONCE from

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

STUART CHASE

"The Technician, 1905-1925"

PAUL BLANCHARD

"The Collegian, 1905-1925"

NORMAN THOMAS

"The Future"

HARRY W. LAIDLER,

Chairman



# THE ITALIAN SOCIALISTS' APPEAL

**A** CLEAR idea of the desperate situation in which our Italian comrades find themselves is given in the following letter from the Unitarian Socialist Party, forwarded by the Secretariat of the Socialist and Labor International:

"Rome, Nov. 10, 1925.

"Dear Comrades:  
"The persecutions to which we have recently been exposed have reached their climax in the dissolution of our Party, which was ordered and carried out by the Fascist government on Nov. 4.

"Our offices were occupied by armed men and the police seized all the material found there. Our daily paper, *Giustizia*, was suspended, and all books connected with its management seized. Numbers of our comrades are harassed by the police and are subject to arrest, house searches, victimization, etc. The government justifies this new wave of reaction, which is breaking over us, by the attempted plot on Mussolini's life. That this is merely a pretext is seen by the fact that the former deputy, Zaniboni, who is accused of having prepared the attempt, left our Party a long time ago, and above all by our previous policy, the means traditionally employed in all our propaganda and in all our activities, in

## A Message From the Italian Socialist Party

which incitement to assassination has never had the least part.

"The real causes of the dissolution of our Party are to be found elsewhere. They are to be sought in our persistent and unrelenting opposition to Fascism, not only from the point of view of principles, but in the matter of daily action, which exposed its designs of plutocratic reaction, collected and published all its deeds of violence against the liberties of the citizens. This work attracted to us the sympathy of the workers and of a great number of the intelligentsia, but, at the same time, the hatred of the Fascists and of their chief. This hatred had been demonstrated already on other occasions. At the elections of April 6, 1924, by the election manifesto, in which Fascism indicated the Unitarian Socialist Party as the one to be the most ruthlessly fought, and later by the assassination of our Secretary, Giacomo Matteotti. There are the true motives for what has just happened. Moreover, the epilogue to the Matteotti case is approaching in a trial in which most of the documents collected will not even

be read, as a result of the last amnesty and the reduction in the charges.

"The reaction tends to create an atmosphere in which we cannot breathe, and to tear from us all the means of propaganda, isolating us from the masses.

"Under such conditions our work will certainly become more difficult, but, as we have in the past sought to fulfill our duty as Socialists, so we will try to fulfill it in the future. We cannot at this moment tell exactly under what forms our party will survive and develop its activities, but we can assure you that the International will not lose its Italian section.

"We ask you to convey our greetings and thanks for their moral support to the affiliated parties. We ask that all communications intended for us should not be sent to the former address, but exclusively to the following address: A. Gasparini, Casa postale 2840, Lugano, Switzerland."

Since the above letter was written the Mussolini Government has permitted *La Giustizia* to resume publication, but under a closer censorship than

ever. In connection with the letter, the Unitarian Socialist Party sent a statement to Italians living abroad, reading, in part, as follows:

"It was the intimates of the Mussolini government who prepared and carried out the murder of Matteotti. It was Mussolini himself who on Nov. 6 from the balcony of the Chigi Palace, in addressing the crowd, designated the headquarters of our party as a 'plague spot.'

"'Plague spot,' because from this headquarters and in our paper, we have carried the message of Socialism and freedom to the workers and people of Italy. 'Plague spot,' because we have never ceased and will never cease, as justice will not reach the guilty, to indicate the moral and actual responsibilities for the murder of Matteotti, whose remembrance today is derided and scoffed at.

"The government will now make us pay for our opposition to Fascism. It considers the moment has come to destroy an opponent which it hates and fears. In order to strike at all its opponents it makes new laws which it calls 'super-Fascist' and which exalt as a principle the subjection of the individual and his conviction under the executive authority of the state, which already practically exists in our country.

"It will not succeed completely. Among us there will always be hearts beating which will not shrink the dangers of the situation created by Fascism. There will always be arms to carry the flag aloft, which may not fall. Even with thinned ranks and with diminished strength, the Unitarian Socialists are continuing their work in arousing the Italian workers to defend their livelihood and at the same time the freedom of opinion and the freedom of organization.

"Our efforts will be all the more effective if they are supported by all the comrades and friends who live outside Italy in the free countries of Europe and America. Without infringing the obligations in the countries of asylum, the Socialist emigrants and those in sympathy with us should found sections and local groups of our party, and collect the financial means which are necessary for the rebirth of our press and for the continuation of our work. Means for the crusade in the name of Socialism and the liberty of the Italian peoples.

"In our hearts the hope lives, the certainty, that in this fight you will be on our side. Join in our cry: 'Long Live Socialism! Long Live the International!'

## Sparks and Flashes

"SOCIALISTS preach class hatred. They incite the rabble against the successful." Old stuff, eh? Yes, but you hear it again, often and yet. The only thing wrong with this line of argument is that it isn't true. "Well, then, if you don't hate the capitalist, do you love him?" No, dear. "But, you must either love or hate." Wrong again, dear. There is still another attitude. You need neither love nor hate the capitalist. You can understand him and cease to tolerate the environment that produces him as a menace to social welfare.

### AN ASS-SOP FABLE

He was a young college student, poor, studious and sympathetic. He was passionately fond of the study of biology and particularly in love with the science of Entomology—bugs! And he lived in a hall room high up on the top floor of a New York tenement. Now, these rooms are hot ones on breeze-stilled summer nights and oftentimes it is difficult to sleep in them—because of the heat, the humidity and the stuffiness—and because of the entomology. One night our friend tossed and rolled about for hours in sleeplessness. Finally in desperation, he rose, lit the gas and began an inspection of the bed. Sure enough, across the pillow case hurried a large, well-fed and self-satisfied bed bug. Our student, contrary to what most of us would do, did not immediately squeeze the living juice out of the parasite. No, dear. He caught the bug and grabbed his magnifying glass and studied it. And eying it carefully for awhile, our friend addressed the insect as follows: "Bug, I have nothing against you personally. Nor against your whole species. As a believer in evolution I know that Nature produced both of us, for what reason, I am hanged if I know. Moreover, we have very much in common. Both of us must eat, rest, reproduce our kind and die. Both of us are eager to exist. And understand me rightly, I don't object to your existing. No, you poor bug. I do, however, seriously object to the way you get your existence," and for emphasis, he slapped the bug on its back in a manner that ended its existence.

No, we don't hate the capitalist. Nor can we love him. But we do hate the capitalist system by and under which our leisure class gets its existence. We don't want to harm the beneficiaries, but, by thunder, we do aim to destroy the conditions that produce them. We are striving to bring into existence a new order of civilization wherein no man or set of men shall be permitted to live at the expense of their less fortunate brothers and sisters.

### TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

were in the middle ages, or better off than European workers are now. We Socialists may have to check up some of the capitalist exaggerations on that subject. But our main job is to shift the comparison to what might be.

Power, the experts tell us, gives every person in America the equivalent of 30 slaves. Do we live as if we had them? It is scientifically possible to feed and clothe and house our entire population with a high level of comfort. The profit system by its anarchic waste defeats that possibility. Even if our national income were evenly divided it would scarcely provide the Labor Bureau's minimum budget of health and decency for each family. Our ancestors had to suffer from bitter poverty because of their insufficient command over nature. We do not. The fault is in our social system. Every Socialist worker should be aware of these facts. A book like Stuart Chase's "Tragedy of Waste" should be his bible. Events such as the present coal strike point a moral which Socialists ought to be quick to explain. I have listened to endless discussion of methods of ending the chaos in coal. Every one of them breaks obviously on the rock of private ownership and management for profit. I have listened to endless discussion on housing and the miseries of New York tenements. It is perfectly plain that the profit system has hopelessly broken down in this matter. The Education the Socialist stands for will begin with these practical and pressing problems. It will propose concrete remedies and then it will point out how these remedies, if truly successful, must logically lead step by step to a new social order based on production for use and not profit. The demand of workers, even in the most orthodox circles of the A. F. of L., for a larger measure of industrial democracy or self-government in industry is to the point. The Socialists

"People Are Like That!" And it is well that they are. Even Jimmy Higgins wants a feather—not a glaring one, but a feather nevertheless—in his cap. What else has life to offer?"

"A feather in our cap (or hat) is one of the varicolored bubbles we love to look at, although they last but a second."

"The castles we build in the air are of the same duration as the bubbles we throw, yet life without them has no meaning."

"When 'Flashlights' were in vogue (in the Call) I said that to pursue happiness is like trying to catch a sunbeam; when you think you got it it suddenly disappears. I would like to say it here again, and let it pass as a 'spark' this time."

"A rainbow existence with a shower of gold Keeps men and women from growing old. A life that is drab and is sprinkled with gloom Does not keep men and women in bloom."

—Anna Rapport.

If there is any good reason for the existence and continuance of this column of ours it is that we have succeeded in coaxing ink onto the pen of our beloved comrade, Anna Rapport, and that sacred instrument is once more conveying her beautiful thoughts to the printed page. We need lots of jewels—not baubles of stone or glass—but the imperishable gems of human wisdom, feeling and devotion. Life's damn dull, damp and dumb without them.

"I read recently in an article by G. K. Chesterton that sex without gestation and parturition is like blowing the trumpets and waving the flags without doing any of the fighting.

From a woman such words, though displaying inexperience, might come with dignity; from a man they are an unforgivable, intolerable insult. What is man's part in sex but a perpetual waving of flags and blowing of trumpets and avoidance of the fighting. The vast majority of men are not even tender or kindly to their pregnant or nursing wives, nor will they give help or consideration to the care of their young children."

—Mrs. Bertrand Russell.

What Price Arms, Legs and Eyes? Harrisburg, Pa., (PP)—What is the price of arms, legs and eyes in the industrial accident market? How much will the boss have to pay you if you lose your sight or limbs in his service? The workmen's compensation bureau figures for Pennsylvania give the prices that ruled in the October awards. We find that:

448 eyes brought \$678,247.  
55 legs brought \$200,699.  
58 arms brought \$141,788.  
153 hands brought \$307,434.  
136 feet brought \$248,839.  
1,207 fingers brought \$401,923.  
Striking the averages we find that eyes sold on the average for \$1,502; legs for \$2,361; arms for \$2,444; hands for \$2,009; feet for \$1,793, and fingers for \$333.

For Christmas sales, dear readers, if you love us or our column, send the help we S. O. S. ed for when we first took this plunge into the sea of journalism. Send questions, arguments, clippings, quotations—anything pro or con on capitalism, socialism or rheumatism. Send it along soon. It is our duty to masticate and digest all such material and convert it into energy and fighting stuff. That's what we are here for.

August Claessens.

### United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board, Every Saturday, 12 Noon.  
M. ABRAMSON, Chairman  
M. GOLDOWSKI, Vice-Chairman  
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

### HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 324, A. M. C. & S. W. of N. A.  
175 E. Broadway, Orchard 5280  
Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday  
AL. GRABAL, Pres.  
J. KORN, Manager. S. JACOB, Secy.

### Patronize Union Laundries!

Laundry Drivers' Union Local 810  
Headquarters, 219 Backman St., Brooklyn  
Phone Dickens 1144  
M. Brodie, Pres.  
I. Burstein, Treas.  
Philip Ritz, Secy.  
S. Rosenzweig, Bus. Rep.

### PAINTERS' UNION

LOCAL 909  
Office and Headquarters: 519 E. 59th St.  
Tel. Regent 5215  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening  
David Callanan, Pres.  
Ester Goldie, Vice-President  
J. J. Connell, Fin. Secretary

### Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
Organized 1884

Main Office: 9 SEVENTH STREET, New York City

NUMBER OF MEMBERS—December 31, 1924: 55,930

349 BRANCHES—98 in the State of New York.

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

Benefits paid for Sick and Accident and Death Claims: \$12,285,261.49

### WORKINGMEN, PROTECT YOUR FAMILIES!

IN CASE OF SICKNESS, ACCIDENT OR DEATH!

Death Benefit, \$250. Sick Benefit, \$360 to \$900 for 80 Weeks

For further information write to the Main Office or to the Branch Financial Secretary of your district.

### N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.  
OFFICE: 210 EAST 8TH STREET  
Phone Orchard 9900-1-3  
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.  
JACOB ROBERTS, Secy.-Organizer.  
S. HENSHKOWITZ, M. GELLES, Organizers.

### OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday.  
Executive Board meets every Monday.

### CUTTERS, LOCAL 2

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday.  
Executive Board meets every Monday.

All Meetings are held in the Headgear Workers' Lyceum (Beethoven Hall) 210 East 8th Street.

### See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of

### The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. M. of T.

Office: 555 Hudson St., City  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ANTONIA HALL, 62 East 44th St.  
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East Broadway, Room 3.  
F. J. STEINBERG, Pres. & Bus. Agent.  
NATHAN LAIT, Secy-Treas.

### Structural Iron Workers

UNION, Local 381, Brooklyn  
Office: 671 Pacific Street, Cumberland 5189  
Open Daily from 7:30 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.  
Meetings Every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at Columbus Hall, State and Court Sts.  
Charles McDermott, E. A. Calvert, Secy-Treas.

### N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday.  
Board of Officers Meet 2nd & 4th Friday  
245 East 44th Street, New York City  
Frank Walter, H. Kramer, President, Sec. Secretary  
A. Pagnietto, Wm. Detelbach, Vice-President, Bus. Secretary  
M. Vols, August Schramm, Treasurer, Business Agent

### PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 300 EIGHTH AVENUE  
Telephone Longacre 5495  
Day Room Open Daily, 9 A. M. to 9 P. M.  
JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GAG, President, Fin. Secretary  
M. McDONALD, G. F. BRENN, Vice-President, Bus. Secretary  
Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.  
MEETING HALL TO RENT FOR LABOR UNIONS AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES. Seating Capacity 350.

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11-27 ARION PLACE  
Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Meeting Rooms and Mass Meetings for Organizations at Moderate Rates

### LABOR LYCEUM

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Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals. Stairs 3314.

### Labor Temple 949-947 EAST 84TH ST.

WORKMEN'S EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.  
Free Library open from 1 to 10 P. M.  
(Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Socials. Telephone Long 1164.)

## UNION DIRECTORY

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

### BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office: 30 EAST 34TH STREET LOCAL 54 Telephone Lanex 4389  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple  
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary THOMAS CASHILL, President EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

### BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stage  
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.  
Regular meetings every Tuesday evening  
WILLIAM WENGBERT, President CHARLES PELEAUM, Fin. Secy.  
VALENTINE BUMB, Vice-President JOHN TIMMINI, Treasurer  
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Secy ANDREW STRITT, Bus. Agent

### United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 498  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 100th Street  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST STREET. Telephone Melrose 3474  
THOMAS DALTON, President HARRY F. EILENT, Fin. Secy  
CHAS. H. BAUSKIE, Bus. Agent JOHN CLARK, Rec. Secy

### UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS of America

Local Union 396 Regular meetings every Monday evening  
4515 Third Avenue, corner Tremont Avenue  
Walter Anderson, President Bert Post, Rec. Secretary James Duigan, Fin. Secy  
Victor Sauli, Vice-President Joseph Vanderpool, Treas. Chas. Nobis, Business Agent  
Board of Trustees—Jos. Hess, Louis Schmidt, E. Glew

### UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS of America

LOCAL UNION No. 308  
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue  
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Telephone Stage 5414. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening  
JOHN HALKEIT, President SYDNEY PEARCE, Rec. Secretary HENRY COOK, Treasurer  
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary CHARLES FRIEDL, Business Agent

### DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1455, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA Madison Square 4993  
Regular meetings every second and fourth Monday  
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President  
Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olson, Fin. Secy Ludwig Benson  
Christopher Gulbrandsen, Charles Johnson, Jr., Ray Clark, Business Agents  
Recording Secretary Treasurer

### UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163

Day room and office, 190 East 65th Street, New York. Phone: RHINECLANDER 8939  
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.  
WM. FIFE, President J. J. DALTON, Vice-President W. J. CORDNER, Rec. Secy.  
THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Secy. CHAS. BARR, Treasurer. GEO. McMILLAN, Bus. Agent

### COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 63, I. H. 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 9962  
Meetings every First and Third Wednesday  
DANIEL HUNT, JAMES MORAN, President  
Vice-Pres. PETER FINNERNJOHN MCPARTLAND JOSEPH MORAN  
Rec. Secretary Fin. Secretary Bus. Agent

### PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 4432.  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at the LABOR TEMPLE, 245 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.  
MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, President and Business Agent.  
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. JOHN LEAVY, Business Agent.  
THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Secy. JOSEPH LAMONTE, Recording Treasurer  
MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Secy.

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

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 166 East 56th Street.  
Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

### PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 65 East 106th Street Telephone: Litch 3141  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.  
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 164th Street.  
ISAIDORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNENFIELD, 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, 51 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.  
Phone Watkins 9188  
LEON H. ROUSE, President  
John Sullivan, Vice-President  
John S. O'Connell, Secretary-Treas.  
Theodore F. Dunne, Organizer

### JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Stillwell 6394.  
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.  
Regular meetings every Wednesday at 8 P. M.  
BENJAMIN A. DAVIS, President.  
WILLIAM PIOTTA, Financial Secretary.  
WILLIAM MEYERSON, Recording Secretary.  
CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents.

### U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL UNION No. 463, of NEW YORK CITY  
Office 3035 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4678.  
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 245 East 84th Street  
SATTINBY J. MORAN, President. JOHN WALSH, Vice-President.  
FRED DEIGAN, General Secretary. TIMOTHY HOPKINS, Secretary.  
GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN HASSETT, RAT DREW.

### U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL No. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK. Phone: Bklyn 9728.  
Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Regular meetings every Monday evening, at 182 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.

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Pat's Hanlon, A. J. Kennedy, Frank J. Flynn, Frank Sobel, Treas.  
Vice-Pres. Fin. Secy Rec. Secy

### German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS  
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Ev'g. at the Labor Temple, 245 East 84th St.  
BENNY WAGNER, President.  
GEORGE KERNIG, Rec. Secy.

### WAITERS' UNION

Local 319, N. A. R. E. L. A. & R. I. of A.  
Office and Headquarters 170 E. 80th St., N. Y.  
PHONE LEX 1874  
Regular meetings every Wednesday at 8 P. M.  
MAX GOLDENBERG, President  
ADOLPH SPERLING, Vice-President  
LESTER SCHACHTER, Sec. Agent



# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## NATIONAL

Mark Slonim, now a resident of Czechoslovakia, will soon be in the United States and will be available for lectures in January. Comrade Hillquit writes the National Office in hearty commendation of Comrade Slonim as a "Socialist speaker and writer of unusual talents and culture." That is strong and reliable praise. Vassily Soukhomlin, International Representative of the Russian Socialist Revolutionists, writes in highest praise of Comrade Slonim as a genuine scholar, a man of solid worth in character and culture, and a brilliant lecturer on political subjects.

Locals interested in making use of Comrade Slonim's services can address the National Office for further information. Address Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

**The American Appeal**  
Murray E. King, managing editor, is wading through mountains of manuscripts for the choicest, and will serve a real feast in the first issue. Don't fail to have it in your home New Year's Day.

## CALIFORNIA

Well, enough said: Two more locals organized by Organizer Emil Herman. Still going strong.

## NEW YORK STATE

The State Executive Committee will meet at People's House, Sunday morning, Dec. 20, beginning at 10 o'clock. This is the first meeting of the committee since Oct. 10.

The closing banquet of the December tour of Eugene V. Debs took place at Hotel Syracuse, Syracuse, last Monday evening, and surpassed the Schenectady banquet in attendance and enthusiasm. Professor Valdimir Karapetoff, electrical expert, and 1924 candidate of the Socialist Party for State Engineer and Surveyor, was an additional speaker and also entertained with his cello of which he is a great master. Debs received an immense birthday cake from the Cooperative Bakery and made his greatest speech of his trip.

The Utica banquet of Dec. 12 was not quite as well attended as those at Schenectady and Syracuse, but far surpassed the expectations of the State Office and the local comrades. Professor Karapetoff and others rendered splendidly executed musical numbers and the Workmen's Circle of Utica presented Debs with a fine table reading lamp. Sunday was spent at the Onondaga Community. Comrade Debs and Karapetoff speaking, and the latter rendering cello selections.

**Schenectady**  
The Albany dinner was held in the Hotel Mohawk with about 400 in attendance. Herman Kobbe was toastmaster. Among the speakers were Morris Rabin representing the young Jewish Socialists, John P. Burke, president of the Paper, Pulp and Sulphite Workers' Union, and S. R. Stille, State Organizer of the Socialist Party. The Workmen's Circle presented Comrade Debs with a large silver loving cup. Louis Golub making the speech of presentation. Professor Anton Honicky, accompanied by Mme. Neita Honicky, played several violin solos.

Organizer Stille succeeded in obtaining subscriptions for the Debs Liberty Bonds at the six banquets to the amount of \$2,300. All members and sympathizers are urged to subscribe to these bonds. Write the State Secretary, Herbert M. Merrill, 447 Broadway, Albany.

## BROOKLYN

### Special Notice

Hereafter the County office will be open from 7 p. m. to 9:30 daily, Saturday all day.

22nd, A. D., Br. 2 and 3  
A special meeting will be held Friday Dec. 18 at 8 p. m. in the People's Lyceum, 215 VanSicklen avenue. Election of officers and delegates to the Central Committee will be held. Presiding the meeting E. M. Cohen will

## Italian Chamber of Labor

Organized in 1919 for the purpose of spreading the principles and the ethics of labor unionism and helping all recognized labor unions in all their industrial and educational activities among the Italian-speaking workers of New York City and vicinity.

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ANTONIO GIOVANNETTI,  
General Secretary.

LEONARDO FRISINA,  
Organizer.

## 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.

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Always  
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deliver his first of a series of lectures on Socialism. All members should attend without fail and bring their friends.

## J. A. Weil for Senator

J. A. Weil has been nominated as candidate for State Senator for the 9th Senatorial District, which comprises the 20th and 22nd Assembly Districts. The special election will be held on Thursday, Jan. 7.

## BRONX

Ball Committee meets next Monday evening. No obstacle will be permitted to hinder Local Bronx from making the success of its history in the affair Jan. 31 at Hunts Point Palace. One thousand dollars in prizes will be offered to the lucky ticket holders. These prizes include a superb Hardman, Peck piano, an extra fine radio and a beautiful parlor lamp. Other choice prizes will be offered at the bazaar and an unusually fine concert will be given in the afternoon.

Following this affair, Local Bronx will begin an intensive organization campaign under the leadership of Comrade Stille, and both the new and old members will gather to celebrate at a dinner at which we will have our national chairman, Eugene V. Debs, as our honored guest.

## QUEENS

**Jamaica Meets Monday Night**  
Party members and sympathizers in all parts of Queens County are invited to attend a meeting of Branch Jamaica next Monday evening, Dec. 21, at 57 Beaufort Avenue, Jamaica (near 138th Street, south of the L. I. R. R.). American Appeal cards will be distributed and there will be a general discussion of the problems ahead of the party in Greater New York. At the last meeting, the Branch adopted the following resolution for the national convention agenda:

### Agenda Resolution

Branch Jamaica urges upon the National Convention the need of the National Executive Committee arranging for the preparation of pamphlets, especially text books or syllabi, for use in study classes by party members; these publications to explore the economic, political, social and institutional history of the United States; especially the history of the American working class, the evolution of American industry, the development of political parties, and related subjects that will give a rich cultural background to the Socialist movement and root the Socialist Party in the history of the United States.

Our reasons for placing this matter on the agenda are the following: The Socialist and Labor movement in England and on the Continent has rich memories of the struggles of the working class as well as historical tradi-

tions that root the movement in the soil of each nation. Neither the trade union nor the Socialist movement in this country has explored our history and given to the American workers a knowledge of the part which their class has played in the evolution of American social and economic life.

The result is a movement largely devoted to the propaganda of Socialist theory and divorced from our history. To be a vital and growing movement it must be rooted in the soil of this country and bring to the American working class a knowledge of its struggles in our history. Socialist theory is vital and cannot be abandoned but it must be supplemented by this knowledge and the working class historical traditions that go with it. When theory alone becomes the type of popular propaganda it becomes unrelated to American development, and the tendency is to develop scholasticism who split hairs over theory, develop into factions and begin wars of extermination.

Several times in the history of Labor and Socialist movement of the United States these factional wars have occurred and for six years we have been passing through the most prostrating quarrel the movement has ever faced. Naturally, it has raged around a theory of social revolution. Its logical result has been the creation of numerous Communist sects, whose weary discussions recall the medieval debates of the Middle Ages.

It is time that we took up the serious study of the evolution of every phase of American life and root our Socialist and Labor movement in American soil, giving the movement a rich historical background, fixing the attention of the workers of this country on the problems of modern capitalism as they have developed here, problems that can only be understood by investigating their American origins and development. If we can transform our branch meetings into educational centers for this purpose, the rich knowledge that we can place before them will provide an irresistible attraction for members, stabilize their thinking, strengthen our movement and make it less likely that scholastic wars over theory will play havoc with it again.

## YIPSILOM

### Harlem

The Young People's Socialist League, Circle 6, of Harlem, is running their annual Christmas Dance on Christmas Night, December 25, at Harlem Socialist Center, 62 East 168th Street. A splendid program has been arranged of violin, piano and vocal recitals, recitations and a 3-act sketch, coached by our talented and able Comrade Isidor Field.

## N. Y. SOCIALISTS TO FRAME UNION POLICY

One of the most attentive and encouraging meetings of Socialist Party members held in recent years gathered in the People's House Wednesday night. The meeting had been called by the City Committee and by 8:30 practically every seat in the auditorium was filled. One of the most important actions taken was upon the motion of Norman Thomas that the City Committee be instructed to call another membership meeting in a few weeks to consider the relation of the party to the trade unions and outline a policy that will be helpful to the unions in the complex problems which they face in New York City.

Abraham Shipplacoff, executive secretary, was introduced by Chairman Algernon Lee. Shipplacoff made an extensive report of the work of the committee and outlined the comprehensive work which it has planned for the coming year. In the matter of clothing for the evicted miners of West Virginia he reported that one case had been shipped, another was ready for shipment, and seven or eight cases of clothing were ready for crating.

The plans for systematic courses of lectures for the winter showed an executive body that is responding to party needs. To supplement these lectures two great debates are being arranged between Clarence Darrow and John Roach Straton on "Fundamentalism" in the latter part of January. It will require one of the largest auditoriums in the city to hold the large audience that will certainly attend these debates and details will be announced later. Then a symposium on the crime wave will be arranged that should prove a notable

venture in the party's educational work.

Canvassing enrolled Socialist voters will begin early in the year as soon as the enrollment lists are available. An important fact brought out in the report is that there are many instances of women in Socialist families failing to vote, and it is hoped to correct this through the work of the canvassers. The committee has carefully considered the finances for this work and the budget estimates the funds required for the office at \$8,700 and additional expenses for lectures, advertising, literature, etc., brings the total budget to \$14,700 for the coming year. Contributions and pledges at this meeting, which was the first drive for the budget, amounted to \$800.

In the discussion that followed, James Oneal offered two suggestions that were referred to the City Committee. The latter has decided to hold a big May Day demonstration next year and one suggestion was that we also hold a festival for the celebration of the Paris Commune. The other suggestion was that on every leaflet printed The New Leader shall be advertised.

William Morris Feigenbaum also urged that the annual party ball should again become a big feature of the party, and this will be taken in charge by the committee. Dr. Albert Halpern brought a roar of applause when he announced that he would pay for a typewriter for the office and later pledged \$300 for the year.

Norman Thomas and August Claessens delivered effective speeches in reviewing the party's problems and needs. By way of helping the new national party organ, The American Appeal, which will appear in Janu-

ary, the City Committee has ordered 5,000 copies.

Fred Paulitsch of the Bronx reported excellent activities in that sector. The Bronx is also making a drive to get every party member on the subscription list of The New Leader and enrolled Socialist voters will be introduced to sample copies.

The existence of the slum and the waste field side by side, of the unemployed bootmaker without a decent pair of shoes on his feet and yet unable to translate his natural need for shoes into an economic demand for his own labor as a shoemaker, of dilapidated rural houses and an intense depression in the building trade, prove as conclusively that our industrial mechanism is out of gear as a full clamor but a dry tap proves that there is an obstruction somewhere in the pipe.—J. Ramsey MacDonald.

Christ strove over and over again to emphasize the enormous spiritual danger involved in the accumulation of wealth. But did any of you ever hear any utterance of genuine sympathy and condolence as a tremendous misfortune, involving imminent spiritual danger and loss, when some acquaintance has acquired a fortune by inheritance or speculation?—R. H. Hobday.

Morality and political economy unite in repelling the individual who consumes without producing.—De Balzac.

Belgians Refuse Moscow Aid

During the recent metal workers' strike in Belgium, the All-Russian Metal Workers' Union, through the mediation of Jacquemotte, the Communist member of the Belgian parliament, offered the Metal Workers' Union 50,000 francs for the support of the strike. The union declined to accept the money, and has now explained its reasons for so doing in the press, saying: "They are perpetually calling us traitors to the working class and the tools of the capitalists, and yet they send us money. If they have no dignity or logic, at any rate we have enough to keep us from taking a cent from these people who are always calling themselves our bitter enemies."

Curst greed of gold, what crimes thy tyrant power has caused!—Virgil.

Joint Executive Committee  
OF THE  
**VEST MAKERS' UNION,**  
Amalgamated Clothing Workers  
of America.  
Office: 175 East Broadway,  
Phone: Orchard 6839  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd  
Wednesday evening.  
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.  
PETER MONAT, Manager.

## UNION DIRECTORY

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

### The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SHUMAN, 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 Ludlow 6189

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION

DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

### DISTRICT COUNCIL MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Office: 3 WEST 16TH STREET

The Council meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday.

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

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Office: 221 E. 14th Street

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

Section Meetings

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

Brooklyn—187th St. & 2nd Avenue 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.

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

Elmhurst—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—18 Montgomery St.

SALVATORE NINPO, Manager-Secretary

### EMBROIDERY WORKERS

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

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 401 E. 161st St.

Mailroom 1699

CARL GRABER, President

M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager

### Italian Dressmakers

Office: Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union

Meets every Tuesday at the Office, 8 West 31st Street. Telephone 7745—Walton

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary

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

120 East 95th St. Madison Square 1034

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.

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A. WEINGART, Sec'y-Treas.

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LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.

9 East 18th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7028

Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:30 o'clock, in the Club

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TELEPHONE ORCHARD 7100-7

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MOLLY LEVITSKY, Secretary

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Reg. Meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.

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PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF



## ❖ ❖ DRAMA ❖ ❖

### Talented Young Authors Active in Paris Theatres

THE theatrical season has opened in Paris with a wealth of comedies, due to the pen of talented young authors. Young authors are decidedly in fashion, writes S. H. in the Christian Science Monitor, and I foresee the day when the older dramatists will complain of the scanty portion left to them. Indeed, the young victors have shown tenacity and have forced many doors since their return from the war. But they have been generously helped in their struggle by their elders. Who, in the preceding generation, would have even dared to think of being welcomed at the Comedie-Francaise before he had reached mature age? Not so now, when Jean Sarment, Obeys, and Henry-Mar have entered at 25 or 30.

An illustration of this fact can be found in the creation of the "Theatre des Jeunes Auteurs," which groups no fewer than 66 of them; in the success of the Atelier (another theatre devoted to them); of the Comedie-des-Champs-Elysees; of the Studio, and a host of little "migrating" companies of "advanced" dramatic art; besides the more commercial enterprises of M. Quinson, who has erected his Theatre de la Michodiere for the cult of youth in drama.

At the Theatre des Jeunes Auteurs the works are selected by M. Henri Bidou, a well-known dramatic critic. Three plays have already been presented by this new company—"La Chapelle Ardente," "Simili," "Un Bout de Fil Coupe en Deux." The author of "La Chapelle Ardente," M. Gabriel Marcel, has already given three plays which have revealed some traits of his physiognomy. Marcel gives himself up to analysis. He moves in an

abstract world. The exterior aspect of things is for him negligible. His sensitiveness is concentrated within his reasoning faculties and his most vivid emotions are only intellectual. His "Chapelle Ardente," like his other dramas, is well written and full of thought, but lacks life. The author can with great skill assemble and adjust traits of character, determine states of thought, but he does not create a real personage. Life which he attempts to grip too closely escapes him.

"Simili" is a little piece by Claude Roger-Marx with timid Pirandellian tendencies. It is, in fact, no more than an ingenious fantasy which would have gained by being considerably shorter. The anecdote is far too unimportant to fill three acts. But the dialogue is alert and vivid and adroit—an altogether charming divertissement.

"Un Bout de Fil Coupe en Deux" of M. Steve Passeur, one of the youngest of the younger dramatists, is a bold and novel work. The play of M. Passeur is minutely composed, perfectly written with none of those incorrections of style which denote the lack of métier. The two acts are overflowing with talent; they glitter with the thousand facets of an implacable—perhaps even cynical—observation.

But is it with such pieces that the "young authors" hope to conquer the great public? Astonishingly lucid, more intelligent than their elders at their age, they only rely upon intelligence. Life in its larger aspects does not interest them. They have taken the habit of telling the public little stories—though they expend great talent in the telling. Are these little things what is wanted?



Plays an important role in "The Master of the Inn," a new romantic play, to open at the Little Theatre on Tuesday night.

#### "Open House"

Talented Helen MacKellar Miss-cast in Mediocre Play at Daly's 63rd St. Theatre

IN her selection of plays Helen MacKellar appears to go from bad to worse. The latest offering, under the sponsorship of Samuel R. Golding, in which the actress appears is a new comedy-drama by the producer.

"Open House" belongs among the most mediocre plays presented in New York this season. From beginning to end it is tedious and boring and at times verges on bathos. Even such an experienced and capable actress as Helen MacKellar could not hope to bring any measure of success to this "drama."

The play depicts a "big business man" who uses his wife to close business deals and to secure his official position on the board of a steel company. Of course, in the instance of a wealthy Russian who comes to this country to place a very large contract, the audience knows from the start that the part the wife will play in the transaction will go too far with the inevitable second act laid in the bachelor apartment of the Russian, with the usual Tosca complications, followed by a third act with the little dears at home calling for mama and papa after the big scene, which, of course, proves to be only a misunderstanding all around, and the curtain falls with the audience glad to get out in the cool night air to cure them of their yawning.

Besides Miss MacKellar as Eugenie Bellamy, the cast includes Ramsey Wallace as Lloyd Bellamy, her husband, and Bela Lugosi as the Russian, Sergius Chernoff.

Miss MacKellar probably does about everything possible with an improbable role in a hopeless play. Mr. Wallace is so given to indistinct articulation that his utterances went by the board. Mr. Lugosi, late of "Arabesques," provides the proper exotic note and natural accent, if only Hungarian, in depicting the Russian. The drama, moreover, offers some commonplace production and stage management of none of the best.

#### "The Dybbuk" Opens at Neighborhood Playhouse

THE Neighborhood Playhouse began its twelfth season Tuesday evening with one of the most acclaimed plays of the continental stage—"The Dybbuk," by Anski. The mystical legend which this Russian-Jewish writer has made to live again concerns the spirit (the dybbuk) of a young man, which, after his death, possesses the body of the girl he has loved and completely controls her. The love story of "The Dybbuk" is played against the picturesque background of a religious sect called Khasidim, whose beliefs are touched throughout by oriental mysticism.

"The Dybbuk" has had many productions in Europe, the most famous of them all, the one made in 1921 by Vakhtangov—a member of the Moscow Art Theatre Company—at the Habima, a theatre in Moscow where only classic Hebrew is spoken. The play was also presented here by the Yiddish Art Theatre Players some seasons back.

David Vardi, one of the chief actors of the Habima, directed "The Dybbuk," which he is producing in association with Alice Lewisohn. The English version is by Henry Alsberg, and it has been adapted from the Habima production. The music is from the score by Joel Engel, which was a part of the Moscow production and has been brought to this country for use at the Neighborhood Playhouse.

The cast in "The Dybbuk" includes Vera Allen, Sophie Bernohn, Ada Blackman, George Bratt, Albert Carroll, Mary Ellis, A. Keith Fowler, George Heller, George Hoag, Otto Huleus, Benson Inge, Edgar Kent, Bernard Kugel, Marc Loebell, Lily Lubell, Helen Mack, Ian MacLaren and Julius Matthews. The costumes and settings are by Aline Bernstein. The music is under the direction of Howard Barlow. A detailed review of the play will appear next week.

#### Schildkraut Theatre Presenting Plays by Peretz and Dymow

The Schildkraut Theatre in the Bronx, with a company headed by Rudolph Schildkraut, this week presented a new program in Yiddish, consisting of "What Lies Hidden in the Violin," a symphonic tragedy by I. L. Peretz, one of the foremost Jewish writers, and "God and His Judgment Is Just," a comedy by Ossip Dymow, author of "The Bronx Express," the attraction that has just closed at this playhouse.

## ❖ ❖ THEATRES ❖ ❖

### WINIER GARDEN

EVENINGS, 8:35  
8 POPULAR HOLIDAY MATINEES:  
Tues., Dec. 22; Thurs., Dec. 24; Fri.,  
Dec. 25; Sat., Dec. 26; Tues., Dec.  
29; Thurs., Dec. 31; Fri., Jan. 1;  
Sat., Jan. 2.  
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WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS REVUE  
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MODELS  
PARIS  
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The Continental Revue  
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GREATEST CAST EVER ASSEMBLED  
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America's Most Beautiful Girls  
Matinees New Year's Week:  
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COMEDY  
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LONGACRE THEATRE  
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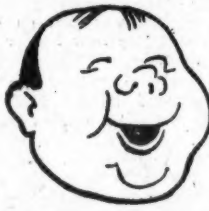
BEWARE OF WIDOWS  
OWEN DAVIS LATEST  
PARCE  
MAXINE ELIOTT THEATRE  
36th Street, E. 5th Ave.  
MATINEES WED & SAT

### AMWOODS PRESENTS The GREEN HAT

BY MICHAEL ARLEN  
STAGED BY  
GUTHRIE WELCH  
THE DRAMATIC  
SENSATION OF  
THE CENTURY  
Katharine Cornell  
Harold Gillmore  
Lillian Howard  
BROADHURST  
THEATRE 44th Street  
at 5th Ave. Thurs. & Sat.

### 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,  
at 6th Ave.  
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday

### "White Collars" Coming to Bronx Opera House Monday

Anne Nichols, author and producer of "Able's Irish Rose," will present at the Bronx Opera House next week "White Collars," the comedy by Edith Ellis, from a story by Edgar Franklin. The players include: Dorothy Hall, Marie Curtis, Kathryn Givney, James Bradbury, Jr.; Laura Carpenter, Frederick Burton, Leonard Meeker and John Alexander. The following Monday, December 28, "Stolen Fruit," the Dario Nicodemi drama, now at the Eltinge, will begin a week's engagement.

"The Sea-Woman's Cloak," the Irish folk play by Amelle Rivers, is being presented at the American Laboratory Theatre, 107 West 58th street, on Wednesday and Saturday nights, alternating with Shakespeare's "Twelfth Night" on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday nights and Saturday matinee.

WINNER OF  
MICHIGAN  
HEDYMA OFF  
TO YOU

### "THE PATSY"

CLAUDBORNE FOSTER  
The most lovable girl in the most lovable play  
STAGED BY ALLAN DINHAART

OPENING  
WED. DEC. 22  
BOOTH THEATRE  
200 WEST 42ND ST.  
SAT. DEC. 26

THE COMEDY  
KNOCKOUT

### IS ZAT? SO?

by JAMES GLEASON & RICHARD TABER  
MOVES  
MONDAY NIGHT  
TO THE CENTRAL 27th ST.  
& B'WAY.  
(11th NEW YORK THEATRE)  
EVS. 8:30-MATS. THIS WEEK WED. & SAT.  
3 MATS. NEW YEAR'S WEEK:  
WED. DEC. 30-FRI. JAN. 1-SAT. JAN. 2  
ANNIVERSARY PERFORMANCE JAN. 5

### 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

Matinees New Year's Week:  
NEW YEAR'S DAY (Fri., Jan. 1) & SAT.

THEA. 62nd ST. & CENT. PARK WEST  
EVS. 8:30-MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30

### PRINCESS FLAVIA

Musical Version of "THE PRISONER OF ZEND" (1830)  
Bal. Seats (Res.) 700 at \$1.00-500 at \$1.00-300 at \$1.20-500 Dress Circle at \$3.30

MATINEES NEW YEAR'S WEEK: NEW YEAR'S DAY (Friday) and SATURDAY

THEA. 49th St. & B'WAY. EVS. 8:30

### 2nd YEAR IN NEW YORK

The Most Glorious  
Musical Play of  
Our Time

### STUDENT PRINCE

IN HEIDELBERG  
with HOWARD MARSH  
Staged by  
J.C. HUFFMAN  
SYMPHONY  
ORCHESTRA  
SINGING CHORUS of 40  
Bal. Seats (Res.) \$1.10-\$1.65  
\$2.20-\$2.75-\$3.30

6 HOLIDAY MATINEES  
THURS. DEC. 24-FRI. DEC. 25-SAT. DEC. 26  
THURS. DEC. 31-FRI. JAN. 1-SAT. JAN. 2

Wherever intelligent  
people meet they discuss

FAT

### 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.

3 MATINEES NEW YEAR'S WEEK  
THURS. (POP. PRICES), FRI. & SAT.

MARY FLORENCE  
by Rachel Crothers  
with  
ROBERT WARWICK  
BIJOU THEATRE 45th ST.  
W. OF B'WAY. EVS. 8:30  
MATINEES THIS CHRISTMAS & SAT.

Matinees New Year's Week: NEW YEAR'S DAY and SATURDAY

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

### MERCHANTS OF GLORY

(Courtesy E. Ray Goetz)

"Unusual both as to the structure of the drama and the manner of its telling, and as to the acting and direction, surely one could not well ask for anything more perfect. . . . The Guild has won a complete artistic triumph."  
—Charles Belmont Davis, HERALD-TRIBUNE.

with  
JOSE RUBEN, AUGUSTIN DUNCAN, GEORGE NASH,  
HELEN WESTLEY, LEE BAKER and Others

### GUILD THEATRE

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

### ARMS AND THE MAN

ALFRED LUNT and  
LYNN FONTANNE  
Garrick 65 W. 35th St. Even. 8:30.  
Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30.

### ANDROGLES AND THE LION

BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY  
KLAW West 45th St. Even. 8:30.  
Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30.

### ROLLO PETERS



In "Stolen Fruit" at the Eltinge Theatre. The Nicodemi drama plays its final week on Broadway beginning Monday.

### "A Night in Paris"

Coming to Century Roof

The Messrs. Shubert's newest revue, "A Night in Paris," which is due at the reconstructed Century Roof the week of December 28, will include a group of Gertrude Hoffmann girls newly arrived from the Moulin Rouge. The cast will also include Kathryn Ray, Ches Fysher, Yvonne George, Maria Kieva, Loulou Hegoburu, Carlos Conte, Norma Terris, Jack Osterman, Jack Pearl, Vannessa, Barnett Parker, George Dobbs, Marion Fairbanks, Ralph Coram, Rhodes and Watson and Olive McClure.

Harold Atterbridge is responsible for the book; the music is by J. Fred Coots and Maurice Rubens, and the lyrics by McElbert Moore and Clifford Grey.

### A Whimsical O'Neill

"The Fountain," a Legend of Ponce de Leon, Well Done at the Greenwich Village

A NEW Eugene O'Neill, gentler and more whimsical than the author of "The Hairy Ape" and "S.S. Glencairn," is revealed in "The Fountain," the new play that has just opened at the Greenwich Village Theatre. O'Neill here has given us a lovely legend fashioned from the story of the ancient quest of the Spanish conquistadores for a fountain of youth, in the search for which Ponce de Leon gave up his life. But in no sense is it an historical play, the characters of De Leon and Christopher Columbus being the only ones drawn from history, and the scenes and incidents being entirely imaginary.

At the siege of Granada in 1492 the young blade Don Juan Ponce de Leon sighs for more adventures after the gallant Moors have been driven from that city and from Spain. He gently rebuffs the love of Maria de Cordova, a married woman, because for him there is adventure, fighting, the quest for gold. When he is old and tired he will think of love. Meanwhile, he will follow the mad Genoese Columbus on his voyages to Cathay. There is a striking scene on board Columbus' flagship just before land is sighted, and a remarkable dispute between the two men, Columbus claiming that the voyage is to bring souls to God and property to the Church, while Don Juan is fighting for the glory of Spain. To the very end he is at war with the Church and its cruelty and greed.

Twenty years later we find Don Juan Governor of Porto Rico, a tired old man, constantly at war with the cruel and rapacious clergy. He is constantly talking of setting out on his journey to Cathay; he is too weary to begin it. A ship comes with letters patent from the King authorizing him to sail, and bearing as a passenger the beautiful Beatriz, daughter of that Maria for whose love he had no time when he was young and gallant and gay and adventure called to him. Maria is dead and the daughter is sent to de Leon as his ward.

Juan dallies while the priests inflame the people against him. Juan loves the daughter of his former love, and she confesses that she loves the chivalrous gentleman her mother had told her about. Driven by the priests, who want

### CLAIBORNE FOSTER



Will be featured in "The Patsy," the Barry Connors' comedy coming to the Booth Theatre Wednesday night.

to get rid of him, de Leon at last sets sail for Cathay and for the mythical fountain of youth. He lands in Florida. The Seminole Indians there have heard about the greedy Spaniards, and scatter nuggets of gold before them, and pretend to worship the cross. The Spaniards see the cross and believe that it is sacrilege that it is placed upside down. They see the gold and they rush upon it, upsetting the cross in their eagerness to seize it.

In the end Juan is ambushed at a spring that he has been told is the Fountain. He is wounded and he sees a vision of Beatriz as the embodiment of youth. "There is no god but love," he says, "and there is no heaven but youth." Transported back to Cuba, Beatriz is brought to him betrothed to his own nephew, and, blessing them, he dies.

It is a play of rare poetic beauty and of daring concept. While in no sense an historical play, Mr. O'Neill hints at the cruel part the early Spanish clergy, armed with the comforting belief that they had found perfect truth and were in the confidence of God, and, backed by the Inquisition, played in butchering the Indians and depopulating the islands of the West Indies.

There is time here for mention of only two of the excellent cast of actors. Rosalind Fuller is a sweet and winning Beatriz, wearing her old-world costumes with lovely grace, and Walter Huston is splendid as old Juan, a fine, swashbuckling figure in his ancient habiliments, and superbly convincing as he grew visibly older, feebler and less ambitious with each scene.

W. M. F.

### THE NEW PLAYS

#### TUESDAY

"THE MASTER OF THE INN," a romantic play by Catherine Chisholm Cushing (author of "Pollyanna"), will open Tuesday night at the Little Theatre under the management of Druce and Street. The play is based on Robert Herrick's story of the same name. The featured players are Robert Lorraine, Ian Keith and Virginia Pemberton. Others include Walter Howe, Forrest Zimmer, George H. Wiseman, Edward Borrall, Ralph Wiedhaas, Edward Forbes and Verree Teasdale.

"ONE OF THE FAMILY," a comedy by Kenneth Webb with Grant Mitchell featured, will be presented at 49th Street Theatre, Tuesday night, by John Turk. The cast includes Louise Closser Hale, Kay Johnson, Edward Donnelly, Lella Frost, Fleming Ward, Beulah Bondi, Mary Phillips, Raymond Van Sickle and Georgia Backus.

#### WEDNESDAY

"THE PATSY," Barry Connors' latest comedy, with Claiborne Foster in the leading role, opens at the Booth Theatre Wednesday night, under the direction of Richard Herndon. "The Patsy" has been playing in Chicago since early in September. The cast includes Joseph Allen, Eleanor Gordon, Mary Stills, John Diggs and Herbert Clark. The play is staged under the direction of Allan Dinhaart.

"FOOL'S BELLS," a new play by A. E. Thomas, will reopen the Criterion Theatre as a legitimate playhouse on Wednesday night. The cast will include Donald Gallagher, the play's producer; Beryl Mercer, Sara Sothorn, A. G. Andrews and Donald Mack.

#### THURSDAY

"GREENWICH VILLAGE FOLLIES," seventh of the series, opens at Channing's 46th Street Theatre, Thursday night, presented by the Bohemians, Inc., A. L. Jones and Morris Green. The revue was staged by Hassard Short. Its music is by Harold Levey, and lyrics by Owen Murphy. The numerous company includes Florence Moore, Tom Howard, Frank McIntyre, Mile, Natcha Nattova, Jean Myrie, Renie Riano, Irene Delroy, Sam Hearn, Ida Sylvia, Helena Marsh, William Ladd, Kendall Capps, Genevieve McCormack, the Henstreet Singers, and Joe Lyons.



## THEATRES

**LITTLE THEATRE** 44th Street West of Broadway, Box at 8:30.  
 Matinee Christmas Day & Saturday at 2:30  
 Commencing Tuesday Evening at 8:30  
 Messrs. Druce and Street Announce  
**Robert Loraine**  
 in a Novel Romantic Comedy-Drama by Catherine Chisholm Cushing  
 Based on Robert Herrick's "The Master of the Inn"  
 with a Cast of Distinction Headed by  
**IAN KEITH & VIRGINIA PEMBERTON**

EVERY EVENING (Except Monday). MATINEES SATURDAY at 2:30  
 First Play of the New Season  
**ANSKY'S THE DYBBUK**  
 English Version by Henry G. Alsberg

**UNHAPPILY MARRIED**  
 Jane fell in love with the handsome Rum Runner who had saved her from a sea wolf—Do you blame her? You won't if you see  
**"12 MILES OUT"**  
 WM. ANTHONY MCGUIRE'S TITANIC ROMANCE  
 488 ST. EAST OF B'WAY  
**THE PLAYHOUSE** MATINEES WED. & SAT.

**B.S. MOSS' CAMEO** 42d St. and B'y  
**BEGINNING SUNDAY**  
**Richard Barthelmess**  
 IN  
**"THE BEAUTIFUL CITY"**  
 Famous Cameo Theatre Orchestra

**BRONX OPERA HOUSE**  
 149th St. E. of Third Ave.  
 POP. PRICES | MATS. WED. & SAT.  
**BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT**  
**ANNE NICHOLS**  
 Author and Producer of  
**ABIE'S IRISH ROSE**  
 Presents  
**"WHITE COLLARS"**  
 By EDITH ELLIS  
 From the story "Regular People"  
 By EDITH FRANKLIN  
 Original Broadway Cast Intact  
 Week of December 28th  
**"STOLEN FRUIT"**  
 Direct from the Eltinge Theatre

**Music and Concerts**  
**PHILHARMONIC**  
 WILHELM MENDELSSOHN, Conductor  
 METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE  
 This Sunday Afternoon at 3  
 BEETHOVEN Program  
 GABRIEL WITTSCH, Soloist  
 5th Symphony—"Emperor" Concerto  
 "Coriolanus" Overture  
 Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway)

## MUSIC

**"Tannhauser," with Jeritza at Metropolitan Opera House**

THE "Jewels of the Madonna" will open the eighth week of the Metropolitan season Monday evening with Jeritza, Telva, Martinelli and Danise. Other operas next week will be: "Tannhauser," Wednesday evening, with Jeritza, Peralta, Taucher and Whitehill. "Gloconda," Thursday evening, with Rosa Ponselle, Gigli and Ruffo. "Aida," Christmas matinee, with Rethberg, Carmela Ponselle, Martinelli and DeLuca. "Bohème," Christmas evening, with Alda, Hunter, Johnson and Scotti. "La Vestale," Saturday matinee, with Rosa Ponselle, Matzenauer, Tokatyan and DeLuca. "Lucia di Lammermoor," Saturday night, with Hidalgo, Anthony, Gigli and Danise. The hundredth anniversary of the birth of the famous Viennese waltz king Johann Strauss will be commemorated at Sunday night's concert at the Metropolitan, when Giuseppe Bambochek will conduct selections of his most popular light operas.

## With the Orchestras

**PHILHARMONIC**  
 This Friday afternoon, at Carnegie Hall, Wilhelm Mengelberg will conduct the Philharmonic orchestra in the following program:  
 Mendelssohn, Concerto for violin, Efram Zimbalist, soloist; the Bruckner Symphony No. 2 and Beethoven's Overture to "Leonore" No. 3.  
 At the Metropolitan Opera House this Sunday afternoon, under the direction of Wilhelm Mengelberg, with Ossip Gabrilowitsch, pianist, as soloist, the All-Beethoven program will include: Overture to "Coriolanus," Con-

certo for Piano in E-flat major, Fifth Symphony.

## STATE SYMPHONY

Ernst Von Dohnanyi will close his season with the State Symphony Orchestra on Sunday afternoon and Tuesday evening. This Sunday afternoon Mr. Dohnanyi appears as conductor, pianist and composer. He will play Beethoven's Piano Concerto G Major No. 4 and conduct the orchestra at the same time. As composer and conductor he will present for the first time his own ballet, "Veil of Pierrette." The opening number on the program will be the overture by Dvorak, "Othello," to be followed by Volkmann's Serenade for Strings.

On Tuesday evening Mr. Dohnanyi will conduct three symphonies, Haydn B Major, Mozart D Major and Beethoven No. 5.

## NEW YORK SYMPHONY

With a chorus of three hundred men and women and four soloists, the New York Symphony Society will present a Wagner program this Sunday afternoon at Mecca Auditorium. "Rienzi" and "Parsifal" are the numbers selected. The solo parts will be sung by Della Baker, Kathryn Meisle, Ernest Davis and Frederic Baer.

Christmas week will be celebrated by the Symphony Society with a double performance of Pjerm's "Children at Bethlehem," with soloists, a large children's chorus, costumes and scenery. The performance will be held Saturday afternoon, December 26, in Carnegie Hall, and Sunday afternoon, December 27, in Mecca Auditorium.

## Music Notes

The Oratorio Society will give its annual performance of Handel's Christmas oratorio, "The Messiah," in Carnegie Hall next Saturday evening. This will be the Oratorio Society's one hundred and second performance. Al-

ROBERT ARMSTRONG



In the Gleason-Taber comedy, "Is Zat So?" which makes another move Monday—this time to the Central Theatre.

## Broadway Briefs

"Steel Preferred," founded on Saturday Evening Post stories, "The Adventures of Wally Gay," by Hershel S. Hall, will be the feature picture at Warners, beginning this Saturday. This is the first picture from the new Metropolitan Pictures Corporation. William Boyd, Vera Reynolds, Charlie Murray, Robert Bosworth, William V. Mong, Ben Turpin, Nigel Barry and Helene Sullivan are featured in the film.

"Stolen Fruit" will end its run at the Eltinge Theatre on December 26, when the play will begin a lengthy tour. Mrs. Leslie Carter in "The Shanghai Gesture" will come to the Eltinge the following week.

The Provincetown Playhouse is giving performances on Sunday nights instead of Mondays. "The Man Who Never Died" is the current attraction.

The Matilda Ziegler matinee of "The Enemy" for the blind will take place on Monday at the Times Square Theatre.

George S. Kaufman's comedy, "The Butter and Egg Man," now playing at the Longacre Theatre, is being novelized and will be issued in book form.

The dancing team of Marjorie and Ward Fox has been added to the cast of "Oh, Oh, Nurse," at the Cosmopolitan Theatre.

Frank Tinney has been engaged for the fourth edition of "Vanities," which opens after New Year's at the Earl Carroll Theatre. The present edition goes on tour, opening at the Shubert Theatre, Philadelphia.

Director Richard Boleslavsky's next presentation at the American Laboratory Theatre will be Miriam Stockton's

MARY PHILBIN



With Lon Chaney in "The Phantom of the Opera," the feature film at Moss' Colony Theatre. The fourth week begins Sunday.

Bert Stoessel will conduct. The soloists are: Ethyl Hayden, Nevada Van der Veer, Judson House and William Gustafson. The society's chorus of 250 voices will be assisted by the New York Symphony Orchestra.

The Helen Teschner Tas String Quartet will play the Shubert D-minor ("Death and the Maiden") Quartet and Mozart's D-major at the Civic Club Wednesday evening (December 23rd). The players associated with Mme. Tas are Lillian Fuchs, at the second violin stand; Lilla Kalman, viola; Genevieve Hughes Lewis, cello. Mme. Tas plays sonatas and solo violin works with Arthur Loesser at Steinway Hall January 4th in the first of three subscription recitals.

Transcriptions for violin and piano of early examples of Polish music of the XVth and XVIIth centuries have been made by the Polish violinist, Adam Kurylo, and will be played by him at Aeolian Hall, Wednesday evening, December 23.

Ethel Leginska will appear as orchestra leader on Sunday evening, January 3, at Aeolian Hall, where she will conduct eighty members of the New York Philharmonic.

The Chernavsky Brothers—Leo, violinist; Jan, pianist, and Mischel, cellist—who constitute the Chernavsky Trio, are giving the second of their recitals at Aeolian Hall on Tuesday evening, January 4.

## DRAMA

## An Aspect of Marital Tangle by Noel Coward

Jane Cowl Superb with Hard Task in "Easy Virtue" at the Empire Theatre

IN "Easy Virtue," that Frohman is presenting at the Empire, Noel Coward gives dramatic potency to another aspect of the marital tangle in which one party has tried to go swimming in too shallow water. His particular puzzle is English society, and the creature who flounders for awhile in those waters—muddy with self-satisfaction and smug hypocrisy apparently much the same as in Victoria's hey-day—the woman, fortunately, can still draw back from the stagnating pool to the surging ocean of life. Life, to those who feel, has its inevitable dangers, its compelling self-study and defeat—and these are their own compensation, out of which rise new dangers, more self-study, and—perhaps—victory.

Larita was in a spell of utter distaste with life when she met John, was in a mood when the world she knew was sour, and the lad's freshness and purity of thought were the saving breath of air that she needed. Unfortunately, she married him; and a woman of culture, intelligence, and deep feeling is unlikely to be happy mated with a breath of fresh air. Especially as she seemed to have acquired his family by matrimony also, and his family was stifled by Victorian suppressions and polite lies and inhibitions. Larita knew them only too well, but had probably never had to associate with them for so long before; they knew her sort only by hearsay. Save, of course, the Colonel, who is on hand, with young Burleigh, to supply the necessary sympathetic background, and to prevent Larita from plunging back into the ocean before there is a play. So Noel Coward draws a successful play out of what would, in life, be only a dreary mess; he sprinkles deft dialogue over the

scenes, and stirs our primal prejudices. His devices are sound but not novel; the silent little girl who follows her mother through the ballroom is a pale echo of Wilde's maid of the "Yves, Mamma!" He sees one character with a measure of depth: Larita.

The part of Larita, and its acting, suggests immediate comparison with the lady of the Green Hat, and Katherine Cornell's performance of that part. Both women are genuinely in love with a man who is quite unsuited, quite inferior; both start to make a try for happiness, both turn away. Larita is more concerned with her own happiness than Larita, who plunges to death that her loved one may live happily on. Larita is perhaps, also, more conscious of the difference between her and these staid English folk. But Katherine Cornell seems to play with a greater detachment from the part; one can feel the consummate actress watching herself—perhaps one should say the keen woman watching herself through life; partly engulfed in the course of events, but largely outside looking on. Jane Cowl, while able to analyze herself and those around her, is still definitely and actively living her experiences; she enters more emotionally into life. This difference may rise from the fact that she has just found out that she had still been cherishing illusions, while the green-hat lady was quite dried of any hope in life. Larita, after her next emotional experience, might well be an Iris March. But this turn from the actress to her part shows how well both Katherine Cornell and Jane Cowl have assimilated their characters. "Easy Virtue" draws its chief virtue from this excellent interpretation. J. T. S.

FRANK McINTYRE



Is the chief comedian of the new "Greenwich Village Follies," which opens next Thursday at Chanin's Forty-sixth Street Theatre.

## Vaudeville Theatres

## MOSS' BROADWAY

Moss' Broadway Theatre next week will present on the screen Gloria Swanson in her latest, "Stage Struck," following a three-week stay at the Cameo Theatre.

The vaudeville is headed by Maude Powers and Vernon Wallace. Ed Pressler and Blanche Klais, Frank Rose and Olive Thorn, in a new comedy by Walter De Leon, "Sold," and Ted and Al Waldman.

## JEFFERSON

Monday to Wednesday—Demarest & Collette; Sally, Irene and Mary; Let's Dance; others. Ann Pennington and Julian Eltinge in "Madame Behave"; "Dog's Life," with Charlie Chaplin.

Thursday to Sunday—O'Neal and Plunkett; Wanser and Palmer; others. "Seven Keys to Baldpate," with Douglas MacLean.

## REGENT

Monday to Wednesday—Land & Haley; Edgar Bergen and Co.; Lerner Girls; other acts. Ann Pennington & Julian Eltinge in "Madame Behave." Chas. Chaplin revival of "A Dog's Life."

Thursday to Sunday—Joe Darcey; Peppito; Harriette Hector and Co.; others. Douglas MacLean in "Seven Keys to Baldpate."

## Coal Strike Finish Fight

(Continued from page 1)

their battle for decent wages and full union recognition.

Criticism of the miners' attitude towards the operators' offer of arbitration (criticism inspired for the most part by the propaganda of men like Daniel Pierce and his boss, Ivy Lee, the operators' highly paid publicity experts) has appeared so often of late in the old line papers that it might be interesting to see just what is back of this fine sounding word "arbitration."

The miners fight shy of arbitration for the simple reason that having tried it once they were sold out in brass manner. President Wilson appointed an arbitration board in 1920, consisting of Neale Ferry, representing the miners, W. L. Connell, the operators and President Thompson of Ohio State University, the public. Each of the arbitrators had his economists to dig into such figures as were available and help decide on what would constitute a fair wage increase, for all agreed that an increase was imperative. President Thompson's economist reported that from the data he had examined an increase of twenty-seven percent was justifiable. He reported this at a conference of the arbitrators which broke up at mid-night. The representative of the miners left the conference assured that the increase would be voted. At ten o'clock the following morning President Thompson called the arbitrators together and

announced that instead of the promised twenty-seven percent increase, he had decided that there could be no increase above seventeen percent. Over night he had suddenly changed his mind, discarded the recommendation of his experts and gone over to the operators. One might find an explanation of this miraculous sea-change in the statement of an operator to the effect that "You miners left the professor too soon. We stayed up with him all night."

Such an experience is not one to create any great degree of confidence on the part of the miners in "impartial arbitrators." As a matter of fact there "ain't no such animal." Furthermore, the operators will never allow their books to appear before any board of arbitration and if profits are not considered, arbitration becomes a farce.

In the meantime, while the operators are broad-casting their defiance of the miners and the public, Governor Pinchot is calling a special session of the Pennsylvania legislature to meet on January 13th and consider the anthracite crisis. It is the Governor's plan to have anthracite declared a public utility. This would bring the entire industry under the supervision of the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission, which would then force the operators to disclose their hidden profits. The operators will fight any such proposition tooth and nail and already their lobbyists are moving on Harrisburg, the State Capitol.

## History of Socialist Thought

(Continued from page 7)

meeting the attacks of our opponents it was necessary for us to emphasize the dominant principle, denied by them; and we did not always have the time, place and opportunity to let the other factors, which were concerned in the mutual action and reaction, get their deserts." In another letter he elaborates this same point of view:

"According to the materialistic conception of history of the factor which is in the last instance decisive in history is the production and reproduction of actual life. More than that neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. But when any one distorts this so as to read that the economic factor is the sole element, he converts the statement into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase. The economic condition is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—the political forms of the class contests, and their results, the constitution—the legal forms, and also all the reflexes of these actual contests in the brains of the participants, the political, legal, philosophical theories, the religious views . . . all these exert an influence on the historical struggles, and in many instances determine their form."

Nor must this theory be confused with the materialistic philosophy of life. The economic interpretation of history does not deal with ultimate causes in the universe.

Spread of Theory  
 Marx saw in the economic interpreta-

tion of history theory not only the explanation of past progress, but the hope of future development from the present economic system to a socialistic order, as is indicated in his analysis of social development in the Communist Manifesto and his later works. Most modern historians are now following Marx in emphasizing the importance of the economic factors in past and present history, although many of them are somewhat agnostic concerning a like influence of economic considerations in the life of the future, and the application of this theory to future social changes. The revolutionizing effect of Marx's pioneer work on the interpretation of historical events, past and present, however, can hardly be overestimated.

## Class Struggle

We have already had occasion, in our section under the Communist Manifesto and in the later account of Marx's career, to bring into the foreground the Marxian conception of the part played by the class struggle in the society of the past "since the dissolution of primitive tribal society holding land in common ownership," and its probable place in future struggles until such time as the workers become the controllers of society, all become producers, and once for all society is emancipated "from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinction and class struggles." This "fundamental proposition, which forms the nucleus" of the Marxian theory needs, perhaps, no further elaboration at this point.

IAN MACLAREN



A member of the Neighborhood Playhouse permanent company, which opened Tuesday night in "The Dybbuk," a folk play from the Yiddish of Ansky.



# THE NEW LEADER

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Editor.....JAMES ONEAL  
Assistant Editor.....EDWARD LEVINSON  
Manager.....U. SOLOMON

## Contributing Editors:

Eugene V. Debs  
Victor L. Berger  
Abraham Cahan  
Harry W. Laidler  
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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1925

## POLICING ALIENS

SECRETARY OF LABOR DAVIS puts his recommendation for the annual enrollment of aliens in his annual report, which carries with it "a system of education in Americanism which would give every alien an opportunity to learn the English language and something of American history, traditions, ideals, and institutions." A bureaucratic apparatus of nation-wide character, including courts, postoffices and schools, is also recommended to make God's chosen people immune from alien contamination.

Davis and his kind never learn anything from the history of other countries. He would teach American history to aliens when it is evident that he is in need of an elementary course in this subject. The United States has been peopled by aliens since its discovery and all experience has demonstrated that without any registration, espionage or fingerprinting, the children of immigrants cannot be differentiated from the native born.

On the other hand, we have plenty of experience of the compulsion policy in the history of nations abroad. The partition of Poland among Russia, Prussia and Austria; the attempt of each of these nations to obliterate the Polish language, customs and literature, only resulted in driving the Poles into cohesive national groups. At the end of the World War Russian, Prussian and Austrian Poles had no difficulty whatever in founding the Polish State. The Poles were just as Polish when they united in modern Poland as they were when Poland was partitioned among three powers.

The Davis idea is to hound, watch and spy upon the stranger, treat him as a suspect or a wayward child, and he will love you. It is kindergarten sociology and moron politics worthy of the Coolidge regime.

## BERGER'S SPEECH

SPECIAL attention of our readers is called to the report of Congressman Berger's speech on the proposed tax bill. This is the only address delivered in Congress that is expressive of the best interests of millions of workers on this measure. The Socialist Congressman admirably analyzes the economics of the bill as it affects the great capitalist owners of the nation and the lesser income-payers, and then proceeds to contrast its intent with the economic position of millions of workers. The class character of the proposed bill emerges from this speech, showing that the supporters of the bill are political agents of a handful of ruling oligarchs.

The political aspects of the issue are also admirably presented. "If we had a real opposition party in this House," said Berger, "the situation would be otherwise. In Congress, we have two parties, two minds with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one." He could have also pointed out that the Democrats made no real fight against the change in the rules which enables the Republican rubber stamps to smother bills in committee. Even the New York World rebels against the inactivity of the Democrats on this score. As for the many "union card" members elected as Republicans or Democrats, the nation has not been startled by any vigorous fight they could and should have made against the reversion back to the old gag rule.

If we had fifty Socialist members of Congress that body would be shaken to its depths week after week by a working class group, but one lone sentinel makes the good fight and the press agencies see to it that it does not get into the headlines. This speech is a voice in the capitalistic wilderness and other heralds of a better day will yet be heard in Congress.

## THE HOUSING MUDDLE

BUILDING of homes is an essential of modern civilization, but capitalism in housing brings graft, profiteering, absence of regional planning, overbuilding of one type, underbuilding of another, rickety structures and general despair. All this is included in the complaint of 500 architects, contractors and builders who met this week in New York.

There is an overproduction of high-class apartments, loft and mercantile buildings, "the worst in forty years," said one speaker. Another devoted his time to describing graft, thefts, bungling work and "rigging" of bids which endanger safety and health. Shady bids tend to eliminate competent contractors, while "yeggs" are said to be hired to steal large amounts of building material.

It is a situation of cross purposes and general anarchy in the worst sense of this much abused word. Here is the most elementary need of human being the prey of a variety of vultures, a social need that requires a social agency to bring order out of chaos, yet when it is proposed that the municipality shall undertake its social duty the old dogma of "private enterprise" is raised as a barrier against it. It is assumed that if the city assumes its social duty some calamity will

come upon us, and yet there is not a single prediction of disaster that has been made that has not been already realized by private capitalism in housing.

We are amused at the savage who dances around his totem pole or who sees magic powers in the incantations of his medicine men, yet that child of the forest is intelligence itself compared with what we permit in housing and the superstition which induces a majority to submit to it.

## YANKEE USURERS

THE speech of Marcel Cachin, Communist, in the French Chamber of Deputies on the debt policy of the United States towards France, is interesting for two reasons. In the first place while it was a good speech against the American usurers it might also have been delivered by a Nationalist instead of a Communist. In fact, it was generally applauded by members of all parties in the Chamber. In the second place, the fact that even the extreme right could approve of some of Cachin's criticisms shows how far French official life has drifted from the old affection for American capitalism.

The holy brotherhood of allied righteousness in the "war for democracy" is no more. The Yankee usurers are forcing hard bargains upon former brothers in arms and the whole French press is frank in speaking its contempt for the United States. The December number of the American Mercury carries a remarkable article quoting numerous expressions of opinion from the French press which is very illuminating. One gets the impression of a man who had accepted the friendship of another for a number of years only to find that he is a swindler. The following excerpt from Action Francaise is typical:

France began by thinking that the war debts existed only in theory, and that a bill would never be presented. The French were caught in the trap of fine words which they set themselves during the war—that war for justice and humanity which ended in dirty financial reckonings. If the Americans have such a violent love of justice and honor, why were they cautiously neutral for three years after "heroic Belgium"—another sample of democratic phraseology—was brutalized by Germany, and after France had long been invaded? Let us face the facts: The Americans came in when the German submarine campaign threatened the United States.

On the other hand French capitalism squandered millions on military alliances in Europe as a "sanitary cordon" against Russia and Germany and now its sins are coming home to plague it. Making faces at the Yankee usurers will not change things. The French will have to pay our glorified grand dukes of finance.

## THE HEIR OF CZAR PAUL

IN the closing years of the eighteenth century Emperor Paul of Russia established harsh police regulations against what he called the "Jacobin spirit." France was then going through her revolution. Direct intercourse with France was prohibited and punished, but intercourse with other countries of Western Europe was also made practically impossible. Russian subjects could not go abroad and foreigners could not come into Russia without a special permit from the Czar. Even the importation of literature and music was prohibited for fear that they contained the germs of revolution.

Secretary of State Kellogg has convinced us that he has fallen heir to the views of this eighteenth century czar by his speech Monday night in New York in defense of the exclusion of Countess Karolyi. He frankly states that he favors a quarantine against views that cannot be reconciled with the "founding fathers," thereby confessing a fear that his views may not survive in competition with others.

On the other hand, the question as to whether a prospective visitor may have tainted views is a matter of evidence, and experience has shown that the Washington bureaucrats will not consider evidence. After the fashion of Emperor Paul, they decide and that is all there is to it. What is still more interesting is his admission that the information upon which he acts "is often of a most confidential kind." In other words, the action is taken upon secret information and the accused has no right to know what the accusations are. After this admission it was appropriate that Kellogg should pay sanctimonious homage to "the priceless heritage of liberty."

Why not go the limit, Mr. Kellogg? Why not require each citizen who returns from abroad to face an official smelling committee on his return home to ascertain whether he has brought back any queer ideas? You should remember that a good many people think in Europe and unless you lock us all up in Babbittland a few may return converted to the vacuous habit.

Our "friends" of the Left can never be right. The organizational thesis on trade union ideology to advance the "tremendous task" of unmasking the "betrayers of the working class"—we believe this is the correct lingo—was applied at the convention of the garment workers in Philadelphia. It nearly produced the very thing these "experts" claimed to avoid—dual unionism. When this child of years of striving faced its parents they recoiled from it. They marched out and they marched back. The Marxian strategists were perplexed. They will have to return home to consider the problem again and work out another "thesis."

Now that the gift season is at hand we submit that you can do no better than to send in a yearly subscription to the New Leader for some friend. One such gift will help four parties. You will know you have done your duty; we will have one more reader; your friend will appreciate it, and the fourth party is—yes—the Socialist Party.

If Morgan keeps gathering in more governments he will be able to start a pawn shop where governments among other trinkets will always serve as the basis for needy loans.

# The News of the Week

## Australian Court Holds Deportation

When Stanley Bruce, premier of the Commonwealth of Australia, was speaking for his Tory party in the campaign that resulted in a reactionary victory on Nov. 14, despite an increase in the Labor Party vote, he promised his hearers that he would deport all non-Australian-born leaders of the unofficial seamen's strike. So on Nov. 20 Tom Walsh and Jacob Johannesen, president and secretary, respectively, of the Australian Seamen's Union, were arrested in Sydney for deportation. But their lawyers went to the High Court of the Commonwealth for a writ of habeas corpus and now that court has set the labor men free. In the meantime, however, the strike is reported at an end, with the sailors returning to work at reduced wages. Over in New Zealand, the highly praised "land of democracy," the president and secretary of the Communist Party have been sentenced to jail terms of six and four months, respectively, for the crime of possessing Communist literature. The legislature of New South Wales, where the Labor Party won control last June, has enacted a law providing for a 44-hour working week for the whole state. Premier Bruce has so far recognized the end of the World War as to lift the ban against the immigration of former enemy aliens.

## Quaglia Is Made An Italian Azeff

That the hot-blooded Tito Zaniboni, arrested on a charge of having plotted to shoot Benito Mussolini on Nov. 4, is the victim of a frame-up and that his old friend and secretary, Signor Quaglia, is playing provocative agent in a style reminiscent of Eugen Azeff, the notorious Russian Czarist spy, is the gist of a story being circulated by word of mouth all over Italy. According to this report, which reached here via Il Nuovo Mondo, the New York Italian labor daily, Quaglia was used by Fascist leaders who saw the need of doing something to brace up their shaky regime by presenting "il duce" in the role of a near-martyr. He is said to have taken advantage of Zaniboni's openly expressed hatred of the Dictator to induce him to plan an attempt upon the latter's life. Then the police trap was sprung and the orgy of repression followed. It is averred that when Quaglia was freed, after the arrest of himself and his former friend, and returned to his home in a popular quarter of Rome he was nearly lynched by his neighbors and that since then he has been under the special protection of a dozen armed guards. Color is lent to this report by the fact that Zaniboni left the Unitarian Socialist Party some time ago because of differences of opinion with that party's leaders as to how Fascism should be fought. While the Pope cautiously chided the Fascists, in his consistorial allocution this week, for their suppression of civic rights, and Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., denounced Fascism in Congress and called upon that body to block Mussolini's plan for "recreation centers" here, Arthur Brisbane rushed to the defense of the Dictator under

cover of commenting upon an anti-Fascist meeting in Webster Hall last Sunday. The way in which the Hearst papers, both editorially and in their news columns, have been boosting Mussolini during the last few months may indicate either an "artistic" or a material interest in things Italian.

## Mosul Mandate to England

Nations by a unanimous vote decided to give Mosul as far north as the Brussels line to Iraq to Great Britain, with the proviso that the latter shall renew its treaties with the Arab State for 25 years. This was followed by making public a report of a League mission on atrocities committed by the Turks upon Christians. The mission reported that 3,000 Christians were pillaged, ravaged, murdered or deported by the Turks, and there is one story of five women being buried alive. The aged, the sick and the young were slain and others were deported. It is said that these horrors "shocked" the members of the Council, and the implication is that Britain gets the mandate because of the Turkish brutalities. Of course, the massacres have often occurred in Turkey, but we submit that the British mass murder at Amritsar by order of General Dyer and the British bombings of Egyptian villages in 1920, murdering the aged, the sick and the young, rather make us sorrow for the natives of Mosul. In making public the Turkish atrocities at this time it is evident that the Council wished to give its assignment of the Mosul mandate to Great Britain a "moral" aspect. It is a piece of that hypocrisy which has made imperialist diplomacy the nastiest thing that it is.

## French Capitalism Reaping Harvest

French capitalism is still a shaky thing. Its crimes under the rule of Poincare are coming home to roost. The franc continues to fall and all the promises of Clemenceau and then Poincare that France would fatten on loot taken from Germany have proven to be hokum, as intelligent people knew they would. The promises on this score, however, made so marked an impression on the French masses that other ministries found it impossible to make any notable approach to a real program to stabilize French finances. Inflation of finances brought a depreciation of the franc and a rise in prices. Finance Minister Loucheur offered a financial program that was no more satisfactory than others and he was forced to resign. Paul Doumer has succeeded him and he proposes to sell the government monopoly of tobacco to the highest bidder and hopes to realize cash on this transaction quickly. A Franco-American syndicate is said to be ready to make the purchase, but with American bankers in on the deal the hatred of American capitalists will increase. It appears that this program of Doumer's is only a makeshift. The capitalist masters of France oppose a capital levy and months ago they were transferring investments to other countries. The Socialists will hold a special congress

soon to consider the situation. Meantime the talk of a dictatorship has subsided but another crisis will probably bring reactionaries to the front again with this proposal.

## One by One the Fatalism of a Physical Law the Super-patriot Falls with a Resounding Thud.

Thaddeus Sweet, Silverware Lusk, Archibald Stevenson, Ole Hanson and a number of others of their stripe have taken the count in this country. Once they strutted in the limelight with "patriotism" as a defense complex for our glorified despoilers and money bags. But they have all fallen in one way or another, the itch for loot being the temptation for a number. This week the news comes from London that Sir Basil Thompson has gone the way of the vocal "patriot." It seems that this godly protector of Englishmen from the temptations of Socialism, Bolshevism, Radicalism, Jacobinism and the Illuminati has become involved in a "woman scrape." Upon learning that the police were looking for him it is reported that he tried to "fix" things. Falling in this, Sir Basil scooted for the Continent together with the lady and now Great Britain is deprived of the one protector that stood between it and the howls. One by one they fail, as Monte Cristo said.

## No Special Terms Following a Conference in London on World-wide Trade Union To Russian Unions

participated in by the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the General Council of the I. F. T. U. met in Amsterdam recently and rejected the British proposal for an unconditional unity conference with representatives of the Russian unions. It was pointed out that the General Council could not very well over-ride the resolution on unity adopted at the last Congress of the I. F. T. U., which provided for carrying on negotiations with the Russians with the view of having them affiliate with the I. F. T. U. by accepting its rules and regulations just like any other national union body. Most of the British members were strong for an unconditional conference, but were outvoted by the Continental members of the Council. This stand by the General Council does not mean that the efforts to bring the Russian organizations into the I. F. T. U. will be abandoned, but it indicates that they will have to quit the Communist Labor International before being admitted. There are likely to be more informal conferences between representatives of the British unions and the Russians and those of Amsterdam in the hope of working out some plan to be submitted to the next Congress of the I. F. T. U. Meanwhile, it is understood that negotiations are under way between Amsterdam and Washington aimed at lining the A. F. of L. up with the International. The fact that several A. F. of L. unions are already part of the Amsterdam organization through affiliation with their trade internationals is expected to facilitate these negotiations.

# THE CHATTER BOX

## THE GRUB STREET CLUB presents

### A VARIETY OF VERSES

Edited by Henry Harrison  
President of the Grub Street Club

## Bands

A swift red scarf is folded round my throat,  
I bind a crimson sash about my waist,  
A scarlet song encircles all myself,  
In fiery scarlet song, myself is all enlaced.

I bind upon my wrist a ruby charm,  
A ruby charm for all men to admire,  
A gold and ruby band is on my brow!  
My heart is bound with white phylacteries of fire!

—Sophie Solow.

## Portrait of a Dilettante

He is in eternal travail with a novel.  
He is in continual labor with a short story.  
He is always pregnant with a lyric.

I have infinite faith in him.  
I know that some day he will give birth  
To an epigram.

—Gremwin Zorn.

## Where I Live

In a narrow little room  
In the top of a house  
I'm often from enchantment  
As silent as a mouse.

The room is very ugly—  
With shadows interwoven;  
And I am rather lonely, but  
My neighbor plays Beethoven!

—Sara Owen.

## Hokku of the Wise

Women are portraits  
By God—with the finishing  
Touches by Satan.

Invariably  
Idle talk turns out to be  
The most diligent.

Birds fly in circles.  
They make no progress at all.  
The birds are like men.  
When a man lies to  
A woman, it is a while  
Lie—in the man's eyes.

When a woman does  
Not look well, she will blame the  
Mirror on the wall.

Epigrams become  
Platitudes when a vulgar  
Person utters them.

What a liar Man!  
While guessing woman's age, he  
Looks her in the eye!

—Henry Harrison.

## Cerebration

Virtue has no definition  
If you need not make contrition.

I do my cap to Virtue—then  
I stop to chat with Magdalen.

And oft when Virtue battles Sin  
I pray the enemy will win.

Through the night black angels revel;  
I am trusting with the devil.

But in the dawn a traitor creeps  
To the bivouac where Virtue sleeps.

—A. M. Sullivan.

## Three Portraits

OF SOMETHING THAT HAS SERVED ITS PURPOSE

An old glove,  
Shaped by use,  
Standing stiffly,  
But empty.

OF NEW YORK HARBOR

The sea is thin with hunger;  
And I fear that it may gulp  
In its enormous jaws tonight  
This exquisitely shaped pearl:  
The city.

OF A PLACE AT DUSK

This clump of woods  
Is a dark animal  
Standing very still  
On many legs  
Watching our camp-fire.

—E. Ralph Cheyne.

## Choice

One offered me a villa in the sun,  
A life of old romance and Spanish skies;  
Another dangled gems before my eyes,  
Each priceless stone outshone the other one.  
Yet these were merely things for me to shun.  
And I was careful; I was very wise  
In asking noble Venus for a prize  
Whose essence cannot know comparison.

And still another wooed me with his face;  
Oh, he was godly both in form and way;  
But all his beauty could not make me stay,  
I knew it could not be my resting place.  
Then all at once my doubts dissolved—yes came.  
I found my answer when you sighed my name.

—Goldie Becker.

## The Beauty That We Seek

A clover lay unheeded on a hill,  
A careless foot had cast its shadow there!  
The clover lay so pitifully still.

The eyes that passed the hollyhock and mauve  
Had run to where the clouds and flowers meet.  
They sought a hidden beauty in the skies—  
While Beauty shivered, begging at their feet.

—Hyman Altshuler.