

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One Year.....\$2.00
Six Months.....1.35
Three Months......75

The New Leader

VOL. II. No. 52

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1925

19, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, New York, under No. 10,343, of March 8, 1925. Entered as Second Class Matter, January 15, 1925.

Mine's Children Go Hungry; Operators Still Refuse Peace

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

THE picture that I have been trying to present is this: A Socialist Party, resolute and unafraid to face facts as they are with hope for the future; a Socialist Party which neglects no chance for any immediate success, but works primarily at its educational function; a Socialist Party which realizes that the era of Calvin Coolidge in national affairs and the growing movement that I have called Al Smithism in our great industrial centers, are unfavorable to our numerical success but which also realize that these factors cannot last forever and that while they last it is more than ever necessary for us to keep on the job.

Last week I suggested three particular points of contact or lines of approach in our educational problem. Labor, even in orthodox A. F. of L. circles, has begun to recognize the meaning and significance of waste. It is our task to prove that this waste is inherent in the present system. Labor has spoken officially in favor of industrial democracy. It is our task to prove that industrial democracy is incompatible with the perpetual existence of a class of absentee owners. Labor is concerned for the preservation of peace. It is our task to point out that only by the steady unrelenting of imperialism, born of capitalism and hyper-nationalism, can peace be preserved.

To fulfill these tasks requires that the Socialist and radical movement produce a growing amount of head thinking and good writing. We need popular literature, but that does not mean that it will be possible to reduce all our thinking and writing to the intellectual level of the gum chewers' delight, the illustrated daily tabloid. We want books, pamphlets, leaflets, papers. I hope for great things from the appearance of the new American Appeal and from the continued growth of the New Leader. In time, I imagine, these two papers will have to decide between themselves as what type of work each will do. Ideally in a country the size of the United States there ought to be room for many Socialist papers.

Some Problems To Attack

Literature can do much, but it is a question whether literature can create a movement. A healthy movement will create literature and, of course, there is a continual reaction between creative minds and a social movement. That means that the Socialist movement must not trust too much to individual editors and thinkers. A comrade from the West makes the excellent suggestion that the National Executive Committee ought to have regularly appointed correspondents or, better, groups of correspondents in the different sections of the country to report on economic conditions in their section and to make suggestions as to possible remedies. Emphatically, we ought now to have the strongest national committee that we can get to work on the problem of the nationalization of coal. Closely connected with it is the problem of super-power. It is an intolerable outrage that the greed of private owners of a natural resource which no man made should be responsible for stark hunger among the children of coal miners and gross inconvenience and positive suffering among consumers who have to pay extortionate prices for coal. And in our part of the world even for these extortionate prices we cannot get the anthracite to which we are accustomed. It is an equally intolerable outrage that the super-power development which is determining our industrial future should itself be determined not by social engineers with a view to the people's interests but by monopolists and profit seekers. Yet it is not enough to denounce these evils. The Socialist Party must be able to think constructively on remedies. It is not easy satisfactorily to nationalize industry and avoid bureaucracy and politics. It is especially hard under a Big Business government like Calvin Coolidge's. Ours is the double task of working at the best possible plan and then pointing out that the logic of that plan lies in the direction of more Socialism, not less, all along the line. In this connection I am pleased to observe that the New York State Executive Committee has undertaken to get signatures to a petition for the nationalization of coal.

What is true of national issues is true of state and local issues, notably in New York, the issue of housing. It

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Garment Lefts Return; Sigman, Baroff Elected; B.'s New Make-up

Nine New Vice-Presidents Are Chosen—Four of Them Are Lefts, but Communists Are Turned Down by Convention

By Edward Levinson

THE bolt of the Communist Left Wing from the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers proved short-lived. The 105 delegates who bolted the convention last Wednesday afternoon were back in their seats Thursday morning, explaining their bolt was due to a "misunderstanding."

As told in The New Leader last week, the sudden bolt of the Lefts came on the question of proportional representation. Under the peace agreement concluded between the Right and Left in New York City last summer the action of the convention on the question of "P. R." was to be sent out, with the minority proposal, for a referendum vote of the membership.

Salvatore Ninfa, chairman of the Rules Committee, brought in a report Wednesday afternoon which did not jibe with the terms of the peace agreement. The report was divided into two sections. The first provided for a modified system of proportional representation which was immediately rejected by the Lefts. The second section recommended that the convention act on the question of submitting the matter to referendum.

Sigman Opposed To Committee Report

Forgetting that they had made their peace agreement with President Sigman and the Right Wing of New York City and not with the convention or any of its committees, the Lefts, before waiting to hear President Sigman's recommendation, bolted the convention. Led by Louis Hymen, they paraded out.

The precipitate action of the Left was (Continued on Page 5)

PORTERS' UNION PAINTERS HIT PROGRESSES SPEEDING-UP

Randolph, Returns, Finds Men Flocking to the Organization

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, General Organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, returned to New York this week after a tour of the principal railroad centers of the country, with the word that porters everywhere are responding eagerly to invitations to join the union.

At the last meeting which he held in the Wendell Phillips High School in Chicago Organizer Randolph told an audience of more than two thousand of the purposes of the Brotherhood and the fight for better wages, hours and conditions for the Pullman porters.

In Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City and Omaha Randolph found widespread enthusiasm for the union which is rapidly reaching the position where it will be able to lay its demands before the company. The majority of those who have recently joined the union have worked for many years for the company. The Brotherhood's stand has been endorsed by John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor, who addressed one of the organization meetings, by the Brotherhoods of Railway Trainmen and Clerks, by the Chicago Federation of Women's Clubs and the Baptist Ministers' Alliance, representing more than 3,000,000 colored Baptists.

The porters will hold three mass-meetings this coming week on the evenings of December 27, 28 and 29 at the Elks Hall, 160 West 129th street, New York City.

Food Workers in Convention

During the third congress of the International Union of Federations of Workers in the Food and Drink Trades held recently in Copenhagen and attended by delegates from 23 organizations in 14 countries a proposal by the Russian delegates to admit dissident Communist unions was turned down and a debate on a passage in the Executive Committee's report approving the attitude of the International Federation of Trade Unions in general resulted in the passage of a resolution upholding the Executive by a vote of 52 to 13, with three abstentions. Another resolution passed by a big majority declared that world-wide unity was to be obtained only through affiliation of the various national organizations with the I. F. T. U. The congress instructed the Executive to do all in its power to promote reorganization along industrial lines. The old Executive was re-elected and the annual dues per member were kept at 15 Swiss centimes (3 cents), except in the case of countries with "low-power" money, when it will be only 10 centimes.

Bosses Make Them "Slap on Paint by the Mile"

UNION painters wish to give the best that is in them to their employers but they are compelled in many instances to "slap on paint by the mile regardless of results," declares Philip Zausner, Secretary of District Council No. 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, representing 11,000 house painters in this city.

Zausner blamed "unscrupulous contractors who are not living up to specifications." "They provide cut-throat competition for legitimate contractors," he said. "They engage to supply three or four coats or whatever the number is and then supply two. They agree to provide good workmanship, then speed up the men so that they have to slap on paint by the mile, regardless of results. In many instances paint which should last for several years peels off after six months."

Zausner announced that the district council would try to prevail on city officials to add a bureau of painting to the Building Department, with duties of supervising all painting work done in the city. The department now inspects plumbing and electric wiring, but not painting.

Inspection of work done by painters, it was said, would require contractors to live up to specifications and would save landlords and rent payers, according to the union officials, several million dollars a year, "money which is lost in payment for inferior work."

The union admits that its primary interest in having the work inspected is to eliminate sweatshop methods. "The men are being rushed beyond human endurance," said Mr. Zausner. The union committee which investigated the situation found that two men were recently required to calcimine forty-two ceilings in one day. The union maintains that speeding up is general throughout the city.

"It hopes to stop some of the evils," said Mr. Zausner, "by providing an agreement upon a fair and reasonable scale of work based on proper workmanship."

The union and the Master Painters' Association are negotiating an agreement to replace the one expiring on Jan. 1. Painters now receive \$10.50 a day and are asking for \$12 a day. They allege that theirs is a seasonal occupation and that they average but 175 days a year with an average yearly wage of \$1,337.50.

For Pacific Peace Meet

The Labor Council of New South Wales has decided to send out invitations to a Pan-Pacific Conference of political and industrial organizations in all countries bordering on the Pacific to be held at Sydney on May 1, 1926. Its object will be "to harmonize the relationships of the workers around the Pacific."

U.S. ASKED TO AID PORTO RICAN MASSES

Congress to Get Bill for Loan of 50 Millions to Improve Peoples' Lot

By Santiago Iglesias (Secretary, Pan-American Federation of Labor and Senator of the Legislature of Porto Rico.)

Washington. EFFORTS are being made to get some practical action from Congress and the Washington authorities in behalf of the people of Porto Rico. Despite the wonderful progress that official reports credit Porto Rico, poverty and misery with its essential immorality and degradation are prevailing in that beautiful island under the authority of the Republic of the United States.

Official statistics show that in the last 25 years imports from the United States into Porto Rico amounted to over \$1,200,000,000 and that the exports from Porto Rico into the United States amounted to \$1,500,000,000. Two-thirds of the profits from agriculture, commerce and industry have been sent out of Porto Rico as rents, dividends, commissions and interest on borrowed money, which were distributed and re-invested outside of the island. This colonial condition has created a most distressing state of affairs for more than half of the Porto Rican population and has caused an enormous oversupply of labor which has resulted in thousands of women, children and men, slowly starving to death. The curse of the illegal monopolization of land and of absentee landlordism and corporations cuts deeply into the economic heart of Porto Rico.

Relief Bills Before Congress

Bills are being prepared for introduction in Congress. One of these bills will ask that \$50,000,000 be loaned to the government of Porto Rico to create a trust fund to foster and promote the welfare of the people. The fund would be under the authority of the government of Porto Rico and under the supervision and inspection of the Treasurer of the United States.

The loan of \$50,000,000 would be repaid by the government of Porto Rico after ten years, at the rate of \$500,000 each year after and until the total sum loaned has been paid into the Treasury of the United States.

The government of Porto Rico, through adequate legislation approved by the Legislative Assembly, shall use said loan of \$50,000,000 for the following purposes:

(a) For promoting the fullest extension and support of the agricultural and industrial schools; (b) To foster the physical and permanent industrial development of the resources and the soil of the island; (c) To transfer the control to the people of Porto Rico of all lands and franchises illegally held by absentee or resident landlordship and corporations; (d) For the consolidation and cancellation at any time of the public debts of Porto Rico.

Another bill proposes to enforce the provisions of the joint resolution approved by Congress May 1, 1906, with respect to the buying, selling, or holding of real estate, and to impose additional and progressive taxes on all property owned or controlled in excess of five hundred acres by corporations, partnerships, associations and individuals. The rule of taxation in Porto Rico shall be uniform, but this provision shall not interfere with the power of the legislature to tax the real property and incomes of the non-residents of the island in excess of the property and income of the residents.

Another bill will provide for an investigation to help the people of Porto Rico. For years the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department has been opposed to any kind of investigation of the affairs of the island.

The people of Porto Rico are begging Congress to send for the first time a joint committee of the Senate and the House to investigate the affairs of Porto Rico and the actual wretched conditions of the masses of the people of that island which are a stigma upon the record, history and international honor of our country.

Green Urges Financial Aid for Mine Strikers

WASHINGTON.—Declaring that the wives and children of the miners in the anthracite coal field are suffering from hunger and that the attitude of the operators in their efforts to break down the United Mine Workers constitutes a challenge to organized labor, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has issued a statement calling on its membership to give financial support to the strikers.

"This situation touches us deeply," he said, "particularly at this season when the Christmas spirit prevails throughout the land. There are thousands of children in the anthracite region who will look for Santa Claus in vain this year and whose little hearts and lives will be filled with disappointment."

"COAL FACTORY" AT WORK

System in Use at Johnstown Mine More Than Doubles Output

By Leland Olds

NO UNNECESSARY motions but the loading of 16½ tons a day reveals the speeding up of bituminous coal diggers in mines managed by the Knickerbocker company in Pennsylvania since the installation of the mechanical conveyor system described in the Coal Age. But the statement that this machinery more than doubles the output per man, raising it from 7½ to 16½ tons per day, shows the necessity of a shorter working day if thousands of miners are not to be turned out on the street.

Under this system, designed by R. A. Suppes, general superintendent of the Knickerbocker mines at Johnstown, Pa., miners work in crews of five. Each crew has charge of a main conveyor 250 feet long, made up of six-foot sections; two face conveyors, each twelve feet long, which discharge into the main conveyor; one undercutting machine, a distributing fan, a five-horsepower hoist, etc. The nature of their work is described as follows:

"Four men out of the five-man crew work at the face, the fifth man being stationed on the entry to load, trim and spot cars. The four men work on their knees in low coal. They are stationed at

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STRIKERS FIRM DESPITE GREAT SUFFERING

School Records Show Little Ones Are in Want of Food

Scranton.

GAY window displays, rich with sparkling lights on a background of Christmas green, greet one at every step in the shopping districts of Scranton and Wilkes-Barre. Rotary and Kiwanis talk glibly of their Christmas plans for the community—community trees, singing of carols, baskets for the deserving poor.

But behind the usual Christmas display there is much of tragedy and suffering brought on by the protracted coal strike. And an ironic twist to the Christmas spirit has brought the little children in the front ranks of the suffering and destitute.

As one investigator reports: "Lack of food this fall has whitened pale sticks of youngsters out of hundreds of normally healthy Scranton boys and girls between the ages of seven and fourteen."

Meanwhile the operators remain stolid in their refusal to meet the United Mine Workers in an effort to end the strike which has thrown 160,000 able-bodied men out of work for four months. Governor Pinchot's committee has now given up its efforts at bringing the operators and miners together.

No Heat At Home

The reported suffering of the children is not mere sentimental dabbling. It is borne out by facts reported from official sources. In place of the usual gain of one-half to one pound a month, the school records show that the majority of children from miners' homes are losing weight regularly. In the last month the range of loss has been from three to eight pounds.

Since the inception of the strike \$50,000 has been withdrawn by children from their savings accounts in the school banks.

Back of these figures are stories of suffering and hardship unsurpassed in the most poverty-ridden city slums of the country. These are cases of a mother seeking a job as a scrub-

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UNEASY CONSCIENCE OF BRITISH GOVT. JAILS 12 COMMUNISTS

By Rennie Smith, M. P.

London. THE exclusion of Saklatvala from America is well-matched by the imprisonment of 12 Communists in a British prison. The world is getting fonder of this sort of thing. Intolerance is on the up-grade. It is a gay prospect that is opening out. It requires, I understand, two men on an average to take care of every prisoner.

These 12 Communists—executive members and officials of the Communist Party of Great Britain—were charged with seditious conspiracy. There were three counts in the indictment. They were charged with conspiring to publish and utter seditious libels and words; with conspiring to incite persons to commit breaches of the Incitement to Mutiny Act of 1917; and conspiring to endeavor to seduce persons serving in the forces, to whom might come the "Workers Weekly" and other publications mentioned in the indictment.

All Given Jail Terms

They were found guilty on all these three counts. Five of them were sentenced to twelve months imprisonment; the remainder to six months. The Judge, in summing up, said that it was obvious from the evidence that all twelve were members of an illegal party carrying on an illegal work in this country, and it must be stopped. In the opening stages of the trial, it was even argued that it is seditious to talk of the class struggle or to "create antagonism between different classes of His Majesty's subjects." But such an open statement was too bold and simple a revelation of the real issues that lay behind the trial. The curtain was discreetly drawn over that aspect of the matter.

The Court, notwithstanding all the police raids that have taken place, and notwithstanding all the operations of

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Congressman Berger Urges U. S. Recognize Soviet Government

Recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States is proposed in a resolution offered in the House by Victor L. Berger, Socialist. He will demand a hearing on the measure soon after the holiday recess.

"Now that the bankers and business men are dining with the representatives of Soviet Russia," Berger told the press, "taking their orders and extending them credit, our government may as well recognize what the bankers and business men have long since recognized—namely, that the Soviet government is here to stay, for a considerable time at least. "Nothing can be gained by maintaining the position we took in the first place that the Russian people were not entitled to admission into the family of nations because they dared to proclaim the doctrine that if class governments are to exist, a government of the workers and peasants is entitled to that right along with the others. Besides, we can no more dictate their form of government than they can be permitted to dictate to us what ours shall be. No one can question their right to choose their own form of government."

OF EDUCATION FOR A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

The League For Industrial Democracy, Formerly The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, Celebrates

The League for Industrial Democracy, formerly the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, will celebrate its twentieth year of activity as an educational force in this country.

The history of the L. I. D. and its predecessor, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, reflects in no small measure the history of Socialist thought in this country during the last two decades. In the year 1906, many good people in this country were surprised to learn that the youthful Socialist movement had polled in its presidential campaign no less than a hundred thousand votes. Four years later, many were shocked to hear that this one hundred thousand had quadrupled and that the Socialist voters were four hundred thousand strong.

Following the 1904 campaign, a number of writers and publicists came to the conclusion that this was a movement of which college men and women should no longer be ignorant. Among those who felt this most strongly was Upton Sinclair. Sinclair had been graduated from the College of the City of New York in the year 1897 and had attended Columbia University as a graduate student on and off for four years thereafter. During these years of study, the subject of the great and growing strength of the Socialist movement throughout the world was never brought to his attention. After his discovery of its existence, he became convinced that if the American college students were to gain a clear conception of the meaning of this world-wide movement toward a co-operative order, some outside group of college men and women must be formed with the aim of bringing the challenge of Socialism to the campus. This conviction led him to confer with George Strobell, then active in the Socialist movement of New Jersey and in the Collectivist Society, which aimed to bring Socialism to the churches. The upshot of these conferences was a definite plan to organize an Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

Jack London and Darwin Join

During the early part of 1905, Upton Sinclair secured the signature of men of the type of Jack London, Leonard D. Abbott, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Clarence S. Darrow, Oscar Lovell Triggs, B. O. Flower, J. G. Phelps Stokes, and William English Walling, to the following significant statement:

"In the opinion of the undersigned, the recent remarkable increase in the Socialist vote in America should serve as an indication to the educated men and women in the country, that Socialism is a thing concerning which it is no longer wise to be indifferent. The undersigned, regarding its

aims and fundamental principles with sympathy, and believing that in them will ultimately be found the remedy for many far-reaching economic evils, propose organizing an association to be known as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men, graduate and undergraduate, through the formation of study clubs in the colleges and universities, and the encouraging of all legitimate endeavors to awaken an interest in Socialism among the educated men and women of the country."

The organization meeting was held on the top floor of Peck's restaurant, 140 Fulton Street, New York City, on September 12, 1905. I attended that meeting as an undergraduate of Wesleyan University and remember it as if it were yesterday. More than a hundred college men and women, mostly graduates, crowded the room. The meeting was called together by Upton Sinclair in his rather high-pitched voice. W. J. Ghent was elected chairman. The upshot of the gathering was the election of Jack London as president, Messrs. Sinclair and Stokes as vice-presidents, Owen R. Lovejoy as treasurer and George Willis Cook, Morris Hillquit, Robert Hunter, Harry Laidler, Mrs. Darwin J. Meserole and George H. Strobell as members of the Executive Committee.

The Early Struggle

The only reason that I was elected was that William M. Feigenbaum, then an undergraduate at Columbia University, became class conscious, insisted that a fellow undergraduate should be elected to the committee and placed my name in nomination.

The first two or three years of existence of the League was occupied in an endeavor merely to exist. George Strobell gave unstintingly of his time, energy and money to the work of the League during the first few months, answering correspondence, mailing bundles of literature and making plans for future work. He then passed on this volunteer secretarial work to Upton Sinclair who, from his small farm home near Princeton, New Jersey, sent missives to college students between the chapters of the "Jungle," which he was then writing.

In 1907, the League reorganized with Mr. Stokes as president. For the next three years, it depended largely for its existence upon the generosity of the Rand School where it was housed without charge at the East 19th Street building. Miss Rosa Laddan, afterwards Mrs. Paul Hanna, devoted much time to its service during these years and the society finally obtained suffi-

cient funds to employ Mr. Merrick and, later, George R. Kirkpatrick on part time for an unbelievably small salary, as its organizers.

It was from 1910 to 1917 that the Society did its most vigorous work as the old I. S. S. in the colleges of the country. During the early part of this seven year period, the Socialist Party was accumulating its greatest strength. In 1912, the Socialist Party had a membership of about 120,000, the largest membership in its existence. Victor Berger was elected to Congress in 1910. The Socialist national vote of 1912 increased from 424,000 (the 1908 vote) to over 900,000. Socialist mayors were elected during these years in dozens of cities throughout the country.

This increase in Socialist sentiment was definitely reflected in the growth of I. S. S. college chapters. In 1910, there were about 13 of these chapters. During the next few years, these 13 increased to between 60 and 70. Every year the Society arranged hundreds of lectures in the colleges of the East and of the West. During several of these years, the two or three lecturers sent

out by the general organization covered from 100 to 120 colleges. A pamphlet was developed. Several source books on Socialism were published. The bulletin of the League was expanded into a quarterly, the Intercollegiate Socialist. The Society became a power in the intellectual life of scores of educational institutions.

Reaction Of the War

Then came the war. With the war the Reserve Officers Training Camps transformed institutions of learning. The chapters of the I. S. S. were snuffed into barracks for embryonic soldiers. The chapters of the I. S. S. were snuffed out almost overnight.

Following the war came a period of intolerance, of hysteria over a possible revolution and of bitter hatreds and prejudices. The I. S. S. kept on with its quiet work in the colleges and published for a year and a half a high-class magazine, "The Socialist Review."

Then came the period of reorgani-

Borough Park Opens Labor Lyceum

Saturday, December 26th, will be a gala day for the Socialists and radical workers in the Borough Park section of Brooklyn. It will mark the formal opening of the splendid Labor Lyceum built there through their efforts. The celebration will conclude with a banquet given in the ball room of the Labor Lyceum, 1377 Forty-second street, Borough Park, Brooklyn. Delegations from Socialist, Labor Union and Progressive Organizations are expected at the banquet. Between courses a fine musical program will be rendered to be followed by speeches from the most prominent workers in the Socialist and radical world.

A few years ago a small group of Socialists in that section realizing the great need for a building to house the party, Workmen's Circle Branch and Labor Unions of that section and foreseeing the tremendous influx of population, set themselves to task of organizing the preliminary work to launch the campaign for the erection of a Labor Lyceum. The originators were mostly members of the local Branch of the Socialist Verband and Branch 315 of the Workmen's Circle. Undaunted by the indifference of their fellow workers they kept up the struggle and today they can point with pride to the beautiful home which their energies made possible. The building with its three floors is a credit to the Socialist movement and will in no small measure contribute to the future growth of the party organization.

The committee in charge invites all comrades and sympathizers in the district as well as from the rest of the city to visit the Lyceum on Christmas, Friday, December 25th, when a committee will be on hand to extend to them a cordial welcome and take them around for a thorough inspection of the premises. A glance at this new addition to the facilities for the propaganda of our cause will fire them with renewed enthusiasm for the Socialist cause.

Symposium on Military Training

A Symposium on Military Training in schools and colleges will be given at the Bronx, Fee Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Sunday, December 27, at 8 p. m. The affirmative side will be upheld by Joseph Thomson, State Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

George Collins, Field Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, will oppose military training. Free discussion will follow the addresses. There will also be special music.

LET THE PEOPLE OWN THE MINES

A Petition to Congress for National Ownership and Democratic Management of Mines

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, urge upon your honorable body immediate action to end a situation under which tens of thousands of men are idle while hundreds of thousands of people suffer from want of proper fuel. Private ownership and management of the coal fields which no man has created and which are by right part of the national wealth, has resulted in an appalling situation. In the anthracite fields within ten years the owners have levied against the public the sum of two hundred million dollars in inflated valuation which is charged up against the cost of every ton of coal mined. According to the figures of the Coal Commission, one dollar in every three carried on their books is water. This inflation is only a beginning. In 1923 the anthracite miners officially proposed a plan for the substitution of 6 per cent. bonds for outstanding capital stock. If this were done, all existing capital could be retired in fifty years at a cost of 28c a ton, while the last official figures indicate a present cost for interest, profit, depletion and depreciation of at least \$1.00 a ton. The present strike shows a determination of the anthracite operators to smash the power of the union, which has been the one bulwark against their absolute control over a vital national resource.

The chaos in the bituminous field, its waste and over-development, its shirking disregard for human life, the chronic civil war in many non-union regions are even worse evils than the anthracite situation. These conditions cannot be satisfactorily remedied while the principle of private ownership and management for private profit is recognized.

Therefore, we petition your honorable body to proceed at once to frame and enact legislation to bring about national ownership and democratic management of all coal mines under conditions which will (1) protect the nation from paying on the basis of swollen valuation, (2) recognize the interests of the workers organized in their own union, and (3) guarantee democratic administration in place of bureaucracy, and expert technical leadership in place of partisan job holding.

Comrades interested in the above should sign on the following lines, and send same to H. M. Merrill, 467 Broadway, Albany, N. Y.

Name, _____

Address, _____
(Attach a white sheet to this and circulate it among your acquaintances for additional signatures)

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

AT COOPER UNION
at 8 o'clock

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 25th
NO MEETING

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 27th
Prof. Ernest R. Groves—"Education and Social Progress"

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29th
JOHN COWPER POWYS
"Four World Poets: II—Dante"

Admission Free
Open Forum Discussion

AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL
at 8 o'clock

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26th
NO MEETING

MONDAY, DECEMBER 28th
NO MEETING

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30th
NO MEETING

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31st
NO MEETING

Admission Twenty-five Cents

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101 colleges last year and spoke before some 40 to 50 thousand college students. Norman Thomas is constantly addressing college and city groups and is conducting an invaluable editorial service among labor and farm papers. Mr. Raushenbush is devoting his time to the preparation of plans for the nationalization of coal and giant power. The League is developing an exceptionally fine pamphlet series. It is co-operating with large numbers of groups in the universities and in our cities. It is doing a far greater work than ever before in bringing the challenge of the new social order in its industrial and international aspects before the youth of America.

Something of the record of its work and the record of social progress in general during the last twenty years will be described at its unique anniversary dinner on Dec. 30 by Morris Hillquit, Florence Kelley, Stuart Chase, Paul Douglas, Norman Thomas, Paul Blanshard, James H. Maurer and Harry W. Laidler, who will deliver brief five and ten minute talks.

The League during the last two days has been in receipt of dozens of congratulatory messages from educators all over the country. Edward Markham, the poet, inscribes a new poem to the L. I. D. to which he has written: "I have watched you for years fighting for your dreams—fighting in the midst of a group of earnest men and women, all looking for the same star." Prof. E. A. Ross of Wisconsin University declares that the L. I. D. is an "active ferment in an inert mass and does inject inquiry and thought regarding the fundamentals of modern society. I hope that the League will flourish and extend constantly its radius of influence."

Paul Kellogg of the Survey, after mentioning the fact "that some of the torch bearers of the past have grounded their torches and that others have snuffed them out," writes: "But you of the League for Industrial Democracy have kept the embers of a watch fire glowing, so that a younger generation coming on may find its way to your circle and kindle new torches if they will. That is a high hope, and in keeping it alight against the winds and fogs of circumstance the League for Industrial Democracy carries on one of the present services of our time."

While the League has received the following message from its founder, Upton Sinclair:

"I wish I could be with you and the crowd for the twentieth anniversary. When I think back to those days it brings to my mind many beautiful and also exciting memories. People ask me how I manage to keep cheerful in these trying days of Coolidge and Dawes, and I answer that the way to be happy and successful in this life is to identify yourself with some great cause, which has a future. Of course, you must be careful and wise in picking your cause. You won't get much happiness if you set out to prove that the earth is flat or that Jonah swallowed the whale. But if you tie up your faith with the working class of the world, and gamble upon the certainty that sooner or later they will abolish our system of organized greed, then as you grow older you will see things beginning to come your way, and you will have many great satisfactions. We today are too close to great events to realize how they will seem to the future: the downfall of the Hapsburg Empire, of the Hohenzollern Empire and of the Russian Tsardom, to say nothing of the inauguration of the first workers' government in all history. Those of us who take good care of their health will live to see equally great events in Great Britain and in America. Here's to the health of all of us, and to our cause."

Scores of the readers of The New Leader are planning to be present at the dinner of December 30 for the purpose of renewing old acquaintances and of drawing inspiration for further activity in the work of educating America toward a new and finer social order.

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Park Ave. and 34th St.
Sunday, December 27th
8 P. M.

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE
A Jew's View of Prejudice

11 A. M.
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"Great Possessions: What Are They?"
A New Year's Sermon

TO REALIZE THE IDEALS OF CHRIST

A PROGRAM FOR THE WINNING OF THE PROMISE HELD OUT BY THE MILITANT CHRISTIAN LEADER

Edmond Gottesman

Secretary, Neckwear Makers Union

THIS Christmas Day is the 1925 birthday of the man whom the Christian world is worshipping for the life he led and for the ethical and moral standards he preached. His disciples and followers believe that His coming was to redeem the world from sin, oppression and injustice, to establish the Brotherhood of Man and the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth.

He was impatient with the inequities of his day. On one occasion, when He came into the Temple in Jerusalem, He was so enraged that He drove out the money changers. The entry of the rich into heaven was as impossible as the passing of a camel through the eye of a needle, said He. To the poor and the toller He called: "Come unto me all ye who labor and are heavy laden and I will give you peace. Blessed are the poor for they shall inherit the earth."

One would be justified to assume that a world that accepted Him and is worshipping Him as the Son of God, would have established a human society wherein inequality, exploitation and injustice could not exist. We find, however, that down to our own time human society has not changed in any particular, except in the form of its oppressions, exploitations, inequalities and social injustices.

While the bells in the Christian churches peal, heralding peace on earth and good will to men, those congregated together will with religious solemnity and pious devotion offer prayers and supplications, consecrating themselves to a clean, righteous and spiritual life in affirmation of the precepts and commandments of the man who is the founder of their faith.

This done, one group of men will celebrate Christmas in their mansions on Riverside Drive, in the many fashionable and aristocratic residences, and in exclusive and expensive winter resorts surrounded in luxury and comfort, in contentment and happiness obtained from the great abundance of this industrial country has yielded them in this year 1925, A. D.

On the other hand, there are hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, although they worked and contributed to this prosperity, will, nevertheless, depend on philanthropy to obtain a Christmas dinner. Pick up any one of the daily newspapers of the last few weeks. In them you will find thousands of letters from sick, old, young and the unemployed. Read the descriptions of their poverty, want, despair and destitution. They are a

tale of woe that rend the heart.

Some newspapers are collecting Christmas funds to distribute among the suffering. Go on this Christmas morning to the doors of the charity buildings, the Elks, the Salvation Army, the Henry Street Settlement House, Lenox Hill House, Madison House, Greenwich House, the New York Stock Exchange and to a few churches. There you will see thousands of pale faces and emaciated forms of human beings, under-fed, half starved standing in long lines to get a basket or a bag filled with groceries and articles which will enable these wretched, destitute and degraded souls to enjoy a meal.

And 1925 has been the most prosperous year since 1919. The President in his message to Congress boasts of it, yet in New York alone so many thousands will depend on charity to celebrate the anniversary of the man whom they all worship. What will these and others in like circumstances the country over do the day after and thereafter?

How will the 158,000 miners and their families celebrate this Christmas? Will they have Christmas trees and gifts for their children, or even a meal? All of them have worked at the risk of their lives hundreds of feet underground to supply this country with coal, fuel to keep our homes heated in the winter and to keep the wheels of industry turning. In return their right to a living wage and humane conditions is denied by keeping them out for months and using the cruel inhuman weapon of starvation to whip them into submission. Both the miner and owner of the coal mines are of the same faith—Christianity, but oh, in what different economic and social conditions they live!

There are appeals out to help the miners financially and with old clothes. I hope that everybody will respond generously to help them win a victory and the right to get enough out of their labor to maintain themselves and their families in decency. There you have our Christian world with its system. For the workers, hunger and starvation, public appeals to keep them alive; for the mine barons—well, have you seen any reference to their poverty or inability to support themselves or their children? Not one of them has as yet sold his mansion or pawned his wife's jewelry to buy food

Merry Christmas: Cooper Square

THREE cold, old men
On a cold, old bench,
Sat huddled together,
Discussing the weather.

"God! Ain't it cold!"
Said the first old man.
"There ain't no God!"
Said the second old man.

"Hell!" cried the third.
He was cold. He was old.
"What difference to me
If there is or there ain't,
If there ain't or there is?
I'm cold; and I'm old."

"Ain't this Christmas merry?"
Laughed the first.
"God! For a glass of sherry
To drown my thirst."

"Hell, stop your dreamin'!"
Said the third to the first.
"All your dreamin' schemin'
Won't drown your thirst."

"Christ!" said the second,
"It's a holiday.
Christmas! Merry Christmas!
Christ, makes me laugh."

and clothing for their families during the strike.

Who is to blame for such a state of affairs? The bankers, landlords, manufacturers and food speculators who own and control the tools, machinery and the other means of production and distribution; who live on profits, rent, interest and dividends which they collect from their investments in industry, from their monopolistic schemes and

Christmas! Merry Christmas,
"N a Happy New Year!"

"I ain't got a dime.
I ain't got a bed.
Christmas! What a time!
I wish I were dead!"

"God!" cried the first.
"Damn good that would do.
Who's gonna bury you?
Where'll they bury you?"

"Christ, but it's tough.
Not a place to sleep.
Winter's gettin' rough,
And beds ain't cheap."

Three cold, old men
On a cold, bench
Sitting together,
Discussing the weather.

One begged for death.
Another for breath.
One wanted sherry.
("Ain't Christmas merry?
God! for a bed!
Wish I were dead!")

HENRY HARRISON.

Christianity in all it stands for hasn't solved it in all the nearly 2,000 years of its existence. While it may be invoked by the individual in personal affairs with respect to morality, kindness, generosity, sympathy, religious ceremonies, and in its theological speculations and explanations of creation; the origin of man, his destiny, the immortality of the soul and life in the hereafter, its message to man's economic and political relations to industrial and commercial conduct and to capital and labor has had no effect. These problems can be solved only by the following immediate and practical means that must be taken into consideration by the workers:

One means is to organize educational groups in every union and fraternal labor organization for instruction in economics, history, sociology and the knowledge of managing and financing industries; also the sciences, arts and philosophy. Another means is to organize co-operatives to produce food, clothing and shelter and to market them co-operatively. For the workers are not only producers; they are also consumers. As producers they are exploited in the factories and shops by working long hours and not receiving their due share of their product to enable them to live a full and complete life; as consumers, when they buy commodities and necessities and are charged high prices fixed by the speculators. Lastly, a powerful Labor Party should be organized for effective political action to safeguard the right and freedom of the workers to develop their own organizations and to pursue such endeavors that are calculated to liberate them from the present ruling and dominant social forces, unhampered by legal restraints fastened upon them by

legislation and judicial interpretation by courts of the ruling class.

If all indifferent and lethargic workers wake up and determine to initiate the foregoing suggested measures it would be a genuine real beginning of the building of a new social order whose purpose would be production and distribution for use and the promotion of the welfare and well-being of every member of society. This is no Utopia. It can be put into operation right now if the workers would stop thinking in the old terms of—

FREEDOM—To say anything you like in praise of present institutions. If you criticize them you are a Bolshevik and have a chance to go to jail.

INITIATIVE AND INCENTIVE—To go into business and become a successful business man, even if you have to crush your rivals, give as little and as inferior quality as you can and get as much as possible, in disregard of all moral principles and the effect it may have on your fellow-men.

INDIVIDUALISM—Which has no meaning today when production is done on a large scale. Men are known by numbers and are merely tending a machine, which is a part of a process in producing an article. In the shoe industry, for instance, a workman does only a 250th part of the whole shoe.

DEMOCRACY—As practiced by the Republican and Democratic bosses, who pick candidates for government offices up to the President; buy votes and steal elections, or put duly elected Socialist Assemblymen from the Legislature, as they did in 1919-20.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT—Whose chief concern is to protect private property, capital at home, investments and loans abroad, issue injunctions against strikers, countenance child labor, land and food speculators and open shoppers, in return for which the President promises them not to interfere in their business. (Speech to the New York State Chamber of Commerce in November, 1925.)

PUBLIC EDUCATION—Which is under the control of corrupt and reactionary politicians who educate the workers' children to be efficient automatons at benches, obedient and acquiescent to an exploiting and iniquitous economic system.

FRIENDS OF LABOR—Who are 100 per centers and for the present system, with all its evils.

The rejection of this way of thinking implies a different attitude, a departure from bourgeois ideology to the development of a new one and a sincere effort to reconstruct society on new principles. It requires a social vision, inspiration and an outlook toward a brighter and happier future.

Carlotta Goes to the Country

By Gertrude Weil Klein

CARLOTTA had a mop of golden, curly hair and believed in fairies. Some day, she was sure, her fairy godmother would come and take her away from the dirty, crowded streets of the city into the far, beautiful country. The most precious thing she owned was a calendar with trees and grass and birds on it. That was the country.

One day, when the water wagon came to MacDougal Alley and left muddy puddles in the gutter, Carlotta played in the muddy puddles with the other children and got sick. Her mother could not take care of her in the three little rooms where their big family lived so they took Carlotta to the hospital.

At first Carlotta was frightened and hated the hospital. Everything was so clean and so quiet. She lay huddled and strained under the white covers. Then she began to like the quiet and the cleanliness. Most of all, she liked her nurse. She had golden, curly hair like Carlotta's and believed in fairies.

Then one day a terrible thing happened. The doctor said it would be better if they cut Carlotta's hair off. It was getting so tangled and she was too weak to have it combed. So they shaved Carlotta's golden curls off. There they lay on her white bed cover, a shiny, silken mass. Carlotta touched her prickly little head and the tears trickled through her half-closed eyelids.

"And Now She Was Crying"

The doctor could not understand Carlotta. All the time her chest had been hurting so badly, she had been quiet and patient. "Such a brave little girl," everybody said, and now she was crying, and crying because her hair was cut.

Carlotta did not mind pain. She had often got nasty bumps which hurt

A Fairy Story for Christmas Time

ribly and no one paid any attention to her. But her golden curls; that was different. That was something to cry over. Nobody else in the Alley had golden curls. Sometimes strange people passed by and petted her and stroked her hair and gave her pennies. They were the only pennies Carlotta ever got. Going back to MacDougal Alley was bad enough, but going back without her curls. . . . the tears came rushing faster and faster whenever she thought of it.

Carlotta's lovely nurse was coming to take the curls away. "I'll put them in a pretty box for you and you can have them when you go home," nurse told her.

Carlotta prayed every night that she would never have to go home. Her mother was always cross and the house so dirty. The clean, quiet hospital was heaven, and her smiley, golden nurse who kissed her, an angel. And the doctor was such a funny little man, who always had a new story to tell her when he looked at her chest. And she had a bed all to herself. Carlotta had never heard of anybody who had a bed all to herself.

"Oh, I wish, I wish I had a fairy godmother. Then I wouldn't have to go home." And just as she said that, what do you think, her fairy godmothers, two of them, stood at her bedside. (Yes, little girls who live in the slums have fairy godmothers, too!)

The Two Godmothers

The names of Carlotta's fairy godmothers were Tuberculosis and Charity Organization Society. They were two ugly, old crones, with long, bony fingers and trick smiles. You looked at them and thought they were smiling, then you looked again and saw

that they just stretched their lips across their teeth. Their eyes never smiled at all.

Well, it seemed that Carlotta's fairy godmothers and the doctor and the nurse had decided that it would never do to send Carlotta back to MacDougal Alley. "She'd die in two months," said the doctor. Carlotta's fairy godmother C. O. S. clucked with her tongue and said, "Well, we'll see. Sometimes these foreign parents don't like me, but if they're willing I'll take her to the country."

Carlotta was terribly disappointed in her fairy godmothers. They were not at all as she pictured them and the thought of going anywhere with them made her tremble with fear. But when C. O. S. mentioned the country her heart jumped with joy and she tried to tell herself that maybe C. O. S. had a kind heart, even if she were so ugly. When Carlotta's father came—her mother could not come because there was no one to leave the children with—he was terribly angry, and sure enough he did not like C. O. S. one bit. Perhaps that was because she asked him so many questions. How much money he made and how much he spent, and did he smoke, did he drink, did he chew tobacco.

In a loud voice, so loud that Carlotta had to hide her head under the covers, her father told the fairy godmother to mind her own business, that he worked hard, every day, all the time, and he would take care of his family himself. And Carlotta saw C. O. S.'s lips screw up into a tight little button, so she put her thin hand into her father's big, hard one and whispered to him: "Oh, papa, they'll send me to the country."

And Carlotta's big, strong father bent down by her bed and leaned his face against her hand, and Carlotta thought he was crying, only her father never cried, so it could not be. But he said, "All right" to C. O. S. and Carlotta fell asleep that night smiling because she knew the next day she was going to the country, where there were grass and flowers and birds, just like her calendar, and by the time she went home to MacDougal Alley all her golden curls would grow back again.

THANKSGIVING

FORTUNATE the dead, happy the blind.

That cannot see a scene of the kind
Which I have seen; on a street
Trembling men on their feet
Waiting all day—

For a morsel of food
On Thanksgiving Day.
Quivering in the biting cold
A line of men, feeble and old,
For a morsel of food
Waiting all day

Doled out by the rich
On Thanksgiving Day.
In the guise of charity
To each a portion of humility
That cut the soul very deep—
God! shall I curse, or shall I weep?

Weep for that pathetic throng,
Victims of a system, damnably wrong
Where a few gorge themselves to
Inflation

German Unions Gaining Members

With its membership cut to 3,975,002 at the end of 1924, the German General Federation of Labor struck rock bottom and soon an upward movement was begun which, as reported in the Federation's latest statistical tables, resulted in a gain of 219,573 members by June 1, 1925. Since then the increase has continued, more or less regularly, and, despite the economic crisis now making itself felt in some German industries, it is expected that the advance will be continued.

While their sisters and brothers die of starvation.
Hundreds of them—old before age, with grey hair,
A horrible picture of despair,
Just as many spirits dead—
A picture of doubt—dread
Of a system that bends men's backs
Leaving them spiritual and physical wrecks!
Where is the sting of death?
If such be the means to maintain one's breath!
Fortunate the dead, happy the blind
That cannot see a scene of that kind.
ANNA TRAUM.

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THE LITERATURE OF THE FUTURE

By Joseph T. Shipley

It is usually easier to give an illustration than a definition. One can come in contact with electricity, for instance, much more readily than one can grasp its nature. We all feel that we can recognize an oyster, say, or a poem, when we see one; but the scientist and the critic would rather not be asked to give a definition of life, or of poetry. So the critics who attempt to analyze literature, to seek its essence and prime characteristics, are few, compared to those who content themselves with charting the past, or guessing the future, journey.

Recent books give us opportunity, however, to see both types of critical endeavor as well as providing literature as attendant illustration. The most pretentious and the most successful of the surveys is that comprehensive *Story of the World's Literature* over which John Macy has been spending industrious years. With numerous full page illustrations that burn the spirit of each author's work into his portrait, the volume carries the tale from the first word-of-mouth murmurings of song through the early Hebrew and Greek masterpieces down the ages to the mass and the masters of today. To expect such a survey to meet all the hopes and queries of every reader—even of Mr. Macy—is idle and unfair; we may protest against certain omissions, though we should hardly expect contemporaries to come at all into such a volume there might be greater measure of justice in the complaint that the author is not sufficiently concerned to present the literature in the light of the country and conditions that gave it being, somewhat as Elie Faure achieves his triumph in his history of art. But Mr. Macy would probably retort, and justly, that we have no right to insist that his picture shall fit our frame. His volume affords a clear, straightforward, and largely comprehensive view of the best writing of all ages and all peoples. It marks a specific task well performed.

The opposite direction, on a narrower path, is taken by R. C. Trevelyan, whose *Thamyris* is a guess at the future of poetry. Cautiously the author erects his structure of expectation on the pillars of accomplishment. He attempts to analyze the rhythmic possibilities of English, and the various subjects possible to verse, then to point out those which have been neglected and which might be developed; he lays special stress on the dramatic monologue and the poetic narrative. Vague as such a prognostic volume must be, Mr. Trevelyan makes his points specific enough to apply to some recent books of verse.

On our desk happen to lie three new volumes of poetry. In "Roan Stallion" Robinson Jeffers gives two very long narratives and a dramatic presentation besides much other work of unusual force. The narratives touch profoundly the chords of human passion, and strangely enough, are in theme and sweeping mood a return to Greek exuberance and Greek tragic joy. The drama itself is on the subject of one of the most famous of the Grecian tragedies, the murder of Agamemnon by his wife, and her death at the hands of their son. But Jeffers has, with artistic surety, anticipated Mr. Trevelyan's warning that the poetic narrative must maintain a high level of beauty, for his stories grow through a current of vigorous description, as one might hear a legend while canoeing down a stream and watching the beauty of the banks. Save that Jeffers' scenery is more turbulent, more varied, like the bays and sudden colored walls of a canyon.

Trevelyan doubts the permanency of free verse, suggesting that all poetry must have a regularity one can imagine, if one cannot trace, underlying its surface variations. And this sense Jeffers attains; his irregularities somehow surge and sweep into a recurring roll, as of breakers, never exactly tired.

¹ *The Story of the World's Literature*, by John Macy, New York. Boni & Liveright. \$5.

² *Thamyris*, by R. C. Trevelyan, New York. Dutton. \$1.

³ *Roan Stallion and Other Poems*, by Robinson Jeffers, New York. Boni & Liveright. \$2.

⁴ *The Poets of the Future*, volume VIII, Edited by H. Schmittkin, Boston. Stratford Company. \$2.50.

THE LINKING OF ART TO THE LIFE-NEEDS OF MAN IS THE TASK BEFORE THE WRITERS OF TOMORROW

nor equally forceful, yet tumbling on with intervals and lulls and leaping of power that form a definitely imagined rhythmic scheme.

It was like daylight
Out-doors and she hastened with-
out faltering down the foot-
path, through the dark fringe
of twisted oakbrush.
To the open place in the bay of a
hill. The dark strength of
the stallion heard her com-
ing; she heard him
Blow the shining air out of his na-
strils, she saw him in the
white lake of moonlight
Move like a lion along the timbers
of the fence, shaking the
nightfall
Of the great mane; his fragrance
came to her; she leaned on
the fence;
He drew away from it, the hooves
making soft thunder in the
trodden soil.

More in accord with the trend away from free verse are the two other vol-
umes. The Poets of the Future
gathers the best work of our college
bards in eighth annual collection.
The book contains comparatively little
verse that is not definitely, if not pain-
fully, fitted with meter and rhyme.
Most of it deals with some phase of
nature; the volume might almost be
arranged by seasons: Miss Songer's
spring song of Pan's labors; Mr. Fit-
zell's peddled June, are graceful; love
runs the climate close second; but
these young men and women daily on
the edge of life, unconcerned with more
than a decorative border. Mr. Wade,
Mr. Van Dine strike more deeply into
the soil of emotion; Fudman of Col-
umbia is effective in his notion that

The hardest night a corpse must pass
Is the night before they bury him.
A. J. M. Smith in sound restraint
and Leon Byrre more hysterically, are
the only ones who achieve a fearless

facing of life. The urgings of these
youthful nature-singers, in careful
measures, are carried to richer fulfill-
ment in "Tragic Beaches" privately
printed for Charles Norman. In sev-
eral narratives of pure lyric flow,
Charles Norman captures the sea, not
exuberant and smiling as in Swinburne,
but more stern and sturdy, the sea
that sailors faced exultant in salt wind
and soaring billow.

And in that city bells swing in the
tower,
Over the meadow-lands they ring
and chime,
Making dim music in a holy hour
Till song sounds there that makes
the heart a rhyme,
And snow-swept fields burst
forth again in flower,
And earth glows with men's
dreams for a brief time,
And lovers stop to listen, hearing
the bells,
Hushed by the magic of these
ancient spells

Along the shore the ships move
dreamily,
On perilous quests and voyages
to the poles.
The water, as of old, laps on the
quay,
And as of old, lads hear it in their
souls,
And cannot sleep for dreaming of
the sea.
The gulls flap noisy wings; the
red sun rolls
Across a mist-valled sky. Wan
water creeps
In the starred night upon a land
that sleeps.

The color of this work would indi-
cate that the best of future poetry
will be a continuance of the richest
traditions of our heritage.

The bolder study of literature, from
the point of view of its significance
to man, its application to human de-
sires and needs, is less productive.
V. F. Calverton, in the Modern Quar-

ter, has long been encouraging criti-
cism from this sociological standpoint,
and in his keen volume of essays, *The
Newer Spirit*, makes several ap-
proaches to such a general study. The
interpretation of the life of a period
through its literature would afford
many new searchlights; Logan P.
Smith has shown how vocabulary
alone may reveal a people's charac-
teristics; but few are equipped for
the double task involved. Upton Sin-
clair, in "Mammonart," makes the
more specific attempt to show litera-
ture has, with other fields of human
activity in every period of human his-
tory, been grasped by those in power
and made to serve their purposes. As
usual, much of this is deliberate pan-
dering, for the sake of patronage or
royalties; much of it is the sincere
belief of those who have been nursed
at the golden breast of power. And
as usual, Upton Sinclair is inclined to
see duplicity and deliberate deceit
where there is only stupidity or
sheeplike following—or possibly sin-
cere philosophy.

For it must be recognized that
every one who writes is deep-rooted
in his environment and must express
it in his work. The solos of protest
no less than the chorus of praise are
direct overflow of the activity of
the age; Coolidge may represent a
larger number of Americans but is no
truer an indication of their spirit than
the rallying of his followers that sings
in Debs. Some persons and life just
what they want; more, urged by per-
sonal needs or something that seems
a more general interest in the welfare
of their fellows, and life not wholly
formed to their desires. Sinclair sees
treachery to truth and humankind
when O. Henry turns the grim story
of a fellow-prisoner into the sweetly
sentimental "retrieved reformation" of
Jimmy Valentine. Yet even among
those who find life largely unsatis-
factory, there are two tenable atti-
tudes, which we believe most help-
ful may depend upon which we hap-
pen to hold. In special contrast are
the views of, say, an O. Henry—of a
Christianity, and those of an Upton
Sinclair, or of Christ. The first group
urges man to change his standard so
that he will be satisfied with the world
as it is, to alter his desires. "See
what a pleasant place the world is!"
warble the best sellers; and the mis-
tler proclaims the joys of submis-
sion and resignation, the rewards of
a life hereafter. The second group
suggests a change, not in our desires,
but in the world until it meets our
desires. And Sinclair shows the sins
and denounces the sinners of our day
as Christ denounced—and forgave—the
sinners of an earlier time. To ask
which attitude is the better is to
call upon us to judge between Christ
and the Christians—although the lat-
ter imply their own condition when
they point out that the devil can quote
Scripture to his purpose. (Surely no
one can read what ministers have said
during the recent and other wars,
what they say in districts of Labor
disputes, without feeling the force of
this application).

In fine, I suppose no one will seri-
ously question that the majority of
living beings are dissatisfied, and that,
since present conditions are not fixed
and forever unchangeable, the fair and
intelligent and sincere activity will
aim to adjust the circumstances of life
to the greater satisfaction of those
who must somehow live.
Upton Sinclair's provocative study
seems to have carried us some dis-
tance from literature, but only that
we may the more pointedly return.
For literature is the most responsive,
most immediate of the intelligible re-
cords (music appealing rather to feel-
ing) of man's spiritual desires and
progress. In literature the shams of
society are most clearly pointed out,
concentrated, and laid bare for amused
or indignant inspection. In literature
man's hopes, his ideals, his efforts, his
blunders, and his forward steps, and
warning or rousing record. And it is
in this linking of man's art to his
life-needs, in this concordant devel-
opment of his social opportunities and
his artistic expression, effecting an un-
derstanding that will redound to fur-
ther growth, that the literature of the
future can chiefly serve.

*MAMMONART. By Upton Sinclair. Pub-
lished by U. Sinclair at Pasadena, Cal. \$2.

The Tragedy of Waste

By McAlister Coleman

IT'S a new sort of economics that Stuart Chase and a few other pro-
gressive students are busied with. Chase has just put some of his
findings into a book called "The Tragedy of Waste" (published by
The Macmillan Company, price \$2) that makes really exciting reading
and hits at one of the central faults of our present system so hard as
to evoke heart cheers from every radical.

Instead of drooling away about "the
law of supply and demand," "the law
of diminishing returns" and such like
chestnuts that college professors are
forever pulling out of the fire for the
benefit of their capitalist masters,
Chase goes right to the point and
shows how "practical business men and
industrialists" are wasting not only
materials but the lives of hundreds of
thousands of human beings as well in
producing wealth but what Chase,
borrowing from Ruskin, calls "filth."

This book fills a want that has long
been felt by every radical spokesman.
It is not enough to point out in vague
terms the faults of the present economic
system. It is high time some one gave
us actual facts and figures to clinch
the case against capitalism from the stand-
point of the waste it causes. Here in
easily understood terms Chase draws
up a sweeping and very true indict-
ment, liberally documented and delight-
fully written. It was a big job well
worth the doing.

In a vivid way Chase points out the
four general sources of waste: (1)
Waste from idle men—the parasitic rich
and the parasitic poor; (2) wastes from
man-power employed in making vic-
tuous, hurtful or useless things—"pat-
ent medicines, opium, super-luxuries,
the bulk of advertising, war"; (3) waste
from failure to use scientific manage-
ment, standardization, proper technical
methods, etc., and, above all, failure to
co-ordinate production with national
requirements; (4) waste of natural re-
sources—lumber, coal, oil, natural gas,
etc.

These wastes Mr. Chase studies in
detail. He concludes that 50 per cent
of man-power is wasted. We do not
produce what we might and should not
equitably distribute what we produce.
And our failure is more or less inher-
ent in the anarchistic system of pro-
duction for profit rather than use. For
instance, if a man can make 20 per cent
by producing hurtful drugs or speculat-
ing in real estate and only 5 per cent
by raising wheat, he is likely to make
drugs or gamble in real estate.

Whether we can ever be wise enough
to banish waste, whether men will pro-
duce wisely for use and not for profit,
Mr. Chase is less sure. His concluding
paragraph states both his hopes and his
fear.

"No, illusions we may have, but they
are pierced with the stark arrows of the
repeated helplessness of mankind be-
fore its destiny. In the war we glimpsed
control, but it was control only to fur-
ther a vaster and more tragic waste.
Where are the scientists and statesmen
to dig their hands and brains into this
roaring wilderness, so finely wrought in
isolated detail, and bring from it or-
dered cities, impounded waters, ter-

raced and tended forests, the sweep
of great transmission lines, clean rivers,
workshops planned with the dignity of
cathedrals, and the end of grime and
poverty and despair?"

Will labor be ready to co-operate
with the scientists in banishing waste?
If workers' education classes will study
this book they will gain information
and insight which will enable them to
make the recent A. F. of L. declaration
against waste far more effective.

ITALIAN ATMOSPHERE

By Madeline Leaf

"THE OUTCAST" presented us
with a new Pirandello, not
only because we had never
read a novel of Pirandello's, but be-
cause it confronted us with an author
writing nationalistically and realisti-
cally. Before we read "The Outcast,"
Pirandello's name stood for us as a
weaver of plays; moreover, plays that
were not Italian in their makeup, and
the antithesis of what we commonly
call realism.

But in this book* we meet a Piran-
dello who is writing a novel with a
plot, and a flesh and blood protagonist,
and an atmosphere that is decidedly
and unquestionably Italian. The novel
is a portrait of a woman and her life
in an Italian town, with none of the
Pirandello spiritualistic conjectures or
implications. There are no mysteries,
no half-veiled tragedies here. The
author has spun his tale about a young
and beautiful Italian girl, Marta, mar-
ried by her parents at a very early
age, to a jealous young compatriot,
Rocco. He, after their marriage, is
none too attentive to her, and she
spends much of her time with her
mother and her sister.

There is the inevitable temper in
Alvignani who sends her furtive notes
and carries on an intellectually sophis-
ticated correspondence with her in a
clandestine manner. Rocco discovers
her reading one of these letters, and
in a fit of traditional Italian passion,
banishes her from his home. Marta's
father feels utterly disgraced by his
daughter. He, too, does not believe her
innocent. He jocks himself perman-
ently in his bedroom, only to die in a
fit of rage. Poverty and years of hard-
ship set in for the three women. They
move to another city. Rocco follows
Marta, who by this time is so weary
of her persecution by public opinion
that she succumbs to the persuasions of
Alvignani. The last page sees a re-
conciliation and forgiveness between
Rocco and Marta.

The first half of the book, full of the
rantings and ravings of Rocco and
Marta's father, seems an overdose of
masculine jealousy and masculine ego-
tism. It waxes on the point of foolish-
ness, for it seems too much like much
ado about nothing. The latter half of
the novel telling the story of Marta's
struggle to support her mother and
sister, as well as her struggle to keep
away from Alvignani after her world
has already condemned her as having
been his, are told with an admirable
forcefulness and clearness. Stark
tragedy is Pirandello's forte. Some of
his emotional passages are first rate.
But as a whole, the book lacks sym-
pathy and softness. It does produce
a fine Italian atmosphere—one feels the
Italian passionate and jealous soul be-
hind it—but it is too much of a realistic
eternal triangle story to be classed with
such a piece of art as "Six Characters
in Search of an Author."

*THE OUTCAST. By Luigi Pirandello.
Outcast translation by Leo O'Grady. From
the Italian. New York: E. P. Dutton &
Company. \$2.50.

The real object of a prison is to
keep people outside it.—Sir William
Joynton-Hicks.

The earth is our workshop; we
may not curse it, we must hallow
it.—Mazzini.

The Dusky Singers

THE BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO SPIRITUALS, edited by James Weldon Johnson,
musical arrangements by J. Rosamond Johnson and Lawrence Brown. New York: The
Viking Press, 1925. \$3.50.

By Gloria Goddard

THE voice of the Negro has at last penetrated into American litera-
ture. Three books on the spirituals of the dark race have ap-
peared this fall, the last being this splendid volume edited by Mr.
Johnson.

The book has two great values to
lovers of music and students of Negro
culture. First, it is a book of music,
and as such has no equal in volumes
of any race's folk songs. Second, the
songs, given in their proper manner
by a man who was brought up in the
land where the songs were first sung,
show the hopes and faiths of the
colored peoples as no long treatise on
the subject could do. Then, there is
the added merit of Mr. Johnson's fine
introduction.

This introduction assumes the prop-
ortions of a brief book, itself. It is
a concise attempt to show where and
how the spirituals originated, and
their place in the art achievement of
America. For those who are interested
in singing the songs, there is a brief
and accurate description of how they
should be rendered, and how, as far
as it is possible to tell, the dialect
should be pronounced. It is an inter-
esting bit of reading, this introduction,
and whether one can sing or play the
spirituals or not, it makes a fascinat-
ing bit of reading.

The arrangements of the spirituals
leaves nothing to be desired. Mr.
Rosamond Johnson brought to his
work, not only his innate love for the
songs of his people, but the genius
of a great musician. For he is a great
musician, and a remarkable composer.
He has arranged his accompaniments
in a most exquisite fashion, bringing
out all of the splendid merit of the
songs, additionally, leaving the air
running through most of the pieces.
This makes the book worth while for
those who can play the piano, but can-
not sing. For, there are very few of
the songs that cannot be played as
purely instrumental pieces.

It is a book which reveals the poverty
of language. There is little that can
be adequately said about it. One must
have it to enjoy at leisure before its
full merit can be realized. The Book
of American Negro Spirituals is a
volume that no music-lover should
deny himself the pleasure of possess-
ing, and that no concert singer who is
capable of including Negro songs in
his repertoire should fail to have.

Garment Lefts Return After Bolt

(Continued from page 1)

not calculated to bring about a more
conciliatory attitude on the part of
the Right who felt, with much justifi-
cation, that the bolt was but another
of the Communist-Left attempts to
"bulldoze" the convention. The Com-
munists were urged to stay away unless
they would agree to recognize the con-
vention's decisions.

When President Sigman took the
floor he immediately served notice
that, no matter what the Rules Com-
mittee recommended, he was prepared
to fight for the referendum promised
in the peace agreement. It was evi-
dent that he had the majority of the
delegates with him. The Left Wing
had left an observer behind, who im-
mediately brought to them the news
of Sigman's stand on the matter. The
Lefts then sent a committee to the
convention to announce their return
the next day.

President Sigman, as had been ex-
pected, succeeded in swaying the con-
vention in favor of a referendum on
proportional representation.

Sigman and Baroff Are Re-Elected

The sessions Thursday were given
over to the election of officers. Presi-
dent Morris Sigman and Secretary-
Treasurer Abraham Baroff were both
re-elected over Louis Hyman and
Charles S. Zimmerman their Left-
Communist opponents. Sigman and
Baroff received 159 votes to 109 for
Hyman and Zimmerman.

Four lefts were given places on the
new general executive board, in
recognition of their election to respon-
sible offices by some of the New York
locals last summer. The Lefts nomi-
nated six candidates but the Rights
turned thumbs down on two of them.
Zimmerman and J. Goretzky, giving the
other four enough votes to elect them.
The four lefts elected were Hyman, L.
Borochovitz, D. Gindgold and Julius
Portnoy. None of the outstanding
Communists among the Lefts were
given places on the board, the most
prominent Communist to be turned
down being Zimmerman. Of the four
elected, Hyman, Portnoy and Gindgold
are not members of the Workers Party
while Borochovitz is a member.

Others elected to the general ex-
ecutive board, thus automatically made
vice-presidents of the International,
were David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini,
Jacob Halperin, Salvatore Ninfo, of
New York, and Julius Hochman, Elias
Reisberg, Max Amdur, Mollie Freid-
man, Charles Kreindler, David Godes
and Harry Greenberg.
Antonini, Hochman, Miss Friedman,
Kreindler, Greenberg, Godes and the
four Lefts are new additions to the
board. They displace Fannie M. Cohn,
Israel Feinberg, Sol Seidman, Samuel
Lefkowitz, Harry Wander and Isadore
Schoenheits and others who resigned

their position before the convention
convened.

Following the adjournment of the
convention, the new G. E. B. met and
voted to drastically curtail the salaries
of all paid officers in order to conserve
the organization's finances for coming
struggles in the industry which are ex-
pected to be very costly.

"COAL FACTORY"

(Continued from page 1)

equal intervals along the face.
Shoveling is easy in that they are
enabled to load the coal by a
single toss of the shovel. The men
go through no unnecessary mo-
tions and the exertion involved is
less than one-third that required
to load in the ordinary mine car.
This point is important, as it has
been proved in actual practice, for
a man in one hour loads more coal
than he could load in a mine car in
approximately three hours of
heavy exertion."

The face at which they are loading
measures about thirty-five feet. When
about two-thirds of this is loaded two
loaders let the others finish, and they
start undercutting the coal which is to
be shot down for the next advance.
By the time the undercutting is half
done the loading is finished, and the
other two loaders start drilling for
shots, while the fifth man, who has
been tending the cars, gets all the
equipment ready for lengthening the
conveyor. The shots are fired by elec-
tricity, and the men eat their lunch
while the distributing fan carries off
the gases and smoke.

The second half of the shift is spent
like the first. At the end of the day
the crew finishes by preparing a cut
for loading at the beginning of the
following shift. It is remarked that
this system lends itself to two shifts
a day.

Next to the fact that more rapid
loading cuts down the number of
miners required, the important point
is the change in the kind of job which
this simple machine brings about. The
coal digger must feed coal to this
machine, which carries it away steady-
ly at 131 feet a minute. Working on
his knees in seams as low as thirty
inches, with a mechanical toss of the
shovel repeated monotonously, he
throws some sixteen tons of coal on to
the moving belt. The necessity of
using this machine to a maximum has
introduced a new discipline. Mining is
no longer an individual job. The shift
from loading to cutting and drilling
must be carried out with regularity
in order that the machine may not
wait too long for its next meal. If
the loading and cutting do not gear
into each other according to schedule,

DR. CECILE L. GREIL

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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, blow-
ing of horns, whistles, ringing bells, etc. You are again invited to
help us celebrate this great event, which will take place at our ball-
room, 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 ZUKOFF, Manager.

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

AN EARLY AMERICAN SOCIALIST

By James Oneal

IF American Socialists had explored the history of the United States as Socialists abroad have explored the history of their respective countries we would have a more effective movement. I have mentioned before that in the last decade of the eighteenth century William Manning, a Massachusetts workingman, had already outlined a number of important principles now accepted by the Socialists of the world. In the middle thirties of the nineteenth century Thomas Brothers in Philadelphia was also outlining a radical working class philosophy.

Probably the most learned of the men in this country who preceded Marx was Orestes A. Brownson of Boston whose writings belong to the late thirties and the early forties. Before Marx had joined with Engels in writing the famous "Manifesto" Brownson had formulated practically every principle outlined in that document. He was confused only on one or two points and this was due to the immature character of American industry at the time when he wrote. Over and over again he expounded the conflict of interests between capitalist and laborer; the view that labor is the source of wealth (value); that history is a record of class struggles; that the workers must obtain control of government to emancipate themselves.

A few quotations will give some idea of Brownson's masterly work. He wrote that the tendency of capitalism is to "diminish the number of proprietors and to increase the number of operatives at wages," therefore we "should labor to make the operatives the owners of the factory." The capitalist, he said, "invests his capital not for the purpose of obtaining the means of subsistence but, the increase of his wealth. For this end he purchases labor. But the workman sells his labor that he may obtain not wealth, but the means of subsistence."

Rising Out of The Working Class

There were those who said that some workers had risen out of their class, so why not many others? His answer was that "only a certain number of individuals" can rise out of the working class and continued: "One rises from the class of proletarians only by making those (whom) he leaves behind the lever of his elevation. This, therefore, necessarily implies that there must always be a laboring class,

The Views of Orestes A. Brownson, of Boston, Whose Writings Preceded Those of Karl Marx

and of course that the means, which this or that laborer uses for his individual elevation, cannot in the nature of things be used by all of his class." Then he asked his opponents why they should not "work in earnest to remodel the institution of property, so that all shall be proprietors and you be relieved from paying wages and the proletariat from the necessity of receiving them?"

Brownson understood that economic and social changes play an enormous part in shaping literary history. "If you consult literary history," he wrote, "you will find that there is no literature, ancient or modern, which is not indebted for its existence to some social fermentation, to some social change or revolution, which has brought along a new class of sentiments to be uttered, or raised up new problems to be solved." Out of the struggle between capitalists and laborers the next great literature is to be born and that struggle involves "a revolution to which all preceding revolutions were mere child's play." The reason for this is that "we now have to solve, not the question of political

equality, but the problem of social equality... and in the effort to finish this work a literature will be born before which all the literatures now extant may, perhaps, shrink into insignificance."

In a sweeping survey of history Brownson writes a paragraph which reminds us of the great Manifesto mentioned above. "No one can observe the signs of the times with much care," he writes, "without perceiving that a crisis as to the relation of wealth and labor is approaching. It is useless to shut our eyes to the fact... We or our children will have to meet this crisis. The old war between the King and the Barons is well nigh ended, and so is that between the Barons and the Merchants and Manufacturers—landed capital and commercial capital. The business man has become the peer of my lord. And now commences the struggle between the operative and his employer between wealth and labor."

It required keen perception for a man to write this passage in this country in the year 1840. The slavery question was coming to the front to

monopolize political discussion. Brownson favored the overthrow of slavery but he also contended that if the wage system was to continue forever he would prefer slavery because it imposed on the owner the obligation to look after the wants of the slave. But he believed that the overthrow of slavery would pave the way for the abolition of the system that made the "proletaries" the dependents of the capitalist owners of industry.

A Review of Brownson's Ideas

To properly estimate the social philosophy of Orestes Brownson would require more space than we can devote to it and this review of his ideas can be only a sketchy one. "It is a truth nobody can gainsay," he wrote, "that labor is the sole creator of wealth; the laborer then should be its sole possessor... Verily, the preaching of such a doctrine would turn the world upside down." He only errs here by using the word "wealth" instead of value. Nature contributes to the production of wealth but value is the

creation of the working class. With this modification his statement is a broad declaration of fact.

Government, he proclaimed, rested on property and the owners thereof were the rulers of mankind. The workers must become the government and "proceed to repeal all laws which bear against the laboring class. We have no faith in those systems of elevating the working class which propose to elevate them without calling in the aid of the government. We must have government and legislation expressly directed to this end." Political democracy is essential, to be sure, but under the forms of property that prevailed "no matter what party you support, no matter what men you elect, property is always the basis of your governmental action. In no instance have the rights of the proletariat prevailed over the interests of the proprietor. To separate power from property, we hold to be impossible under our present system. Its interests will always predominate in the measures of the government, though they may sometimes be defeated in elections."

Capitalist property also limits political equality. "A poor man accused of crime is convicted in advance—for he is poor—and is pretty sure to be punished. A rich man accused, and convicted, even is pretty sure to get clear of the punishment. In many cases the punishment is fine or imprisonment. Now, in all these cases, the poor alone are really punished. The rich man, if guilty, can easily pay the fine without feeling it. The poor can rarely pay the fine and if they do, it is generally by surrendering all they have." It is clear that the system of property nullifies our formal political democracy in many ways.

Brownson would also be called a modernist in education. He rebelled against the machine-like education under capitalism, which turns out robots instead of thinkers. From its infancy the child is constantly making observations and "the whole of his studious play is a process of induction." Now our systems of education tend to "crush the awakening energies of the intellect. At the time when the young spirit is full of the opening flush of life, gushing over with uncontrollable activity, impatient of restraints, ravishing with the mysterious beauties and glories of the new universe," we take him and confine him "between six dull walls." We cram his mind with odds and ends of information. We "quench instead of keeping alive the excited curiosity, the thirst for knowledge." Why not encourage his curiosity, his expanding mind, so that he, too, may become a Copernicus?

A Believer in Christianity

Brownson was also a believer in Christianity, although a social, economic, political and educational revolutionist. But he had no use for the institutional church, with its dogmas, priests and ministers, and formal support of the existing order. He believed, in a Christ of the "proletaries," a Christ who represented the liberation of the working class. He believed that "Jesus was a social reformer, that the aim of his mission was to establish the reign of equality on earth, as well as to secure salvation to the soul hereafter."

He would abolish a paid ministry or priesthood and substitute a volunteer church like that of the Quakers. With paid shepherds, he shrewdly observed, the priesthood comes under the control of property owners. A handful of such members by their contributions "dictate in most cases the course of the minister, virtually write his sermons and determine the doctrines he shall preach." If they are factory owners they must not point out the inequities of the factory system; if merchants he must not "censure the un-Christian spirit of trade"; if slaveholders he must "prove that slavery is sanctioned by all the laws human and divine," and so on. What he wanted was "deliverance from a class whose interests it is, as a class, to uphold things as they are and to do their best to roll back the ever advancing waves of truth."

Such are the views of an early spokesman of the workers in this country, a man who was known to Emerson, Thoreau, Channing, Brisbane, Margaret Fuller and others of the forties who made Boston the capital of literature and intellectual thinking in that period. Yet he fought the good fight and passed on and is forgotten by the organized workers of our time. He worked out his philosophy before Marx and Engels became known in Europe and anticipated their economic philosophy of history and the conflicts of economic interests which are the basis of Socialist thinking in all countries today. When will we appreciate the duty we owe to Brownson and other American pioneers and thus also provide rich historical memories and traditions to the Labor and Socialist movement?

ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

GERMANY

Setback for Reaction in Prussia
The result of the elections for members of the Provincial legislatures in all of the State of Prussia, except the city of Berlin, on Nov. 29 was a decided setback for the reactionary parties. While the total vote fell off heavily from that polled in the Reichstag election of Dec. 7, 1924, in some cases going as low as 25 or 30 per cent. and in no instance rising above 80, the Socialists and Communists lost much less than the Nationalists, People's Party and the Luddendorff-Hitler groups, and in one or two provinces actually increased their vote a little. When the first returns came in the Communist Party began to claim big gains at the expense of the Socialists, but later reports showed that in general this had not been the case, and that the Socialists had fared relatively better than their competitors for the labor vote. The make-up of the thirteen Provincial legislatures was not changed materially.

In the State of Hesse elections were held on Nov. 15 for Provincial legislatures, district councils and municipal boards. Despite the fact that only about 60 per cent. of the electorate went to the polls, the Socialists increased their vote in many places and experienced losses in only a few towns. The Communists also made a good showing, while the Nationalists and People's Party lost ground nearly everywhere.

These partial tests of popular feeling have strengthened the hands of the Socialist Deputies in the Reichstag and the Prussian Diet in their fight for legislation in the interests of the masses, as they are sure of coming back in greater numbers in case elections are forced by the reaction.

Berlin Helps Unemployed

Following the passing of a motion by the Socialist-Communist majority of the Board of Aldermen of Berlin on Dec. 1 calling for the expenditure by the municipality of 10,000,000 marks (\$2,380,000) in construction work and other city enterprises in order both to give jobs to some of the 140,000 unemployed workers in the capital and to improve the transportation service, it was reported on Dec. 4 that the city administration had decided to spend 20,000,000 marks that way and to put 20,000 unemployed men at work as soon as possible. When it was apparent that the Socialists and Communists were going to put their measure through a number of Aldermen of other parties, mostly Democrats, also voted for the resolution. Under the policy of "moderation" now in force in the

Communist Party of Germany on orders from Moscow, it seems likely that considerable construction work can be done in Berlin.

The final make-up of the Board of Aldermen elected Oct. 25 is as follows: Socialists, 73; Communists, 43; Independent Socialist, 1; Nationalists, 47; Democrats, 21; People's Party, 14; Economic Party, 10; Centrists, 8; German Popular Liberty Party (extreme reactionaries), 3; German Social Party (extreme reactionaries), 3; Evangelical Community League, 2.

The popular vote was: 1,853,129 and there were twenty parties in the field, nine of which failed to elect anybody. As the 225 Aldermen were chosen under the proportional system the electoral quotient was 8,236. The vote for the main parties was as follows: Socialists, 604,704; Communists, 347,332; Nationalists, 385,326; Democrats, 171,961; People's Party, 111,432.

As the Democrats are generally ready to cooperate with the Socialists to quail a degree, while the Communists' help may be had under certain circumstances, it is apparent that the bourgeois reactionaries in the "Red City Hall" are in for some unpleasant sessions.

Religious Socialists' League Meets

At the annual convention of the League of Religious Socialists, held in Berlin Nov. 14 and 15, President Goering reported that after having been nearly wiped out by the inflation crisis, the membership having fallen from 3,000 in 1923 to 117 in the spring of 1924, the League was slowly coming back and now had about 700 members. The aim of the League, which was founded in Berlin in 1913, with 13 charter members, is to unite all those Germans who are sincerely religious and believe in trying to follow Christ by helping establish a Socialist régime. The Rev. Piechowski complained of the failure of the Socialist press to support the League to any material extent.

AUSTRIA

An Ounce of Prevention

At the annual convention of the Social Democratic Party of Austria, held in Vienna the middle of November, the 429 delegates, representing 576,000 dues-paying members as of July 1, 1925, a gain of some 10,000 during the fiscal year, voted unanimously for a resolution submitted by the party's Executive which may be summed up as follows:

Only with the agreement of the party Executive may party organizations establish economic undertakings of any kind or take a share in their management. Funds of the party organizations may only with the knowledge of the party secretariat be invested elsewhere than in the Labor Bank or in a cooperative society. Party members as individuals may not belong to the management or the board of directors of capitalist joint stock companies. If party members are delegated to the management of a joint stock company as representatives of a public body, etc., they have to hand over all the fees received to the public body which has sent them there. An offense against one of these decisions is to be followed by expulsion from the Party. In exceptional cases where a party member's occupation makes it imperative for him to take a job as a director of a stock company the party Executive may give him permission to do so, but no such permission shall be given to Socialist members of municipal, State or national legislative bodies. Commenting on this resolution the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung said:

"The resolution has not perhaps been necessary to extirpate an offense already committed. Rather more have experiences in foreign labor parties taught the party Executive to propose this to prevent offenses in the future. For in such matters we cannot be strong or cautious enough. The Party, which stands and must continue to stand in irreconcilable opposition to capitalism, must defend itself against every taint of capitalist profit-making."

The delegates approved the agrarian program worked out by the committee named at the preceding convention, after listening to a detailed report by Otto Bauer on the need of bringing the farmers into line for the full

Socialist platform. The agrarian program calls for much educational work among the peasants and outlines the first steps toward socialization of agriculture to be taken as the party gradually gets control of the rural provinces. Among these are the development of cooperative farming through use of the land already belonging to the various communities, State monopoly of the export and import of grain in connection with the cooperatives and farmers' organizations, tax reform and the extension to the agricultural laborers of the benefits of collective contracts, limitation of the hours of labor, etc. already enjoyed by the industrial proletariat. In this connection it is proposed that the hours of work average eight per day the year around, thus making allowance for the necessity of working more in the summer than in the winter. It is pointed out that the thousands of small farmers need have no fear that under a Socialist regime their land holdings will be expropriated, as there would be no sense to such action. On the other hand, the big forests and estates are to be socialized. During the discussion several speakers emphasized the need of heeding the party's rule that religion is a private affair, especially in agitation among the peasants, although it is necessary to take into consideration the influence exercised by the church upon the country folk.

Fraternals delegates from a dozen countries were at the convention and the Socialist International was represented by Secretary Frederick Adler. The whole tone of the congress was one of optimism and confidence in the Socialist Party's chances of winning a majority in the National Assembly in case the Clerical Government should force new elections by some especially reactionary stroke. Since the convention the Socialists have forced an extension of the unemployment benefits, due to expire Jan. 1, and have blocked the landlords' efforts to abolish the law protecting tenants.

The new Executive Committee of the party is made up of Frederick Austerlitz, Otto Bauer, Matthias Elderach, Wilhelm Ellenbogen, Anton Huber,

Cuban Government Terrorizing Unions, President Green Told

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, has received cables from Havana stating that the Cuban government has decided to dissolve the labor unions, and that the police have framed up plots against the workers' leaders, planting harmless bombs to falsely implicate the workers. The cable states that a labor leader, Mella, by name, went on a food strike in the prison for eleven days, endangering his health very critically. The Cuban government, according to the cables, is deaf to the appeals of the workers who are therefore asking the help of the President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to protest to the American, Cuban and Mexican governments.

As these cables have no signatures, President Green has moved to get more information to "ascertain the truth of these charges."

Bombay Textile Strikers Win

The solidarity of the 150,000 strikers in the Bombay cotton mills, reinforced by the moral and material support of the I. F. T. U. and the British trade unions, has finally resulted in victory, as the Indian Government has dropped the cotton duty, thus giving the textile companies an excuse to give up the attempt to cut wages, which brought the workers out on strike last September. The action of the Indian Government followed a talk by Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, with British labor leaders about the possibility of an inquiry into the whole textile situation in India. The Indian union pointed out that there was no justification for cutting the workers' already miserable wages, as the companies could easily float over a poor season, on the surplus accumulated after having paid enormous dividends for many years.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

The Rich-Poor Farmers

SENATOR CUMMINS, of Iowa, has submitted a plan by which farmers may store their product and borrow money from the banks on the store house certificates.

Now if some other kind hearted senator would come along and submit a plan by which striking miners could borrow money from the banks on the labor power in their bodies, wouldn't that be nice. And why not?

The Iowa farmer converts his labor power into wheat and corn. Instead of selling his labor power so converted, he lays it away in store houses in the hope of securing higher prices, which is but another term for higher wages. In short, the farmer is striking and while thus engaged he is to draw strike benefit, or government aid through the banks.

Of course Senator Cummins is not a Bolshevik. He is only running for re-election in a farmer state which elected Brookhart. Perhaps if miners would pool their votes and elect radicals as the western farmers have been doing of late years, they also may get government aid in case of strikes. So far the only thing they received from "their" government on these occasions were injunctions and injections of leaden pills.

Well, folks, don't always get what they pray for, but they surely get what they vote for.

Talking about farmers, have you noticed how prosperous those boys are getting of late? Money in bank, building silos and concrete houses, shining up numerous automobiles, and all that sort of thing.

Recent federal reports, however, do not harmonize with this pleasing picture. They show that the average income of the American farmer for the year ending June 30, 1925, was \$876, including the investment on the farm and the labor of himself and family. For the year ending 1923-24 the average farmer's reward was but \$520. The United States Department of Agriculture further declares that farm values have decreased \$15,000,000,000 within the past five years. A federal investigation made a year ago showed that 23 per cent of the farmers in 15 wheat and corn growing States were virtually bankrupt, while \$14,000,000,000 in farm mortgages, in addition to short-term debts, keep a million farm families on the brink of destitution. On a capital investment of approximately \$60,000,000,000, American farmers last year earned approximately 1.4 per cent.

The same reports also reveal the fact that the white cotton "cropper" of North Carolina averages 8 cents per day, or \$153 per year for the labor of his whole family with no deduction for interest and taxes.

However, men are not what they are but what they think they are and so long as the newspapers and farm journals can make the farmers believe they are wallowing in wealth, it would be cruelty to destroy their illusions. So let us disregard facts and federal reports and live happily on sunshine dope.

I sometimes think that the worst enemy of the farmer is the farm journal. With some honorable exceptions, most of these publications are advertising sheets pure and simple. In order to be read at all they must contain some matter apparently helpful to farmers and so they do. On the whole, however, their sole purpose is to sell the goods that are advertised in them.

If some of these goods were brought to farm houses by ordinary peddlers, the farmers would sic their dogs on them; but coming in the farm journal, neatly sandwiched between hints how to make chickens lay eight times in seven days, they are welcome.

Now in order to convince the advertisers that their ads will pay, the farm journals take particular pains to enlarge upon the purchasing power of the farmer, and for the same reason they "play down" anything pertaining to rural poverty.

Very few, if any, of the many farm journals receive a red cent from circulation. As a rule subscriptions are gathered by high pressure salesmen who retain all of the subscription price and give a premium at the expense of the publication besides. In the end the farmer pays it all when he purchases the goods advertised. And so it comes about that the universal monkey wrench, which the farmer received as a premium on a three years subscription costing one dollar, makes a monkey of himself.

Live News from the Grave

Dying in Chicago ought to be the last thing anyone should want to do. But if you're bound to die in that place, please don't do it now. The grave diggers are on strike. One of the boys might heave a brick at your remains and make it look like—well, no self-respecting corpse would want to appear among the blessed with a black eye, broken nose or cauliflower ear.

The striking grave diggers demand \$6.00 for an eight-hour day, which is a rather unreasonable demand considering that burying Chicagoans should be pure joy.

Now, did I see it, did I dream it, or did I get it out of a bottle? Anyhow, before my mind's eye is a newly dug grave and this sign:

"UNFAIR. KEEP OUT"

By order of Local 1313, Amalgamated Association of Grave Diggers, affiliated with A. F. of L.

On a cemetery vault containing a number of cold storage corpses longing for their final resting place is the reassuring poster:

"GONE, BUT NOT FORGOTTEN"

"Last sad rites will be performed as soon as Burns Agency can secure strike breakers."

The superintendent of one of the struck cemeteries stated that most of the striking grave diggers are old men with one foot in the grave, and that 45 cents per hour is really a noble wage for these superannuates.

And so it might be if these old gents had only one foot in the grave, but, working with both feet in the grave, they are clearly entitled to double time.

For some unfathomable reason the Chicago Tribune has so far refrained from blaming the striking grave diggers for the high cost of living.

Adam Coal-digger.

This Day a Child Was Born

Down of a stable hid with damp hay strewn
Hastily, as the crowds come hurrying.
And the inn can hold no more
And shuts its door,
For census must be told with the rounded moon—
A woman's anguish, kiss of an angel's wing:
Above, like a hallowed diadem,
Shines the Star of Bethlehem.

Marble softened with billowed stuffs.
A tepid bath where many handmaids lingered
And tender purses fingered
Silk robes and warmed sweet unguents and stirred
puffs
Of fragrant powders softer than the dawn's:
First footsteps, and the timid eyes of fawns,
More precious than the dying glow of youth:
Among these lies with yet unopened eyes
He who will ask a casual prisoner, "What is truth?"
For the hope of his years, like a goodly gem,
Shines the Star of Bethlehem.

Deep intoned prayer and wallings fill the room
That seems the antechamber of a tomb,
Yet in the entrance way to life's commands.
Stern is the law, inexorable the land's
High will in him now born who soon must cry:

"Crucify! Crucify!"
Above, in silent requiem,
Shines the Star of Bethlehem.

The rocky field he ploughs for yield
Cannot restrict the harvest of his joy;
His hands have found new strength, and something
lies
Beyond the youthful lustre of his eyes
Of hope fulfilled and plans that leap ahead
Through the high days of the new-born boy
That must not miss
The glories of the world whose fair dreams fed
The starving man. His son shall find the way—
His son that must, one day,
Bestow a kiss.

Long ago in the turbulent east
Four infants lay at their mothers' breast;
Four mothers prayed that creation's best
Might for their young one be increased;
Four infants smiled that never guessed
Their destinies were intertwined:
Forever, unto all mankind;
Soldier and saviour, apostle and priest—
Four infants lay in innocent rest,
And gently over all of them
Shone the Star of Bethlehem.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

-:- The Marxian Theory of Value -:-
THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

THE theories of the economic interpretation of history and of the class struggle form what are regarded as the sociological phases of the Marxian system. The theory of value, on the other hand, constitutes the economic phase. Although all three theories are interwoven, many Socialists who have accepted the sociological teachings of Marx are prone to maintain that his labor theory of value theory and his theory of surplus value are inadequate and not necessary parts of the modern Socialist philosophy.

Labor Theory
Of Value

During a century and a half preceding the writings of Marx, English and French economists had gradually evolved a theory that the value of a commodity—that is to say, the quantity of any other commodity for which it will exchange—depends on the relative quantity of labor necessary for its production. The development of this theory, as Marx brings out, begins with such economists as William Petty in England and Boisguillebert in France, and ends with Ricardo and Sismondi of England and France, respectively.

In brief outline, the value theory which Marx took from the classical economists, and which he somewhat elaborated, is as follows: "The common social substance of all commodities is labor. . . . A commodity has a value, because it is a crystallization of social labor. The greatness of its value or its relative value depends upon the greater or less amount of that social substance contained in it; that is to say, on the relative mass of labor necessary for its production. The relative values of commodities are, therefore, determined by the respective quantities or amounts of labor, worked up, realized, fixed in them.

Labor Entering
Into a Commodity

In estimating the amount of labor embodied in a commodity, Marx argues that it is not only necessary to consider the quantity of labor last employed, say, in producing the finished article, but that one must take into consideration that labor previously put into the raw material and employed on the tools, machinery and buildings. "For example, the value of a certain amount of cotton yarn is the crystallization of the quantity of labor added to the cotton during the spinning process, the quantity of labor previously realized in the cotton itself, the quantity of labor realized in the coal, oil and other auxiliary substances used, the quantity of labor fixed in the steam engine, the spindles, the factory building, and so forth."

Nor must it be inferred, Marx continues, that, under his theory, the lazier or clumsier man, the more valuable his commodity, since the time required by a lazy man to produce a commodity is greater than that required by the more skilled. "In saying that the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor worked up or crystallized in it, we mean the quantity of labor necessary for its production in a given state of society, under certain social average conditions of production, with a given social average intensity, and average skill of the labor employed."

When in England the power loom came to compete with the hand loom, only one-half the former time of labor was wanted to convert a given amount of yarn into a yard of cotton or cloth. The poor hand-loom weaver now worked seventeen or eighteen hours daily instead of the nine or ten hours he worked before. Still the product of twenty hours of his labor represented now only ten social hours of labor, or ten hours of labor socially necessary for the conversion of a certain amount of yarn into textile stuffs. His product of twenty hours had, therefore, no more value than his former product of ten hours. If then the quantity of socially necessary labor realized in commodities regulates their exchangeable values, every increase in the quantity of labor wanted for the production of a commodity must augment its value, as every diminution must lower it."

Price, of course, must not be confused with value. It is but the monetary expression of value. To the extent that it is merely the monetary expression of value, price has been called natural price. But besides the natural price, there is the market price, which now arises, now sinks under the value and the natural price, depending upon the fluctuations of supply and demand. "The natural price," as Adam Smith put it, "is the central price to which the prices of commodities are continually gravitating. Different accidents may sometimes keep them suspended a good deal above it, and sometimes force them down even somewhat below it. But whatever may be the obstacles which hinder them from settling in this centre of repose and continuance they are constantly tending toward it."

It follows that if supply and demand equilibrate each other, the market price will correspond with the natural price. For longer periods supply and demand do tend to compensate each other, "so that, apart from the effect of monopolies and some other modifications I must now pass by, all descriptions of commodities are, on the average, sold at their respective values or natural prices."

Like every other commodity, labor power, which is bought and sold, has a value, and that value is determined by the quantity of labor necessary to produce it. The laborer needs a certain number of necessities to grow up and maintain his life. But, like the machine, he sooner or later wears out, and must be replaced by another man. Thus, besides the necessities desired for his own maintenance, "he wants another amount of necessities to bring up a certain quota of children that are to replace him on the labor market and to perpetuate the race of the laborers."

Furthermore, to develop his laboring power and acquire a given skill, another amount of values must be spent. Thus "the value of laboring power is determined by the value of the necessities required to produce, develop, maintain and perpetuate the laboring power."

Suppose that the average amount of labor necessary to produce a commodity is six hours, and that the value of labor power is \$12. The capitalist pays the worker \$12 for the six hours of labor, and the worker produces a commodity of value \$18. The capitalist gains a surplus value of \$6.

Surplus
Value

Suppose that the average amount of

labor necessary for a laboring man requires six hours of average labor to produce. Suppose that this six hours of average labor is realized in a quantity of gold equal to \$3. Then \$3 would be the price of the expression of the daily value of that man's laboring power.

The man in question is a wage laborer. He must sell his labor to a capitalist. If he sells it at \$3 daily, he sells it at its value. If he works at the job six hours daily, he will add to the cotton a value of \$3 daily. But this \$3 would be the exact equivalent of his wage, and in this case no surplus value or surplus produce would go to the capitalist.

But in buying the use of the laboring power the capitalist has acquired the right to use or consume it, the same as any other commodity purchased. He can make that laboring power work, within certain limits, during the whole day or week. "The value of the laboring power is determined by the quantity of labor necessary for its maintenance and reproduction, but the use of that laboring power is only limited by the active energies and physical strength of the laborer. The daily or weekly value of the laboring power is quite distinct from the daily or weekly exercise of that power, the same as the food a horse wants and the time he can carry a horseman are quite distinct."

Over and above the six hours required to replace his wages the laborer is likely to have to work several more hours—say, six hours—which may be called hours of surplus labor, which surplus labor will realize itself in a surplus value or surplus produce. If, for instance, the spinner works twelve hours, he will be advanced \$3 for wages, while the capitalist will pocket the other \$3 in the form of surplus value for which the capitalist pays no equivalent. "The rate of surplus value, all other circumstances remaining the same, will depend on the proportion between that part of the working day necessary to reproduce the value of the laboring power and the surplus time or surplus labor performed for the capitalist."

Profit

A profit is made by selling a commodity, not over and above its value, but at its value. Suppose that twenty-four hours of average labor, valued at \$12, were embodied in the production of a piece of cloth (including raw materials, machinery, etc.) Suppose that Mr. Jones, clothing manufacturer, paid this \$12 for the cloth; suppose the worker in Mr. Jones' clothing establishment added to the cloth twelve hours of value, realized in an additional value of \$6. Then the total value of the product would amount to thirty-six hours of realized labor and be equal to \$18. But as the value of labor, or the wages paid to the workman, would be but \$12, no equivalent would be paid to the laborer by the capitalist for the six hours of surplus labor worked by him and realized in the value of the commodity. By selling the commodity, therefore, for its value of \$18, the capitalist would gain a surplus value or profit of \$6.

Cuban Labor for International

The announced intention of the Cuban Wood Workers' Union to apply for membership in the Wood Workers' International is welcomed with especial satisfaction by the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U., as this is the first Cuban organization to seek such affiliation. The Wood Workers' Union played an important part in the recent organization of a national Cuban labor body on Socialist lines, which, with the aid of the powerful Railwaymen's Union is expected to develop into a real island-wide federation capable of representing the toilers of the republic at home and abroad. The anarcho-syndicalist movement in Cuban labor is said to be on the wane and not likely to make much trouble for the new organization. The Cuban unions are fighting energetically against the high-handed deportation of foreigners accused of being violent labor agitators. Some of these victims of the Cuban employers and their government have lived many years on the island and are valuable union organizers, although there are a few who are not counted of much use to the labor movement.

In Spite of All
A Happy New Year to the Bunch

WELL, boys and girls, in spite of everything we hope you have a Happy New Year.

We can't account for it, but we have a sort of hunch that things are going to break better for all of us who want a new social system. God knows, they couldn't have broken much worse than they have these past few years.

We saw a grand show last night put on by the "Cellar Players" of the Hudson Guild Settlement that reminded us very much of the things that have been happening to us lately—not literally, you understand, but figuratively. The "Cellar Players" are a bunch who live and work around old Chelsea in New York's West Side. They have a fine community spirit and every now and then they all get together and put on a show of their own. The local letter-carrier and a fireman and a piano-mover and a garage man and several girls of the community who are very easy to look at gave this show last night, and we are here to say it was one of the most stirring we have seen in a long time.

When we first heard that the performance was to take place in the cellar of a settlement house, we had our doubts, having seen a good many "arty," uplift shows in settlement houses, pageants and that sort of stuff where the "Spirit of Old Glory" comes on and does bum poetry wrapped up in a flag. But from the minute the curtain went up, we knew we were in the right seats. It started in a tough dump in Colorado with a convenient gulch right outside the window near which sat the members of a stranded vaudeville troupe, talking every bit as hard-boiled as they would in real life. The proprietor of this dump was trying to fleece one of the troupe out of \$62,000 he had won betting on the ponies. Of course, it just added to the mystery of the play to try and figure out why anyone with all that wad would stick to vaudeville. But there wasn't much time to ponder on life's inscrutable mysteries because pretty soon the whole mob got fighting each other, and from then on there was just one blow after another. It began to look like a quiet evening in Herrin, Illinois. They hit each other with chairs and tables and whiskey bottles and fired guns around free, wide and easy, while the audience roared its approval. Finally they flung the piano-mover right blam out of the window through a lot of glass into the gulch. Then they tried to make out the hero had done it and chased him all through the last act.

It was a good satisfactory evening for anyone who was fed up on English actors and triangles, bedroom plays. We never saw anyone get smacked as hard as that piano-mover, but he came back to take his bow at the last looking as healthy as ever.

It was what happened to him that reminded us of what had been done to us and the movements we have been hitched up with for the past three or four years. It seems like we have been constantly thrown through windows into all sorts of sticky gulches. Every time we have gotten up to say something or sat down to write something someone has either hit us in the nose with a chair or pulled the chair from under us. Again we mean figuratively. So we figure that the only change our luck could have would be for the better and it might as well come off in 1926 as any later date.

We are making a good start at all events for next week we are going out to Illinois to shed sweetness and light on the coal-diggers of those parts and find out how our buddies Tom Tippet and Adam Coal-digger and the rest are faring.

Of course, a lot of the color has gone from the southern part of Illinois now that the Klan has subsided and towns like Herrin have got religion good and hard. You know they had an evangelist down there recently and he converted all Herrin. It wasn't as hard as it would have been two years back because so many members of the opposing factions in those parts have been bumped off. There is, we understand, a strong pacifist sentiment among the survivors. White sheets and night caps, which make shining targets are not as popular articles of wearing apparel as they once were. Whole afternoons have dragged out without a shot being fired. Some of the old-timers are going about bewailing the decaying effects of civilization on the citizenry of "Egypt" as they call that neck of the woods. Knives are now being used as cutlery rather than cutlasses and they have turned their colts into the pastures.

In New York, praise be, we have been all cleaned up good and pretty. Ever since the Methodists came out and stated that we were giving Sodom and Gomorrah a run for their reputations and Mayor-elect Walker discovered that a lot of naughty people were being "imported" into town for the purpose of making folks think that Tammany was not a beneficent, Christian institution, we have been too good for words. It's getting so now that you can't find more than three or four wide-open speakeasies in a city block. The other night they pinched some gents who were found playing cards for money. Just think of that, playing cards for money in a hotel in the Forties!

And while we are handing around credit where credit is due, do not let us forget the noble effort of the Vice Commission on which are representatives of the house of J. P. Morgan and Judge Gary of the Steel Trust to make us purer than Ivory Soap. It isn't just certain when they will have accomplished their results, but many of the Commission hope to get the boys out of the clutches of vice by the first of the year.

The cleanup of our morals could be in no hands more expert. If Wall Street bankers and steel magnates don't know all about vice and crime, who does? Beside such authorities the average man who has to work for his living is a mere piker.

But, as we said before, we wish you a Happy New Year just the same.

McAlister Coleman.

SIX LECTURES ON
"PROBLEMS OF THE NEW
SOCIAL ORDER"
PEOPLES HOUSE AUDITORIUM
7 EAST 15TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Jan. 5, 6 P. M.—MORRIS HILLQUIT and GEORGE SOULE:
"New Social Order in the Making."

Jan. 12—STUART CHASE and LEWIS HUMFORD:
"Waste and the New Social Order."

Jan. 19—NORMAN THOMAS and M. J. OLGIN:
"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:
"Incentives."

HARRY W. LAIDLER, Chairman

Course Tickets at \$3.00 or Tickets for Individual Lectures at 75c.

N. Y. Chapter, League for Industrial Democracy

70 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Sparks and Flashes

THE tide has turned. The ebb has ceased and the flow has begun. The Socialist Party in various parts of the country is shaking off its lethargy and is resuming its labors. We are happy to announce this news. We Socialists have marked time long enough. As we are on the march again, presently our ranks will enlarge and our battle songs will be heard once more across the continent. And as we start moving we create movement, stir and agitation. And opposition—that also helps. Activity begets activity and kindles the enthusiasm to do big things.

Though the soil is far from receptive in these United States, nevertheless the seed of Socialist propaganda will take root. It must. Our economic and social problems demand the Socialist solution. No capitalist country on this earth can escape it. In one form or another Socialism is bound to arrive as surely as New Year's Day follows Christmas.

The first great undertaking by our National Office is the launching of the "American Appeal" on January 1st. This weekly paper, fashioned somewhat upon the pattern of the late "Appeal to Reason," will be a fighting organ with short paragraphs, biting comment, irony, satire and pithy propaganda. It will be edited by Eugene Victor Debs and Ernest E. King. Upton Sinclair and Murray N. Upton will be among the host of writers that will enliven its contents. This new paper will not displace the "New Leader." There is no need for substitution. The "New Leader" has its field, its mission and its special appeal. The "American Appeal" will cost less to the subscriber; its contents will be more direct, briefer, less high-brow and more elemental in its approach—a first reader in Socialist education. It will serve as a plow in the many fields that have lain fallow these lean and unfruitful years. Following in the wake of a successful "American Appeal" must come an increasing demand for the "New Leader," and the "New Leader" will lead the new hosts.

By the way, are you on the honor roll? Will you receive the first issue of the "American Appeal"? If not, mail post haste at once a dollar to "American Appeal," 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois. Tell Gene you are alive and with him. Damn you procrastinating soul if you dare to delay!

The work of rebuilding our Party and the labor of organizing locals is well-nigh impossible without new lists of names and addresses. There are plenty of rebels in every State, city and hamlet; but they must be located and brought together, spiritually at first, bodily a little later. The late

hurricane of war, hysteria and persecution has scattered our army and destroyed our former mighty battalions. They can be mobilized again and new recruits enlisted. A hundred thousand readers of the "American Appeal" will do the trick, to begin with. Our Chicago headquarters say that a hundred thousand copies of the first edition will enter Uncle Sam's mail pouches on January 1st. They must! In time a hundred thousand subscribers will mean a hundred thousand names and addresses and prospective members and a gold mine for the organization drive that will soon follow. And don't forget—a hundred thousand issues will most likely be read by three hundred thousand people. Lastly, thousands of readers will become hostlers for more subs and readers. "Happy New Year!"

Six huge, inspiring and highly successful dinner gatherings have just been held, with Comrade Debs as the guest of honor and Comrade Stille as the engineer, in seven New York cities—Yonkers, Poughkeepsie, Albany, Schenectady, Utica and Syracuse. We have been at two of them, and we have heard the glad shoutings about the rest. They were all wows! Some eleven hundred comrades and sympathizers sat down together and ate, laughed, communed, got acquainted, swapped experiences and ancient history, gave money and pledged themselves for renewed activity—and they were set on fire by the blazing eloquence of our inspiration, Gene Debs. Scores of new ones added, hundreds of readers subscribed, and several thousand dollars—real cash—in the local and state treasuries. Great finish for the miserable old year! And what's more good news is that Comrades Debs and Stille will soon commence further excavations in other up-state cities. Gosh, but ain't it great to be alive!

And we are at it also in real earnest in this Big Town! The Greater New York City Committee, under the able leadership of Abraham I. Shipplacoff—there is but one Debs, but next to him comes Shipplacoff—and with the cooperation of an army of devoted comrades, our local organization has begun an assault upon the apathetic millions of New York City workers. Darn

their sleepy hides, we shall scoop massage them a bit! Huge mass meetings and debates are planned; a live leaflet—the first of several to come—on the coal situation will flutter around many neighborhoods in a week's time; over 20 forums are being established, and a crop of some 50 lecturers has been obtained. Besides, other activities are planned. Who said we were dead? True, we haven't shown many signs of life for some time; but we have shaken out the ashes now, and lo! among our members we have found some embers, and the breath of hope will fire their flames anew. Yea, 'tis a Merry Christmas! And let's make it a real Happy New Year!

August Claessens.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

is absolutely essential that we should have the strongest possible committees at work keeping track of legislation and administrative action which affect the great issues in which we are interested.

In proportion as we go to work on these vital matters it will be easier to solve the problem: How shall we make our branch meetings interesting? Lecture courses, discussions of local and national issues and friendly social intercourse ought to take the course of branch meetings. We can't too much stress the importance of good fellowship between comrades as one source of growth and strength.

There remains the particular problem of our relation to labor unions. We may have to keep up for some years a certain amount of work in foreign languages among foreign language groups, but our future strength must lie on our hold on American labor, not on any dependence on foreign language federations. I do not pretend to give here a well rounded labor union policy for Socialists. In New York City where recent events have raised peculiar and pressing problems, I trust that the city committee and a general party meeting may thrash out a constructive pro-

gram. Whatever particular program is arrived at, locally, regionally or nationally, certain general principles must be kept in mind: (1) It is not the business of the Socialist Party as such to dictate to labor unions or to attempt to dictate the particular way in which Socialists shall vote in labor unions. We do not stand for a policy of capturing the labor movement by hook or by crook. (2) It is the business of the Socialist Party, if it is to live and exercise its educational function, to persuade the labor movement of the general soundness of the Socialist philosophy and, indeed, of the inexorable necessity that labor move in the direction of Socialism if it is to fulfill its own destiny. The Party has a right and a duty to speak persuasively and convincingly on labor issues. Socialists have a right and a duty in their own unions to prove that they are better union men because they themselves have, and try to impart to others, the Socialist vision and Socialist ideals. (3) It is the business of the Socialist Party to repudiate any leader in any union who uses lip service to Socialism or nominal membership in the party to advance his own ends and fight his own battles without proper regard for the interests either of the party or the rank-and-file of the union. The morale of the Socialist Party in New York at one time sunk so low that it accepted as Socialists and even nominated for office certain labor leaders, the quality of whose leadership in their own union was doubtful, and who conspicuously refrained from giving proper support to the head of the Socialist ticket. I trust—no, I believe—that this is now a thing of the past. I refer to it to give warning that I for one am prepared hereafter to make an open and vigorous fight if it should be necessary to prevent the recurrence of certain incidents of recent years. There is too big a price to pay for a nominal and outward party peace. Sometimes this sort of peace is the peace of death. I have been speaking of the party. After all, the party only means a fellowship of individuals. We shall fulfill our destiny in proportion as individuals once more make themselves among their friends and fellow workers the persuasive missionaries of Socialism. We can't leave the job to Gene Debs or the American Appeal or some official committee. We must covet for ourselves the energy and enthusiasm of the best of our Communist friends with what we believe is a sounder philosophy, a more wholesome ethics and a wiser approach to American progress. These are critical times for Socialism in America. They may yet lead to triumph if we do our part. Socialism in America wants quantity; it can only get it as it achieves quality.

UNION DIRECTORY

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

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office: 30 EAST 84TH STREET LOCAL 34 Telephone LEX 4350
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary THOMAS CANILL, President
EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 349 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stage
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening
WILLIAM WENGERT, President CHARLES PFLAUM, Fin. Sec'y
JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y ANDREW STABLE, Bus. Agent

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 106th Street
OFFICE: 501 EAST 101ST STREET. Telephone ME 5674
THOMAS DALTON, President CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent
HARRY F. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y

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Local Union 308 4315 Third Avenue, corner Tremont Avenue
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Walter Anderson, President Bert Post, Rec. Secretary James Duigan, Fin. Sec'y
Victor Saul, Vice-President Joseph Vanderpool, Treas. Chas. Noble, Business Agent
Board of Trustees—Jos. Hess, Louis Schmidt, E. Giew

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS of America

LOCAL UNION No. 388
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 349 Willoughby Avenue
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone STAG 5414. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.
JOHN HARKETT, President SYDNEY FEARCE, Rec. Secretary HENRY COOK, Treasurer
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary CHARLES FRIEDL, Business Agent

DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1454, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA Madison Square 4903
Regular meetings every second and fourth Monday
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President
Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olsen, Fin. Sec'y Ludwig Benson, Recording Secretary Charles Johnson, Jr., Treasurer Ray Clark, Business Agents

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163

Day room and office, 100 East 65th Street, New York.
Regular meetings every Friday, 8 P. M.
WM. FIFE, President J. J. DALTON, Vice-President W. J. GORDNER, Rec. Sec'y
THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Sec'y CHAS. BARR, Treasurer GEO. MULLAN, Bus. Agent

COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 63, I. M. C. & C. L. of A.
Office, 13 St. Marks Place, 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday, closed all day.
DRY DOCK 6062
Meetings every First and Third Wednesday
JAMES MORAN, President
DANIEL HUNT, PETER FINNERNAN, JOHN MCPARTLAN, JOSEPH MORAN, Rec. Secretary, Fin. Secretary, Bus. Agent

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 124th St. Phone Harlem 6432.
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday at 8 P. M. at 245 EAST 5TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, President and Business Agent
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. JOHN LEAVY, Recording Secretary
MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y JOSEPH LAMONTE

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

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

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 106th Street Telephone: LEIGH 3141
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.
LEONARD SILVERMAN, J. KENNEDYFIELD, Financial Secretary Recording Secretary

N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N.Y.
Meets Every 3rd Sunday 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-Treasurer
Theodore F. Douglas, Organizer

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Stillwell 6594.
Office and Headquarters, 150 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
BENJAMIN A. DAVIS, President.
WILLIAM PIOTTA, Financial Secretary.
WILLIAM MEHRTEAN, 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 2033 Fifth Avenue. Phone: WATKINS 4973.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M. at 245 East 64th Street.
MATTHEW J. MORAN, President.
FRED DEIGAN, General-Secretary.
Business Agents: GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN HASSETT, PAT DREW.

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LOCAL No. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.
Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Phone: STERLING 9723.
Regular Meetings every Monday evening, at 183 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn.
Executive Board meets every Friday Evening, at the Office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.
THOMAS F. OATES, President. CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

Amalgamated Lithographers

of America, New York Local No. 1
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 200 WEST 14th ST. Phone: WAT KINS 7196
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at
ABINGTON HALL, 13 ST. MARK'S PLACE.
ALBERT E. CASTRO, President
A. J. KENNEDY, Frank J. Flynn, Frank Schel, Vice-Pres. Rec. Sec'y Pres.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS DECORATORS & PAFFERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 418 East 10th St.
SEYMOUR WAGNER, President
CHAS. KOENIG, Rec. Sec'y

WAITERS' UNION

Local 219, N. A. & R. E. I. A. & R. I. L. of A.
Office and Headquarters 170 E. 92nd St., N. Y.
PHONE LEX 1874
Regular meetings every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
MAX GOLDBERG, BENNE KAHN, President, Secretary
ADOLPH SPERLING, MYER SCHACHTER, Vice-President, Bus. Agent

The New Leader Mail Bag.

A Request
Will the author of the manuscript, "Property Rights vs. Human Rights," submitted to The New Leader please send us his name? The letter accompanying the article was mislaid, and it is desired in order that he may be credited with this contribution when it appears.—Editor.

Experiences With Voting Machines

I note a mention at different times in The New Leader of the vote in New York City in the recent election and the fact that where machines were used it seemed the vote showed up best. The fact that New York City is controlled by crooked politicians seems to give the answer to a continued use of the old way of voting, for it's very easy to play a crooked game with the paper ballots. In this city and at least half the State we have voting machines. Indianapolis voters have been using the machines for many years and they are satisfactory. Previous to the machines the elections here were just as crooked as they are in New York City, there is no doubt of that. Our politicians know all the schemes to elect their crowd with a minority of votes actually cast for their crowd. When the machines were first established many people believed they could be handled with even more ease than the ballot, but time has proven that this is not the case. You would not find many people here who would suggest that the machine is not registering correct. The one way that a crooked count can be put over is when the votes are called off the clerks fail to record them on their books as they are called. Watchers from at least four parties are allowed in the voting places at the count, even before the machine is unlocked for counting. This makes it almost impossible to do crooked work, and within a few moments after the machine is opened at the close of voting the results are known in all party headquarters, where watchers have been used and the press has the returns on the bulletins and in extras within a very short time.

New York City should have machines by all means, provided they get good ones. Voting can be done with ease and at a rate that far outstrips the old method of voting. It is not a complicated affair as compared with the ballot. Be the first to suggest and insist on the machine. At least fight for it for the next election.

WM. H. HENRY.

Indianapolis, Ind.

New Leader, Better and Better

Editor The New Leader:
"Every day in every way" The New Leader is getting better and better. However, in the last issue I notice a slight inaccuracy regarding Texas under "News of the Week." As I have been in this city over four years and have lived among the cotton farmers of the coast country of Alabama since 1904, and have supported our movement for a third of a century, I am qualified to write a fairly accurate summary of Southern political and economic conditions. I can send you a sharp, impersonal statement of half a column or more but not signed. What say?
Galveston, Texas. D. M.

Send the article, Friend Morgan. We are anxious to get competent material regarding economic and political conditions that prevail in various sections of the country. Will be glad to hear from you.

Likes The New Leader

Editor The New Leader:

My desire has always been to seek truth and virtue and pay homage to where I find it. I believe in a balanced ration for the brain as well as food for the body. I would be short on the brain food without your paper; your paper to me takes the place of all others in the labor movement. It educates and stands on a plane of dignity that ought to appeal to all. It not only preaches, but it teaches.

I also get the "Dearborn Independent" and read the "Literary Digest," so with the local papers I am pretty well supplied. Your article on Dec. 5 on "The Philosophy of Force" was well put. So was Adam Coadigger and many others. Sometime I may be able to send you a leaf out of my book. I have been a pretty careful student of government for the past twenty years, and have acquired a rich experience on the industrial field. The preachers must be afraid of their bread and butter, for they surely could do better. I admire the cause they are working for, but I am ashamed of their efforts. Breathe the breath of the Constitution of the United States in your paper. Speak for democracy, preach the Brotherhood of Man, educate the people. A government by force is not a government by the majority or it would not have to be maintained by force. I may some day be of more assistance to sustain you in your work.

JOHN L. WHITE.

Stellacoom, Wash.

A Correction

Editor, The New Leader:

My attention has been called to an article in the last issue of The New Leader regarding The New Masses.

In this article you state that the New Masses is subsidized by the Garland Fund.

The New Masses is not subsidized by the Garland Fund. As the pro-

pactus (enclosed herewith) states, the Garland Fund will give the magazine \$17,000 for the first year and smaller amounts the two succeeding years, provided, \$10,000 is raised by public subscriptions to insure the first year's publication. If this amount is not raised, the Garland Fund will make no gift.

May I ask that you publish, as conspicuously as possible, this corrected statement? You can well appreciate that much of the hoped for support for the magazine will come from readers of The New Leader and that it will, therefore, be most unfortunate if the readers are under a misapprehension regarding the financial situation of the magazine.

Mary Lena Wilson,

Business Manager.

United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Exec. Board, Every Saturday, 11 Noon.
M. ABRAHAMSON, Chairman
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M. FEINSTONE, Secretary-Treasurer

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

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Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening
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Organized 1884

Main Office: 9 SEVENTH STREET, New York City

NUMBER OF MEMBERS—December 31, 1924: 55,830

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

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

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OFFICE: 510 EAST 5TH STREET
Phone: Orchard 5550-1-3
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer.

A. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GELLER, 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

(Bethoven Hall)

210 East 5th Street.

See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. M. of T.
Office: 545 Hudson St., City
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ASTORIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursday at the
FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East Broadway, Room 2
F. J. STERNBERG, Pres. & Bus. Agent.
NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

Structural Iron Workers

UNION, Local 351, Brooklyn
Office: 571 Pacific Street Telephone: CUMBERLAND 0189
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 McDonnell, E. R. Calvert, President, Sec'y-Rep.

N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday.
Board of Officers Meet 2nd & 4th Friday.
243 East 44th Street, New York City
Frank Walker, H. Kramer, President, Rec. Secretary
A. Fungio, Wm. Detlefsen, Vice-Pres. Fin. Secretary
H. Vols, August Schenck, Treasurer, Business Agent

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 200 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone Longacre 5659
Day Room Open Daily, 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
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Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

Three things would stand out—like pike-staffs—in a complete National Office news story for this week:

First, the interest in the American Appeal is actually increasing by leaps and bounds. The business manager and editorial manager are vastly encouraged.

Second, there is the evident improvement in the general morale of our movement—much in consequence of the activities in our great new enterprise, the American Appeal.

Third, the six Debs-Stille meetings in New York State. Comrade Stille summarizes by wire thus: eleven hundred attended the six dinners; \$400 was placed in the local treasuries; \$2,400 was placed in the State treasury; great increase in membership, nearly forty Vassar College students at one clip; insufficient seating at every banquet—in spite of rain at some points; enthusiasm tremendous. Systematic industry would rouse and revive our movement in thousands of localities.

The American Appeal

The American Appeal, in style and makeup as shown by the "Advance Messenger" issued Dec. 10, has hit the fancy of thousands. Orders are piling up, varying from five copies to a thousand for a single bundle. Subscription lists arrive in every mail carrying from 10 to 25 names, while a flood of individual subscriptions has about swamped the office force.

W. B. Wells, of Hartwell, Nebraska, was the first to write: "I have the first copy of Wayland's old Appeal to Reason, and don't want to miss the first of the 'American Appeal.' Flocks of others have written to the same effect."

"Hurrah for the American Appeal! The Advance Messenger flashes like a meteor upon the horizon. It makes appeal that rings like a clarion and arouses like alarm bells at midnight. There will be immediate and widespread response."

"The tocsin of war sounds and we unsheathe our swords—the weapons of truth—and march to battle and victory."

Yours for the fray,
Eugene V. Debs.

NEW JERSEY

The State Committee met Dec. 13. Miller of Passaic reported Norman Thomas would lecture there on Feb. 12. Secretary Leemans read a report of Organizer Harkins' work in Passaic County which shows that the Paterson Central Branch is now well established and it was voted to issue a charter to the English branch. A Polish branch of 70 members will also soon affiliate with the party while enough prospects have been obtained in Haledon to organize a branch there. Comrade Mosher of Trenton was present and was admitted as a member-at-large. He will take the initiative in calling an organization meeting in Trenton. The office of paid organizer was abolished and Harkins' offer to serve as volunteer organizer was accepted. The State Committee voted \$25 to the fund being raised to enable Bertha Hale White to go South to recuperate her health which was impaired by long years of service in the National Office. Locals and Branches that can help should send their contributions to Morris Hillquit, 19 West 44th street, New York City. The Treasurer reported a balance on hand Nov. 8 of \$803.33; receipts to date, \$45.30; total, \$848.63; disbursements to date, \$288.24; balance Dec. 14, \$560.39.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

(Address all communications to District Secretary, Warren Edward Fitzgerald, 21 Essex street, Boston, Mass.)

The General District Committee will hold its quarterly meeting Saturday, Dec. 26, at 2:30 p. m., at the party's headquarters, 21 Essex street, Boston, Mass. At this meeting the propaganda

Italian Chamber of Labor

Organized in 1915 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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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.

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and organization work for the winter will be continued.

The services of August Claessens have been secured for a series of educational meetings for the month of February.

The locals are getting into winter activities, as manifested by the due stamp sales, which show a substantial increase over the previous months.

CONNECTICUT

Anyone wishing information concerning the Socialist Party of Connecticut should get in touch with M. F. Plunkett, Room 2, Wallace Block, Wallingford.

The "Debs in Action" calendars are going good in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, thanks to the ad. placed in The New Leader. If you care for one of the calendars send 10 cents and a 3 cent stamp to W. E. Davis, 48 Belmont street, Whitneyville.

The regular monthly meeting of the State Executive Committee will be held at Machinist Hall, 99 Temple street, New Haven, Sunday, December 27, at 2 p. m.

New Haven Trades Council Forum
Norman Thomas addressed the monthly Forum meeting Thursday, December 17. His subject was, "Is Organized Labor Drunk with Prosperity?"

Frank Fitzgerald, business agent of the Holston Engineers, presided. The meeting was well attended and the audience took an active part in the discussion.

Mr. Robert Fechner, National Executive Board member of the International Association of Machinists of Washington, D. C., was a visitor. He took an active part in the discussion.

Harry Dana, formerly of Columbia University, will be the speaker at the January meeting of the forum.

LOCAL NEW YORK

Shiplackoff at 6-8 A. D.

"The Two Greatest Problems of the Human Race" is the subject of a lecture to be delivered this Sunday evening, Dec. 27th, at the regular Sunday evening forum of the Sixth and Eighth Assembly Districts, at 137 Ave. B. The speaker will be Abraham I. Shiplackoff, Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party of New York City.

This Forum, which was started several weeks ago with the co-operation of the City Committee has aroused a good deal of interest in the neighborhood. The last two lectures, given by Judge Jacob Panken, were attended by record crowds, every seat in the house being taken. Admission to these lectures is free.

BRONX

Local Bronx will hold a general membership meeting at the headquarters, 1167 Boston Road on Monday evening, December 28, at 8:30 p. m. Order of business: The status of Local Bronx, the Ball, Bazaar and Concert, the coming of Comrade Stille and the organization drive, the forthcoming Debs Dinner.

YIPSELDOM

The Junior Circle had a splendid meeting last Friday, at 1167 Boston Road, under the capable leadership of Sid Hertzberg. Right after the adjournment the active Juniors filed into the executive office, got off their coats, rolled up the sleeves and pitched in with the work of circularizing the 7th A. D., which the Local Committee on Y. P. S. L. was doing to build up the new circle. Credit for able assistance is due to Hertzberg, S. Schwartz and W. Dancis.

Comrade Schwartz, who is looked upon as able to fill the position of assistant organizer, is booked for that responsible job in the 24 A. D. as soon as a fourth circle can be formed in that territory.

The Juniors have arranged an excellent program for Dec. 25, with several recitals, declamations, pantomimes and two surprise acts. Comrade Bassoff, Greshler, Hertzberg and Levine will be the performers; Schwartz will recite an original poem. We didn't know that Schwartz could do such stunts. Sam DeWitt look out! A competitor is knocking at the door!

On Jan. 1 the Juniors will hold another richly colored and varied entertainment, a New Year's party, at 1167 Boston Road, and of course, they'll have a grand time.

On Friday, Jan. 8, begins the course of four lectures on "The Great Heroes of the Labor and Socialist Movement," by William Morris Feigenbaum. These

lectures will be given every other Friday and admission to all Ypsels will be free. Party members and outsiders will pay a small fee to defray the current expense, and advertising. Watch for further details in next issue of the Leader.

New Circle 7th A. D. Meets

The new circle of the 7th A. D. had its first meeting at 4215 Third avenue, corner Tremont, last Saturday, Dec. 19; besides the nucleus which starts the ball a rolling there were two visitors from the Senior group, "Diamond Brothers," as they are known. Sidney Hertzberg, who is booked as County Organizer for Bronx Juniors, had everything arranged and proved once again his executive ability. Esther Milgram of 553 Elsenmore Place, was elected chairman of the meeting, and will act as Assistant Organizer for the new circle. All applications should be mailed to her address and she'll give them prompt attention.

The 7th A. D. Committee were prompt on their job and did all they could to make it more congenial for the newcomers. Credit is due to Mr. and Mrs. M. Goldsmith for being on time and for delivering two lists of names of prospects for the new circle; they volunteered to do some personal canvassing, besides. The other committeeman, William Babbit, promised to do likewise.

The next meeting of the 7th A. D. Circle will be held tomorrow (Saturday), Dec. 26 at 5:15 p. m. sharp, at 4215 Third avenue, corner Tremont, second floor, under the capable leadership of Sidney Hertzberg. All young folks are welcome. Bring your friends, as the program consists of an entertainment by Comrade Bassoff and Greshler, a dance, ice cream party, etc.

Circle 1, Bronx, will celebrate on Sunday afternoon, December 27, at 1167 Boston road. This will be their closing affair of the season, and the committee in charge have arranged a splendid program of entertainment, social dancing following the program. Refreshments will be served free of charge. Admission free. Bring your friends. Program starts at 2 p. m.

Pioneer Woman Socialist Dead

Anna Stahl, wife of Comrade Henry Stahl, died Saturday, Dec. 19. The funeral took place from Engel's Funeral Parlor in East 83rd street, New York, Tuesday, Dec. 22.

Comrade Anna Stahl was one of the first women to join the Socialist movement, having joined the S. L. P. many years ago, and with her husband, Henry Stahl, was very active in the early days of the Socialist movement, both in the S. L. P. and later in the Socialist Party.

Comrade Stahl was born in Germany and came to America in the early 80's when the infamous Bismarck anti-Socialist laws drove many Socialists out of Germany. From the first day of her arrival in the United States she and her husband were active in our movement. Her husband, Henry Stahl, one of the founders of the Losolom Algemeine Deutsche Arbeiter Verband, survives her.

For the past few years Anna Stahl was not seen in party circles because of ill health and old age. Many Socialists, and particularly the German comrades, were at the funeral. Another one of the old founders of our movement is gone with her passing.

By Emil Herman

District Organizer, Socialist Party

EVERYWHERE I go I meet two kinds of Socialists—those who understand why they are socialists and those who do not; those who have courage and those who are cowards; those who see the need for organization and those who don't; those who accept responsibility and those who shirk; those who join the Party when approached and those who "want to wait awhile until the Party is stronger"; those who see the need for intelligent political action as a means to Labor's emancipation and those who see "red" (those in fact who are yellow) and "await an uprising of the masses in violence and bloodshed as the only means of accomplishing the revolution."

There are those who know why they pay dues and are willing and glad to contribute their mite and those who see no reason why they

should pay dues, just so they vote; those who see the need of and support the Socialist press and those who like to read Socialist papers, but give all their support to the capitalist press; those who are not ashamed nor afraid to be known as Socialists and those who are; those who have sense enough to realize that the Socialist Party is the Labor party in this country and those who are constantly wasting their time and ours in seeking short cuts "to get Socialism in our time"; those who want to batter down prejudices and educate the masses to an understanding of Socialist principles, and those who want to change the name of the Party "because they (meaning others than themselves, of course) are afraid of the word 'Socialist'—etc., etc."

Most of these were members of the Party prior to the time of crisis—the war and its aftermath—a few in the United States stood the acid test, fought with their backs against the wall and maintained the Socialist Party against all odds.

If you belong to the first group of Socialists, you will welcome the fact that we are now engaged in an intensive organization campaign to the end that we may wage an effective political and educational campaign next year—the most effective campaign in the history of our Party—you will join the Party, induce others to do the same, support the Party—support the American Appeal and other Socialist papers and cooperate with the National and State officers and assist the District Organizer in establishing a Local in your community, if and when he calls on you.

If you belong to the second group you will continue as dead to the Socialist appeal and the call of action as you pretend to believe the Socialist Party to be; you will bluster and boast about what you have "sacrificed" in the past, see red (though you are in fact yellow) and "wait until they" (without realizing that you are one of them) have "starved" sufficiently, rise in their wrath and in blood and violence overthrow the capitalist system; and we ask of you as a special favor to "crawl into a hole and pull it in after you" forget that you ever were a Socialist and never again mention to anybody that you ever were, or are now, a Socialist, so that the Socialist Party may at least be spared the handicap and responsibility of your infamy, cowardice and shame.

Rand School to Celebrate New Year

Many friends of the Rand School of Social Science will help to usher the old year out and the New Year in at a dance and midnight supper at the St. George Hotel, Brooklyn, New Year's Eve. The hotel may be reached by I. R. T. subway to the Clark street station.

This affair has been arranged by the women's committee of the Rand School for the benefit of the school. Many Socialists and sympathizers spend this evening each year in some form of entertainment and the women's committee believes that kindred spirits should get together for mutual justification that night. All friends are invited. Reservations may be obtained at the Rand School, 7 East Fifteenth street, New York City. Telephone, Stuyvesant 3094.

The Community Forum

Rev. John Haynes Holmes will preach at the Community Church, Park avenue and 34th street, Sunday, December 27, at 11 a. m. on "Great Possessions: What Are They?" A New Year's sermon.

"A Jew's View of Prejudice," is the subject of an address to be delivered by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi of the Free Synagogue, before the Community Forum, Park avenue and 34th street, Sunday, December 27, at 8 p. m.

Leather Workers Coming Back

After having dropped from 436,226 in 1923 to 335,782, the membership of the unions affiliated with the International Federation of Boot and Shoe Operatives and Leather Workers was reported as 245,161 to the 50 delegates who attended the recent congress of the International held in Paris. In a resolution introduced by J. Simon, secretary of the International, and passed by a big majority, the split in the trade union movement of the world created and promoted by the Red Trade Union International was deplored, and it was emphasized that no union could be admitted to the International until it had left the Moscow organization.

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

Office: 175 East Broadway, Phone: Orchard 6639

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

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Downtown—321 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.

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

Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 10 A. M.

B'lyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—74 Montgomery St.

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DRAMA

Shaw And The Actor

"SHAW is already a classic. We have had no doubt of that during the Actors Theatre performances of 'Candida' in New York and on tour," says Harry C. Browne. Mr. Browne was talking recently with a visitor back stage at the Plymouth Theatre, Boston, just before going on as Morell in Shaw's comedy. "Audiences now contain many persons who know 'Candida' well enough to detect any omission or changing of words, such slips as creep into a performance with many repetitions. So the company in 'Candida' help each other to be true to the text."

"It is a pleasure and an education in itself to study Shaw's wording, for he is always so clear as to his own thinking that he conveys his ideas with precision. Not only does he choose with exactness the words that are to be spoken, but he takes the same care to be clear and definite in his stage directions. At one place in 'Candida' Morell refers to his wife as 'mother to my children,' which has a distinct value of wording in the circumstances over what might be called the natural expression, 'mother of my children.' It would be well for critics to read Shaw's stage directions in every passage where they have a feeling that the player is in the wrong. If, on such a reading, it becomes plain that the player is faithfully following the author, the critic will be saved making some of the mistaken newspaper comments that have been printed about the Actors Theatre performances of 'Candida.'"

"Wording of the quality Shaw puts into his plays provides the sort of easy reading that is the product only of hard writing. The actor who has spent many years in the effort to master his means of expression cannot but have

admiration for Shaw's command of clear, accurate and forceful effects in the theatre.

"Shaw's clearness of intent is helpful to the actor in getting a quick, sure grasp of his part. Miss McComas' Boston performance as Candida was only her third, yet few could have suspected that she had not acted the part for a long time, so well had she been able to assimilate the clearly expressed thought of her lines. Shakespeare's lines have the same quality of mental rightness. Once I got up the part of Iago in five days and went through the performance, so I was told, with no noticeable slips and with variety of mood. It was the perfection of the playwrighting that made that possible for the actor."

"There is another side of the picture that it is well to say little about."

"Some playwrights fall short of knowing their jobs, and so the player has to do what he can to get a clear and strong effect out of a part that is vague and weak in wording. Some even encourage the actors to rewrite their parts. Again, the stage director may not be getting the best out of the cast, for often he may be after an effect and not be able to convey his exact meaning. The great thing is to get at the idea behind the director's words, not just to follow him literally. Dudley Digges, who staged 'Candida' for the Actors Theatre, never interfered with the player's idea of his part as long as that idea was not clearly out of harmony with Shaw's plain intent. Under such direction the player's talents come to their full glow, something they can't do if it is necessary to keep trying to remember to follow the director's special and possibly eccentric instructions."

"Dybbuk" Is Forceful Drama

The Neighborhood Playhouse Presents Ansky's Remarkable Picture of Jewish Folk Tale

THE production of Ansky's striking play, "The Dybbuk" by the Neighborhood Playhouse is an important event of the theatrical season. Indeed, anything that the group of players of Grand street does is interesting, whether it be the rollicking "Follies," a gloomy Russian play, a Hindu satire, an experimental form of production or an English classic; there is a spirit of joyousness and devil-may-care about them that carries them safely where angels fear to tread.

"The Dybbuk" is a remarkable picture of the life and beliefs and religion practices of the fanatical Jewish sect of Poland and Galicia known as Chasidim, which flourished during all of the 19th century and the latter half of the 18th. If you want to be facetious you can call them Jewish fundamentalists. They are exceedingly orthodox, they revere those who are learned in Talmud lore, they gladly support swarms of batonem, or hangers-on in synagogues who will say a prayer, sing a hymn, form a minivan for you, or do any other religious service for you for a few groshen, and they look up with reverential awe to the holy man of their kind whom they call the taldim and whom they endow with almost pontifical functions.

The Dybbuk is a sort of spirit that enters into the body of another. Upon the death of one person his dybbuk is believed capable of inhabiting the flesh of another with whom he is tied in a holy union.

The story of Ansky's play is the simple story of Leah, the daughter of Reb Sender, a wealthy man who had betrothed her in childhood to Channon, son of a Talmud student and who himself became a Talmud student. But as he grew older and richer Reb Sender looked for a more worldly husband while Channon delved into the fearful mysteries of the Cabala and speculated upon those things that holy

men are not supposed to speculate upon.

Upon the occasion of the betrothal in the synagogue, Channon dies because he had pronounced the dual name of God, and his dybbuk enters the body of the beautiful Leah at her wedding ceremony. Summoned before the Taldik the spirit stubbornly refuses to leave her body until the dread ceremony of the charem or excommunication drives it out. But the two, pledged to each other in childhood, years for each other and so Leah dies.

The story is simple; even feeble. There is no dramatic value to it, no character delineation simply because the principal person in it has no character of her own. Try as I would I could not get interested in the story. It is so utterly unreal, its basis is so contrary to everything civilized and intelligent people live through that to take it seriously is utterly impossible.

What is impressive is the picture of chasidische life and customs, and that is a wonderful piece of work. Ansky knew his Chasidim and their customs and he gives us a picture that is authentic and throbbing with life. And the Neighborhood players give a production that ranks as the best they have ever done, and that is no mean praise.

Mary Ellis, lending her beautiful and gracious presence to the Grand street players, is lovely as Leah, while the men's parts are all excellently taken by Marc Lobell, Albert Carroll, Junius Matthews, Otto Hulcius and the rest of the regulars.

One question arises in my mind; is it proper for a play of that kind to be done in English? Striking as this performance is, I am doubtful about it; it seemed to me sometimes that the sing-song of the Yiddish you hear in synagogues would have been more in place than the crisp and accurate English of the actors. But when they chanted and sang and danced you forgot it all. Henry G. Alsberg made the English version, and a good job he did too.

KATHRYN RAY



One of the principals in the new Continental revue "A Night in Paris" opening at the Casino de Paris (atop the Century Roof) on Tuesday evening.

Dead Standards Rule Us Still

"Chivalry" at Wallack's Shows Us How Galantry Lets the "Guilty" Escape

SOCIETY rests on a lie. Not merely that upper veneer which is known as Society (with a capital S), but the entire social order. The scientist, or the scientifically minded, may retort that all the sciences rest upon unproved and perhaps unprovable assumptions. But this statement involves a confusion of the issues. For society is built upon, and the present social system depends upon, our continued pretense of belief in ideas which are not merely unproven but which every common school graduate is likely to agree are wrong. Thus no one is likely to deny that the doctrine "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," is a fairer, more humane, more intelligent attitude towards the world than the "grab as much and give as little" policy of the world today; but it suits those who are on the grabbing end to continue their single clutch. This they justify by pointing out that nature's way is a free for all, with the "survival of the fittest," or by other specious and false pallophes. In the moral field, the falsehood is even simpler. With the evident complexities of modern life, and the infinite number of factors that prevent biologists from telling us what share environment and what share heredity have in our development and ultimate character—how is it possible for anyone to hold the individual to blame for his actions, to punish him (or reward him) for his deeds? Yet not merely our prisons, our fashions of social intercourse, depend upon just such responsibility, and many of our wars are its fruits. Samuel Butler foretells that one day the only crime will be illness; others suggest that the only crime is wilful ignorance.

"Chivalry," a poor melodrama by William Hurlbut, that Joseph Shea is presenting at Wallack's Theatre, is worth while in that it arouses such thoughts; although it merely widens the guilt, accepting the theory of personal responsibility. Its insistence is that man alone must not be blamed in sex scandals; that woman must be made to bear her part; she is often equally guilty—as every man will affirm; if silly chivalry does not close his hyper-gentlemanly lips. This idea the author develops by showing a "baby doll," a sweet, innocent-looking creature, who is really a most designing man-hunter; and showing a jury won by her childish, pretty face to a verdict of not guilty. The play moves by the moving picture throw-back device that won fame for "On Trial," but there is no cleverness in the application, and less in the development of the story. Still, the play is well acted, especially by Doris Rankin, and has therefore its moving moments. But as a widening of the theory of responsibility, and as a step toward a saner attitude toward crime, it is, at least, suggestive. W. L.

ALFRED LUNT



Is the Chocolate Soldier hero of "Arms and the Man," Shaw's delightful satire now housed at the Garrick.

Frank Craven will return to the stage under the management of A. L. Erlanger. He will resume his tour in his own comedy, "New Brooms," opening at the Nixon Theatre, Pittsburgh, Monday evening, January 4.

Gertrude Madge, the comedienne and character actress, formerly of last year's "Fading Show," has joined the cast of "Artists and Models," at the Winter Garden.

THEATRES

WINTER GARDEN

Popular Holiday Matinee: Tuesday, Dec. 29; Thursday, Dec. 31; Friday, Jan. 1; Saturday, Jan. 2. NOW, AS ALWAYS, THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS REVUE



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LAUGH

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MORALS

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"The Goat Song" Next Theatre Guild Production

The Theatre Guild will produce "The Goat Song" by Franz Werfel which they have held for two seasons. It will open some time in January at the Guild Theatre and "Merchants of Glory" will move to the Garrick. Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne will be in "The Goat Song" and Jacob Ben Ami will direct it. Franz Werfel is considered a leading figure among the young Austrian dramatists. His latest play "Jaures and Maximilian" was recently produced by Max Reinhardt. Simon and Schuster have just published on this side his novel "Verdi."

James Rennie has been engaged by William A. Brady to play the title role in the dramatization of F. Scott Fitzgerald's "The Great Gatsby." The novel is now being molded into stage form by Owen Davis. Mr. Brady will offer the production on Broadway early in January.

CENTURY THEATRE

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

PRINCESS FLAVIA

"MOST SUMPTUOUS AND CAPTIVATING OF OPERETTAS."—H. J. MacIsaac, "Times."

Musical Version of "THE PRISONER OF ZENDA"

(Bal. Seats Reserved, 700 to 1400—500 to 1100—300 to 1200—500 Dress Circle at 13.50)

CAST OF 300 SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA OF 60 SINGING CHORUS OF 125

AMBASSADOR THEATRE

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 OF 40 SINGING CHORUS OF 100 Bal. Seats (Res.) \$1.00-\$1.65 \$2.50-\$2.75-\$3.50

4 Matinee Next Week: Wednesday, Thursday, New Year's & Saturday

FORREST THEATRE

49TH STREET West of Broadway. Evs. 8:30. Mats. W. d., Fri., 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

Matinee Next Week: Wednesday, Friday and Saturday

MARY FLORENCE

by Rachel Crothers with ROBERT WARWICK BIJOU THEATRE 45th St. W. of B'way. EVS. 8:30

MATINEES WED., FRI. & SAT.

A LADY'S VIRTUE

AWOODS PRESENTS THE GREEN HAT BY MICHAEL ARLEN STAGED BY G. D. O. THEATRICAL PRODUCTIONS OF THE CENTURY Katharine Cornell Margalo Gillmore Leslie Howard BROADHURST THEATRE 44th St. W. of B'way. MATS. THUR. & SAT.

EXTRA HOLIDAY MATINEE FRIDAY

Wherever intelligent people meet they discuss FAY BAINTER in THE ENEMY Can you afford not to know about Channing Pollock's Great Play of "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men" at the TIMES SQ. THEATRE, W. 42nd St. 3 Matinee Next Week: Thursday (Pop. Prices), Friday & Sat.

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

MERCHANTS OF GLORY

(Courtesy E. Ray Goetz) "AS A PLAY, AS A PRODUCTION, 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. Mats. Thurs., Fri. and Saturday.

ARMS AND THE MAN

ALFRED LUNT and LYNN FONTANNE Garrick 45 W. 35th St. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Thurs., Fri. and Sat.

ANDROCLES AND THE LION

KLAW West 45th St. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Thurs., Fri. and Sat.

3 MATS. THIS WEEK THURS., FRI. & SAT. AT ALL 2 THEATRES

RICHARD HERNDON Presents "THE PATSY" MARY CORNELL'S LATEST AMERICAN COMEDY CLAIBORNE FOSTER The most lovable girl in the most lovable play STAGED BY ALLAN DIRSHART BOOTH THEATRE 41st St. W. of B'way. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Wed., Fri. and Sat.

IVY SAWYER



Gives a charming performance in the new musical play "Mayflowers" at the Forrest Theatre.

Broadway Briefs

Jed Harris, who produced "Weak Saters," at the Booth Theatre, is preparing a new play. Recently "Love 'Em and Leave 'Em," a new comedy by John V. A. Weaver, the well-known writer and husband of Peggy Wood, and George Abbott.

"An Heir at Large," a serial cartoon by John T. McCutcheon, which appeared in The Chicago Tribune a couple of years ago, has been dramatized by Mary Aldis for a premiere at the Goodman Memorial Theatre. The play is to be staged in black and white under the direction of Mr. McCutcheon.

Joseph E. Shea and Leslie H. Bradshaw, producers of "Chivalry," announce a musical comedy by B. C. Hilliam, "Sweet William," for early production. This will be followed by a comedy by William Hurlbut, "The Laugh," and also several other plays.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"THE MONKEY TALKS," a circus drama from the French of Rene Fanchols, adapted by Gladys Unger, will open Monday night at the Sam H. Harris Theatre under the direction of Arch Selwyn. The cast is headed by Jacques Lerner, Martha-Bryan Allen, Philip Merivale, Harry Mettayer, Wilton Lackaye, Ethel Wilson.

"TIP-TOES," a new musical comedy by Guy Bolton and Fred Thompson, with lyrics by Ira Gershwin and music by George Gershwin, will open at the Liberty Theatre Monday night. Queenie Smith, Allen Kearns, Andrew Tomboes and Harry Watson, Jr., are the featured players. Alex A. Aarons and Vinton Freedley are the producers.

"VANTIERE," the fourth edition, will be presented by Earl Carroll Monday night at the Earl Carroll Theatre, with book by William A. Grew and music by Clarence Gaskill. The principals include Joe Cook, Frank Tinney, Julius Tannen, Dorothy Knapp, Madeline Killeen, Vivian Hart, Wallace McCutcheon, Ray Hughes, Jeanette Gilmore and Gracella and Theodor.

"STRONGER THAN LOVE," a new play by Dario Nicodemini, with Nance O'Neil featured, opens at the Belasco Theatre Monday night under the management of Carl Reed. Other players include Ralph Forbes, Katherine Grey, Ernest Lawford, Frederick Perry, Borden Harriman, Zola Talma.

"BY THE WAY," Jack Hurlbert's English Revue, comes to the Gaiety Theatre Monday evening under the management of A. L. Erlanger. Jack Hurlbert and Cicely Courtneidge lead the London players.

TUESDAY

"A NIGHT IN PARIS," a new revue along Continental lines, will open Tuesday night in the renamed Casino de Paris (atop the Century roof) under the management of Messrs. Shubert. The large cast includes many foreign artists, including Yvonne George, Loulou Hegoburu, Maria Kleva, Carlos Conte, all from Chas Fysher, Paris; also a group of Gertrude Hoffmann Girls. The American artists include Kathryn Ray, Norma Terris, Jack Osterman, Vannessa, Barnett Parker, Jack Pearl and Ralph Coram.

"THE MAKROPOULOS SECRET," a comedy by Karel Capek, with Emily Stevens in the principal feminine role, will open Tuesday night at the Charles Hopkins Theatre.

WEDNESDAY

"SONG OF THE FLAME," a musical comedy by Otto Harbach and Oscar Hammerstein 2d, with music by George Gershwin and Herbert Stothart, will open at the Forty-fourth Street Theatre on Wednesday night under the management of Arthur Hammerstein. The cast includes Tessa Kosta, Ula Sharon, Allan Rogers, Edmund Burke, Hugh Cameron and Bernard Gorey.

THEATRES

EVERY EVENING (Except Monday). MATINEE SATURDAY at 2:30
First Play of the New Season

ANSKY'S
THE DYBBUK
English Version by Henry G. Alsberg

466 Broadway
Tel. Dry Dock 7516

LITTLE THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway. Evns. at 8:30.
Matinee Wednesday and Saturday

Extra Holiday Matinee New Year's (Friday)
Messrs. Druce and Street Announce

Robert Loraine
In a Novel Romantic Comedy-Drama by Catherine Chisholm Cushing
Based on Robert Herrick's Exquisite Story

"The Master of the Inn"
with a Cast of Distinction Headed by
IAN KEITH & VIRGINIA PEMBERTON

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
AT THE PLAYHOUSE
EXTRA HOLIDAY MATINEE NEW YEAR'S

B. S. MOSS CAMEO 42d St. and B'y
BEGINNING SUNDAY
THOMAS MEIGHAN
IN
"IRISH LUCK"
COMPLETE SHOW NEW YEAR'S
EVE. at 11:30 P. M.
Famous Cameo Theatre Orchestra

BRONX OPERA HOUSE
149th St. E. of Third Ave.
FOR PRICES: MATS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT
Henry W. Savage, Inc.
In Association with A. H. Woods
Present

"STOLEN FRUIT"
with Ann Harding, Rolfe Peters,
Harry Beresford and
THE ORIGINAL CAST DIRECT FROM
THE ELTINGE THEATRE

Week of January 4th
HOUDINI
The Greatest Magician of the Age

Music and Concerts

PHILHARMONIC
Carnegie Hall, Sunday Afternoon at 3
MENGELBERG & HADLEY Conducting
Soloist: ZIMBALIST in Brahms' Concerto
HADLEY, "Lucifer", ROENTGEN: Dutch
Dances; TCHAIKOVSKY: Marche Slav.
Carnegie Hall, Thursday Eve. at 8:30
Friday Art. at 2:30

WILHELM MENGELBERG, Conductor
Soloist: OTTOKAR REPPICH, Composer-
Pianist (American debut). REPPICH:
Piano Concerto (first time); STRAUSS:
"Thus Spake Zarathustra"; SCHUMANN:
"Wanderer".
Carnegie Hall, Saturday Eve. at 8:30
Arthur Johnson, Mgr. (Steinway)

Aeolian Hall, This Sun. Eve. at 8:30
INTERNATIONAL
COMPOSERS' GUILD
1st Concert: FRITZ REINER, Conductor
Soloists: Rudolph, Pianist; Celia O'More,
singer; Correll Van Vleet, cello. New music
by Casella, Hindemith, Lehar, Kodaly,
Schmitt. Subscriptions for 2 concerts now
at Box Office. (Baldwin Piano)

MUSIC

"La Cena delle Beffe" at
Metropolitan Next Saturday

ME. JERTZA in "The Jewels
of the Madonna" is rean-
nounced a third time for the
Metropolitan's special matinee on New
Year's Day. The regular Saturday
matinee on January 3 will be the first
performance of Giordano's "La Cena
delle Beffe," from the play known as
"The Jest," produced here by Arthur
Hopkins some seasons back, with John
and Lionel Barrymore.

"Falstaff" with Scotti and Tibbett,
opens the ninth week of opera next
Monday, followed on Wednesday by
Rethberg and Bender in "The Barber of
Bagdad" and Bori and Tibbett in
"L'Heure Espagnole"; Thursday, "Ro-
meo and Juliet," with Marion and John-
son; Friday night, "Glaucunda," with
Fonsell and Chamlee, and Saturday
night, "Tannhauser," with Rethberg,
Taucher and Whitehill.

"Rigoletto" will be sung at the Brook-
lyn Academy Tuesday night, with Ma-
rio, Gigli, Danise and Mardones. This
Sunday's Metropolitan concert, with
half a dozen other stars, will present
the two sisters Fonselle.

Daniel Mayer announces the follow-
ing January recitals: Duolina Glan-
zini, soprano, January 4, Carnegie
Hall; Russian Symphonic Choir, Janu-
ary 13, Carnegie Hall; the Stringwood
Ensemble, January 26, Aeolian Hall;
Alexis Choblenky, bass-baritone, Janu-
ary 31, Aeolian Hall; Phyllis Archibald,
January 30, Aeolian Hall.

With the Orchestras

PHILHARMONIC
This Sunday after-
noon Efrem Zimbalist
is soloist with Philhar-
monic at Carnegie Hall,
playing the Brahms vio-
lin concerto. Henry
Hadley will conduct his
own "Lucifer," and the
rest of the program, led
by Mr. Mengelberg, in-
cludes the Roentgen
old Dutch dances and
Tchaikovsky's Marche Slav.

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Pierne's "Children at Bethlehem," to
be performed at Carnegie Hall, De-
cember 26, will be repeated at Mecca
Auditorium this Sunday afternoon.
The other number on the program will
be Schubert's Symphony in B minor.
Scenery and costumes, soloists and a
chorus of one hundred and fifty chil-
dren are being employed in the pre-
sentation of the play. Damrosch him-
self dramatized Pierne's music after
the manner of the old miracle plays,
which were given outside the churches
in medieval times.

Phyllis Archibald sings the part of
the Madonna and Flora Negri that of
the Star. The stage sets, which were
designed by P. Dodd Ackerman, re-
produce as closely as possible the

D R A M A

SYLVIA FIELD



Makes a lovable heroine in "The But-
ter and Egg Man," George S. Kauf-
man's funny comedy at the Longacre.

In Budapest Theatres

HUNGARIAN plays today are
often written with one eye on
the American market; they are
rarely rooted in the national soil of
Hungary. If they were, this very
quality of permanence in the national
dramatic literature would make them
unsuitable for export across the
frontiers. Emerich Madach's famous
epic work, "The Tragedy of Man,"
writes a correspondent to the Christian
Science Monitor, still remains a purely
Hungarian possession. This play is
constantly in the repertoire of the Na-
tional Theatre, Budapest.

Frans Molnar, Melchior Lengyel
and Ernst Vajda, on the other hand,
the three leading Hungarian drama-
tists, seem more interested in the
Broadway theatres than those of
Budapest. This attitude has brought
about a curious feeling toward these
three dramatists in Hungary. Up to
now every Molnar play has received
its premiere in Budapest. His latest
play, "Riviera," is, however, being
produced first in Vienna. This is ob-
viously due to the cool reception of
his "Glass Slipper" last season.

The National Theatre production of
Bernard Shaw's "Man and Superman,"
which becomes in Hungarian "John
Tanner's Marriage," is played through
with swift and subtle witty gestures.
The audience rose to each line, to each
characterization, and several times
they stopped the action of the play
merely to applaud. How they bubbled
and tittered, this temperamental
Budapest audience. They showed
clearly that for Budapest at least
Shaw's comedies have not dated.

Leopoldine Konstantine, the German
actress, is here with a German en-
semble giving "Schiller's" "Maria
Stuart." Several unimportant French
boulevard plays leave the dramatic
fare, while the appearance of a Negro
troupe called "The Chocolate Kiddies,"
has aroused some interest.

Alfred Lunt and his wife, Lynn Fon-
tanne, now appearing in the Theatre
Guild's production of "Arms and the
Man," at the Garrick Theatre, have
signed a new contract with the Guild,
giving that organization an option on
their services for the next four years.

LESLIE HOWARD



This talented actor gives an excellent
performance of Napier Harpenden in
Michael Arlen's "The Green Hat" at
the Broadhurst Theatre.

medieval pictures of the story of the
Christchild, such as depicted by Ital-
ian painters of the fifteenth century.

Music Notes

Anna Robenne will give another
dance recital on December 30 in Town
Hall.

Murdock, the English pianist, will
make his American debut Monday af-
ternoon at Aeolian Hall.

Maria Theresa gives a dance recital
at Carnegie Hall Monday night.

John Coates, English tenor, will sing
at the Town Hall Wednesday evening.

Magdeleine Bard will give a piano
recital at Aeolian Hall this Sunday
afternoon.

Adam Kuryllo, Polish violinist, will
give his recital at Aeolian Hall
Wednesday evening.

Emile de Gogorza, baritone, will be
heard in the Bagby musicale at the
Waldorf on December 28.

"Patrioteers" Laid Bare

Theatre Guild Production of "The Merchants of Glory," a
Gripping Melodrama of the Prostitution of Heroism

IN "The Merchants of Glory," which
caused serious disturbances in
Paris, and which has now been
produced by the Theatre Guild at the
Guild Theatre, Marcel Pagnol and Paul
Nivola have made out of a stirring
melodrama an effective satire on the
way in which wars are made to build
the fortunes of men. The story is di-
rectly of a shrewd profiteer and a
simple father of a dead hero ("all
heroes are best when they are memo-
ries"); but in its significance it is more
universal.

In the name of those who have died
for their country, died to preserve their
country's honor, those who remain
must preserve the banner of the nation
highest. In this vein the play shows
us how those who were left behind
sow the seeds of national pride and
the germs of future war by keeping
alive, in memory of the dead "heroes,"
the feeling that sent them forth to die,
the hatred of the enemy, all the illu-
sions of war time. The "heroes" them-
selves have seen war and its sickening
results; they have sent home letters
of cynical comment, of resolve never
to be so victimized again. And these
letters, these resolves are ignored by
the smiling citizens who accept the
martyrdom of the youth as their glory;
the ideas of profit and pride are swept
again into the place of these new
ideals, and the world is summoned in
the very name of these dead heroes to
perpetuate the system that makes
more wars inevitable.

And the heroes that did not die?
They come back disillusioned; they
come from the horror of war to "a
world where all wars have ended."
And they discover that their work is
a lie, that their years have been given,
their health, their wracking labor, that
others might reap profit and more
profit, on a scale larger than had been
dreamed of before the war made men
dream such enormous, profitable
dreams. These heroes see this world,
and they have two choices. They may
protest (as young Bachelet did, for this
is all the story of the play); but then
at once they are no longer heroes; they
are strangers who have been cor-

rupted; they are communists, bolshe-
vists, they are whatever evil-sounding
word is on all men's lips (once it was
atheist, then it was republican, then
socialist, now it is bolshevik). Or they
see the sham of the game we call civ-
ilization; they recognize the lust for
power and wealth that underlies the
pretense of ideals, of patriotism, of
"the memory of our glorious dead" and
love of country, which we must keep
supreme; they see that to the un-
scrupulous belong the spoils, and (like
young Bachelet at the end) they deter-
mine to take their part in the plunder-
ing.

That the process, in old Bachelet's
case, in the case of most, perhaps, is
an unconscious one, makes it but the
more pitiful, and the harder to remedy.
No one would be more horrified than
the Bachelets of the world, were they
forced to hear that they are not
patriots, but blind debauchers of their
country's best. Plays like "The Mer-
chants of Glory" may help to make
them see with clearer eyes. We have
not much hope in this remedy, how-
ever. But Dr. Johnson well remarked
that patriotism is the last refuge of a
scoundrel.

The crudities of the play, as a piece
of dramatic art, though they are many,
fall away before its direct and power-
ful presentation, and its strong propa-
ganda appeal. In the single tale of
this family and the few characters
around, we find a microcosm, a world
in little, excellently and sharply caught.
The acting—especially of Augustin
Duncan as the old, simple Bachelet, the
plain man rising on the tide of his
son's martyrdom until he prostitutes
that story for his own interests, all the
while believing he is preserving his
son's high honor—and of Lee Baker, as
old Grandel, the man who lost his son
and his wife, but has still somehow
preserved his ideals, these and the re-
strained bitterness of Jose Ruben given
the personal force of fine acting to the
driving power of the play, to make a
piece of propaganda every hater of war
and of the social system that makes it
inevitable, that turns it to continued
profit, should see.

J. T. S.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

B. S. Moss has arranged a holiday
program abounding with the spirit of
the coming new year at the Broadway
Theatre next week. The vaudeville bill
will include Elizabeth Brice, in a new
musical divertissement assisted by
Frank Kessler and his Music Weavers;
Frankie Heath, Stan Stanley and Co.
in a skit, "The Man in the Audience";
Joe Browning; Edith Clasper, assisted
by Bud Sherman, Donn Roberts and
Jack Meyers; the Spanish clown, Po-
pito, and Jim Diamond and Sobyl Bren-
nan.

On the screen will be presented
Joseph Conrad's "Lord Jim," a romance
of the South Seas, with Percy Marmont
in the leading role, which Victor Flem-
ing produced for Paramount. Shirley
Mason, Noah Beery and Raymond Hat-
ton are featured with Percy Marmont
in the principal roles of the production.

REGENT

Monday to Wednesday—Harry
Hines; Presler & Klais; Dave Apol-
on & Co.; others. Charles Ray in
"Sweet Adeline." New Our Gang Com-
edy.

Thursday to Sunday—Al LaVine and
Band; Welch & Norton; Sultan; other
acts. "Classified," with Corinne Grif-
fith.

FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday—Irene Ricar-
do; Kelse & DeMond Revue; Galletti
& Kokin; McCushion Twins; Bryson &
Jones; others. Charles Ray in "Sweet
Adeline." New Our Gang Comedy.

Thursday to Sunday—Bert & Betty
Wheeler; Odiva & Human Seals; Du-
Callion; others. Corinne Griffith in
"Classified."

Broadway Briefs

The 66 Fifth Avenue Theatre, the
group now producing "The Wise-
Crackers," by Gilbert Seldes, at that
address, has changed the name of its
playhouse to "the Fifth Avenue Play-
house."

"Sweetheart Time," a musical version
of "Never Say Die," will come to one
of the Shubert theatres some time in
January. Eddie Buzzell and Mary Mil-
burn will head the cast.

Dawling & Anhalt are engaging a
cast for "The Kid Himself," which will
go into rehearsal shortly. Featured in
the play will be W. T. Tilden 2nd, Mar-
jorie Daw, the film player, and William
Quinn.

"Queen High" will be the title of the
forthcoming musical version of "A Pair
of Sixes." Laurence Schwab and B. G.
DeSylva wrote the book and lyrics and
Lewis Gensler the music.

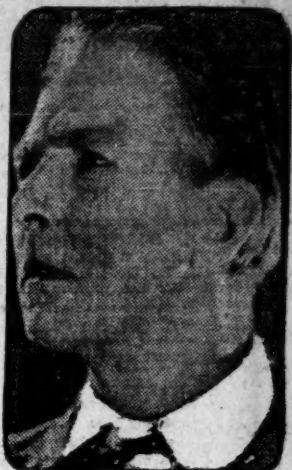
Aeolian Hall, Wed. Eve., Dec. 30, at 8:15
ADAM

KURYLO
Mgt. Haenel & Jones. Steinway Piano.

Aeolian Hall, Sun. Eve., Jan. 3, at 8:15
80 Members of the New York

PHILHARMONIC ORCH.
ETHEL LEGINSKA
Conducting
Mgt. Haenel & Jones. Knabe Piano.

PERCY MARMONT



Plays the hero in "Lord Jim," coming to Moss' Broadway
Theatre, Monday.

A Miracle
By Karel Kapke

OF all human metier, except
medicine, the theatre strives
most to create miracles. The
miller does not need to resort to
miracles to make flour out of grain,
nor the shoemaker to make boots out
of leather; but the theatre needs
something like a miracle to make
heavens out of cloth and lamps, kings
out of actors, and so on. And because
it cannot make miracles honestly it
falls back on swindles. If the Lord
would some time decide really to sup-
port, to its utmost, human endeavors,
every theatre would surely demand a
heavenly subvention of many thousand
units of miraculous power yearly. And
as the Lord has not thus far granted
such support, money is the only thing
which makes miracles possible.

If you like miracles you must like
the theatre. To me, at least, the
theatre conveys the knowledge that
in this exacting, materialistic, coarsely
actual world there is something unre-
al, removed from all cohesion.
Simply put, the fantastic theatre is
a window into the unreal; the theatre
is an island in the ocean of realities;
the theatre is an opening in the wall
of huge masonry of things actual and
possible; it is only honest refuge of
impossibilities.

Love the theatre in spite of all its
shortcomings. In the final analysis,
a crisis is merely an economic prob-
lem. There is some slight reform in
the hands of every one. Love the
theatre and all will be well.

Why D'Aragnone Resigned

The resignation of Deputy Ludovico
D'Aragnone as head of the Italian Con-
federation of Labor several weeks ago
is explained as follows by the Am-
sterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U.:

"Some alarm was caused by the pub-
lication of a press interview with
D'Aragnone. The remarks he made at
that interview were interpreted so as
to give rise to the impression that he
was in favor of a compromise with the
Fascists. D'Aragnone denied these ex-
planations and at the same time is-
sued a corrected statement, making
it quite clear that in the interview he
had done no more than point out the
difference in the attitude of the trade
unions and the Liberals towards the
State's action in regard to the trade
union movement. D'Aragnone's inter-
view and similar statements of Bal-
desi's were thoroughly discussed in an
executive meeting, and approved, and
it was taken for granted that the af-
fair was at an end. Two members
of the Executive, however, wrote that
in view of the awkward position in
which D'Aragnone had placed himself,
they considered that he should resign.
Then, just before the joint confer-
ence of the Fascist trade unions with
the National Union of Industrial Em-
ployers at Rome, the Executive of the
Italian National Center held a meet-
ing in order to go thoroughly into the
whole position.

In the discussions which fol-
lowed, three tendencies showed them-
selves. A tendency in favor of an ul-
timate to the National Union of In-
dustrialists in regard to the mainte-
nance of collective agreements with the
trade unions, and the organization of
a general 24-hour demonstration strike
on the expiry of the ultimatum. A sec-
ond group was in favor of a strike of
24 hours if the Industrialists should be
scheming to restrict the right of con-
cluding collective agreements solely to
the Fascist. A third favored the or-
ganization of a resistance action of the
various federations, each according to
its individual means and possibilities,
in the event of the industrialists at-
tempting to impose on the workers la-
bor conditions which were not in ac-
cordance with those demanded by the
free trade unions.

"After long debates it was proposed
that a general demonstration strike be
organized in the event of the Indus-
trialists giving the Fascist a monopoly
of the right of concluding collective
agreements. This proposal, which was
carried by eight to six votes, was sub-
sequently dropped, because it was
realized that only a few of the big
towns, such as Turin, Milan, etc.,
would really be able to carry it
through. But D'Aragnone, who had
voted against the proposal, had al-
ready handed in his resignation. After
a heated debate the resignation was
accepted by the same proportion of
votes and a committee was appointed,
consisting of two representatives of
each section, i. e., of those for and
against the strike. This committee
was entrusted with the conduct of cur-
rent business."

ALINE MacMAHON



A leading player in "Artists and
Models." The revue is now in its
seventh month at the Winter Garden.

The New Cinemas

BROADWAY—Joseph Conrad's
"Lord Jim," with Percy Marmont,
Shirley Mason and Noah Beery.
CAMEO—Thomas Meighan in
"Irish Luck," with Lois Wilson.
CAPITOL—Elinor Glyn's "Soul
Mates," with Aileen Fringie and
Edmund Lowe.
COLONY—"The Phantom of the
Opera," with Lon Chaney, Mary
Philbin and Norman Kerry.
RIALTO—"The Enchanted Hill,"
with Jack Holt.
RIVOLI—"A Kiss for Cinderella,"
by J. M. Barrie, with Betty
Bronson, Tom Moore and Esther
Ralston.

THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 16TH STREET
New York City
Telephone Stuyvesant 6885

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1925

MERRY CHRISTMAS

IT IS one of the ironies of history that the birthday of a proletarian nearly two thousand years ago is celebrated throughout the world by the exploiting classes as well as others. This might be expected if the proletarian had never said anything against the idle rich or had never taken personal action against them. But in this case the proletarian in question blistered the usurers and profiteering gentry in unmeasured terms and laborers gathered about him because of this subversive propaganda.

Today the idler with millions representing the unpaid labor of the masses; the usurer, the rent hog, the profiteer, the millionaire masters of industry, the ruling classes in general, pay homage to the wandering carpenter. Their ancestors did not do so. They hustled him out of the way and they today jail many who accept the "civilization" which raises them to economic eminence and condemns the masses to an uncertain and insecure life.

Well, Merry Christmas! One knows that each Christmas brings the world nearer the day when fishermen, carpenters, printers, laborers and all who serve mankind in a useful way will rule the world. That era will not know the things that go with modern "Christian statesmen"; the slaughter, the bloody shambles of war; the dirty diplomacy, the itch for other people's real estate; the servile editors, pocketing their conscience with their salaries; the extortions, disguised as business; the economic servitude that goes with capitalism.

Be merry, for there is a fund of humor to be obtained in fighting, educating, and laughing the whole sorry mess into oblivion.

INDUSTRIAL SPIES

INTRODUCTION by Senator Wheeler of a resolution in the Senate Committee on Education to inquire into the extent of the spy system in industry and to recommend Federal legislation to exterminate the system may result in some educational publicity that will be of considerable value. It is not likely that a Congress of the type we have now will take any effective action to stamp out these rats who infest industry, but a wide disclosure of the facts will render a distinct service.

There are detective agencies whose mercenaries are supplied to capitalist employers to keep industry clean of "agitators," to root out radicals, to break strikes, to report proceedings of union meetings, to prevent organization or to instigate crime within the shop or during a strike. The presence of these vermin in an industry is insurance of misunderstanding, suspicion and hatred. Enough inside information has been gathered to show that these hired criminals cause trouble where relations are good in order to justify their employment and enable the detective agencies to draw their fees from the employer.

As for the extent of the system it is doubtful whether there is a single state where industrial spies are not employed. Beginning with the Homestead strike in 1892 we had the first appearance of Pinkertons as an armed force and this was followed by the introduction of secret agents in the steel industry of western Pennsylvania. From this period the "business" has developed as an essential industry in all parts of the country, often disguised as efficiency work or expert service in promoting "harmonious relations" between the worker and the employer. It is one distinctive contribution which our ignorant Babbitts have made to the "solution" of industrial problems, and the sooner it is outlawed the better for all concerned.

ACQUITTED AND LYNCHED

IMAGINE a Rotarian on trial for murder. A jury is selected, evidence is presented, lawyers plead their respective sides, the judge instructs the jury and the latter brings in a verdict of acquittal. The judge discharges the jury and the prisoner walks out of the courtroom a free man. Upon reaching the street a mob seizes the Rotarian and lynches him. Would not all the powers of the state be employed to bring the scoundrels guilty of this infamous deed to justice? Certainly.

Not so in some states if the accused is a Negro. This can occur, it did occur recently in Mississippi, and it received only two inches of type in The World. The last sentence of the dispatch gives the economic background of this revolting injustice. Lindsay Coleman, the accused Negro, "was charged with killing Grover C. Nicholas, plantation store manager."

This sentence warrants the belief that this is a case of economic robbery followed by the lynching of one who protested against it. It is notorious that in many southern states the Negro is swindled by plantation store owners and often kept in perpetual debt. There have been cases of Negroes who objected to the robbery who have been driven from the community and some who have been

lynched. White despoilers of Negro labor rule.

Moreover, Negroes cannot testify against a white man or serve on juries trying a white. It was a white jury who acquitted Coleman, and, considering the marked observance of the color prejudice in Mississippi, it is certain that the evidence in favor of Coleman was overwhelming. A Negro is never given the benefit of the doubt. Therefore, there is no doubt whatever of the innocence of Coleman.

Yet this unfortunate man is killed by a mob after he is released by a white jury. Will our white devotees of American "democracy" understand that these horrible atrocities brand them as damnable hypocrites before the world? There is nothing in medieval history to compare with this sort of thing which happens in one form or another over and over again in this country. The "democracy" that masks economic robbery and then murders its victims into the bargain is on a par with the professional moralist who is secretly a moral leper. It is a filthy thing that must be exterminated.

HEARSTOLOGY

HEARSTOLOGY is a peculiar product of the United States. The Hearst publications have been able to gather more men who can write down to the level of child minds than any other publishing business in this country. We frequently get clippings of the output of George W. Hinman who appears to be the Hearst specialist in economics.

A sample from the bulk is typical. He drags forth a laborer from a logging camp in the Northwest who writes Hinman that he is now fifty-five years old, has worked long hours all his life, saved \$15,000, invested \$8,000 and desired to invest the remaining \$7,000. He wants to live comfortably in his old age. Could he realize this ideal if he had not worked long hours all his life?

Unfortunately, this reasoning appeals to the child mind but to one of normal intelligence that logger is a tragedy. He has been a packhorse all his life. If he had saved \$15,000 upon the wages that the average logger gets this means that he has not lived the life of a normal and comfortable human being. At the age of fifty-five when his physical powers are on the decline he looks forward to a few years of enjoyment. But even if he invests that \$15,000 at 10 per cent the income certainly will not enable him to realize his ambition. The only hope he really has of enjoying say two years is to spend the principal in that period. Then the poorhouse, or back to the logging camps, or suicide.

Yet the smug Hinman offers this old packhorse as something to be admired and emulated. We consider the old logger an indictment of the capitalist system that saps his energy and at the age of fifty-five leaves him in possession of a pitiful sum that merely taunts him rather than assures him a few years of rest.

"A NEW ERA"

THE Mining Congress Journal has a plan for dealing with the coal situation, its inspiration being obtained from an incident which it relates to point a moral. It seems that a government official in British Columbia many years ago faced an imminent strike of miners. A committee of the latter asked this official what he would do if the miners attempted to persuade or prevent other men from taking their places. "The first man in this country who attempts to dictate what another man shall do gets ten years," was the answer. The moral of the Mining Congress Journal is, "if we had an effective ruling of that kind in this country, strikes would soon be a relic of past barbarism, and a new era for Labor would be on its way."

Sure. The workers would be tied to their tasks and those who urged a strike would get ten years. If that wouldn't be a "new era" we do not know what would be unless strikers were shot at sunrise. It would also be a "new era" for mine owners, a very pleasant era, if you get what we mean. Think of a strike strangled at its very outset by the assessment of a penalty of ten years in prison for those who leave the mines to enforce a demand for a higher wage.

As a matter of fact, mere ownership of the mines gives the owners "an effective ruling" now. They can close the mines if profits are not satisfactory and they often close them for this reason, but the miners cannot close the mines if wages are unsatisfactory without a lot of people getting excited about it. The organ of the mining interests would throw the miners in jail. Would it provide cells for the mine owners? Hardly. That would be a "relic of barbarism" which it desires to avoid.

Little Hands

By Gabriela Mistral of Chile

(Translated from the Spanish by Alice Stone Blackwell)

O little hands of children
That beg insistently!
Of all the world's fair valleys
The lords are ye.

O little hands of children,
Extended towards the tree!
For you the fruits that ripen
Glow ruddily;

Yours the full combs of honey,
Breaking on every hand;
And men pass by and see you,
Nor understand!

O small white hands of children,
That seem of soft flour made!
The ear of wheat to touch you
Bends, lightly swayed.

Hands of poor little children,
Stretched out in hungry quest,
Blessed are those that fill you,
Blest and thrice blest!

Blest those who hear you, seeming
A cry in their hearts' core—
Those who shall to the children
The world restore!

The News of the Week

The Passing of Frank Munsey

The passing of Frank Munsey removes one of the most successful venders of dope in the United States. He was a specialist in drugging minds and it must be admitted that there are millions who really like his kind of narcotic. He was not alone in this field. It has become an essential industry of capitalism. Munsey came into the field of journalism following the passing of the old type like Greeley. The old school generally promoted the habit of thinking; the new school has smothered it. The old school stimulated discussion, welcomed new ideas, and was free of subjection to great organizations of capital. The Munsey school transformed thinking and discussion into new drugs, standardized the output like the pig iron produced at a blast furnace, advertised it like a new brand of soap, gave it prominent display, and "journalism" thus became a commodity to be exploited for the enrichment of those who invested in it. Munsey was of this type. He is said to have accumulated \$20,000,000 from the business. Try to imagine Horace Greeley obtaining this enormous sum out of the old Tribune and we get an idea of what has happened to the once noble profession of journalism. Munsey was not to blame. He and others are the product of the bloated and vulgar period of capitalism. The capitalist system tends to this vulgarization of the old ideals of professional honor. It reduces them to a calculation of dollars and journalism becomes a painted woman with capitalism as her paramour.

Troubles of the Communists

Whether the schism that has appeared in the Communist Congress being held in Moscow will be patched up remains to be seen. The bumptious Zinoviev heads a minority opposed to the "new economic policy" which has produced a class of the new rich known as the "Fists." The majority is led by Stalin and Bukharin who contend that the poor peasants must be the basis of a struggle against the ascendancy of the "Fists." The whole trouble grows out of the overwhelming peasant character of Russia. The Bolsheviks have puzzled their brains over the problems of building a Socialist society on a backward agricultural society. The economic structure of Socialism has never existed in Russia and war Communism could not create it. Dictatorship could not summon it into existence and peasant production is in conflict with Socialist aims. The "new economic policy" was intended to permit private capitalism to develop but its development can continue only by incurring the danger of the "Fists" getting the upper hand in Russia. These are the

contradictions which the Bolsheviks face. A Socialist revolution in England or the United States would not have to face them because the economic structure of a Socialist society has developed in both countries. Bukharin asserted that the party was facing an "acute crisis." He was also amazed that the minority claimed the right to bring in a minority report which he considered a "serious situation." Stalin followed with a warning against "democracy" should it appear in the party.

Engineers Object to Low Incomes

Several hundred engineers who came from a number of large cities met in New York to consider the economic status of their employment by the cities. A few weeks ago we reported the resignation of a number of Baltimore engineers because of inability to live on \$1,500 a year. Low salaries appear to be general. One speaker said that a crisis faced the engineers because they receive "sums disproportionate with the value of the work performed." Another speaker said that the engineers do not believe in strikes but observed that in Chicago the engineers left their work for a few hours to "think it over" and when they returned the Mayor conceded a 25 per cent increase. Perhaps the Chicago engineers do not believe in strikes but all that was required of their absence from their work to make it a strike was to extend the absence from hours to days and they would have indulged in the real thing. In fact, some people would say that even the few hours' absence constituted a strike. What the technicians and so-called "intellectual" workers in general have to learn is that they belong to the working class and that organization is essential to them. Many actors have come to this conclusion long ago and now playwrights are thinking of it. The general tendency of capitalism is to eat into the incomes of the professional workers and thus enforce the need of trade union organization on a class that is reluctant to concede that its interests are bound up with the welfare of all other forms of useful labor.

Mussolini in Role Of Explainer

United States and Great Britain of his reported plan of proclaiming the puppet king, Victor Emmanuel, Emperor of all the Romans on New Year's Day, "Big Ben," as the Italian Dictator is sometimes labeled by newspaper correspondents from England having in mind the big noise made by the huge bell in Westminster, gave interviews to the United Press and the Stefani News Agency denying that his proposed empire would be anything more

than "spiritual," although he hoped to win more territory by "peaceful negotiation." Mussolini also averred that his proposed "recreation centres" abroad were mainly for the purpose of promoting respect for law and order and preventing Italian emigrants from becoming "Anarchists or Socialists." Before granting these interviews, the Dictator generously gave a Christmas holiday to his little boys playing at law making in Rome and told them they need not come back to "work" until sometime next month.

Portugal Wars on Dock Strikers

The latest manifestation of the class struggle on the Dark Continent is the strike of dock workers in Lourenco Marques, the main port of Portuguese East Africa, which has reached such a promising stage for the workers that Portuguese marines and sailors from warships have been landed to reinforce the troops who were unable to drive the strikers back to their tasks. The dock strike started several weeks ago and has spread until the railway lines are also tied up in sympathy. During clashes between troops and strikers four women were seriously injured and two soldiers sent to the hospital. When the women marched on the residence of the Governor General and other high officials to demand protection from the troops police were used to guard these worthies from their "humble petitioners." There is likely to be an echo of this affair in the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies to which a couple of Socialists were recently elected.

Amsterdam Backed by British Labor

Hopes of certain agitators for a rupture between British organized labor and the International Federation of Trade Unions over the question of the "united front" have been dashed by the rejection by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress of a recommendation by the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Committee that the General Council go ahead and call a unity conference regardless of the I. F. T. U.'s decision to the contrary. The General Council, however, decided to use its influence with the Amsterdam organization in favor of inviting the Russian unionists to some sort of a conference without obligating them to apply unconditionally for membership in the International. This is practically the same stand as has been taken all along by the majority of the British union leaders and it may yet result in the opening of unofficial negotiations between Amsterdam and Moscow, although no definite action toward modifying the terms of admission to the I. F. T. U. can be taken until the next Congress of that organization.

THE CHATTER BOX

Ghetto Idyll—

(To Rose G— wherever she be now.)
Grand street is a mean,
Cadaverously lean,
Pathway to the years
When you were twelve
And I thirteen....

Then nymphs and Pans
Made groves of garbage cans....

I know for me
The slope down Lewis street
Was fairer far than any vale
In Thessaly....

Then love was sweet.

Rose, our love was clean;
I do not mean
Because we were too young for else,
You twelve, and I thirteen.

But since we knew
The dark and grew
To wisdom through the nights
Of winking scarlet lights
And gay kimonoed misses
Making nods and hisses
To a passing gent....

(We smirked our knowledge
If he went....)

We knew the shame,
Nor wondered why the wagons came
With cops to pile the ladies in,
And clanged away, a load of sin....

We grew so near the brothel door;
We knew the pimp, we knew the whore;
We knew the orgies of the street;

And so our love was doubly pure,
And so our kisses doubly sweet.

We have not met these twenty years
For all our tears,
For all the vows
So fiercely aighed,
Not knowing love had died....

Today, entrapped in life
Of motherhood and wife
In empty drugging
Over empty duty,
You should transgress
A while for memory
And walk again with me
The way we paved to beauty....

Grand street is a mean,
Cadaverously lean,
Roadway to the dawn
When you were twelve
And I thirteen.

But then all roads were wide,
Each house a mountainside,
Each roof a parapet
There Priam's throne was set
That he might view
The tides of fate that swirled
About his tottering world
Because of Helen—

Who, perhaps, was you....

And I, a Menelaus
And Achilles, too.

You did not know
And I—I hardly knew
What rich enchantment
Lay in love; what love could do
To turn a Ghetto slum
Of squalid shame
Into a tapestry of Attic gold
And flame.

Ah, you were twelve then, Rose,
And I thirteen....
And life was sweet
And love so full and clean....

And now the street
And life and love are mean,
And all their shapes
Cadaverously lean....

Mirage

What phantom mirage of the mind is this,
Or what reflection of the soul's illusion
Is mirrored in this soaring mortar, where
The city sprouts its ordered, thick confusion?

For here is evanescence shaped like stone—
Impermanence that mimics marble towers,
Which from the misty marshes of the soul
Spring up, like momentary granite flowers. . . .

When darkness comes, what ghostly vapors float?
What phosphorescence haunts the city's night?—
What rising mists from souls' dim marshes make
Will-o'-the-wisps of strung, electric lights? . . .
—Louis Ginsberg.

Episode

O! the hells in conventions. . . .
Only today a lass looked at me
With a welcome writ large in her eyes:
I stared back
But she—
She looked away
And I framed a futile
And unsounded oath.

—Jo Burnet.

Carrissima

Carrissima, your eyes are warm and bright
Among the diverging shadows beyond the light
That glows between us like your chastity.
How shall I be, when all those shadows merge—
When you have evanescenced, and it is night;
Darkness alone at last to comfort me?
Shall I—perhaps—no longer feel the urge
To take you—fill my heart's eyes with your beauty
Or—will I have a tear for you, carrissima?
—Semi-Centus the Greek

Yuletide, Xmas, Christmas, Wassail, etc., greeting, old friends and contribs. We certainly have enjoyed our spell of absence, thanks to the Grub Street Club, and your forbearance. Examination of our voluminous mail betrays no protest against last week's poetry invasion. We have received another glowing poem of adulation from Gene Debs, a dozen congrats. from a dozen States, twenty wallpoes from a dozen cities, and one present—an eraser, whatever its significance.

While we have dedicated our second Idyll of the Ghetto to a little lady of the year 1905, we feel that part of its dedicatory honor might well be placed wreathlike on the graves of Big and Little "Tim" Sullivan, whose regime over the redlight district is still classic in Tammany Hall. And now that the red lights wink wickedly from Times Square north to Grant's Tomb, we might also make an additional prologue to Red Mike Hylan, and his lyric successor—Jimmie Walker. May he reign long and true to the best Tammany tradition.
S. A. de Witt.