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of the Socialist and
Labor Movement

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Price Five Cents

Lead Workers Brutally Murdered Berger Proposes Nation Seize Coal Mines

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

RITCHIE Logical Candidate of Liberals for Presidency, is view after Chicago speech. So in large headlines the Cincinnati Enquirer informs a waiting world. "Liberals" you say. "What do you mean, liberals?" Read the Enquirer article and you will learn that liberals are wets and Ritchie is their champion, likely to fall heir to the Smith following if religious reasons make our Al unavailable.

The whole Enquirer article confirms our opinion that American public opinion, including the workers can be excited not along great economic issues, not to the preservation of peace, but only by the new three R's—rum, race and religion. Frank Kent, the shrewd political observer of the Baltimore Sun says there are two public issues in which Americans are spontaneously interested: the prohibition question and evolution or the Bible in the schools. We think race must be added.

Now while the common folks are all "het up" on these questions big business can get away with almost everything, labor finds it hard to organize the unorganized, and politics is chaos. Consider prohibition. It is an important issue. The present situation is a national scandal. You cannot ignore prohibition. But neither can you fit it in to a proper political and economic lineup. Radical and conservative, Socialist and old party men, may be wet or dry with no bearing on their general creed. You can't be continually voting on some phase of the wet and dry issue and work out a logical program in foreign and domestic affairs according to economic realities. It distracts thought and plays into the hands of those who pick our pockets while we fight for the beer bottle.

Prohibition ought in short to be divorced from politics. We don't believe that universal referendum on all subjects make for progress but prohibition or the Volstead Act, ought to be submitted to the people in a separate referendum as an issue entirely apart from the ordinary political struggle.

Can that be done? Not easily under our Constitution. But conceivably all parties might pledge their candidates to abide by the result of a special advisory referendum vote on some specific proposed change in the Volstead Act or even the initiative of modification of the amendment itself. Let some wet alliance say what it wants, let it and the Anti Saloon phrase the issue clearly and then let the appeal be taken to the people. That might be a way out of the hypocrisy, injustice and chaos of a situation which makes the serious business of getting intelligent political action on vital issues almost impossible. If you don't like this idea, what have you to offer? It is abundantly clear that so far from

(Continued on page 6)

Mass. Mill Owners Seek to Lengthen Hours Of Young Child Workers

Boston. CHILD labor, the 10-hour day and conditions similar to those in feudal Southern States are sought by Massachusetts textile mill owners in a bill filed with the State Senate clerk. Women textile workers would be forced to work 10 hours a day instead of eight as provided now by law. The work week would be 54 instead of 48 hours. Children under 21 would work nine hours a day, 48 a week, except in manufacturing "where employment is seasonal." Here children would be forced to work 52 hours weekly, "provided the weekly average for the entire year would not be more than 48 hours."

The cotton textile industry complains in a petition with the bill that the 48-hour law interferes with profits and long work did not hurt employees before the 8-hour law passed in 1919. No mention is made of the 1925 study by Lewiston, Me., officials who found that city's health record among the worst because its women worked 10 hours a day, 54 a week, most of them in textile mills.

The Arkwright Club of cotton manufacturers in Massachusetts sponsors the 10-hour bill. This group used its power to defeat ratification of the federal child labor amendment in Massachusetts.

91 Miners Die; Was it Murder?

Oklahoma Accident Caused by Brought In to Fight the "Hands"

FOLLOWING the death of 91 miners—65 of them Negroes—in the terrible dust explosion of the Degnan-McConnell mine in Oklahoma the American Engineering Standards Committee informed the public that two thirds of all fatal accidents in the bituminous coal industry are preventable if well established safety methods are employed.

COMPANY UNIONS BRING PACKERS MORE PROFIT

At the Same Time
Wages Go Down—
Swift Sings 'Union's'
Praises

By Leland Olds

EMPLOYEE representation, helps produce big profits, President Louis F. Swift of the giant Swift meat trust boasts, in announcing that 1925 profits exceed those of any post-war year. The company union, introduced in 1921 to lower wages and lengthen hours, is praised as partly responsible for the \$15,379,152 profits which mean approximately 18 per cent on the real investment of the owners.

"What success Swift & Co. has attained during the past year and previously," says Swift, "has been due to the faithful work of the employees. One of the strongest assets Swift & Co. has is the splendid spirit of devotion to the company's interests shown by its employees. It is our aim to make the employees feel that they have a real interest in the company's welfare. Since we established employee representation in 1921, much progress has been made toward removing possible causes of misunderstanding. We have found that in most cases frank and open discussion of problems leads to better appreciation on both sides. Where there is between men a realization of each other's difficulties, there is usually a deeper sympathy and greater respect."

Here is a clear statement as to the purpose of the company union. It makes the employee an asset to the stockholder. But how about the employee's real interest in the company's welfare? According to department of labor figures packing house wages are considerably below the average for industry as a whole. The average male worker in the packing houses of Illinois gets \$27.37 a week, compared with an average of \$31.25 a week paid his fellows in other Illinois factories. So much for what Swift employees get for their "devotion to the company's interests."

Significant figures in the Swift report for 1925 and 1924 are:
Swift & Co. 1925. 1924.
Total sales....\$875,000,000 \$775,000,000
Net profits.... 15,379,058 14,125,987
Dividends.... 12,000,000 12,000,000
Added to surplus..... 3,379,152 2,125,987
Total surplus.... 69,478,967 66,099,815
Capital stock.... 150,000,000 150,000,000
Per cent profit. 10.25% 9.41%
These figures cover up the full extent of the company's profits. First, they show net profits as a very small proportion of the total sales because about 84 per cent of the sales value represents cost of materials, principally live stock. Around \$140,000,000 would cover the value of the service which Swift sells to the public. As the actual operating profit before deductions for interest, etc., must be at least \$20,000,000, the truth is that at least 14 cents out of every dollar paid Swift for handling meat goes into the profit chest. This is more than one-third of the entire amount paid in wages.

CONGRESS GETS BILL FROM SOCIALIST

"Nationalization or Chaos" Is Choice Before People, Congressman Declares

A RESOLUTION providing for the seizure and government operation of the anthracite mines was introduced in Congress Monday by Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist of Wisconsin.

Congressman Berger made the following statement concerning the strike situation: "An examination of the offer made by the coal mine operators during the recent conference at New York discloses that they have declined to accede to the one condition without which all other concessions are worthless, namely, recognition of the union as the representative of the workers. Without organization, the workers in the coal mines would be as completely at the mercy of the mine owners as the consumers of coal and the public generally are now."

"The situation now is this: The price of anthracite has risen in some places, notably New York, from \$14 to \$25 and \$30 a ton. Coke has gone from \$3 to \$18, and soft coal from \$6 to \$16. And the prices will mount higher if the strike continues. And if it is finally settled, it will not be a settlement but a truce, which will be broken again and again."

"The coal industry is ripe for nationalization. The miners in 1923 proposed a plan for the retirement of the capital by the industry itself. By the substitution of six percent bonds for outstanding capital stock all existing capital could be retired in fifty years at a cost of 28 cents per ton while the last official figures indicate a present cost for interest, profit depletion and depreciation of approximately \$1 a ton. The anthracite mine owners have within the last ten years leveled against the public the sum of \$200,000,000 in inflated valuations which is charged up against the cost of every ton of coal mined. One dollar in every three carried on their books is water, according to the Coal Commission."

"It is either nationalization with definite safeguards against bureaucratic management, or chaos. At present a group of 25 men hold undisputed sway over an industry upon which most other industries and the welfare of all the people depend."

"It is inconsistent with the people's welfare and with democratic principles to permit such autocratic control of industry."

The anthracite scale committee have assailed the Woodward plan. It is not likely that a majority of the legislature will find it politically expedient to pass it as yet, but as the strike lengthens propaganda for the measure is expected to intensify.

VINDICTIVE SPIRIT RULES COURT IN NEW TRIAL OF RICHARD FORD

Marysville, California. THREE women are on the jury in the Richard Ford case now being tried. This is the first time that women have been enlisted to try a labor organizer on a murder charge. They are Ruth Stratton, nurse; Dora Dooley, housewife; and Maude Lubman, bookkeeper.

The presiding judge has barred all testimony relating to the sanitary and working conditions on the ranch where the riot occurred. These conditions were exposed in an extensive report issued by the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations in 1916.

Reports from the court-room indicate a vindictive spirit on the part of the prosecution, which is not mitigated by the attitude of Judge Bugick, who in other cases has made rulings hostile to labor. In the town of Marysville, where many persons reside who are familiar with Ford's career, there is much sentiment for the defense. The newspapers are said to be not quite so hostile as in other labor cases, and throughout the state keen interest is being displayed in the proceedings. The state closed its case on January 15th, and the trial is likely to be concluded this week.

Norman Thomas at People's Forum

Norman Thomas will address the People's Forum, 167 Tompkins avenue, near Hart street, Brooklyn, N. Y., on Sunday afternoon, January 24, at 2:30 p. m. His subject will be "Socialism and Individual Freedom."

Admission will be 15 cents. Discussion follows all lectures. All are welcome. Clement Wood will speak on the following Sunday on "Negro Poetry and Music."

Congressman Berger Attacks Versailles Pact

Congressman BERGER has offered an amendment to the appropriation measure in the House, giving the State Department \$50,000 with which to send spokesmen to Geneva to discuss the possibility of a disarmament conference. He wants the American delegates to take up also the issue of revision of the Versailles treaty.

He explained that unless the Versailles treaty is revised, no real progress toward peace and disarmament in Europe is thinkable. That treaty divided up 15,000,000 Germans among hostile neighbors "like sheep to be slaughtered." Central Europe was Balkanized. The newly created countries became military vassals of military France. By Woodrow Wilson's signature to the treaty the United States had incurred an obligation to undo the wrong, and to revise the treaty while considering the war-making influence of "geographical situation, population and vulnerability of frontiers," mention in the official invitation to the present parley.

POVERTY IS RIFE IN MIDST OF WEALTH

"Tragedy of Waste" Pictured by Stuart Chase at Second L. I. D. Lecture

"WHY is it that millions of people in the United States live in poverty when modern machinery has placed at the disposal of the people three billion slaves or 30 servants for every man, woman or child in this country?"

This was the question asked and partly answered by Stuart Chase, author of "Tragedy of Waste," in his address before the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy on Tuesday evening, January 12, at the People's House Auditorium on "Waste and the New Social Order."

Chase began his talk by contrasting conditions in the time of his great grandfather with those of today. He concluded after a careful analysis that while he and his family had superior advantages intellectually to those of his great grandfather, his great grandfather had a number of countervailing advantages, and there was pretty much a balance of advantages and disadvantages in their respective lives. And yet, his economic condition was considerably superior to that of the average worker in this country.

"We can produce nails 129 times faster than could a blacksmith in Newburyport, Mass., at the time of my great grandfather," he declared. "We can produce plows 32 times faster. Modern machinery places at our disposal the equivalent of three billion slaves. Why, therefore, has not the health and welfare of the people of our country been correspondingly increased?"

Wasting Man Power

Chase declared that the cause of this failure was the manner in which we were wasting man power in this country. Some six million people out of forty million workers were unemployed either because of seasonal unemployment, cyclical unemployment, absenteeism, loafing on the job on the part of the rich idler and the poor loafer, etc. Millions of workers were employed in producing useless, needless or vicious goods which Ruskin would call "filth." Billions of dollars were being spent annually in keeping up a military establishment, in drugs, in super-luxuries, cheap imitations, in adulteration of goods, in jerry building, in the production of shoddy clothing, in commercialized recreation, in quickie, etc.

NORTH CAROLINA PERMITS LASH

Investigation Reveals
Bestial Treatment of
Road Makers by
Contractors

By Art Shields

THE most sensational story of brutality to convict workers yet told comes from North Carolina where Superintendent N. C. Cranford of the Stanley Company Convict System, in charge of prison labor on the roads, has been indicted for the murder of two Negro prisoners.

Such meager attention was given this in the capitalist press that The New Leader sought more details and obtained the official report of the North Carolina State Board of Charities investigating committee, on whose evidence the indictments were based. The report shows such horrible conditions that the assertion is safe that part, at least, of the fine, hard-surfaced highway system that North Carolina motor clubs boast of was built with blood.

The two Negroes were beaten with a hickory stick and the stick was rammed down the throat of each till the blood came, their deaths occurring soon after. For some reason the names of the murdered men are not given in the state report.

But the name of another Negro done to death is given. Henry Wooten, who, Cranford said, had gossiped about him, was dragged by his chains behind a truck, then stoned by the boss and flogged almost daily. He died in several weeks. The skin over ankles, legs and buttocks was burst with flogging. These murders were incidents in a series of hundreds of beatings, the report shows. Beatings and other forms of sadistic torture. Affidavits tell of men strung up by the wrists, one man over week-ends; of a Bill Dayton, a Negro, hung by the heels over the joists for two hours; of Cranford sticking his knife into men's sides and over their eyes, and of innumerable beatings.

One of the most brutal cases tells how Gregory Sides of the chain gang had his wrist broken while driving a tractor. No surgical attention given. Another Negro pulled the limb straight and he worked with arm dangling at side till his forty-day sentence ran out. He was frequently kicked and beaten. Messrs. R. B. Sanders and Roy M. Brown of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare say men were afraid to talk in Cranford's presence, fearing they would be killed, but talked more freely when out of ear-shot of the boss.

Food of the convicts is red beans, corn bread and a little fat meat. They sleep in chains at night. They are at work in a "frenzy of haste, as the writer has seen Negroes work only in repairing breaches in a dam," says the report.

New Nash Unionists Aid Lowest Paid Men In Initial Action

Cincinnati. WHEN the 3,000 employees of the Arthur Nash Company, largest makers of men's clothing in the United States selling direct to the consumer, were formally inducted into membership in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, at a meeting in Emory Auditorium, Cincinnati witnessed one of the most dramatic steps in the progress of the labor movement of the Ohio valley.

Not only did these workers come into the union of their trade in a body, but they raised their hands and pledged themselves to duties of industrial citizenship within their union, to maintain arbitration machinery jointly with their employers.

At a second assembly two days later they presented to the annual meeting of the company—in which hundreds of them are stockholders—a formidable petition asking that henceforth the Christmas bonus be discontinued, and that the \$50,000 to \$100,000 that annually has gone in this way to the highest-skilled and best-paid among the workers be used to adjust upward the wages of the minority who now are not well paid. This act of generosity in wages by one group to another was without precedent in local labor history.

WHY THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL FAVORS THE LEAGUE

Announcement of the debate between Morris Hillquit and Clarence Darrow on the League of Nations, with Hillquit taking the position that the United States should enter the League, has occasioned much surprise.

"Since when do the Socialists favor the League?" has been the query heard from many persons who are not familiar with the proceedings of the International Socialist Congress and its large affiliated parties. The Socialist International favors a real League of Nations. Socialism contained within its program

a real League of Nations before Woodrow Wilson ever appeared on the scene.

The position of the Socialist International on the League and the World Court will be presented by Hillquit in his debate with Darrow which is to take place at Carnegie Hall, New York City, Tuesday evening, February 2nd.

Tickets are going fast. They may be secured at Socialist Party headquarters, 7 East 15th street; 1167 Boston Road, the Bronx; 229 Sackman Street, Brooklyn; the Forward Office, 175 East Broadway, and at the Carnegie Hall box office.

PITY THE POOR TELEPHONE TRUST!

(Here is an outline of the activities and operations of the Telephone Trust which is now pleading poverty and appearing before the United States District Court in New York in an attempt to secure an order increase in its rates.)

THE American Telephone & Telegraph Co., one of the largest and most prosperous corporations in the world, is the father or the mother of practically every other telephone company in this country. It is the parent company. The total par value of its outstanding stock is more than \$745,000,000, upon which it has earned during the last 24 years over \$10 a share per year. There is not a real independent company in the country. The American Telephone & Telegraph corporation owns hundreds of millions of stock in nearly every telephone company in this country; it controls all the boards of directors, and those subsidiary telephone companies do just as they are told.

And while this head of the whole octopus is making money and paying dividends of \$9 a share and its stock is selling for about \$145 per share on the New York Stock Exchange, its subsidiary companies, from which it derives practically all its profits, are clamoring in every community for increased rates. How do they do it? They do it in four principal methods. First, by the so-called 4½ percent contract, which operates like this:

The Four and One-Half Per Cent Contract

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company owns all the telephone instruments used by its local companies. It buys them from the Western Electric Company, its subsidiary, at prices agreed upon by the two companies and leases the instruments to the subsidiaries, together with "services," at 4½ per cent. of the gross revenue. This amounts to about \$3 or \$4 a year for each station, when it is estimated that a reasonable return on the investment would be about 90 cents per year. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, of course, controls the stock of the subsidiary companies.

The regulatory commissions in the various communities have either been very lenient with the companies or thought it too much trouble to go into the matter of this contract, passing it over by saying it was a mere contractual relation with which they had nothing to do. Several court decisions have sustained the companies in their contention that neither the commissions or the courts could question the contract.

This contract obtains in all the United States except New York. There

the public service commission authorized a flat rate of \$2 per station. That means to the patrons of the city of New York a tribute of \$2,350,000 per year, as there are over 1,175,000 stations. Remember that the word "station" is significant; it does not mean subscriber. The Pennsylvania Hotel, for example, is a subscriber, but they represent in the neighborhood of 3,000 stations. The local company receives in rental for some private branch exchange stations from \$6 to \$12 per year and pay to the parent company \$2 each, as high as \$31.8 per cent.

The American Telephone and Telegraph boasts of 25 "associated" companies and 15,000,000 stations. The courts have so far held that there is no remedy against this 4½ per cent. contract. In the State of Ohio, they fought this out. Some cases involving this question are now pending before the United States Supreme Court, principally the city of Chicago case. So far it has been held that the American Telephone and Telegraph, the parent company, can make any charge whatsoever to the subsidiary company in reference to its license contract or the use of its telephones.

The Western Electric Co.

All the stock of this company is owned by the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, its "twin brother." This company sells its products to the American Telephone & Telegraph Company and to the subsidiaries at whatever prices it chooses to fix, and at prices very often higher than the

products could be purchased by the subsidiaries in the open market. This is accomplished by the American Telephone & Telegraph Company compelling each subsidiary to appoint the Western Electric Company its purchasing agent for everything from a pencil to a switchboard.

For over thirty-seven years the Western Electric has paid dividends of at least \$3 a share on its common stock. The profits go into the Western Electric Company, which is owned entirely by the American Telephone & Telegraph. This partly provides the \$9 a share dividends while every local company is before a public service commission demanding increased rates.

The "Patent Pool"

Then they have what is known as a patent pool. The patent pool is controlled by the Western Electric Company, which prevents the use of modern patents and inventions by telephone companies. No telephone company can use anything except what the Western Electric releases from its patent pool.

It is not realized how inefficient the old telephone machine is. There are a hundred different improvements which the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, through its Western Electric, will not permit subsidiary companies to use, because they interfere with their making profits. They boast of owning and controlling over 7,500 United States patents. There is, for instance, the device, a little button, that goes on to a telephone to shut off

the voice while you are talking aside. You can buy those devices, and you can put them on if the telephone company does not catch you. If they do, they will take out your phone. That is just one of a hundred improvements that are not permitted because of this patent-pooling arrangement.

Division of Toll Revenues

The biggest thing probably that interferes with the local companies making enough to pay a reasonable return on their capital investment is the division of the toll charges.

The American Telephone & Telegraph Company owns nearly all the toll lines, and by an allotment of the revenue on long-distance calls to the local lines it is able to divert to itself an unfair proportion of the revenue, not giving to the subsidiaries a fair proportion of the cost of the service and thus increasing the operating expenses of the local company.

The local company makes all the connections, collects from the subscribers and remits to the American Telephone & Telegraph Company. The arrangement for the distribution of revenue on toll service was made, in many instances about fifteen years ago, on a basis of a flat amount of the cost to the local companies. Since that time, although the cost of local service has greatly increased, there has been no change in this arrangement. As to this contractual relation the utility commissions likewise take an apathetic attitude and refuse to interfere.

In addition to the toll lines, the Ameri-

can Telephone & Telegraph Company really controls the Western Union Telegraph Company and the leased wires to the newspapers and brokerage and other businesses. This may account for the apathy of some newspapers toward assisting in any real investigation of the trust, which may also be accounted for by the fact that the parent company and its operating companies spend enormous amounts in advertising—all of which, of course, is paid for by the telephone user—advertising what? Service. But no one gets any benefit but the newspapers.

Only the other day the New York Telephone Company had a large ad in all the New York newspapers contending for an additional increase of 25 per cent. The charge for this advertising goes on the telephone subscribers' bills. So it is with many other activities and "social-service" work of the companies. They are just tacked on to the cost of each telephone call.

Depreciation

It is astounding what a great trust like this can get away with. The operating companies have a method of computing depreciation which would probably not be sanctioned by any authority which was permitted to make a real investigation. It is a mystery how their figures can pass muster with the income tax authorities. Section 20a of the interstate commerce act would seem to authorize that commission to fix the depreciation rates. They have never done so, however, and in the last Congress a bill

was introduced to repeal that section. In some localities it would appear that the local commissions are authorized to fix depreciation rates, but whenever a case arises the particular company in question takes whichever horn of the dilemma suits its convenience. If the local commission attempts to fix the rates the company claims, only the Interstate Commerce Commission has power. If the latter commission attempts to fix the rates, the company claims that only the American Telephone & Telegraph Company is engaged in interstate business and that only the local commission has authority over the local company, with the result that nothing ever happens and the companies continue to juggle their figures as they choose.

It is estimated that the subsidiaries, on an average, charge off about 15 to 20 per cent of the operating charges for depreciation. But that is not all. They also have a maintenance fund. For instance, although they charge off depreciation on a switchboard, they also make a charge for maintenance whenever they repair this switchboard. With the result that these two funds, depreciation and maintenance, amount to about 6 per cent of what the company itself claims to be a fair value of the property. In other words, they duplicate the charge under depreciation and maintenance.

They have a depreciation reserve, which in many instances amounts to as high as 30 per cent of the cost of the property, but when they themselves value their property for the purpose of fixing rates, they claim that the amount of depreciation is only about 10 per cent. This one item of difference between these two inconsistent figures of their own amounts to millions and adds materially to the cost to the subscriber.

The American Telephone & Telegraph Company itself has a contingency reserve of hundreds of millions—probably about half a billion dollars. At least half of this is unnecessary reserve and undoubtedly is surplus profits.

When a local company is seeking a rate increase, its whole theory of property valuation is based on a fallacy. It owns nothing but its real property. Everything else is held under license agreements and without any title of ownership.

Radio

Not content with its monopoly of communication by telephone, the American Telephone & Telegraph, in combination with the Radio Corporation of America, closely allied to it, and its own Western Electric and other "stepbrothers," now proposes a monopoly of the "air" by controlling all broadcasting. This situation is clearly shown by the recent report of the Federal Trade Commission, which investigated the radio combine, and by the hearings held before our Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee in the Sixty-eighth Congress. They are now building a radio-receiving set or "station," which will be the only one that can be used by anyone, by reason of their control of the wave length.

A Banking Proposition

The American Telephone & Telegraph boasts of its wide distribution of stock among about 800,000 persons. They do not, however, advertise how much is held by the inside crowd—the bankers, the Bell Securities Company. By reason of the usual apathy of the small stockholders and the forced proxies from 60,000 stockholding employees, a small minority of the stock controls the entire corporate situation. The money is made by the "insiders," the bankers, by the agreements with other companies and underwritings. Only recently a bond issue, which could have been sold over the counter at par or better, netted over \$11,000,000 to the underwriters, the bankers. They are in control of the situation and influence the action of public utility commissions and legislatures.

OUTLAWING STRIKES

By Joseph E. Cohen

A TRADES union may be crushed to death by the brutal juggernaut of massed power in a strike of endurance. Or it may be smothered to death under a soft pillow of pretended rest for its wearied members. Time and circumstance pick the choice of methods.

Often enough the avowed enemies of labor in positions of financial might or political absolutism grasp the bludgeon to crush in the skull of a labor organization. But where there is greater security more delicacy and finesse are resorted to.

As between the mine owners and their men, the barons have been pleased to deny the charge that they are bent upon wiping out the union. They prefer to have the organization eat out of the bloated hand of the

masters. They would rather tame and domesticate labor than cage it.

So they have assumed to be shocked over the assertion that they would not deal with the body of the men. Being organized one hundred percent themselves, they have not the overweening impudence to deny the men their one hundred percent union. But they insist upon attempting to make the union helpless.

They object to the men paying their dues out of their pay envelopes, as if the owners did not pay their own dues out of their company treasury. And they want the men to agree to modest changes in the present plan of compensation, if changes must be made, either up or down. And they insist that agreements be entered into for long periods of time, so that the strike becomes a thing of the past.

The merits of long-term agreements

for the men and the public need not be entered into in this connection. The men are not expected to ponder over industrial peace as a beautiful theory and engage to tie their hands if against their interests or that of the great bulk of the public who are wage-earners, in order to apply a plan, however much it be desired elsewhere. They cannot butcher themselves to make an industrial holiday for the bosses.

And that is just what the mine owners ask them to do.

The miners are asked to accept the existing basis of the industry, the present relation between wages and income and carry over indefinitely the defenselessness of the consuming public against the tiny handful of barons who pocket the unearned millions. This is all to the good for the barons. They are sitting pretty.

Thus the report of the United States Coal Commission tells that the profits out of what they call the monopoly in coal are three times today what they were before the war. The owners almost have a right to be satisfied. If the miners were getting three times their former wages, instead of a very slight and most inadequate increase, they might also be satisfied with themselves and ignore the hardship of the general public. But the greedy owners work both ends—workers and consumers—for the exclusive profit of the idle and useless consolidation of exploiters.

More outstanding than the tripling of owners' profits is the complete monopoly which obtains in the coal digging, transporting and selling industry. With that as the underlying fact, the public is at the mercy of the barons, just as the strike of the men becomes in reality outlawed, even were concessions many times greater made to the miners.

Increasing the crumbs which go to labor is almost an insult where the proper reorganization of the industry as hinted at by the men is locked in the closet of unmentionable proposals, the key turned and removed. That is what the officers of the union have been swindled into doing with the plan for nationalization which bears with it steep reduction in the selling price of coal, adequate compensation for labor performed and the permissible cutting of time for work to six hours a day.

Derived from the men this program

The Bronx Free Fellowship

1301 Boston Road, near 169th St., SUNDAY, JANUARY 24

8:30 P. M.
Open Forum
DR. WILL DURANT
"Voltaire—the Great Emancipator"
LEON ROSSER LAND
"The Agnostic and the Religious Liberal—Wherein They Agree and Wherein They Differ"

Admission Free MUSIC

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Park Ave. and 34th St. SUNDAY, JANUARY 24

8 P. M.
Professor John Mecklin
"The Ku Klux Klan"

11 A. M.
John Herman Randall
"Shall the Youth of America Be Militarized?"

Central Forum

Auspices City Committee Socialist Party AT THE

LABOR TEMPLE

14th St. and 2nd Ave., N. Y. City

SUNDAY MORNINGS

at 11:30 Sharp

Lecture, Discussion, Musical Program and Mass Singing

SUNDAY, JAN. 24

11:30 A. M. Sharp

JUDGE JACOB PANKEN

ON

Where Are We Drifting To?

ARTISTS

Leon Goldman, Violinist; Stanley Day, Organist; Clarence Johnson, baritone and leader in social singing.

ADMISSION FREE

(Labor Temple has no political creed and endorses no political party, but is glad to open its doors for the free expression of views of any and all.)

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

AT COOPER UNION

at 8 o'clock

FRIDAY, JANUARY 22nd

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"The Meaning of a Liberal Education"

SUNDAY, JANUARY 24th

DR. JOSEPH JASTROW
"The Psychology of Superstition"

TUESDAY, JANUARY 26th

DR. BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG
"Science and a Democracy"

Admission Free Open Forum Discussion

NORMAN ANGELL

on

'International Organizations and the New Social Order'

Tues., Jan. 26, 1926, 8 P. M.

People's House

Auditorium

7 East 15th St., N. Y. City

Leader of Discussion: Jessie W. Hughes.

Chairman: Harry W. Laidler.

Tickets 75c from New York Chapter, League for Industrial Democracy

70 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City

Note Following Lectures—Feb. 1, John Brophy; Feb. 2, Wm. H. Kilpatrick.

Remaining 3 Lectures, Course Tickets \$1.75

Smart Clothes

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GOVERNOR MINTURN *A Labor Novel of the Northwest*

By M. H. HEDGES

CHAPTER II.

(The Betrothal)

1.

THREE days had passed since the fight, and yet Hugh had not returned to his mother's house. Every morning following the quarrel, Dan had risen early in the hope of seeing his brother in his accustomed chair in the kitchen where he ate—before leaving for the foundry—a hope too long deferred Dan now felt.

By common agreement, Dan and his mother declined to discuss the quarrel, and its painful invasion of the outward calm of the household. Dan concluded that his mother, like himself, hoped that Hugh would forget the hurts which had precipitated the fight, return and take his place in the nice relations of the family circle.

Dan busied himself with a speech that he had been asked to give before the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly on the use of injunctions in labor disputes. He was anxious to make an exhaustive study of the question from the early use of court orders until the day when the four Minneapolis labor leaders defied the law and went to jail, and so he was turning over many books in his room, at Kimberly's law office, and at the municipal library.

On Saturday morning, when he went down to breakfast, he saw that his mother had been crying. Under much questioning, she told him that Hugh had come for his clothes and was going to board at a neighbor's.

This was serious, Dan knew. Hugh's contribution of \$10 a week to the common family fund was absolutely necessary to maintain them in food and fuel. Nell was making only \$13 and was spending most of this sum for clothes. By an arrangement with his mother, Dan was free to pay only a negligible sum—what he could conveniently spare from his scanty practice—until the Legislature convened in January. He saw at a glance that it was impossible for him to maintain his present relations with the family if Hugh left as he intended.

After eating a dish of oatmeal, and hurriedly drinking a cup of coffee, Dan took his hat and coat, said goodbye to his mother, and hastened down to Hornbloom & Glanz, proprietors of a large printing house, where he had once worked. He saw and talked with Mr. Hornbloom.

2.

Soon after noon Dan went to meet Alice Miller. Alice clerked in the silk department of Danton's, and was off at 1 o'clock on Saturdays. Dan went to meet Alice with more eagerness than he was wont to feel in associations with her. He had formed a habit of relying upon her for advice, and he had found a certain satisfaction in confiding in her. In a moment of expansive feeling, during the campaign, he had once called her his "little campaign manager."

"I like to have you call me that, Danny," she had said and had rubbed her cheek against his shoulder. Dan, remembering her touch, now decided to be restrained in his relations with her. There came to his mind a term used frequently about sentimental girls—sloppy. But that was just it, Alice was not sloppy.

Dan arrived at Danton's a few minutes before closing time. He never found it irksome to wait for Alice here. He liked to watch the pretty women move in and out of the revolving doors, and his senses were enthralled by the great array of goods so cunningly displayed against so dazzling a background.

Cross streams of women, women well groomed, with subtle aroma of romance emanating from them, women in rich furs, women in tailored garments of smart design accentuating every line of their supple bodies, women who released impressions of ease and culture, moved endlessly in and out of the doors. Occasionally he would catch the eye of some one of them. A quick, provocative quip of curled lash, penciled with dark, and she turned away. Dan, as he waited for Alice, sometimes allowed himself to follow the femme finconnue in his awakened imagination. He stepped with her into her limousine. He breathed the fragrant air of her garments. He alighted with her at some splendid house. He allowed

THE STORY THUS FAR

Elected a member of the Minnesota State Legislature through the support given him by organized labor, Daniel Minturn returns to his home Election Day night to celebrate with his family. The celebration is marred by a conflict between Dan and his brother, Hugh, the latter resenting what he feels to be an unwarranted superiority in Dan's manner. Among Dan's supporters, the leader has been Alice Miller, a working girl whose regard for Minturn springs alike from her personal regard for him and because of his espousal of the cause of the workers.

himself to accompany her into her room, where she took down her lovely hair, donned negligee and showed him her purchases—intimate things that warmed him to brood upon.

Once Dan had been accosted by a store detective, as he stood near the entrance waiting. The fellow evidently took him for a pickpocket, or a little shoplifter. This angered Dan, and it did more. It made him ashamed. It created within him an awe of the great store and its tormenting array of finery. It erected a barrier between him and the persons who came there.

Today he gazed into the mirror opposite with satisfaction. He did not look like a crook today, he thought. He had the distinction, at least the show of mastery, which Representative Minturn should have. He saw in the mirror a young man of unusual height, slender, almost too slender, to seem robust, with broad shoulders, and gray eyes with something of a fanatic in them. An angular chin, dark heavy hair that fell in a shock over the forehead; a mouth, wide, mobile, capable of displaying passion.

Though clad in an ordinary store suit with a khaki shirt and a wilted tie, the young man looked hard and strong, and carried the expression that crowds feel and pay homage to.

He strolled up and down the aisles trying to seem impersonal in his appreciative scrutiny of beads from Paris, fans from Japan, and the hundreds of other precious things from the ports of the world. He wove a romantic net of meaning about the Oriental rugs, the English tea sets and German silver handbags.

He liked to "shop by eye." He was warmed as well as depressed by this modern bazaar so colorful, so luxurious. It made him want hungrily the things he saw. It awoke in him desires that he could not satisfy. He could not even conjecture ways by which he could satisfy these waking wants. He was fascinated and he was intricately pained.

When Alice found him at their usual rendezvous, he tried to tell her something of what he felt.

"It isn't much like Woolworth's," he said. "There one can go in with a dollar and feel like a millionaire. Here one can . . ." He let his out-turned palms tell the story.

"Don't you like the silks though, Dan?" Alice exclaimed. "They're so shimmery, warm and womanish."

Dan searched her face. It was all aglow with feeling he had never seen before. Alice Miller had always seemed anemic and cold; now she looked full-blooded and pretty under the lash of her delight. For the moment, he toyed with the idea of taking her into his arms.

"It is all that I can do sometimes," she confessed, "to keep from burying my face in them as I sell them over the counter. Such colors like—like a colored waterfall. I love 'em when I know it's wrong to love them."

Slowly Alice relapsed into her brisk colorlessness; she faded out as a brilliant lamp is extinguished.

Dan considered getting to St. Paul. Should he suggest going by motorbus? His question was incisively answered for him by thought of Hugh. He decided that it would not be square to spend the extra quarter it would take.

Alice broke in upon his dilemma with tales of how girls at Danton's had been caught stealing silks; how others could not resist the lure of them and took devious ways of getting them sometimes by acquiring friendships with floor walkers.

"It's all because they get such rotten pay, Dan," she asserted. Dan nodded. He was thinking about the time when he would introduce an amendment to the minimum wage law at the legislative session in January.

3.

They did not take a car at once.

Alice wanted Dan to see "something," she said, on the seventh floor. So they climbed the long flights of iron stairs (the elevator had quit running) to what seemed to Dan were acres of furniture.

He followed her patiently from room to room, marvelling at the workings of her cool, female brain as she stopped to read price tags or measure the aesthetic value of some piece that attracted her. This excursion revealed a new side of Alice Miller.

To Dan, the seventh floor was an astounding parking place for unfamiliar and beautiful household articles. Tables with satiny tops and long, graceful legs like stems of wine glasses; davenport—she called them lounges—with deep, airy cushions; which invited to ease and comfort; lamp with voluptuous yellow shades and languorously drooping stands; deep, luxurious chairs which suggested fireplaces, leisure and pipe-smoke and good talk, such scenes as Dan had glimpsed through windows as he walked home down Pillsbury avenue of winter nights. Things with a magnetic pull on the emotions which stirred in him desire followed by frustration. He pretended that Alice was a "fool to rave" over these pieces of wood "made for the fat boys on Lowry Hill," but he acknowledged their power over his senses by his too patent show of aversion.

Stupid that he was, he did not see any application of this vicarious shopping to himself until she led him into the furnished cottage—the pattern home for lovers—Honeymoon Nest widely advertised by Danton's, a model from the porcelain bath room and white tile kitchen to the long, conventional living room done in glazed chintz. To Dan it was but a place cluttered up with pretty things that made him uncomfortable.

"Haint it swell, Dan?" Alice exclaimed as they ventured to sit down on the davenport. She laid her hand softly and casually on his knee. "It don't cost so much."

She was looking up at him oddly, permissively. He swept her eager face with a glance; then he turned away to scan the crooked line of buildings that etched itself against the sky, framed in Danton's plate glass windows. Sensuous impressions of Alice, past associations with her came back

to vex him in the moment of embarrassed silence.

She was always little Alice Miller to him. She was pale, with a thin braid of rope-colored hair screwed up in a tight knot on her sapient head. Clothes none too good, a plain white waist with a black ribbon at the throat, a black skirt that hung loosely about her thin hips and bony legs; a snub nose; washed-out blue eyes with wrinkles enclosing them; and crooked mouth showing prominent irregular teeth. A tireless ambitious Alice, who seemed to avenge her lot of eight hours toll a day by manufacturing a superabundance of restless energy deadly when associated with brooding, peace-loving persons like Minturn. This was the Alice Miller whom he saw. There was nothing about her that suggested motherhood. There was nothing about her that suggested wifehood. She was—he groped for language—a fellow-worker.

How hard Alice had worked at the Northwest Knitting Works. How hard she had worked when she was "rescued" from the factory by a woman's welfare organization, and given an "education" which she secretly despised for what she called "its class approach to her class." But when she had been offered a soft job which obligated her to go back into the knitting mill with the "torch of culture" for her former associates, she rebelled and quit. Now Danton's with its long hours and low pay.

When Dan turned back to her, her face had lost its look of expectancy.

"Haint we better be getting on," he asked, rising vigorously. "It's a good hour to St. Paul."

She answered with alacrity: "Of course, we had Dan."

He was surprised and sorry for what had happened, surprised at the unexpected sentimentality in Alice, and sorry for himself.

4.

Dan and Alice had never been in the State Capitol before. That discovery of the legislative halls together came nearer to waking in these two modern children of a realistic and cynical age the emotion commonly known as patriotism than any other moment in their lives. They could not be indifferent to the imperious building with its soft lines and golden dome. As they entered, though constraint had sprung up between them, the refreshing thought that this was Dan's place of business accompanied them. He was Representative Daniel Minturn. He had a right, a duty, to be there.

In the House, they examined intently the paintings of battle scenes on the walls, the Indian massacre at New Ulm, and the battle of Ta Ha Kony. They noted every detail. The flag-draped portrait of Lincoln above the speaker's desk; above the central doorway the inscription "Reason is the life of law." They felt that the chamber was magnificent, but they did not allow it to awe them.

"Oh, Dan, wait a minute," Alice com-

manded. She mounted to the speaker's place and lifted the gavel. Then pointing it peremptorily in Dan's direction, she announced:

"Representative Minturn has the floor."

Dan arose to the occasion. "Mr. Speaker," he said, clearing his throat, and stepping forward in his best manner, "I rise to say that I approve of the sentiment written above our portal, 'Reason is the life of law.' I discern, Mr. Speaker, some empty niches in this hall. It seems reasonable that they be filled. I suggest that the bust of Eugene V. Debs, American patriot, be enshrined in the east niche now empty."

The diminutive speaker was ham-

mering for order.

"Silence," she commanded. "Ser-

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giant-at-arms conduct Representative Minturn to the hoosgow and there enchain him."

Their play broke up in laughter. They left the House, their constraint of an hour before dispelled.

After leaving the committee room, where Dan read sententious inscription above the fireplace, "Free and fair discussion will ever be found the first friend of truth," with a cynical remark about "speech in chains," they went to the Senate Chamber for a moment, thence to the street.

They emerged into the slate twilight of a November day. They saw the cathedral dome across the jagged building line ballooned against the sunset sky, and the thronged streets flooded

(Continued on page 11)

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AUSPICES: EDUCATIONAL FRONTIERS COMMITTEE

WHERE ARE THE "WILD MEN" OF YESTERDAY?

By Savel Zimand

IT is short of sixteen years since I met them all in the capital of Denmark. When you hear their names you may doubt at first whether such a galaxy of people actually came together. In the whole range of political assemblages was there ever its like? They were gathered from all parts of our restless world. There were men among them who already were considered the world's worst agitators; there were some set down as leaders of lost causes; and more as cranks. Later the same people were destined to make history and emerge as the most interesting political figures of our times. But, you see, fifteen years ago, they were mostly known as wild men, or weak men, or trouble breeders, or knock-kneed doctrinaires, or harmless buffoons who wore sandals and lived on nuts and cheese. And the Goddess of History, who presumably knows the future as well as the past, must have smiled dryly at our disparagement.

You will also have to bear in mind that many of them were then comparatively obscure people. The press had hardly learned to spell their names. They were so little known that American newspapers of those days did not devote a single line to their proceedings. Even in their own lands their influence was small. Of one, for example, the story was told that he took a visiting friend to the public museum in his home city. When they passed the doorkeeper, this man bowed politely, and his friend asked, "Why so politely?"

"He is one of the subscribers to our paper," was the reply.

By and by they met a man collecting refuse on the streets. The rebel stopped and took his hat off to greet him.

"Why do you do that?" asked his friend again.

"That is the other subscriber," said the editor.

Society

Resented Them

Yet there was good reason why society in the early years of the century regarded them as agitators and resented them. In the eyes of the average person they were anything but normal citizens. They were people of the sort who kept their respective countries in turmoil. And as we all know citizens want peace. By word and action they had come in conflict with the laws of the lands and not a few of them had more than once "done time." They were firebrands, stamped upon, smoldering; the years saw them burst into flame.

I remember that a short time before my arrival in Denmark, I was present at a soiree in Berlin. It was a distinguished group, and in the course of the talk I mentioned a name. The serenity of the party vanished in a torrent of invectives. They called this man—I was to meet him in Copenhagen—a monster, a blind fanatic; they misunderstood him and doubted him, and he misunderstood them. These good people did not dream that a few years later they would hail him as the savior of their country. But that is just what happened. In 1920 I was again in this same house in Berlin and I once more mentioned his name. The decade had raised him to the highest pinnacle of office. Now they called him their George Washington.

But before I take up how these wild men of yesterday changed and how we changed with them, I shall try to tell you something of the way they impressed me at that dinner in Copenhagen. As I look back from this distance, I see a group of men agape for a new order, eyes burning with a desire to recast this old world of ours, and I hear treasures of erudition on theories, reforms, social systems, panaceas and especially long, very long and ponderous revolutionary declarations. I look again upon an assemblage of thinkers, heroic tribunes of people, passionate fighters, men of great devotion.

And among them—twelve future prime ministers, well toward a hundred future ministers of state.

He Who Rests in The Parthenon

There at Copenhagen, the representative of France's rebels, the hero of a thousand platforms, lifted the thundering organ of his voice, now sweet, now like the roar of mountain cataracts. The wings of his imagination raised the short stocky Frenchman till he seemed to tower. His sentences came out like cartridges from a magazine. And after so many years those sounds of passion-

ate love of humanity still ring in my ears. He was gotten out of the way on the eve of the great war. Assassinated. A few months ago they laid him to rest with military and civil pomp in the Pantheon, where only great Frenchmen have a place.

This was Jean Jaures.

"An M. P. from Great Britain"

There at Copenhagen the spokesman of a small band of British seed-bearers of a new world talked on the pursuit of happiness and of liberty. As he raised his head he displayed one of the handsomest faces of the English speaking world, and he delivered his message in a voice of rare beauty which inspired the pilgrims' hearts as he enriched their minds. He was a swift, graceful fencer in mental movements and discoursed in the tradition of the great parliamentarians of a country rich in great parliamentarians. I asked a person sitting near me who the speaker was and I received the short reply, "He is an M. P. from Great Britain."

This was Ramsay MacDonald. Forgotten is it now how this British Labor premier was for years the most unpopular figure in his country. Forgotten are the peltings he faced at wartime meetings, the campaigns of vilification, slander and calumny directed against him. But I remember him at his home in Hampstead no further back than 1920. I can see him standing in front of the fireplace with the air of the most disappointed man in the world. With talents which as prime minister were to make him the hope of a baffled Europe, he could not then secure a seat in the House of Commons. I was to see him again in 1922 when he was elected by his colleagues as leader of His Majesty's Opposition. And once more in 1924, a few days before he was called to form the

first Labor Government.

There also, at Copenhagen, spoke another Scotsman with a face cast in tragic mold. He seemed the most solitary figure of all these men. There was force and indomitable will in him. To my mind, more than any other he resembled the Hebrew prophets. As a child laborer of eight, he had gone into the coal mines. He taught himself to write and read. At twenty-three, he came out of the mines with an idea. He would create a political party of workers to challenge the oppressors of labor. Today his dream has come true. It was the dream of this mine boy which helped make Ramsay MacDonald premier of Britain.

This was James Keir Hardie.

"A Prime Minister to Be"

There at Copenhagen a man from Sweden who had suffered prison stripes six times for his ideals talked of peace on earth. A mountain, of a man he was, who walked triumphant. He stared with mild eyes. Was he thinking of his early youth when he went to school with the present King Gustav of Sweden and engaged in his early studies in astronomy, or did he brood over his subsequent struggles with the powers of darkness? In those days he was still striving for the stars; but later revealed that he could learn to keep close to the earth. He started life as an aristocrat, ripened into a scholar, became an agitator and died a statesman. And to atone for all the sins committed against him, his native land rested on the day of his burial.

The Heidelberg Saddle-Maker

This was Hjalmer Branting, prime minister-to-be of Sweden, a leader in founding the League of Nations.

There at Copenhagen a former sad-

die-maker of Heidelberg discussed in matter-of-fact, proxy way the inner turmoil of Germany. His address showed his identification with the way of life of the ordinary man—and with his dreams.

"And who does that happen to be?" I asked the journalist near me.

"He was formerly a little editor of a little paper," was the reply. "Now he is a member of the German Reichstag."

But even then my informant little knew that this man who had served his apprenticeship and wandered about as a journeyman, was to become a decisive factor in the history of a new epoch. Little did he dream that this rebal of 1910 would hold his people to the path of peace, would break with his former partisans, would save his country from plunging into excesses of terrorism.

This man was Friedrich Ebert, the first president of the German Republic.

A Belgian Firebrand

There at Copenhagen in 1910, a Belgian firebrand thundered against "capitalistic justice and war." A compelling personality who could speak well on many subjects, he advocated the declaration of a general strike in case of war. But as the world is in continual flux, he, too, changed and during the great war he served as minister of Intendence, back by the French lines, and was delegated by the King of Belgians to represent his country in important missions to allied nations and to the United States.

This was Emile Vandervelde, today foreign minister of Belgium; signer of the treaty of Locarno.

There at Copenhagen a spokesman from Holland with constructive mind untangled the coils of revolutionary proposals. Ten years later I was his

guest in Amsterdam and he explained to me not revolution, but how Holland is meeting its housing shortage. This was F. M. Vibaout, Lord Mayor of Amsterdam, who is responsible for an elaborate scheme by which the government has provided building subsidies to associations and municipalities. Today, Holland, with the help of this rebel, takes first place in housing legislation.

There, too, at Copenhagen was the representative of the Danish fire-eaters, a man of character and capacity. To be sure, he was as yet without honor in his country. This was Theodor Stauning, the present prime minister of Denmark, who has addressed himself to the affairs of his country with so clear an understanding of the problems in hand, such readiness to compromise in order to achieve lasting good that he is being praised as the best premier the Danes have had in many years.

Makers of the German Revolt

There at Copenhagen two dogged fighters ranged side by side. One was a stout, short, lame woman. She looked like one of those people who are too busy to be human. But everyone was under the spell of her logic, the force of her arguments. The other was a tall young man of dark olive complexion, with kind, friendly eyes. They were then and later stormy-petrels among the German rebels and as such they were both killed in the communist uprisings in 1919. But before their deaths, the whole world had heralded them as two great Germans with eyes and mind unclouded, with a courage surpassing the courage of the rest of us, who said boldly and with persistence what their mind and eyes told them. Throughout the war they had not flinched in their stand against the military machine.

The one was Rosa Luxemburg and

the other Karl Liebknecht, and they were to lead the revolt for the overthrow of the German monarchy.

"Two Obscure Russian Outlaws"

There at Copenhagen two obscure Russian outlaws pondered over huge resolutions. They were the extremists of this extreme assemblage. Heaven alone knew what was to become of these two men and the secret was altogether hidden from us.

One was a man of medium height, thick-set of body though not stout, big hands, fighting jaw and beaming eyes. The face suggested a powerful mind and a well disciplined personality. He seemed to possess the intelligence, the shrewdness, the power of endurance and the savage health of the farmer. He talked like a doctrinaire. When I saw him next in 1922 he was ruling over a great nation. I heard him speak in the ancient Kremlin of Russia. He had come into power and he, too, had changed. A few years of executive responsibility had tempered even this extremist.

This was Lenin of Russia.

The other Russian was taller with a thoughtful forehead and persuasive lips. He was seated near me and at intervals he made notes of the discussions. He was writing for a Russian daily. In 1922 I saw this journalist again. This time it was in Moscow. From a large grandstand, I was viewing the garrison parading on the Red Square before the Kremlin Wall. Infantry, cavalry, artillery, armed communist battalions, young guards, factory workers, marched for nearly five hours before my eyes. The military bands were playing and the crowds were cheering the war lord of Russia. He stood there, the journalist I had met at Copenhagen, cheered and acclaimed like a Napoleon.

This was Trotsky.

There were many others at that dinner in Copenhagen. A few were to take high rank—Albert Thomas, for example, who became France's able minister of munitions during the Great War, and Philipp Scheidemann, first premier of the German Republic; two later premiers of that republic and many another present day minister.

(From the Survey Graphic)

The New Leader Mail Bag.

Editor, The New Leader:

What can the Socialist Party do while it is too small to be politically important? Comrade Thomas has made some valuable suggestions. Permit me to make a few more to supply what he has omitted.

Socialists, to use the word in its larger meaning, are divided into warring factions. They ought to recognize that their differences are less important than their common purpose. They ought, however they may disagree on tactics, to be personally friendly with each other, and to cultivate friendship by sharing their amusements and any activities in which they can unite.

The New Leader could help by speaking respectfully and kindly of the groups outside the Socialist Party and by reporting their activities sympathetically, as they would like to have them reported. If there is real good-will persistently shown by one party, the other parties may in time become ashamed of unfriendly conduct. Our trouble in the past has been that we have been too eager to find excuses for enmity and to exchange thrust for thrust.

Another thing that The New Leader could do would be to try to unite all working people on the political field. The labor union is not a necessary part of the co-operative commonwealth. It is a substitute for political action, and its members, having made terms with capitalism, are not as good material for open warfare against capitalism as those who are its unconditional subjects, who indeed have nothing to lose but their chains. The unorganized, having most to gain from Socialism, ought to be the main reliance of the political movement, and their opportunity to free themselves by political means, since they have no other weapon, ought to be the keynote of Socialist policy. Such unionists are as idealistic enough to belong to the party ought to be idealistic enough to disregard their economic grievances for the sake of the movement.

There are two agencies at work to provide substitutes for capitalism. One is the Public Ownership League, which collects information on how natural monopolies can be run without enslaving the people. The other is the Co-operative League, which collects information on how all other enterprises

can be run independent of capitalism. We can help these organizations to show the people that capitalism is not necessary, and that all production can be done better without it. They are non-partisan, but all that they do is grist to our mill.

We cannot stage public ownership as an exhibit, but we can build up consumers' co-operation, not only for the present benefit to its members, but because it is the substance of things hoped for. To do away with capitalism we must be able to do the work of the world without it, and there is no better propaganda for Socialism than a thriving co-operative movement. It is not necessary to say "We can do it" and be laughed at, when we can say "We are doing it" and show samples of the co-operative commonwealth.

ARCHIBALD CRAIG.

Jersey City, N. J.

A Year's Record of Lynching

Editor, The New Leader:

I send you the following concerning lynchings for the past year as compiled by Tuskegee Institute in the Department of Records and Research. I find there were 16 persons lynched in 1925. This number, ranking with the number 16 for 1924 as the smallest number of persons lynched in any year since records of lynchings have been kept, is 17 less than the number 33 for 1923 and 41 less than the number 57 for 1922. Two of the victims were insane. Three others had been formally released by the courts. Ten of the persons lynched were taken from the hands of the law, two from jails and eight from officers of the law outside of jails. Two of these lynched were burned at the stake and one was put to death and body burned.

There were 39 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings. Seven of these were in Northern States and 32 in Southern States. In 26 of the cases the prisoners were removed or the guards augmented or other precautions taken. In 13 other instances armed force was used to repel the would-be lynchers. In three instances during the year persons charged with being connected with lynching mobs were indicted. Of the 41 persons thus before the courts 21 were sentenced—five suspended sentences, dependent on good behavior, of from four to twelve months on the road; one for 30 days in

jail, and 15 of from six months on the road to eight years in the penitentiary.

Of the 16 persons lynched all were Negroes. Six, or less than one-half of those put to death, were charged with rape or attempted rape. The offenses charged were: Murder, 8; rape, 4; attempted rape, 2; killing officer of the law, 2; attacking child, 1; insulting woman, 1.

The States in which lynchings occurred and the number in each State are as follows: Alabama, 1; Arkansas, 1; Florida, 2; Georgia, 2; Louisiana, 1; Mississippi, 6; Missouri, 1; Utah, 1; Virginia, 1.

R. R. MOTON,

Principal, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.

We Agree to Disagree

Editor, The New Leader:

I have just come across your article on Credit Control in your issue of January 2. I withdraw my former charge that "you must know." I am convinced that you do not know.

To begin with your last paragraph, I want to assure you that I am not at all concerned about who worked out a credit-control policy "first." Such a policy will smell as sweet to me by any other name if it be the same policy. Thirty years ago Edward Bellamy exposed the flaw in the price system. He did not, as Douglas has done, propose a remedy. If La Salle, Proudhon, De Greef and Ferguson have "beaten" Major Douglas to the proposal to finance consumption, all the better. Most of these are dead, but if their considered opinions are one and the same as those of Major Douglas, they will make the finest sort of buttress for the Douglas proposal. As a matter of fact, since I wrote you, the biggest possible reinforcement of the Douglas analysis has come to the front in America. This is the book "Profits," published by the Pollak Foundation, Newton, Mass. If Socialists and other "uplifters" would only join in, it would hardly take more than one long pull to reach the Socialist "end in view"—physical, intellectual and spiritual freedom.

However, I must not give you the idea that I think Socialists can ever bring about their heart's desire—the freedom of the workers of the world. I do not believe they will ever be able to accomplish it; first, because they are wrong about where the point of ex-

ploitation lies; and, second, because the employers of the world themselves have a direct financial interest in immediately freeing the workers from the economic domination of our present costing system. Even the bankers of the world have a personal economic stake, though they do not yet admit it, in "financing consumption."

The "Nation's Business" has admitted that "profits are the life-blood of industry." Business men have only one more logical step to take, and this is: The financed consumer is the source of all profits.

To illustrate: You say that there are two classes with antagonistic interests. I agree. The seller of labor-power is at the mercy of the buyer of labor-power; that is, just now. But post-war events have brought about a situation in which the seller of goods is at the mercy of the buyer of goods, the formerly despised employee, the seller of labor-power. Unless the sellers of goods increase wages, salaries and dividends fast enough to enable the would-be consumer to buy those goods (or lower prices to the same end), the seller of goods (and services) will fail. Industry will go under. It is unthinkable that business men and bankers will allow this to happen. Therefore it is reasonable to believe that we have completed the circle and that one prophecy shall be fulfilled—"And first (the producer) shall be last, and the last (the consumer) shall be first."

For Socialists to hold that to finance the rose plant with fertilizer (the means of life) is not to bring forth roses is obviously a mistaken idea.

E. T. BATES.

Bay Shore, L. I.

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Auspices City Committee, Socialist Party

AMALGAMATED BANK OPENS NEW BUILDING

By Edward Levinson

IN the old Tiffany Building, where New York's elite of some decades ago came to purchase its fine jewels, today come workmen and women depositing their funds in a labor bank.

The Amalgamated Bank, organized by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has grown to such an extent that it has been forced to seek new quarters. New York's first labor bank long ago outgrew its quarters on Fourteenth Street and Fourth Avenue.

Casting around for a location which would continue to keep it in the heart of the men's clothing industry, but which would give it the added space necessary, the bank's officials decided on the building at the corner of Union Square West and Fifteenth Street, a block from the national headquarters of the union itself.

Dazzling Electric Sign

Those who trudged through Union Square Park Monday, while the heavy fog, the rain and the smoke belched forth from furnaces burning soft coal had their attention caught immediately by the new Amalgamated Building.

Where had formerly sparkled the precious jewels of Tiffany's, there now shone from the roof a tremendous and beautiful electric sign, visible for a half a mile away. "Amalgamated Bank, New York's First Labor Bank," the sign proclaimed, lighting up Union Square through the fog and rain. At night the sign is the most prominent one on Union Square which boasts of scores of huge electric advertisements.

Though the new building of the Amalgamated Bank is an accomplishment of which every member of the Amalgamated and all of their officials may feel proud, each having done their bit to make the institution the huge success it has become, the accomplishment is in a sense a badge of honor for Adolph Held.

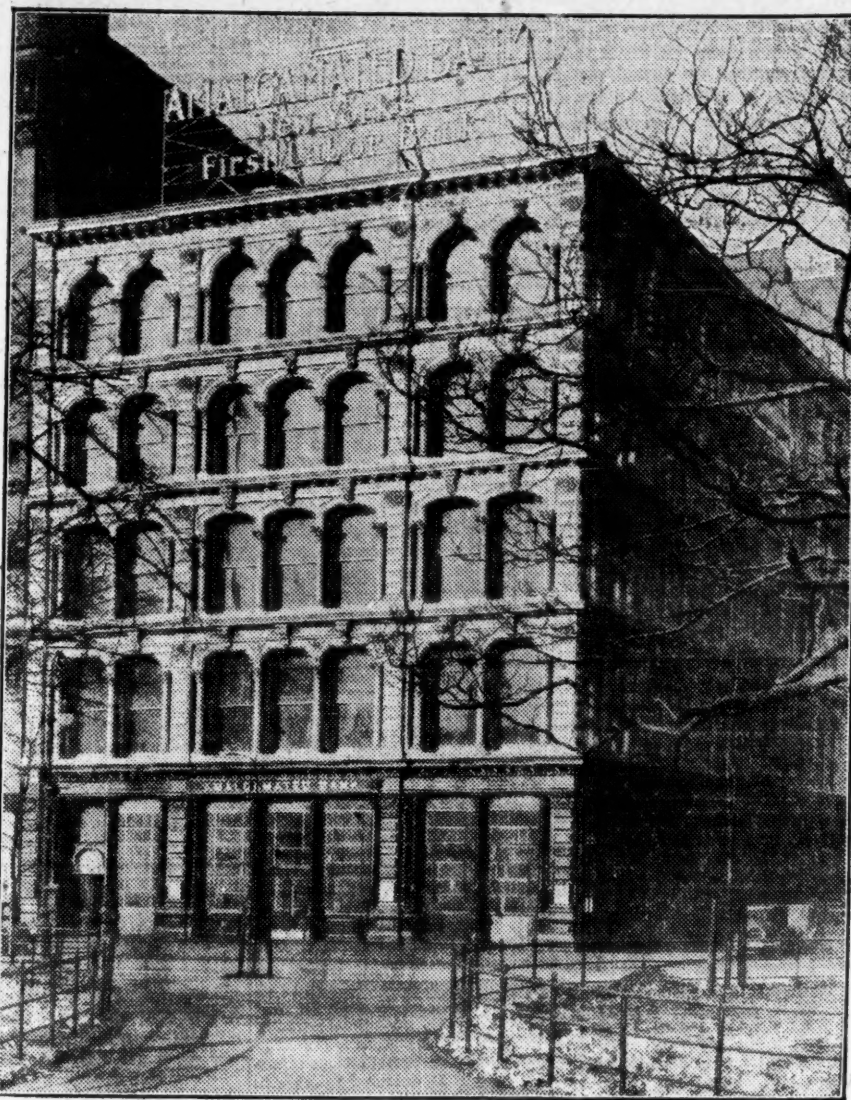
Held Made President

Since Held's connection with the Amalgamated Bank its growth has been little short of phenomenal. Short and not imposing of stature, Held yet has personality and ability which has brought him to the front in the labor world. Among the bank employees, as well as among the many thousands of depositors who have come in contact with Held there are none who do not sing his praises.

Held's reward came this week when the Bank had occupied its new quarters but three days. Meeting in New York City, the bank's board of directors elected the former East Side boy, ex-Socialist member of the Board of Aldermen, to the position of president.

The bank opened its doors in the spring of 1923 with resources a little over \$500,000. The success of the bank was immediately assured. Need for larger quarters became a pressing problem almost from the first. When the bank opened for business at its new

NEW AMALGAMATED BANK BUILDING



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building Monday morning the total resources totaled almost \$7,000,000.

Other officers elected this week were the board of directors, consisting of Sidney Hillman, chairman; Hyman Blumberg, vice-chairman; Joseph Schlossberg, Jacob S. Potofsky, August Bellanca, Adolph Held, Leo Wolman, Max Loewenthal, Phil Orlofsky, Joseph Cattalontie, Fred R. Macauley, Abraham Miller, Joseph Gold, Murray Weinstein, Peter Monat and Max Zuckerman. Potofsky and Harry Herwitz were elected vice-presidents.

At the close of the business year,

1925, the bank's total resources were \$6,429,436.58. The deposits totalled \$5,391,811.11. The number of depositors were 12,306.

Two special services of the bank have served to make it distinctive. Each of these reflect the labor character of the bank, proving the maintenance of the ideal of service for the workers in the men's clothing industry

as well as in any other pursuit.

First is the special small loan service. This service was started as a result of the "loan shark" methods of small loan agencies who have long been notorious for the methods by which they mulcted workers in need who were forced to apply to them for aid. The amount of the loans coming under the classification of "small loans" run from \$50 to \$300.

An unusual feature of this service is

New President



ADOLPH HELD Elected This Week
President of the Amalgamated Bank

Local Bronx Will Make Merry Jan. 31

LOCAL Bronx, Socialist Party, will hold its annual affair at the Hunts Point Palace, 163rd Street and Southern Boulevard, Sunday, Jan. 31. In the afternoon an excellent concert will be given, including the following artists: The Workmen's Circle Mandolin Orchestra, the Rand School Dancers, with Richard Blechschmidt in folk dances; the male chorus of the Finnish Socialist Federation, Genevieve Kaufman, soprano, and Stanley Day, composer, at the piano. The concert will begin at 3 p. m. A bazaar with many charming attractions will hold sway all day and evening and a buffet will cater to the hungry and the thirsty.

The dance will begin at 8 p. m. The popular Bronx band—Dan Barnett's—will render the jazz. The price of admission is 50 cents and each ticket entitles its holder to a chance on \$1,000 worth of prizes, including a Hardman Playstone Piano, an Atwater Kent five-tube radio and a beautiful parlor floor lamp. The largest crowd of Bronx Socialists and their friends ever gathered together will meet at this affair. Tickets are obtainable at Socialist Party Headquarters, 1167 Boston Road, and at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

Dr. Durant at Free Fellowship Sunday

Dr. Will Durant will address the Open Forum of the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Sunday, Jan. 24, at 8:30 p. m. His subject will be "Voltaire—the Great Emancipator." At the Fellowship meeting, at 8 o'clock on the same evening, Leon Rosser Land will speak on "The Agnostic and the Religious Liberal—Wherein They Agree and Wherein They Differ." Solos by Genevieve Kaufman.

Paper Bag Workers Dance This Saturday

The paper bag workers of New York City will enjoy a surprise and package party which has been arranged by their union. The Paper Bag and Paper Plate Workers of Greater New York, this Saturday evening, January 23. The affair will take place at the School Settlement House, at 120 Jackson street, Brooklyn. An excellent program has been arranged. A famous jazz orchestra will supply the dance music.

Journeyman Tailors Meet January 25th

The Journeyman Tailors' Union of America, Local One, will hold a regular meeting Monday, Jan. 25, at Bohemian Hall, 321 East 73rd Street. Important business will be transacted. All members are urged to attend.

Hillquit to Lecture in Bronx Friday Night

A most interesting lecture on international relations on what, if any, role the United States is to play in the world; are we to be represented in the proposed World Court, or shall we join the League of Nations, and other phases of this most interesting problem before the people in the country, will be analyzed and systematically and methodically presented in the lecture by Morris Hillquit this Friday evening on "Europe and America" at the headquarters of the 7th A. D. Bronx, 4215 Third Avenue, corner of Tremont Avenue. As a large audience is expected, readers are advised to come early if they wish to secure seats.

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NORMAN Angell, author of "The Great Illusions," and one of the foremost students of international problems in the world today, will speak on "International Organization and the New Social Order," in the Peoples House auditorium, 7 East 15th street, on Tuesday evening, January 26 at 8 p. m. This meeting will be the fourth in the series of "Problems of the New Social Order," held under the auspices of the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy. Jessie W. Hughan, author of "A Study of International Government," and "American Socialism in the Present Day," will lead the discussion. Harry W. Laidler will preside. Tickets at 75 cents may be secured from League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue or at Peoples House auditorium on Tuesday evening.

The Community Forum
Rev. John Herman Randall will preach in the Community Church, Park Avenue and 34th street, Sunday, 11 a. m.; subject, "Shall the Youth of America Be Militarized?"

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JAPANESE LABOR PARTY STRUGGLES TO BE BORN

GOVERNMENT AND SPLIT HINDER GROWTH

Tokio Conference Proves Failure, but Rulers May Change Their Policy

THE first formal attempt to launch a political party representing the interests of the some 4,250,000 industrial workers of Japan and the many millions of small farmers turned out a fiasco, according to reports of the event belatedly reaching this country. Before the split in the ranks of organized labor last year, due to differences of opinion between the older elements and the Communists, the outlook for the founding of a real labor party was bright, especially with the big increase in the electorate resulting from the extension of the suffrage to practically all men of 25 years or more.

But family rows among the labor and farmer forces, coupled with the Japanese authorities' fear of the spread of "dangerous thoughts" that would probably follow the organization of even a moderate labor party changed the situation. Consequently, when some three-score delegates, principally peasants, but including representatives of several local labor unions, met in Tokyo on Dec. 1, in the presence of a couple of hundred spectators and plenty of policemen, and organized themselves into a party with a platform calling for political freedom, denouncing militarism and asserting the rights of labor and the masses, it took the Ministry of Home Affairs only three hours to discover "Communist views" in the party and to order its dissolution.

Party May Soon Organize

So Professor Isoo Abe of Waseda University, who had been elected president of the new party, did not hold his job very long, officially. But, judging from the comment of the more liberal Japanese vernacular papers and of the papers printed in English in Nippon, the government has already realized that it made a tactical mistake and is likely to put no great difficulties in the way of a reorganization of the Farmer Labor Party, which may be done shortly in case the Japanese Federation of Labor does not decide to start a party of its own, with a platform built along lines suitable to Japanese ideas, but international in its actual import. The Japanese Advertiser, a prominent English language paper, said the Japanese bourgeoisie was following the example of Czarist Russia, while the Nichi Nichi, a big Japanese journal, feared that the government's repression of social progress would make trouble.

On the other hand, a recent Tokyo report says the government is about to put into effect the sickness insurance law enacted four years ago and has set aside 1,450,000 yen (about \$730,000) for that purpose in the budget of 1926-27. Organization of the sick benefit fund is to begin in March and the workers are expected to draw benefits in 1927. About 2,300,000 persons will be covered by the insurance law. The workers are to pay 3 percent of their wages, the employers the same and the State will add 10 percent to the total receipts. The fund is expected to amount to 44,000,000 yen per year. If the insurance against illness functions well the government intends to extend it to cover disability, accidents, old age and unemployment.

La Follette Demands State Department's Secret Mexican Files

Washington—Senator La Follette has offered in the Senate a resolution calling upon Secretary Kellogg to disclose the secret pledge, if any, extorted by the American Government from the Obregon Government of Mexico in 1923 in return for recognition. The Wall Street Journal on January 15 hinted at the existence of such a secret pledge, as being the basis for Kellogg's threats against Mexico when it enacted its anti-alien land and petroleum laws.

Belgian Socialist Daily 40 Years Old

LE PEUPLE of Brussels, the official daily organ of the Belgian Labor Party and the most important Socialist paper published in French anywhere, celebrated the fortieth anniversary of its founding on Dec. 13. In its anniversary number are found pictures of all its present editors and of many of its reporters and contributors, including Louis Bertrand, who was a contributor to the first number and is still an active member of the staff. Le Peuple's director is Joseph Wauters, Minister of Labor in the Coalition Cabinet, and its editor in chief is Auguste Dewinne. The foreign department is headed by Louis de Brouckere. Le Peuple comes out in five editions daily and for the last year has been backing Het Volksblad, a Socialist paper in Flemish.

Norway Socialists Gain 416 Seats In the Cities

Definite results of the recent local elections in Norway, as reported in Oslo on Dec. 19, gave 416 seats in the councils to the Norwegian Labor Party, 287 to the Social Democratic Party and 109 to the Communist Party. This is a gain of 34 seats for the Social Democrats and a loss of 45 for the Labor Party.

SOCIALISTS OF POLAND IN GOVT

Party Congress Approves Entry of Two Members Into Cabinet

AFTER a lively debate lasting four days, the twentieth congress of the Socialist Party of Poland, on Jan. 3, voted approval of the entry of two Socialists into the coalition cabinet organized by Count Skrzynski on Nov. 20 and adjourned to the strains of the International and loud cheers for the Polish Republic and the Socialist International.

During the convention, which was attended by 200 delegates and representatives of the Socialist International and several foreign Socialist parties, the party leaders, following the line laid down in his opening speech by Count Skrzynski, defended themselves from the charges of opportunism raised by a militant minority by pointing out that participation in a coalition Government by Socialists was no longer a matter of principle, but of tactics. They showed that Comrades Ziemiński and Moraczewski, respectively Ministers of Labor and Public Works, had been allowed to enter the Cabinet so as to be able to defend the eight-hour working day and social legislation in general from the onslaughts against them sure to be made by the reaction in the name of economy under the pressure of the present crisis of unemployment and financial troubles.

Give Government Three Months

The Socialist leaders reported that they had given the Government three months in which to put through drastic measures of economy, mainly consisting in cutting down the 300,000-man army and in reforming the civilian administration. Unless something definite is done by the end of that period the forty-one Socialist Deputies in the Sejm will withdraw their support from the Government and the Socialist Ministers will quit the Cabinet. Since the congress it has been reported from Warsaw that when the Skrzynski Government tried to put through by administrative decree a measure allowing the opening by orthodox Jewish shopkeepers of their stores for two hours Saturday evenings as an offset for their losses under compulsory Sunday closing law, Comrade Ziemiński objected and Robotnik, the Warsaw Socialist paper, declared that the party would not stand for any infringement of the eight-hour working day or the Sunday law and would join the Opposition if the plan went into effect.

The Socialist program, as stated in resolutions adopted by the congress, calls for maintenance of social legislation, a campaign against speculators and the high cost of living, autonomy for racial minorities occupying distinct districts, abolition of court martial and all exceptional legislation against labor, increased allowances for the unemployed, execution of the agrarian reform and the conclusion of commercial treaties with Germany and Russia. The congress was held in the city hall of Warsaw. Great enthusiasm was aroused by the speeches of the fraternal delegates from abroad and by the message from the Socialist and Labor International delivered by Otto Wels, who also represented the Social Democratic Party of Germany. His declaration that it was up to the German and Polish Socialists to batter down the psychological walls of misunderstanding existing between their countries was especially appreciated.

A VOICE FROM THE WILDERNESS

By Olga Romanova

THE first period of my exile I spent in a dark country where there were no people except myself, eight exiled priests and the "authorities." It took us only a month by rowboat to get there, a distance of 900 versts, along the Parabel and Kenghe rivers, besides some "hiking" across marshland.

It was so dead and human beings were so rare in those parts that even the birds did not fear us. Frequently wild fowl, such as heath-cocks and woodhens, would sit on the roof of the cabin in which the priests and I lived, and wild geese would swim in the stream under the window without fear and without stirring at our approach. Even the field mice and the beavers, of whom there were great swarms, did not fear the presence of man and played freely about the cabin. At night one could often hear the desperate cries of the "holy fathers" whenever the brave little mice caught at their long hair during their innocent sleep.

What did we do there? I say, "we," because I want to tell you a little about the priests. Nothing. There was nothing to occupy us. No books, no newspapers, no paper, no people with whom one could talk in a human fashion. It was absolutely impossible to busy oneself studying the locality and nature generally. First of all, because there are not even paths, let alone roads, in this wild country. It is true there was one little path of about seven versts, so bad that it was almost impossible to follow it, being a stranger, without breaking one's neck or at least a leg. It has so many stumps and roots that after the first attempt one loses all desire to repeat it. One wants to leave the path and walk under the magnificent cedars, but this must remain a wish because it is impossible to walk even three feet off the path. The underbrush is in the way. What a pity! But if you try to overcome the obstacles you risk losing an eye and return with bleeding hands and face, clothes torn to shreds.

In addition to all this there is another awful nuisance which prevents the enjoyment of nature. In the whole Narym territory there is such a multitude of mosquitoes and insects that some days it is impossible to go even outside the cabin without nets. (Narym, translated into Russian, means "swamp.") There are some impassable swamps stretching for distances from 70 to 80 versts, and even the native Ostiaks, accustomed to the taiga and the marshes, are unable to cross them. Yet the Ostiaks, of whom there are many along the rivers of Parabel, Kenghe, Chuzyk, Wassugan, are really so accustomed to the taiga that they safely walk 40 or 50 versts a day across swamps and thickets. But of course they are dressed in leather clothes, in high boots, and are equipped with firearms to protect themselves against beasts, as well as with a palitza (resembling a scythe),

with sharp steel ends, for the purpose of tutting their way through the thickets and underbrush.

There goes an Ostiak over the taiga, waving his palitza to the right and to the left, clearing his path, and when he comes to a swamp or an overgrown pond he skillfully, without hesitation, begins to jump from one hillock to the other.

The Holy Fathers

Now, about the "holy fathers." Whenever I recall them I want to laugh. First, about things serious. Upon our arrival there, at the Upper Kenghe, the "fathers" busied themselves thrashing the grain left by a colony of "sectarians" who had lived there before our arrival and disappeared as soon as the authorities discovered them. The priests labored thrashing the grain with flails, toiling so that the sweat streamed down their bodies, the wind swept their long hair and spread wide the skirts of their priestly garments. They would toil hard; the work, however, moved forward very slowly. Tired, exhausted, the poor souls, needing a rest, would enter the cabin to strengthen themselves with the meager dinner and some clear "tea"—boiling water. I would put before them whatever God gave. Being the only woman among them, I baked bread for all and cooked dinner whenever there were any potatoes or peas. Sometimes, on account of the lack of provisions, the meal consisted of bread and hot water. The priests always took turns boiling the water. In the absence of a samovar, we used a kettle over a fire made outside the cabin, and even in the autumn, when the rain drizzled from morning to evening, we had to boil the water in this way. The priests would exert themselves to the utmost to fan the fire, standing around it and protecting it from the wind with the skirts of their ragged garments, torn during the walk in the taiga. After standing for an hour or more in the wind and rain, numb and wet, the unfortunate men would drag their legs, covered with gaping boots, through the mud and water and enter the cabin to warm themselves with some "tea." In spite of my desire to help with the boiling of the water, the "fathers" never allowed me to get near the fire, insisting that I remain in the hut. The poor souls were afraid that if I should take cold and become ill they would be left without bread, since there was no one else to do the baking.

Loneliness

Incidentally, I may add, that on account of this baking I even now suffer from a dislocated right arm. (The arm was injured previously, during the journey, when all of us had to draw a boat by rope, carrying our baggage on us. It was then that I tripped over a log and fell and my arm was injured. One "holy father," wishing to place the bone back in its place, pulled my poor hand so hard that my eyes nearly popped out. He not only failed to straighten it out, but dislocated it even more. For a couple of months it did not bother me. Then came the bread-baking, and now I cannot lift anything heavy, and when I turn

it a bit the wrong way it pains frightfully. Well, all this is rubbish, I have digressed too much. . . .)

I lived in the wilderness for four months, true, including the time spent going there. As I said, I had nothing to do except to bake bread. When I was free I wandered like a shadow around the cabin, sometimes following the path for a long distance, risking a broken leg too. Cautiously I would make my way. Then I would begin to think, and sitting on a tree-trunk I would think, think, think. And they were all alarming thoughts, not happy thoughts, arousing me more and more. I would sit for an hour, for two, sometimes longer, and then, waking up, I would still be under the influence of the thoughts and recollections of my former life. I questioned myself: "Where am I? Why am I here? Whence these century-old cedars?" That would last but a moment. Then I would shake it all off and recover my consciousness and realize fully what, where and why. Then a burning yearning would creep again into my heart, a yearning for freedom, for life, for people. I would want to cry out: "I desire liberty, freedom!" But to whom could I cry out? Not to the aged cedars. They will understand nothing; but slowly, slowly, they will shake their heads as before. To the birds, mice and beavers who every now and then raised their heads from under the tree-trunks? They, too, will understand and say nothing, but in reply to my cry their eyes will glitter and then they will hide under the trunk, and the birds will fly off. Perhaps to the green frogs? But, they, too, will be frightened by my cry and clumsily hop off into hiding. . . . So I would remain sitting in a petrified condition, my hands clenched in despair till my fingers cracked. I would sit, and all around me was life, the sun would shine brightly and call gloriously, luring and promising a better life; the birds would flutter and sing; the mice would bravely run between my feet, and with their black and glinting little eyes stare at the creature they had never seen before. The mosquitoes would buzz and bite (it was these bites that finally would drive me away and back into the cheerless hut). All around was life, and I?—I? I could but look on. . . . I would return to the hut towards evening. The priests would be at vespers or night-mass. I would rest a little, and then their exasperating singing would get on my nerves. I would run out of the hut and go off in any direction. Their services would last three or four hours. Night would come, and the singing from the hut still reached my ears. I would not want to return. Later the nights became cold, especially in the autumn. I froze, having no warm clothes. I shivered, my teeth chattered. Finally, the service would end, all going to sleep. I too would turn in for the night. But the mice would give me no peace; either they pulled at my hair or they bit my feet or hands. One had to wake up to fight with them. And in the other half of the cabin, where the "holy fathers" were at rest one heard the sound: "Sh . . . sh . . . sh . . ." It was the priests driving the mice away. Or suddenly, right after falling asleep, an inhuman cry would reach

me from the other side. Some playful mouse must have become entangled in the locks of one of the priests, or bitten his hand or foot. Brave little mice! They recognize nothing. They do not even fear hell in the other world for injuring "holy fathers."

The Return Trip

After living there four months I was sent back on foot, accompanied by an Ostiak guide. It was impossible to return by rowboat—the stream had become too shallow. And so I walked two days through the taiga and the swamps, a distance of 60 versts. Of course, there was no path. I followed the Ostiak, who was clearing a passage. In the marshland I jumped from one hillock to another. It was cold. In the autumn the water is already like ice in the swamps. We reached a lake choked with vegetation. The Ostiak skillfully jumped over the hillocks, I following in his footsteps. Suddenly I missed my step and fell into the water, or rather into the thick vegetation filling the lake. I began to cry. The Ostiak returned and pulled me out. (Laughter.) We continued through the "oorman" (the Ostiak name for the dense taiga). Two days later we reached a deserted cabin, spent the night there, and continued on our way but now along a path. The rest of the trip was made partly on foot, partly on horseback, partly by rowboat, until we reached Parabel, in the vicinity of which I am making at present my uncertain habitation.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1) taking the wet-dry issue out of politics the eighteenth amendment put it deeper in.

More talk, we see, of a possible break with Mexico because of laws alleged to be retroactive which adversely affect American invested interests! The interests which have already virtually added Mexico to their economic empire fret at every obstacle. If Mexico, like San Domingo could have been conquered by the Marines long ago the job would have been done. So far the interventionists have been deterred by public hostility to a real man's sized war of intervention. It's our job to keep up this public sentiment against any war to collect the debts of the same fellows who got the wherewithal to buy up Mexico by exploiting us at home. Why should we spend money and lives infinitely more precious than money to collect private debts? If my fellow townsman is rooked by real estate sharks in Florida he doesn't ask you and me to go fight Florida for him. Even if an absentee New York landlord now resident in Los Angeles thinks that the New York State emergency rent laws injure his property he doesn't dream of getting the California militia to invade New York for him. Why should we stand for their nonsense of backing up American investors, seeking high interests in every country in the world, by threat of national intervention in their behalf at our expense?

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

A Job Ahead

"NOW," says Tom Tippet, one-time coal-digger, still a member of the United Mine Workers of America and at present educational director of Sub-District 5, Illinois Mine Workers' Union, "what is the job of this bunch up here?" He points to a chart hung on the wall of the local union hall showing the various divisions of government. His finger comes to rest upon a square labeled, "Supreme Court."

There is a stirring among the twenty odd coal diggers ranged before him. Finally a huge-limbed young giant draws out slowly: "That outfit is mostly there to undo labor's victories."

Now the Illinois miner had not been told that this was the time-honored function of the Supreme Court. He had found no such statement in any of the books on government that the class had been studying. For Tom doesn't resort to the cheapness of propaganda for propaganda's sake. His student had simply come to this conclusion by studying some of the famous decisions of the Supreme Court, looking into the social, political and economic backgrounds of its members and using the good sense and shrewd knowledge of humanity that nature had given him.

Again Tom asks for an explanation of evolution. It is an older man this time who rises diffidently to his feet.

"I'll try to explain it," he says, "provided you won't razz me."

Teacher and taught give solemn promise not to laugh and the miner continues:

"You take a pork chop and lay it out on the back porch in the sun. Now there ain't a mite of life in that pork chop. But you leave it lay there a day or so and when you come back and look at it it's just crawling around with the life it got out of the sun. That's evolution getting started."

Read any number of books on "Evolution Made Easy," etc., and it's still hard to find a more colorful or compact description of the beginnings of things than that.

The other day a miner who had not been getting on well in his classes came to Tom. "Tom," said he, "I'm all for your education stuff. I like the idea fine. But it's tough going for me trying to read these books. Ain't there some way you can put the damned stuff up in pills so that I can just swallow it down easy?"

When you consider the isolation of the average coal camp, when you realize that up to the time that Tom brought in lecturers from the outside, many of the miners had never heard a lecture save at labor ceremonies and a possible Chautauqua, you understand some of the things that Tippet and the others in charge of this Illinois experiment are up against.

Their is essentially a pioneering job. We in New York and Chicago and the other big cities are well-nigh lecture shy. It seems as though almost every night someone were giving an interesting talk somewhere in town. But down here in the "miles on miles of desolation" that are the coal fields of Central and Southern Illinois it was a rare thing to have someone stand on a platform in front of a group of diggers and talk anything but politics, union and national, and religion.

Now the men and women in Sub-District 5 have heard Ben Stolberg tell them that labor must recapture some of its old time militancy, they have listened to Theresa Wolfsohn plea for the organization of women into unions, they have heard Dave Saposs and Scott Nearing and Schlossberg, great hearted idealist that he is. Now they know that the world beyond the tipples is aware of their existence and that other men and women are with them in their struggle for decent living conditions and a fuller measure of freedom. If it does nothing but break down the Chinese wall between the miner and the rest of the organized labor movement, the Sub-District 5 adventure will have won its place in the big achievements of labor.

I think it is doing even more than this. I think that it is slowly but very surely bringing to the rank and file of the real proletariat of this country the organized coal-miners—the realization that modern unionism implies more than the mere struggle for hours and wages. I hope that no one will think I am over optimistic and that I take one Sub-District of one State division of the U. M. W. of A. as example of what is happening all over the country. No, but I do see the beginnings of an idea that has already been accepted by our more progressive needle-traders for example (and that I fear is being lost in the shuffle of internal politics), the idea that organization alone will not suffice to tackle the larger problems of industry and that with organization we must have the help of experts outside the official labor movement. Right now the official organ of the Illinois Mine Workers, "The Illinois Miner," in my opinion the best labor paper in the country, is campaigning for the establishment of a research bureau consisting of engineers (coal and electrical engineers), economists, sociologists, research men, publicists who will give of their best to the miners' union, who will sit down with the miners' officials and attempt some practical solution of such tremendous problems as the coming of the machine to coal, Giant Power, the stabilization of the industry, etc. And out among the rank and file Tom Tippet's classes are looking towards the same goal.

Here it seems to me is an undertaking that should re-ignite enthusiasm in the heart and mind of every Socialist. For in the long run it can only be done by those of social vision who can infuse the cold logic of science with the warmth of love.

How incapable the old, hard-shelled, so-called "labor leaders" are of tackling any such task is evidenced by their every public utterance. They are still suspicious of the "high-brow," they still want to know what your particular "graft" is when you, who are not perhaps manual workers, interest yourself in the labor movement.

Judging from a sheaf of statements issued by the hierarchy the present official policy is to persuade the employers of labor in this country

The Views of John Stuart Mill THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

WITH the increasing influence of the working class, the economists of the day gave greater attention to the relation of labor to property. Among the most prominent of the progressive economists were Cliffe Leslie, David Syme and John Stuart Mill.

Mill was the economist of the transition period. He first showed a quite heretical attitude toward the "sacredness" of private property in land. The right to private property in land, he maintained, was not "sacred," "for no man made the land, it is the original inheritance of the whole species."

Rent was the effect of a natural monopoly. It was a fit subject for taxation.

"Suppose," he said, "there is a kind of income which constantly tends to increase, without any exertion or sacrifice on the part of the owners; those owners constituting a class in the community, whom the natural course of things progressively enriches, consistently with complete passiveness on their part. In such a case it would be no violation of the principles on which private property is grounded, if the State should appropriate the increase of wealth or part of it, as it arises. This would not properly be taking anything from anybody; it would merely be applying an accession of wealth, created by circumstances, to the benefit of society, instead of allowing it to become an appendage to the riches of a particular class. This is actually the case with rent. The ordinary progress of a society which increases in wealth, is at all times tending to augment the incomes of landlords. . . . They grow richer, as it were, in their sleep, without working, risking or economizing. What claim have they, on the general principle of social justice, to the accession of riches?"

These teachings and those of others gave birth to the organization of the Land Tenure Reform Association, which claimed "the unearned increase of the land and the produce thereof for those who are the real authors," society, and which urged the nation to take control of the land. This society, founded by Mill in 1870, contained such prominent theorists as Professor Thorold Rogers, John Morley, Sir Henry Fawcett, Professor Cairns and Alfred Russel Wallace. So great was the interest of labor in the land question that Mill maintained that "an active and influential portion of the working classes have adopted the opinion that private property in land is a mistake."

Mill Inclines Toward Socialism

In the latter part of his life, Mill leaned more and more toward the socialist point of view. In the 1852 edition of his *Principles of Political Economy*, he said:

"If, therefore, the choice were to be made between Communism with all its chances and the present state of society with all its suffering and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence that the produce of labor should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the

labor—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all; the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labor cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessities of life; if this or communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of communism would be but as dust in the balance."

Later he wrote of the beliefs of his wife and himself:

"While we repudiated with the greatest energy that tyranny of society over the individual which most socialistic systems are supposed to involve, we yet looked forward to a time when society will no longer be divided into the idle and the industrious; when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat will be applied not to paupers only, but impartially to all; when the division of the product of labor, instead of depending, as in so great a degree it now does, on the accident of birth, will be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice; and when it will no longer either be, or be thought to be, impossible for human beings to exert themselves strenuously in procuring benefits which are not to be exclusively their own, but to be shared with the society they belong to. The social problem of the future we considered to be how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership of the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labor."

In the last year of his life, Mill planned a book on socialism, but only completed the first four chapters. These were published in the "Fortnightly Review" in 1879. Here he maintained that the arrival of manhood suffrage would sooner or later lead to a thorough discussion of the foundations of the system of private property, and that, in fact, this discussion was already taking place. The socialists, in attacking competition, have pointed to a great evil, and "one which grows and tends to grow with the growth of population and wealth." Though feeling that they exaggerated these evils in certain instances, he nevertheless admitted that "the intellectual and moral grounds of socialism deserve the most attentive study, as affording in many cases the guiding principles of improvements necessary to give the present economic system of the society its best chance."

"Realizing that there must be a change in the attitude of the State to property if a new social order is to be brought about, Mill concluded:

"A proposed reform in laws and customs is not necessarily objectionable because its adoption would imply not the adaptation of existing ideas of property to the growth and improvement of human affairs. . . . Society is fully entitled to abrogate or alterate particular right of property which, on sufficient consideration, it judges to stand in the way of the public good. And assuredly the terrible case which . . . the socialists are able to make out against the economic order of society, demands a full consideration of all means by which the institution may

have a chance of being made to work in a manner more beneficial to that portion of society which at present enjoys the least share of its direct benefits."

Cairns on the Idle Rich

During the same period other economists were pointing out the injustice of the social system and suggesting some form of cooperation as a remedy. Thus Professor Cairns bitterly assailed the idle rich found in society.

"It is important on moral no less than on economic grounds to insist upon this, that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class. The wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their own unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rents and interest, as it is written in the bond; but let them take their proper place as drones in the hive, gorging at a feat to which they have contributed nothing."

Or again:

"If workmen do not rise from dependence on capital by the path of cooperation, then they must remain in dependence upon capital; the margin for the possible improvement of their lot is confined within narrow barriers, which cannot be passed, and the problem of the elevation is hopeless. As a body they will not rise at all. A few, more restless, or more energetic than the rest, will from time to time escape, as they do now, from the ranks of their fellows to higher walks of industrial life, but the great majority will remain substantially where they are. The remuneration of labor as such, skilled or unskilled, can never rise much above the present level."

The writings of Mill, of Cairns, of other economists, had a considerable effect on the social thought of this period. Likewise did the indictment of the capitalist order from the pens of Ruskin, Carlyle, Kingsley, Maurice and others.

Summary

The early eighties, therefore, found conditions of industry and the physical conditions of the working class far different from those in the late forties, when the great Manifesto of Marxian socialism was formulated. Contrary to the expectations of the brilliant young authors of the Manifesto, capitalist industry had survived and expanded in England. The workers had passed through a number of crises, but had not revolted. Conditions had improved for numbers of them as a result both of the economic organization of the workers and the enlightened selfishness of the employing class. The workers had achieved many of the political forms their predecessors, the Chartists, had demanded. Great numbers of them had received the franchise. They were able to effect changes through the ballot. They had created for themselves such economic agencies for peaceful progress as trade unions and cooperative societies. They had seen some of their worst evils ameliorated through social legislation.

our colleagues, if we are workers we can spread the idea through our local unions.

I realize that there is nothing particularly novel about all this and that Thorstein Veblen, Stuart Chase and others have been working on it for years. What is of interest right now is the fact that here and there their philosophy seems to be taking hold. With the Dogma of Decency that the labor skates are howling from every roof-top, rises this still small voice of science that has in it the answer to some of labor's most baffling problems.

McAlister Coleman.

Speaker Longworth told the ladies of the National Republican Club that it would be a blessing if all aliens with Bolshevik ideas should be deported and that it would be a national calamity if Jimmie Wadsworth isn't returned to the Senate. We are against his blessing and welcome the calamity.

Wish this was the last line of capitalism.

Andy Mellon's Lemon

THIS is an educational article, so if you want to remain as dumb as some, don't read it. On the other hand if you have a noble hankering to become as wise as I and Andy Mellon, put on your specs and follow me.

To start with, there are two forms of taxation—Direct and Indirect. Direct taxes are paid by me out of my own pocket and never get back in my pocket again. For instance, I made 100,000 bucks clear profit last year manufacturing pit shoes for you guys. Then the government comes along and socks me \$20,000 income tax, which leaves me \$80,000 to mourn over. Is there any way by which I can get that twenty thousand back? Brothers and sisters it grieves me to say there is none. The kale is gone. Gone but not forgotten. But gone, nevertheless. It went to the support of the government which protects my pit shoe factory against firebugs, burglars and striking pit shoe makers. You may say the government earned that 20,000 bucks and so it did, but whether the money is well spent or hell spent, its gone and the only good money I know is the money in my jeans. Savvy?

Outside of taxes on income there is the direct tax on inheritance which can not be shifted on innocent bystanders. When a fellow has kicked the bucket, leaving a million or so behind, of which the government takes a couple of hundred thousand as inheritance tax, there is no way under the sun by which you and I can be made to indemnify the poor and deserving heirs for their financial loss. They got something for nothing and paid part of the something to the government which passed the laws and installed the legal machinery by which some people get something for nothing at the expense of those who get nothing for something.

Leaving the painful subject of direct taxation as illustrated above, let us now examine the artistic beauties of indirect taxation.

I am still making pit shoes for you guys. The government taxes my factory, leather on hand and shoes in stock. It uses the money to protect me against firebugs, burglars and striking pit shoe makers, which ought to close the transaction, but it don't.

These taxes become part of the fixed charges on my plant in company with insurance, depreciation and interest. When I sell my pit shoes to the retailer, the fixed charges, including taxes, are put on the price and when the retailer sells the shoes to you, you pay your part of the taxes on my factory. In other words, you pay my taxes and I take the glory of being a leading taxpayer.

Until about two decades ago, the only taxes levied in the land of the free were indirect taxes. That is, taxes which were shifted on the consumer in the manner already described. By this method, Jeremiah Hardup, able-bodied section hand with seven kids paid seven times the shoe tax paid by Hetty Green an unky dunky times millionaire with one child.

All this was, of course, very pleasing to Hetty and her kind. The whole paraphernalia of government including strike-breaking, militia and injunction judges was operated for them while we dumbbells footed the bills. But about twenty years ago, along came the muckrakers and started an unholy hullabaloo about this pleasant firm flam with the result that direct taxation as exemplified in income and inheritance tax made its appearance in the country. Then came the war which created some 40,000 new millionaires and promoted other millionaires into the ranks of billionaires. At the same time government expenses rose into astronomical figures which made it necessary to raise income and inheritance taxes to hitherto unknown heights.

Now what Andy Mellon has been trying to do ever since he got on the job is to cut down the taxes of the very rich and make the benighted proletariat supply the deficiency in the form of indirect or consumption taxes. Thanks to the direct taxes levied on the people who got rich or richer in the war the government was able to reduce the war debt at a satisfactory rate. Now if brother Mellon succeeds as he certainly will, because there is a sucker born every minute, while the death rate is still going down, the war debt will be paid off at a much slower tempo. In addition, instead of being paid by those who made money out of the war, it will be paid by those who got cooties, flu and prohibition out of the war. For, as direct taxes on the rich decrease, indirect taxes on the poor increase. On top of that, we poor devils, shall have the pleasure of paying interest on the war debt for thirty or forty years longer, said interest wandering in the pockets of the 100 per cent. patriots who bought our liberty bonds for sixty cents on the dollar.

I don't complain that Andy Mellon is trying to make me pay his taxes. What gets my goat is that he, an intellectual lodge brother of mine is trying to make me believe that he is doing it for my own good. I appreciate this sort of kindness about as much as the threshings I used to get from my dad with the consolation that it was all for my good. Moreover, Mellon is my servant. I pay his salary and I hate like hell for a hired man of mine to try to sell me a gold brick.

Now dear folks, if this scientific expose of Mellon's little game has percolated into your cranium, cut out this article and send it to your senator. It may not do you any good but it will at least show some of the gents in Washington that all of us are not quite as big jackasses as they think we are.

In the meantime you may have also read the article by Stuart Chase entitled, "Soup, Soap and Shoes," which treats the same subject in a still more scholarly way which is going some, believe me.

Adam Coaldigger.

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REGISTERING THE CASH

By Louis Silverstein

FORTY-FIVE years ago the cash register came into existence. As is common in such cases, the inventor sold his rights for a few farthings. A short while later the machine and the factory in which it was being produced were bought by John H. Patterson for \$6,000. The business prospered, the inventor was forgotten and the Patterson family grew rich.

Today the National Cash Register Company employs 10,000 people. Its agencies are scattered throughout the world. Its net assets amount to over \$50,000,000. Since 1891 it has only once failed to pay cash dividends on its stock, and that was in 1898, when a 200 per cent. stock dividend was declared instead. During the war it was particularly fortunate. Registers did their patriotic duty and the company was rewarded accordingly. The dividends on the common stock rose from 2 1/2 per cent. in the period between 1909 to 1915 and 6 per cent. in 1916 to a high level of 7 1/2 per cent. from 1917 to 1921. In 1922 the rate was 8 per cent., in 1923 7 1/2 per cent., and in 1924 9 per cent.

There was but one unpleasant feature of this miracle of modern business. The millions of dollars made each year were being hogged by the immediate members of the Patterson family. Why not let others enjoy the harvest? True, the employees were participating in a profit-sharing scheme to the extent of more than a million and a half dollars, but, after all, that was done to maintain morale—and besides they did not count. The question was: Why should not the habitual investors divide some of the additional \$6,000,000 earnings among themselves?

The Second Miracle Happens

Then the second miracle happened. The National Cash Register Company was going to be opened wide. In the closing hours of 1925 came the announcement that the banking house of Dillon, Reed & Co. had bought out the heirs of John H. Patterson and that new shares would be issued to the public—meaning the investors—within a week.

What joy! Instead of four persons, there would now be thousands sharing the profits of a lucrative enterprise. On January 5, common A stock amounting to \$65,000,000 was offered for sale. Within an hour the issue was five times oversubscribed. From 15,000 to 20,000 persons were lucky enough to

AH! MELONS

The attractiveness of capitalism to some people is made plain by the announcements last week of two 900 percent stock melons. One was that of the Nash Motors Company, only in the sixth year of its existence. Yet each share of the original common stock is now worth \$2,250. In 1925 the company paid \$20 a share on its common stock. The present melon gives each stockholder nine new shares in addition to each of his old ones, so that he will hereafter receive \$2 a share annually, making \$20 as before in toto. The public, however, will not think it is being mulcted when an announcement of only a measly \$2 dividend is declared hereafter—but Wall Street will know better.

How has Charles W. Nash attained his success? In a competitive industry like the automotive there is one sure way of winning out and that is to increase efficiency. And how can this be done? By straight-line mass production in the manner of Ford; the raw material is delivered at one end and the finished product emerges at the other. And how can one manufacturer do better than another? By speeding up production and eliminating waste motions better than his rivals. And this means whipping up his workers to an ever faster pace, allowing them no deviation from the track before them, getting every ounce of life out of them. That is the secret of Nash's success.

The other 900 percent stock melon is interesting for another reason. Here we have the Central States Electric Corporation increasing its common stock from 150,000 to an insignificant sum, 1,500,000. And how does this company get its income? By producing electricity? No. By holding stock of public utility companies and collecting the dividends declared by them. Such is the joy of capitalism.

make purchases. Everybody was happy. The bankers relished the cash they received on the turnover. The investors' mouths watered in anticipation of juicy profits. Certain economists expanded with joy at this evidence of the democratization of industry and Clarence Dillon, promoter of the whole scheme, was hailed as a financial wizard.

When we examine the transaction with care we discover some unsavory details. Dillon, Reed & Co. reorganized the National Cash Register Company of Ohio as a Maryland corporation, retaining the old name. They then issued two kinds of shares, neither of any par value: 1,100,000 of common A stock and 400,000 of common B stock. The latter was not sold at all; the former was disposed of at \$50 per share and opened on the stock exchange immediately at 52 1/2, reaching a high of 54 and closing at 52 1/2 the first day.

Now, both groups of shares were entitled to receive \$2 per share a year, equivalent to a profit of 6 per cent. In fact, common B stock could only receive its portion of the gains after the obligations on the other had first been satisfied. Moreover, both kinds of shares had equal voting rights in determining the conduct of the company's affairs. On the face of it, therefore, it seems that we have here a genuine diffusion of wealth and an accompanying increase of democratic control.

Where the Control Lies

But let us examine the facts further. We discover that the common B stock, which, we must remember, was never sold, has the all-important right to

elect a majority of the board of directors. Common A stock must be content with choosing the remaining minority. In other words, the owners of the common B stock dictate the policy of the company through their control of the directors. Is that fair? Cannot the 1,100,000 shares of common A stock exert any influence in proportion to their numbers? Yes, under certain conditions; it is provided ironically that when the company has gone bankrupt or is about to do so "the common A and common B stocks vote equally in the elections of directors." That is the modern method of financing; 400,000 shares control almost three times that many.

It is evident that whoever owns the common B stock has the power to manage the business for good or evil. But that is not all. A person need only control a majority of these shares, that is, 51 per cent., in order to accomplish this purpose. And what do we find to be the case? The ownership of a majority of common B stock is retained by a son of the founder of the business, Mr. Frederick B. Patterson, who will remain president of the National Cash Register Company and continue to conduct its affairs. In addition, the employees' profit-sharing plan, which has been hailed as a significant experiment in industrial democracy, is abolished, and instead 37 1/2 per cent. of the common B stock, fully paid, is being set aside for the employees.

What is the significance of these technicalities? Chiefly the following: (1) A banking house with much shrewdness reaps a huge profit by buying up the shares of a closed

corporation and presto! selling them in a new guise to eager investors.

(2) One man owning only 13.6 per cent. of the total common stock becomes automatic ruler of the National Cash Register Company, because his particular brand of shares happens to be that choice variety which elects a majority of the directors.

(3) In other words the purchasers of common A stock supply the cash and Mr. Patterson, as majority owner of the common B stock, uses or misuses it as he pleases.

And this has been called industrial democracy.

Were the case just described an isolated one, there would have been no need to dwell on the matter so long. But the practice is becoming widely prevalent. It is not always accompanied by skillful limitations on the voting rights of common stock as in the illustration we have used. That is not even necessary. It is sufficient to issue a large number of shares. The more owners there are the less chance there is that they will ever unite in sufficient numbers to control the policies of a corporation. Consequently the proprietor of a moderate sized majority bloc actually comes to run the business. It is the latest device to ring up the cash of investors on the registers of big financiers.

The Weekly Trend

(1) A decline in the average price of American commodities as shown by the Fisher index number from 159.3 for each of the two previous weeks to 158.7 for the last week. This compares with an average of 159.2 for 1925, 149.3 for 1924 and 100 for 1913, the base year.

(2) A rise in the rate of exchange on English money, temporarily halting the exportations of gold to this country. This confirms our comment of last week that the rediscunt rate of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York was not raised in spite of increases in other central cities, because the authorities were waiting for an improvement in the English financial situation.

(3) A further drop in the prices of grains, increasing the farmer's troubles some more.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

CAP MAKERS

Cloths Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

Office: 210 EAST 5th STREET

Phone: Orchard 9880-1-3

The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer.

S. HEDERSON, N. GELLES, Organizers.

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday.

Executive Board meets every Monday.

CUTTERS, LOCAL 2

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday.

Executive Board meets every Monday.

All Meetings are held in the

Headgear Workers' Lyceum

(Beethoven Hall)

210 East 5th Street.

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The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, L. M. of T.

Office: 585 Hudson St., City

Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday

of the month at

ASTORIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.

Executive Board meets on 3rd and 5th Thursdays at the

FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East

Broadway, Room 3

F. J. STEINBERG, Pres. & Bus. Agent

NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

Structural Iron Workers

UNION, Local 381, Brooklyn

Office: 571 Pacific Street

Telephone: Cumberland 6189

Open Daily from 7:30 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.

Meetings Every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.

at Columbus Hall, State and Court Sts.

Charles McDermott, Sec'y-Rep.

President. E. E. Calvert, 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 54th Street, New York City

Frank Walker, H. Kramer, President

A. Fugittie, Wm. Dettelbach, Vice-Pres.

H. Vols, August Schramm, Treasurer

Business Agent

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Headquarters 268 EIGHTH AVENUE

Telephone Longacre 5829

Day Room Open Daily, 8 A. M. to 8 P. M.

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Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.

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Sparks and Flashes

Welcome, Comrades Oswald and Cynthia Mosley! Welcome, two more apostles of International Socialism, two more sterling exponents of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain—the noblest, most intelligent, tolerant and successful Socialist Party of the world! Your coming is like the breath of a balmy spring invading a frigid zone. Our native plunderbund with its aristocrats of boodle, its Babbitts, Kelloggs and National Security Leaguers is undoubtedly uneasy about your sudden plunge into our tranquil midsts. It is your good fortune that you are British, titled and wealthy or else you surely would have been Karolyied or Saklatlavied away from our sacred (\$) shores.

Welcome, Comrades Mosley! Your statements to our press reporters, your answers to their varied and stupid questions were sensible, frank, bold, defiant and inspiringly militant. Featured, as these interviews were, thanks to your social standing, they made splendid reading and refreshed our spirits immensely. Never were idealists of your high character needed so sorely as you are just now in this vast desert of crass materialism and disillusionment.

So, you are going to spend your vacation among us studying our industrial and social conditions. Well, you are in for some great scenes and experiences! Nowhere in the world will you witness such marvelous productivity, such gigantic enterprise and wealth alongside of such abject and shameful poverty as you are destined to see in this country. Coming as you do from the upper strata of society, Socialists as you are by persuasion, intelligent reflection and moral reaction rather than as victims of the class struggle, you are bound to see all the more clearly the colossal pretence, tinsel and fraud of our vaunted American prosperity. This journey among us must surely strengthen your convictions and steel your determination to hasten this beastly capitalist system to perdition. Comrades Mosley, we Socialists of

the United States bid you welcome and tender our warmest wishes to both of you. May your visit be fruitful.

Our Honorable Legislators

Scene: Assembly Chamber, Albany, New York.

Time: Every day during January, every year.

Cast: 150 Assemblymen, Clerks, Page-boys, Politicians, Visitors and Loafers.

Act One

Monday, 8:30 p. m.—Session opens. About 100 Assemblymen present. Clergyman introduced. He takes one good look at the Assembly and then asks God to help the State. Reading of the Governor's messages. First reading of bills by clerk—titles read and bills referred to respective committees. Introduction of resolutions and an occasional noise that sounds like a debate. 9:30 p. m.—Motion to adjourn; carried!

ACT TWO

Tuesday, 11 a. m.—About 50 Assemblymen present. (Fatigue from last night's session accounts for the loss of 50 men.) Clergyman introduced. Asks God to give Assemblymen wisdom, fortitude and courage. (They need them all.) Clerk announces reading of minutes of yesterday's proceedings. Motion to dispense with same; carried. First reading of bills by their titles. A few messages and reports of commissions. 11:15 a. m.—Motion to adjourn; carried, with enthusiasm!

Act Three

Wednesday, 11 a. m.—About 15 Assemblymen present. (Signs of exhaustion plainly visible among the brave survivors.) Clergyman introduced. Asks God not to despair and to have faith in the future of this great State. Clerk announces the reading of the minutes of yesterday's proceedings. Motion to frustrate same; carried! First reading of bills. 11 a. m.—Mo-

tion to adjourn; carried by acclamation!

Act Four

Thursday, 11 a. m.—About three Assemblymen present. (In such a weakened condition, they are barely able to sit up.) Clergyman introduced. Thanks God for having blessed the State with such a notable Assembly. Clerk announces the reading of the minutes of yesterday's proceedings. Motion to strangle same; carried! First reading of bills. 11:05 a. m.—Motion to adjourn; carried!

Act Five

Friday, 11 a. m.—One Assemblyman present (semi-conscious—on the verge of prostration). Clergyman introduced. Talks to God privately. Clerk announces reading of minutes. Motion to quash; carried! 11:02 a. m.—Motion to adjourn to Monday evening at 8:30 p. m.; carried unanimously! (Performance repeated every week during January. Admission, free!)

August Claessens.

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UNION LOCAL 137

Office and Headquarters 12 St. Marks Place, N. Y.

Regular Meetings Every First and Third Friday at 8 P. M.

Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 8 P. M. Phone Orchard 2768

M. ROONEY, D. MACE, President

J. L. NEWMAN, Vice-Pres.

PHILIP GINDER, Treasurer

Financial Sec'y

L. RISKIND, Sec. Agent

UNION DIRECTORY

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

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office: 33 EAST 54TH STREET - LOCAL 34 Telephone Lenox 4899

Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple

THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary THOMAS CAHILL, President

EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9

Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stage

Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.

Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening

WILLIAM WENGERT, President CHARLES PFLAUM, Fin. Sec'y

VALENTINE BUMB, Vice-President JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer

HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y ANDREW STREIT, Bus. Agent

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488

MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 106th Street

Office: 601 EAST 101ST STREET. Telephone Melrose 5874

THOMAS DALTON, President CHAS. H. HAUSER, Bus. Agent

HARRY F. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y THOMAS ANDERSON, Rec. Sec'y

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF

Carpenters and Joiners of America

Local Union 308

4215 Third Avenue, corner Tremont Avenue

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Walter Anderson, President Bert Post, Rec. Secretary James Duignan, Fin. Sec'y

Victor Saul, Vice-President Joseph Vanderpool, Treas. Chas. Nobis, Business Agent

Board of Trustees—Jos. Hess, Louis Schmidt, E. Glaw

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF

Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION NO. 808

Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue

Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone Stage 5414. Office hours every day

except Sundays. Regular meetings every Monday evening.

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FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary

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OF AMERICA

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Christopher Gulbrandson, Recording Secretary Charles Johnson, Sec'y

Ludwig Benson, Treasurer Ray Clark, Business Agents

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF

CARPENTERS and JOINERS

OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163

Day room and office, 180 East 64th Street, New York.

Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.

WM. FIFE, President. J. J. DALTON, Vice-President. W. J. CORDNER, Rec. Sec'y.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

Joseph Bearak had a successful meeting at the West End Jewish Forum on "Labor Contribution to American Civilization."

Albert Baker spoke to an audience on "Socialism and Religion" at St. John's Church in Charlestown. The audience showed their appreciation by asking intelligent questions.

Money is coming in on the one dollar assessment. The Boston Central Branch has raised part of its quota and the Finnish branch in Chester has sent in a check for its full amount. Branches that have not started to raise their quota are asked to get busy.

The unemployment insurance committee has a bill practically drafted, and expects to present it to the Labor Movement shortly.

Indications show that the Claessens meetings will be a success. In Lynn, the meetings will be held every Thursday evening, Feb. 4, 11, 18, 25, at Last-ers' Hall, 34 Andrew street; in Providence, every Wednesday evening, Feb. 3, 10, 17, 24 at Amalgamated Textile Workers' Hall, 1755 Westminster street; in Worcester, every Friday evening, Feb. 5, 12, 19, 26 at Bay State House Building, corner of Main and Exchange streets, and in Boston, every Saturday evening, Feb. 6, 13, 20, 27, at 21 Essex street, the party's headquarters.

The Boston Central Branch is arranging a supper and propaganda meeting for Saturday, Jan. 30 at their headquarters, 21 Essex street. Comrades Rower, Bearak, Levenberg, and Lewis, and also Brent Allinson of the Fellowship of Youth for Peace, will speak at the meeting. The public is invited both to the supper and the meeting. The supper starts at 6 p. m. sharp and the meeting at 8 p. m.

The Jewish Branches of Boston and vicinity arranged a big meeting on Wednesday, Jan. 20, with N. Chanin as the principal speaker. Plans were made for pushing the organization work, and from the enthusiasm displayed it seems certain that the Jewish Socialist movement in Boston and vicinity will soon have a great increase in membership.

Vipseldom

A new Vipsel Circle has been formed in Rockland, Maine, and another in Western, R. I. The circle in Troy, N. H., has been reorganized. In addition, the Vipsels of Worcester are co-operating to make the Claessens meetings a success.

NEW JERSEY STATE

During the past week State Secretary Lesmans has sent out three communications to all Locals and branches. One calls attention to the need of the striking miners in Pennsylvania and West Virginia for warm clothing and giving addresses to which it can be sent. Another letter urges the holding of public meetings during the winter in all the larger cities, the State Office promising financial assistance. A number of speakers are available, including Norman Thomas, recently the Socialist candidate for Mayor of New York City, and James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader. A third letter calls upon all branches to enlist in the "Bundling Army" of the American Appeal.

HUDSON COUNTY

A semi-annual membership meeting of local Hudson County will be held Sunday, Jan. 24, at 2 p. m. Every

party member in the county is expected to attend. A modest supper will be served and dancing will follow, but the program will come after tending to the following business: Election of Local Secretary and perhaps the Executive Committee; election of State Committee delegates and of members of important committees; nomination of candidates for the November elections. Petitions must be filed before the primary election in June and the matter cannot be delayed to the July meeting of the Local as in previous years, when the primaries were held in September. On the job! Business, supper, then dancing. Have a good time.

NEW YORK STATE

Ray Newkirk, financial secretary of Local Utica and Oneida County, has been elected by referendum vote of the State Committee to fill a vacancy existing on the State Executive Committee. Comrade Newkirk's address is 1309 Genesee street, Utica, N. Y. The present members are Arland of Westchester, Feigenbaum and Riley of Kings, Gerber of New York, Kobbe of Rensselaer, Newkirk of Oneida, Sander of Onondaga, Noonan and Wiley of Schenectady County.

Local Syracuse is now having weekly meetings, business and social and educational meetings alternating. Comrade Hein of Local Syracuse is proving himself the champion collector of signatures on coal-nationalization petitions. Everyone signs, he reports, including professional, business men and judges, and they don't care if the Socialist Party did get up the petition. State Secretary Merrill has given locals to understand that it will be a case of "first come first served" in any meetings that may be arranged for Comrades Oswald and Lady Cynthia Mosley. The Mosleys have advised the representative of the State Office that they are willing to help out the movement in New York State upon their return from California.

Organizer Stille has written the State Office to the effect that he expects to return from Yucatan about the middle of February.

Buffalo

The Debs Branch of Local Buffalo recently elected the following officers: Organizer, Irving M. Weiss; secretary, Ernest W. Salzman; treasurer, Frank Sepp; delegate to local Executive Committee, Christian G. Koehl. It was decided to conduct a membership drive, arrange for a public meeting, with some prominent speaker, and to arrange to meet as a branch the second Thursday of each month at 732 Brisbane building.

Local Buffalo will hold a general party meeting Thursday evening, January 28, at the East Side Labor Lyceum. The annual election of officers will take place and all members are urged to attend.

Wednesday evening, January 27, an interesting debate will be held under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Salem Evangelical Church between William F. Taylor, State president of the Evangelical Brotherhood Federation, and Robert A. Hoffman, secretary of Local Buffalo, on the question, "Resolved, That the United States Should Join the League of Nations." Taylor will uphold the affirmative, Hoffman taking the negative position. Men of progressive and Socialist affiliations are invited to attend.

LOCAL NEW YORK

A membership meeting was held Jan. 7 which was well attended. A very interesting discussion took place in reference to the continuation of the separate locals in New York, or to establish one organization for the entire city. Action was deferred until after the city convention to be held on Feb. 27.

The meeting elected its quota of members to the Executive Committee of the Local. This committee with the representatives of the branches met the following Saturday and elected Julius Gerber executive secretary of the local, Arthur Robbins recording secretary, and G. A. Gerber, organizer. All officers are to serve without pay. Every member of the committee was designated to look after a particular branch and arrangements were made to provide speakers for the branch meetings and to assist the branch officers in getting their branches active.

The Executive Committee of the Local will meet every Saturday afternoon at 2 p. m. at the office of the local, Room 505 of the Peoples House, 7 East 15th street.

At the meeting Saturday, Jan. 16, all members were present and a number of new members from the branches. Representatives of the main branches were present and the situation was gone over and plans mapped out by which Organizer G. A. Gerber will reorganize all inactive branches. Meetings will be called and speakers provided and it is expected that within four weeks every branch will be in working condition.

The executive secretary has engaged a clerk in the office and from now on the office will be open for the transaction of business. All comrades who need anything should come or call at the office, Room 505, 7 East 15th street, telephone Stuyvesant 4620.

The Executive Committee has engaged the Provincetown Playhouse for a theatre party on Friday, Feb. 12 (Lincoln's Birthday) and on Sunday, Feb. 14, the Provincetown Players will present Strindberg's "The Dream Play." These are very good dates and the comrades should arrange to see that play. The Provincetown Players need no introduction. Both the players and the characters of the plays they present are well known, and we can see a good play acted by the best actors in the city, and at the same time help the local financially. Make reservations at once as the total seating capacity of the theatre is small (212). Send orders to Local New York, Socialist Party, Room 505, 7 East 15th street, New York.

14-15 and 16th A. D.

The last meeting of the branch was well attended. It was the first meeting held at the Labor Temple. Anna Ingberman led the discussion on conditions in Russia and its effect on the Socialist movement of the world. A number of comrades participated in the discussion. The next meeting will be held Thursday, Jan. 28, at the Labor Temple, 247 East 84th street, Room 6.

At this meeting Nathan Fine of the Rand School Research Department will speak on "The Mission of the Socialist Party of America." All comrades are requested to come and to bring a friend.

The members will take notice that the house in which the headquarters of the branch was located for the last seven years has been sold. We have secured the floor now occupied by the Workmen's Fire Insurance at 241 East 84th street, but this floor will not be available for some time. In the meantime the branch meets every second and fourth Thursday in the month at the Labor Temple (Room 6) 247 East 84th street.

The S. P. Club of the branch assembles every Saturday evening at the Labor Temple in the bowling alley. Arrangements have been made by which we have sole possession of the bowling alley floor on that evening. All those who are weary come Saturday night to the S. P. Club of Yorkville and we guarantee that you will forget all your troubles.

Don't Forget the Theatre Party New York, Friday evening, Feb. 12, and Sunday evening, Feb. 14. The theatre the Provincetown Playhouse, 133 McDougal street; the play "The Dream Play" by Strindberg. Tickets are \$2.20 including tax.

NEW YORK CITY

City Committee News
The City Committee has sent out letters to trade unions, workmen's circle branches, and other progressive organizations, inviting each to send two delegates to a Labor Conference to be held at the Rand School on Mon-

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We are offering to the readers of the New Leader the following Music Rolls for Pianola at cost price. Offer good only to the end of the year.

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The Marseillaise
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International Music Roll Co.
799 Broadway, at 11th St., New York
Telephone Stuyvesant 4669

day evening, Feb. 8. At this conference three important matters that concern labor will be taken up:

1—The case of Richard Ford of California, who is being held by the authorities there on a false charge of murder, because he is known to be a labor sympathizer.

2—The proposed law against picketing in the District of Columbia, which, if passed, would tend to create similar laws throughout the country.

3—The proposed law aiming for alien registration; a law that is the forerunner of an attempt to check radical activities.

The biggest debate of the season will take place at Carnegie Hall on Tuesday evening, February 2, when Morris Hillquit will debate Clarence Darrow on the subject: "Resolved that the United States enter the League of Nations and the World Court."

Hillquit will take the affirmative and present the attitude of the International Socialist and Labor Movement toward the League and the World Court.

Tickets for this debate can be procured at the following places: Socialist Party Headquarters, 7 East 15th street, Manhattan, 1167 Boston Road, Bronx, and 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn; also at the Forward office, 175 E. Broadway, and at the Carnegie Hall box office. Very few tickets are left, and all those interested in hearing Hillquit and Darrow should secure their tickets immediately.

A new Forum at the Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue, will begin on Sunday, Jan. 24 at 11.30 a. m. The first lecture will be delivered by Judge Jacob Panken on "Where Are We Drifting To?" Questions, discussions and music will follow the lecture. An innovation will be tried in the way of mass singing of social and labor hymns.

A meeting of all New York City Socialist Party members, will be held in the Rand School Auditorium on Wednesday, Jan. 24, at 8.15 p. m. The question of the relation of the Socialist Party to the trade unions will be taken up.

August Claessens will begin a series of lectures on "Sex and Society" at the Socialist East Side Center, 204 East Broadway, on Sunday, Jan. 24, at 8.15 p. m.

Morris Hillquit will lecture at Branch 7, 4215 Third avenue, Bronx, on "Europe and America," Friday evening, Jan. 22.

22nd-23rd A. D.

James O'Neal, editor of "The New Leader," will lecture for the branch at the home of George Myers, 601 West 161st street, Tuesday evening, Jan. 26. Subject, "A Cultural Basis for the Socialist Movement in the United States." The speaker will bring with him some rare old documents of the early American labor movement of a hundred years ago and offer some interesting suggestions based upon a study of these documents.

BROOKLYN

Central Committee

The Central Committee meeting will be held on Saturday, Jan. 23, at 8.30 p. m. sharp, at the County Headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue. All delegates are urged to be on time.

4-14th A. D.

Beginning Thursday, Jan. 21, and every Thursday thereafter, a lecture will be given preceding each meeting. The members are therefore urged to come not later than 8 p. m. and also bring a friend. It is up to the members of the branch to make it a success.

August Claessens in Brownsville Jan. 22

August Claessens will deliver the third lecture in a series being given in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Friday night, January 22. The subject will be "Race Prejudices: Cause and Cure."

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 15th Street Tel. Stuyvesant 3637
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union
Z. L. FREEDMAN, President
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RIESEL, Manager Secretary-Treasurer

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th Street Stuyvesant 7678
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
Sam Harris, President
Murray Chilling, Vice-President
N. Ullman, Rec. Sec'y
J. Rosenzweig, Fin. Sec'y & Treas.
Gus Levine, Business Agent

HEBREW ACTORS' UNION

Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.
Phone Dry Dock 3360
REUBEN GUSKIN
Manager

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
Office: 175 East Broadway.
Phone: Orchard 6639
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.
PETER MONAT, Manager.

UNION DIRECTORY

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

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President ANNAH BARTOFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

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

Office 321 East 14th Street Telephone Lathrop 4198

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION

DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

DISTRICT COUNCIL MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Office: 2 WEST 16TH STREET

The Council meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday. Telephone Chelsea 2148

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

M. GREENBERG, President. S. LEFKOWITZ, Manager.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers'

Union Local 44, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4541

Office, 321 E. 14th Street. Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.

SECTION MEETINGS

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

Brooklyn—107th St. & 4th Avenue 1st & 3rd Saturday 1 P. M.

Bay Ridge—114 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 1 P. M.

B'klyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—18 Montgomery St. SALVATORE NINFO, Manager-Secretary.

Embroidery Workers' Union, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 301 E. 15th St.

Telephone 774-Wadsworth.

CARL GRABER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local 30, I. L. G. W. U.

Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 3 West 11th St.

Telephone 774-Wadsworth.

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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

139 East 25th St. Madison Square 1994

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.

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

United Neckwear Makers' Union LOCAL 11816, A. F. of L.

7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7008

Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 P. M. in the office.

LOUIS FELDHEIM, President

ED. GUTTMAN, Sec'y-Treas.

L. D. BERGER, Manager

LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U.

117 Second Avenue

TELEPHONE ORCHARD 7104-7

A. SINDLER, Manager

MOLLIE LEFFERTZ, Secretary

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION LOCAL 64, I. L. G. W. U.

1 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3637

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

S. FREEDMAN, President

M. M. EISENBERG, NATHAN RIESEL, Manager

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

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

Telephone: Stuyvesant 6350-1-3-4-5

(SYDNEY MILLMAN, Gen. President) JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

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

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Regular meetings every Friday night at 9:30 East Fifth Street.

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

PHILIP ORLOFFSKY, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

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OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1297

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— D R A M A —

LYNN FONTANNE



Heads the cast of players in the "Goat Song," Franz Werfel's new play, which will open Monday night at the Guild Theatre.

Chicago to Have Theatre Guild

THE Chicago Theatre Guild is something new and something ambitious. Its sponsors claim they have watched the Little Theatre movement and found that it is not combining its activities. The Guild plans for a definite goal. It hopes to have a theatre of its own to be operated on a professional basis. It aims to enter into competition with legitimate Loop playhouses. To accomplish this the Guild intends to create a trust fund out of the proceeds from interesting plays done throughout the city by the best non-professional players. It is organized as a non-profit-sharing body. It is not subsidized and claims to be free from social entanglements.

The director of the group is H. Campbell-Duncan, who has had wide experience in the management and production of his own professional companies. Mr. Campbell-Duncan is quoted as saying that Chicago should have an independent producing body to supply it with plays upon which the regular commercialized theatre would not venture, similar to the theatres already existing in New York. He believes this can never be attained by a subsidized institution. Mr. Campbell-Duncan said the working capital has been supplied in the form of dues from a limited sustaining membership. The first production put on by the Guild will be Shaw's "The Man of Destiny," and O'Neill's "The Rope," at the theatre in Pythian Temple.

Peggy Hopkins Joyce in Her First Film Play at Colony

Peggy Hopkins Joyce in her first motion picture, "The Skyrocket," opens this Sunday, with the termination of the two weeks' run of "California Straight Ahead," starring Reginald Denny, at B. S. Moss' Colony Theatre. The story is engrossing. Sharon Kimm is ambitious, and joins the long caravan of female seekers after fame and fortune on the motion picture trail. Her skyrocket rise from extra girl to star, then her precipitation into bankruptcy through her extravagances, and back to the man she gave up for shallow ambition, are all graphically told in this Cosmopolitan serial of Hollywood from the pen of Adela Rogers St. Johns.

In the cast supporting Peggy Hopkins Joyce are Earle Williams, Owen Moore, Gladys Brockwell, Bernard Randall, Gladys Hulette, Bull Montana, Sammy Cohen, Lilyan Tashman and Paulette Goddard. The picture was directed by Marshall Neilan.

In conjunction with the photoplay, a new production, titled "The Palm Beach Revue," will be offered on the stage.

"Hello Lola" At the Eltinge

Dorothy Donnelly Revamps Booth Tarkington's "Seventeen" Into Musical Comedy Form

VERY little of the spirit, the beauty of "Seventeen," Booth Tarkington's tenderly beautiful play of adolescence, is left in the musical comedy concoction called "Hello Lola" that was made of it by Dorothy Donnelly to music by William B. Kernell and that is now on exhibition at the Eltinge Theatre. The words are there, the incidents, the characters; but it's only the empty shell of the play that laid bare the quivering soul of the 17-year-old boy who was struggling with the awakening of love. Incidentally there is peppy dancing, a lot of bare, dimpled knees, some rough horse-play and a couple of vaudeville specialties that seemed to amuse the audience mightily.

"Seventeen" is about William Sylvanus Baxter, Jr., variously known as Willie to his family and Sillybilly to his friends. Willie was standing with large and reluctant feet where the brook and river meet, and every girl threw him into an agony of hysteria and excitement. Came then into his Indiana home town Lola Pratt, accompanied by Flop, her fuzzy and diminutive pup, and an inexhaustible line of "baby-talk." Came then Billy's complete surrender and several weeks of adventures whose ludicrousness are modified by their pathos. There is the kid sister who hears all, sees all and tells all; an understanding mother and

EDYTHE BAKER



Gives a charming performance as Lola in "Hello Lola," the musical version of Tarkington's "Seventeen" at the Eltinge Theatre.

an un-understanding father; a comedy Negro man-of-all-work, and a complement of adolescent boys and girls.

The "book" of "Hello Lola" is "jazzed up." Sister Jane being supplied with a chorus of short-skirted, bare-legged cronies who burst into high-pitched song and energetic dance at the slightest provocation; the young flappers are just a bunch of chorus girls, and the man-of-all-work is made a low-comedy character with songs and stories that are—pardon the pun—shady. As a conventional musical comedy, it's just about so-so. The actors, dancers, comedians and ukelele players cavort around more or less pleasantly, but none of them deserve particular mention. A gentleman billed on the program as Ben Franklin is pretty rotten as one of the elders. Jay C. Filppen is not altogether half-bad as Genesis, the Negro servant, and Richard Keene is a handsome Willie and Edythe Baker an attractive Lola. But no one who saw Gregory Kelly and Ruth Gordon in their heart-breaking rendering of the parts will ever be satisfied with a merely adequate performance. But if you want amusement without worrying about the mayhem committed upon a supremely fine piece of work, "Hello Lola" will do.

W. M. F.

BERTHA KALICH



The noted and talented artist will return to Broadway in a revival of Sudermann's "Magda," which opens Tuesday night at the Maxine Elliott.

Stage Scenery Exhibit Next Month

AN exhibition of new tendencies in theatrical scenery, to be participated in by the Theatre Guild, the Provincetown Playhouse, the Green-wich Village Theatre and the Neighborhood Playhouse, is announced to open at 66 Fifth Avenue on Feb. 15.

The chief novelties will be models of the so-called "constructivist" scenery, now coming into fashion in Russia and Germany, and the "mechanical theatre." Constructivism calls for a stage setting in three dimensions, departing as far as possible from the "back-drop school" of staging. The actors appear at various levels, not merely on the stage floor. The "mechanical theatre," an innovation from France, replaces living actors with marionettes that act to words megaphoned from behind the scenes.

Besides presenting those novelties the exhibition, which will be known as the International Theatre Exposition, will show seventy models of European sets and thirty American models, tracing the changes in stage decoration over the last thirty years. The exposition will try to treat every phase of the modern theatre. The European models will represent Russia, Germany, England, France, Sweden, Holland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Sudermann—Author of 'Magda'

THE name of Hermann Sudermann will always be cherished by lovers of dramatic literature as to the pathfinder of naturalism in the realm of Teutonic playwrighting; his position among the greatest dramatists of our time has never been questioned; his reasoning has at all times been found to be basically sound; his deductions upon the results of certain social evasions and transgressions are

VIVIAN MARTIN



Returns to our midst in a new play, "Puppy Love," sponsored by Anne Nichols and opening Wednesday at the 48th Street Theatre.

accurately defined and his character drawings photographically real.

Sudermann, stepping into the front rank of modern dramatists with his first play, "Die Ehre," which achieved an instantaneous triumph when produced at the Lessing Theatre, Berlin, in 1889, and presented here at the Irving Place Theatre—with Leo Dittrichstein making his initial bow to the American public in a very minor role.

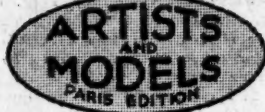
His next play, "Sodom's Ende," was not so great a success, but in 1893 his next play, "Magda," electrified the theatre-going world with its magnificent workmanlike construction; no weak spots in its basic fabric, no false notes in its logical analysis of social conditions, no tawdry sentimentality in its visualization; it was a solidly built, sanely vitalized story that gripped the auditor with the surety of a vise.

"Magda," or "Heimat," as it was known in German, became the reigning dramatic sensation of the world with every actress of note clamoring for an opportunity to play the picturesque heroine, Bernhardt, Duse, Modjeska, Netherlands, representing France, Italy, Poland and England, all striving for the laurel wreath of popularity; and now Bertha Kalich has essayed the role.

Many of Sudermann's plays have found favor in this country, especially "The Fires of St. John," "The Joy of Living," "Roses," "Moritur," "John the Baptist" and "The Heron's Feathers." "Magda" will be presented by Bertha Kalich at the Maxine Elliott Theatre Tuesday evening.

— T H E A T R E S —

WINTER GARDEN
Mats. Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday
NOW, AS ALWAYS, THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS REVUE



with
Walter Woolf, Phil Baker
and
18 Gertrude Hoffmann Girls

WINTER GARDEN
SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT
Always the Best Sunday Entertainment in Town
Stars from the LEADING BROADWAY MUSICAL STAGES and OTHER HEADLINE ACTS
JACK ROSE, Master of Ceremonies

49th ST. THEATRE, West of B'way.
First Matinee Saturday
Coming WED. EVE. at 8:30

'BIG BILL' TILDEN
and
'LITTLE BILL' QUINN
in BERNARD S. SCHUBERT'S
WHIMSICAL COMEDY
"DON Q. JR."

With a splendid cast including
JUANA NELSON MAXINE FLOOD
JOHN GALLAUDET JOHN F. DWYER
JOHN McGRATH FRANK CONNORS
EARLE CRADDOCK MILTON KRIMS
EDWARD ELISON BERT GORMAN
(Directed by Arthur Hurley)

AMBASSADOR THEATRE, 49th St. W. of B'way.
Matinee Thursday and Saturday, 2:30
SECOND YEAR IN NEW YORK
Most Glorious Musical Play of Our Time



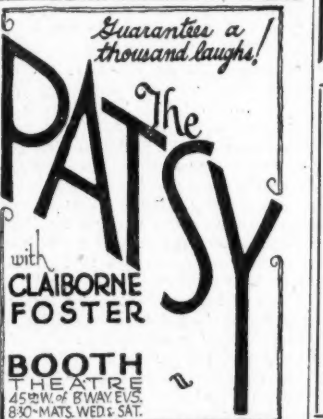
WITH
HOWARD MARSH
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN
Symphony Orch. — Singing Chorus of 100
Balcony (Res'd) — \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20, \$2.75, \$3.30

CROSBY GAIGE PRESENTS

GEORGE S. KAUFMAN'S
BROADWAY'S FUNNIEST
COMEDY

T H E BUTTER A Egg
E N D Man

WITH
GREGORY KELLY
LONGACRE Theatre
WEST 48th STREET
Matinee Wed. & Sat., 2:30



Sessue Hayakawa on
Legitimate Stage

IN HIS new stage play, "The Love City," Sessue Hayakawa commences an engagement at the Little Theatre, Monday evening, January 25th. Mr. Hayakawa returned to America but a few months ago after three years spent abroad making pictures and also appearing on the stage. He toured the British Isles in a short play by William Archer. In Paris he acted in a sketch at the Casino de Paris. His new stage vehicle, "The Love City," is a translation of the Chinese word "Fa-lu-kai," which designates that district in the Chinese cities given over to traffic in women and opium. With this colorful mart as the locale, two love stories are unfolded which set forth in striking contrast the different ideals and standards of the East and West. The oriental story centers about Tze-shi, a beautiful girl of "Fa-lu-kai" and her keeper, Chang Lo. The occidental story centers about Richard Cavendish, an Englishman, who has been estranged from his young wife, Evelyn. The author, Hans Bachwitz, intermingles his two main themes and



sets them forth in scenes of moving dramatic action. The play under the name of "Yoshiwara" ran three years in Berlin and a year and a half in Vienna.

The American translation has been extensively revised by Stuart Walker, who staged the present production.

MAXINE ELLIOTT'S THEATRE
Limited Engagement, Commencing
MATINEES WEDNESDAYS & SATURDAYS
TUES. EVE., 26th

BERTHA
KALICH
in SUDERMANN'S MASTERPIECE
'MAGDA'
SUPPORTING COMPANY OF ARTISTIC DISTINCTION

SHUBERT THEATRE, 44th St., West of B'way.
Evenings at 8:30.
Mats. Wednesday and Saturday
THE CONTINENTAL REVUE
LAST WEEK



Greatest Cast Ever Assembled
and
America's Most Beautiful Girls

CENTURY THEATRE, 62d Street and Central Park West
Evenings 8:25. Mats. WED. and SAT.
(Direction LEE and J. J. SHUBERT)
THE OPERETTA TRIUMPH



MUSICAL VERSION OF
'THE PRISONER OF ZENDA'
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN
Cast of 200 | Symphony | Singing
Orch. of 60 | Chorus of 125
Balc. (Res'd) \$1.10 - \$1.65 - \$2.20
500 Dress Circle Seats at \$3.30

MORE LAUGHS THAN ANY SHOW IN TOWN!
THE JOYOUS NEW MUSICAL PLAY OF YOUTH

HELLO LOLA
Dorothy Donnelly's clever adaptation of Booth Tarkington's "SEVENTEEN"

"First night audience fairly ate it up."
—James Metcalfe, Wall Street Journal.
Greatest Dancing Chorus and YOUNGEST Girls on Broadway
ELTINGE THEATRE 420 Street, West of Broadway. Evenings at 8:30. Matinee WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY at 2:30.

FORREST THEATRE, 49th St. W. of B'way.
Evs. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat.
New York's Best Liked Musical Comedy

LAST WEEK



JOSEPH SANTLEY WITH IVY SAWYER
AND A GREAT CAST including
ROBERT WOOLSEY

BIJOU THEATRE, 45th St. W. of B'way.
Evs. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

MARY and FLORENCE NASH
IN



By RACHEL CROTHERS
with ROBERT WARWICK

Theatre Guild Productions

OPENING TO-MORROW 8:30 SHARP

(Late arrivals will be seated only at intermissions.)

GOAT SONG

By FRANZ WERFEL
With This Brilliant Cast
LYNN FONTANNE HELEN WESTLEY
GEORGE GAIL DWIGHT FRYE HERBERT YOST
FRANK REICHER EDWARD G. ROBINSON BLANCHETTE YERKA
ALBERT BRUNING, WILLIAM INGERSOLL and Others

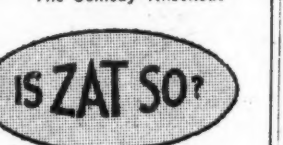
GUILD THEATRE, 52nd St., W. of B'way

Sixth Month of Bernard Shaw's Comedy

ARMS AND THE MAN

GARRICK THEATRE, 65 West 35th St.
Evenings 8:30. Matinee Thursday and Saturday 2:30

2nd YEAR in NEW YORK
The Comedy Knockout



by James Gleason & Richard Taber
Now at the Central Theatre 47th St. & B'way
Evs. 8:15. Matinee Wed. and Sat., 2:30.

THE NEW CASINO de PARIS Century Theatre Building
62nd and Central Park West. Evs. 8:25. Smoking Permitted
The Revue All New York Is Talking About!



"SOMETHING LIKE A BIGGER AND BETTER VERSION OF THE FOLIES BERGERE." —Gilbert W. Gabriel, Sun.
MATINEES THURSDAY & SATURDAY



Broadway Briefs
"May Flowers" is in its final fortnight at the Forrest Theatre.

"One of the Family" moved to the Klaw Theatre Wednesday night.

"Gay Paree" begins the last week on Monday at the Shubert Theatre. The revue goes on to Boston and then to Philadelphia.

George MacQuarrie joined the cast of "Open House" at the Criterion Theatre Monday night, replacing Ramsey Wallace.

Jayne Waterous, who up to now has been known on the operatic stage as Jayne Herbert, has been added to the cast of "The Student Prince" at the Ambassador Theatre.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"GOAT SONG," by Franz Werfel, will be the fourth production of the Theatre Guild, opening Monday night at the Guild Theatre. In the cast are Lynn Fontanne, Alfred Lunt, Blanche Yurka, George Gail, Dwight Frye, Helen Westley, Albert Bruning, Herbert Yost, Edward G. Robinson, William Ingersoll, Erskine Sanford, Edna Fielding, Zita Johann and Judith Lowry.

"THE LOVE CITY," with Sessue Hayakawa, the well-known moving picture actor in the leading role, will open at the Little Theatre Monday night. The play is a translation of "Yoshiwara" by Hans Bachwitz.

"SHELTER," by Harry Chapman Ford, will open at the Cherry Lane Theatre Monday night.

"NICA," a play of Italian life by Ada Sterling, opens Monday night at the Central Park Theatre.

TUESDAY

"HEDDA GABLER," by Henrik Ibsen, will be presented Tuesday night at the Comedy Theatre by the Actors' Theatre. The cast includes Emily Stevens, Patricia Collinge, Louis Calhern, Frank Conroy, Dudley Digges and Helen Van Hoose. Staged by Dudley Digges, setting by Robert Edmond Jones and Woodman Thompson, costumes by Fania Mindell.

"MAGDA," by Herman Sudermann, will bring back Bertha Kalich to the Broadway stage, opening Tuesday night at the Maxine Elliott Theatre. Mme. Kalich's supporting cast includes Charles Waldron, Henry Stephenson, Warburton Gamble, Albert Hecht, Lester Alden, Josephine Royle, Louise Muldener, Sybil Carlisle and Jenny Dickerson.

"A WEAK WOMAN," a new comedy adapted by Ernest Boyd from the French of Jacques Deval, will open at the Ritz Theatre Tuesday night. The cast will include Estelle Winwood, Frank Morgan, Ralph Morgan, Beverly Sitgreaves, Flora Sheffield, Dianthe Pattison and Ernest Stallard. Henry Baron is the producer.

"NOT HERBERT," a comedy drama by Howard I. Young, will start next Tuesday the season of The Playshop—a new producing group—at the Fifty-second Street Theatre. Clarke Silvernail has the leading role.

WEDNESDAY

"DON Q. JR.," a whimsical comedy by Bernard S. Schubert (formerly called "The Kid Himself"), with "Big Bill" Tilden playing the lead, will come to the 49th Street Theatre Wednesday night. Other players include Juana Nelson, John Gallaudet, John McGrath, Earle Craddock, Edward Elison, Maxine Flood, John T. Dwyer, Frank Connors, Milton Krims and Bert Gorman.

"PUPPY LOVE," a comedy by Adelaide Matthews and Martha M. Stanley, will come to the Forty-eighth Street Theatre Wednesday night, sponsored by Anne Nichols. In the company will be Vivian Martin, Maude Eburne, Arthur Aylesworth, Leah Winslow, Spring Byington, Edward H. Robins and Charles Abbe.

FRIDAY

"LITTLE EYOLF," by Ibsen, will be offered by William A. Brady, Jr., and Dwight Deere Wiman, at the Guild Theatre for a series of special matinees beginning next Friday afternoon. The cast includes Clara Eames as Rita Allmere, Margalo Gilmore as Asta Allmere, Marie Ouspenskaya as the Rat Wife, and Resnould Owen as Borgheim.

"JOHN GABRIEL BURKMAN," by Henrik Ibsen, will be put on for a series of special matinees, beginning next Friday afternoon at the Booth Theatre. Eva Le Gallienne heads the cast.

THEATRES

COMEDY THEATRE, 41st STREET WEST OF BROADWAY,
EVENS, 8:30. MATINEES WED. AND SAT.
BEGINNING TUESDAY NIGHT, JAN. 26

THE ACTORS' THEATRE

HENRIK IBSEN'S
"HEDDA GABLER"

With the Following Distinguished Cast:
Emily Stevens Patricia Collings Louis Calhern
Frank Conroy Dudley Digges Helen Van Hoose

ROBERT BENCHLEY
In Life Says:
"The Dybbuk" is a per-
fect production."



THE DYBBUK

By ANSKY
English Version by Henry G. Alsberg

EVERY EVENING (Except Monday). Mat. Saturday only at 2:30.

IMPERIAL
"SWEETHEART TIME"

With EDDIE BLIZZELL-MARY MILBURN AND A GREAT CAST
A Scintillating Beauty Chorus of Irresistible Charm

B. S. MOSS' THEATRES

COLONY

42nd ST. & 5th ST. MORNING 11:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M.
10:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M.
EVENINGS 8:30 to 10:30
POPULAR PRICES
BEGINNING SUNDAY

The World's Most Talked About Woman!
PEGGY HOPKINS JOYCE

IN HER FIRST MOTION PICTURE

The SKY ROCKET

Directed by MARSHALL NEILAN
From Adela Rogers St. Johns' Cosmopolitan Serial
A Story of Hollywood and the Life of a Film Star
In Connection with
A GLITTERING, GORGEOUS COLONY STAGE SHOW
"PALM BEACH REVUE" A RIOT OF
RESPLENDENT REVELRY

CAMEO

42d ST. & BROADWAY
2nd BEGINNING
week SUNDAY

LUBITSCH'S

ERNEST LUBITSCH'S LATEST PRODUCTION
Oscar Wilde's Gay, Daring, Fascinating Play
"LADY WINDERMERE'S FAN"
with RONALD COLMAN, IRENE RICH,
MAY McAVOY and BERT LYTELL

B'WAY

AT 41ST
BEGINNING
MONDAY

CHAS. RUGGLES & CO., FRANCES ARMS,
DOOLEY and SALES, Other Acts

REGINALD DENNY
In His Newest Comedy Triumph
'CALIFORNIA STRAIGHT AHEAD'

Bronx Amusements

BRONX OPERA HOUSE

149th ST. E. of THIRD AVE.
POP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT

After an Eight Months' Run at the
Lyric Theatre
PAUL C. MOONEY Presents
The Sensational Love Drama of the
Tropics

"ALOMA of the South Seas"

By John B. Hymer and
LeRoy Clemens
With An Exceptional Cast,
Instrumentalists and Dancing Girls

Week of February 1st
"APPRENTICE" with Allan
Dinehart and Original Broadway Cast

CRITERION THEATRE, E. of 44th St.
Mts. Wed. (Pop.), Sat.

HELEN MACKELLAR

IN
"OPEN HOUSE"

WITH
Ramsay Wallace and Bela Lugosi

MUSIC

"The Bartered Bride" Revival
Mary Lewis' Metropolitan Debut

GENERAL MANAGER GIULIO
GATTI-CASAZZA will pre-
sent his revival of the Bo-
hemian composer Friedrich Smetana's
comic opera, "Die Verkauft Braut"
("The Bartered Bride"), book by K.
Sabina, which has not been heard at
the Metropolitan Opera since 1912.
Thursday evening. The opera has been
musically prepared and will be con-
ducted by Artur Bodanzky. The stage
direction is in the hands of Wilhelm
von Wymetal. The scenery has been
designed and painted by Joseph Novak.
The cast follows: Kruschna, Carl
Schlegel; Kathinka, Marion Telva;
Maria, Maria Mueller; Micha, Gustav
Schutzendorfer; Agnes, Phyllis Wells;
Wenzel, George Meader; Hans, Rudolph
Laubenthal; Kezal, Michael Behnen;
Springer, Max Bloch; Emeralda,
Louise Hunter; Muff, Arnold Gabor.
Other operas next week:
"Tristan and Isolde, with Larsen-
Tosden, Branzell and Taucher, White-
hill.
"The Jewels of the Madonna," special
performance Tuesday evening, with
Jeritta, Wakefield and Martinelli,
Danis.
"Romeo et Juliette," Wednesday,
with Bori, Delaunoy and Gigli, Picco.
"Bohème," Thursday, with Mary
Lewis (debut), Kandt and Johnson,
Scott.
"Cena delle Befte," Friday evening,
with Alda, Dalosy and Gigli, Tibbett.
"Rigoletto," Saturday afternoon, with
Galli-Curci, Telva and Chamlee, De
Lucca.
"La Juive," Saturday evening, for the
benefit of the French Hospital, with
Easton, Morgana and Martinelli, Er-
rolle.
To commemorate the death of Glu-

seppo Verdi, which occurred January
27, 1901, the composer's Requiem Mass
will be given this Sunday at the Metro-
politan, with Mmes. Easton and Alcock
and Messrs. Gigli and Mardones and
the entire opera chorus and orchestra.

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Otto Klemperer will make his first
appearance as conductor of the New
York Symphony Orchestra at Mecca
Auditorium this Sunday afternoon. He
will conduct again the two concerts in
Carnegie Hall Thursday afternoon and
Friday evening. The visitor from
Wiesbaden is to be here for ten weeks,
conducting twenty-six concerts.

Sunday's program includes three
symphonies: Symphony No. 9 in C,
Minor by Haydn, Symphony in C "Ju-
piter" by Mozart and Symphony No. 7
in A by Beethoven.

The Thursday and Friday programs
in Carnegie Hall will include: Con-
certo No. 1 in F "Brandenburg" by
Bach; Symphony No. 6 by Beethoven,
and Suite "Pulcinella" by Stravinsky.
This last work has not been heard in
New York.

PHILHARMONIC

Arturo Toscanini will lead the Phil-
harmonic orchestra this Sunday after-
noon at Carnegie Hall in the following
program: Schubert, Symphony in B
minor, ("Unfinished"); Rimsky-Korsak-
off, Overture, "The Russian Easter";
De Sabata, Contemplative Poem,
"Gethsemani"; Stravinsky, Excerpts
"Petrouchka" Suite; "Le Tour de
Passe-passe." "Fete Populaire de la
Semaîne Grasse."

Next Thursday and Friday afternoon

"BIG BILL" TILDEN



The tennis champion, has the chief role
in the new comedy, "Don Q. Jr.,"
which will open Wednesday night at
the 49th Street Theatre.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

Charles Ruggles, the comedian, who
made his vaudeville debut just recently,
will head the pro-
gram at Moss' Broadway new
week in a farce
called "Wives, Etc." Mr. Ruggles was
last featured in
"Battling Butler."
and "White Collars." Frances Arms,
J. Francis Dooley and Corinne Sales
Nelson Snow and Charles Columbus, as-
sisted by Cynthia MacVae and Morton,
in a new presentation by Irene Frank-
lin and Jerry Jarnigan, "Like This, Like
That"; Ann Lemeau and Elsie Young
in "A Gabby Gabfest," written for them
by Carl McCullough, are the other fea-
tures on the vaudeville bill.

Reginald Denny in his latest comedy,
"California Straight Ahead," will be the
screen attraction next week, moving
here from the Colony Theatre after a
stay of two weeks.

FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday—Jones &
Rhea; Florence Ames & Co.; L'Art
Nouveau; others. Letrice Joy in "The
Wedding Song."

Thursday to Sunday—Bobby Ran-
dall in two big acts; other acts. Regi-
nald Denny in "California Straight
Ahead."

JEFFERSON

Monday to Wednesday—Willie Solar;
Marion & Ford; Joe Jackson; other
acts. "The Wedding Song," with Let-
rice Joy and Robert Ames.

Thursday to Sunday—Bill Robinson;
Burns & Kane; Gallerini & Sisters;
others. Reginald Denny in "California
Straight Ahead."

Music Notes

The Stringwood Ensemble at its se-
cond subscription concert in Aeolian
Hall Tuesday evening, will present a
quartet by Boccherini, a clarinet quin-
tet by Reger, a new Rhapsody by
Freed for piano, clarinet and string
quartet, and a piano quartet by Moz-
art.

Evel Belousoff, cellist, and Wanda
Landowska, harpsichordist, will give
an evening of Bach at Aeolian Hall
Wednesday evening, when they will
play the Sonata in G major and the

the program will include the follow-
ing: Beethoven, "Bolca" Symphony;
Rogier-Ducasse, "Sarabande" (1st time).
Tommasini, Passaggi Toscani (1st
time); Wagner, Prelude and Finale
from "Tristan and Isolde."
At Carnegie Hall next Saturday
evening, the seventh Student's Concert
will be conducted by Toscanini, also
a special concert on Monday evening
February 1, at Carnegie Hall.

PHILHARMONIC CHILDREN'S
CONCERTS

Ernest Schelling begins his third
season as conductor of the Philharmonic
Children's Concerts this Saturday
morning at Aeolian Hall. The program
will be repeated in the same auditorium
on Saturday afternoon.
Overture, "The Magic Flute," Moz-
art; Larghetto from Second Sym-
phony, Beethoven; Scherzo, from
Fourth Symphony, Tchaikovsky; First
Movement from Concerto, Boccherini;
Adeste Fideles; Military March (Alger-
ian Suite), Saint-Saens.

Ethel Leginska, pianist-composer-
conductor, at Aeolian Hall, on Sunday
afternoon, January 31, will give her
only piano recital of the current sea-
son. Her program will include two
Bach Chorals, the Liszt Sonata in B
minor, a Chopin group, and of contem-
porary works Ornstein's "Chinatown,"
and her own "Cradle Song" and "Dance
of a Puppet."

Leff Pouishnoff will give a second
recital at the Town Hall Tuesday night.

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

PHILHARMONIC

TOSCANINI, Guest Conductor.
CARNegie HALL, TODAY AT 2.
SCHUBERT: "Unfinished" Symphony.
BEETHOVEN: Leonore Overture No. 3.
DE SABATA: "Gethsemani." STRA-
VINSKY: "Petrouchka."
CARNegie HALL, THUR. EVE. at 8:30;
FRI. AFT. at 2:30.
BEETHOVEN: "Eroica" Symphony.
ROGIER-DUCASSE: "Sarabande" (1st
time). TOMMASINI: Passaggi Toscani
(1st time). WAGNER: Prelude and
Finale from "Tristan and Isolde."
CARNegie HALL, SAT. EVE. at 8:30;
SEVENTH STUDENTS' CONCERT.
Arthur Judson, Manager. (Stelway.)

AEOLIAN HALL, SUNDAY AFT. JAN. 31,
AT 2

ETHEL LEGINSKA

Pianist Haensel & Jones, Managers
AEOLIAN HALL, Wed. Eve. Jan. 27, 8:30
AN EVENING OF BACH
BELOUSSOFF LANDOWSKA

Cello Harpsichord (Pleyel)
Concert Mgr. Dan'l Mayer, Inc. Stelway Piano.

AEOLIAN HALL, Tues. Eve. Jan. 26, 8:30
SECOND SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT

STRINGWOOD

Concert Mgr. Dan'l Mayer, Inc. Stelway Piano.

ENSEMBLE

Concert Mgr. Dan'l Mayer, Inc. Stelway Piano.

D R A M A

Some Printed Plays

Drama in Book Form Gives Us More Food for
Thought

By Joseph T. Shipley

IN these dramatic days plays of at
least three sorts find their way
into print: those which have made
a stage success; those which are not
written for the stage first, but pri-
marily as poems or theses, and those
which hope ultimately for stage presen-
tation, but find a publisher before they
persuade a producer. Most play-
wrights are unlikely to admit that their
piece is of the second sort; therefore,
I will simply state that four of the
third type lie on my desk. Before con-
sidering them, however, I want to
glance for a moment at a book about
the theatre.

"The Future of the Theatre" is the
entire title Bonamy Dobree gives his
booklet, but it turns out to be a trip
to the year 2100 on Wells' Time-Ma-
chine, and a description of what the
author thinks a theatre may be like in
that year—a thin disguise, of course,
for criticism of our present stage. The
book is not well written, and its at-
tack is academic and puerile, rather
than alert and understanding. "How
can one tell if the acting is good if one
does not know the names of the per-
formers?"—this phrase, with its first
"if" instead of "whether," and its ob-
viousness, characterizes the book. But
it makes one point that interestingly
stresses Upton Sinclair's recent charge
against literature.

In my late attempt to indicate that
the fundamental point of Upton Sin-
clair's "Mammonart" is a mere truism,
namely, that all writing of a time must
record or rebel against the point of
view of that time, I failed to do justice
to the book itself, as interesting a
survey of literature as one can hope to
find, so absorbing that beside it the
much heralded "Story of the World's
Literature" reads like an incomplete
telephone directory. Although Sinclair
offers a definition of propaganda much
wider than Scott Nearing's, one which
would include every act and word of a
man's life as propaganda for the things
that man believes in, his attitude is
probably the more nearly correct. We
are what we do, and our mere living—
then how much more our spiritual pro-
duct, in our writing!—is an example,
and therefore unconscious propaganda.
... and perhaps the only funda-
mental way of teaching. In tracing
the various influences that have stirred
writers, therefore, Upton Sinclair is
conducting a survey and a criticism of
both the men and their times; and he
is as exciting and as stimulating a
guide as one can desire.

The present point is that Mr. Dobree
sees the theatre of the future as one
that consciously does nothing but
stimulate certain emotions for the par-

ticular purpose of those in power. So
well are the theatres organized for this
end that they have to be closed during
an election, but they are going full
blast when the country desires to de-
clare war, or undertake any activity
where feeling will help it more than
thought. The aim of the drama, it is
assumed, is always to stimulate feel-
ing.

Nothing more than this stirs two of
the plays before me. Masefield's "Trial
of Jesus" and Drinkwater's "Robert
Burns" are largely poetic efforts (in
the second case the poetry is the char-
acter's own) to interpret the lives of
these much discussed figures. Both
succeed in making the characters real;
both sentimentalize, the one by being
over-devout, the other by being over-
patriotic. He chooses for his close, not
some expression of the poet's feeling
of class, his hatred of the oppressing
rich and the nobles, but his war song
as, outside his window, the Scotch
march off to fight for England against
France.

The two other plays are directed
more pointedly at life today. Francis
Neilson, in "The Day Before Com-
mencement," attempts a theme Shaw
might have handled, but that is the
only point of resemblance; for his
characters have neither great wit nor
much reality. The jumble of million-
aires and college presidents and ward
politicians and conscientious objectors,
of clear understanding and culture be-
side utter ignorance in one family,
seems a blend of all Mr. Neilson read
about and came in contact with during
his days with The Freeman, rather
than a possible conjunction. However,
the subjects he handles are of interest,
and the suggested disorganization of
a family has possibilities; the dramatist
has not done justice to his theme. Sin-
clair, in "Bill Porter" attempts to ap-
ply the theory of Mammonart by a
study of O. Henry in prison. While
the play lacks single, intense develop-
ment, it is a bold experiment in ex-
pressionistic fields in its form and its
shift from life to dream; and at a time
when the almost plotless "What Price
Glory" or "Outside Looking In" make
strong stage material it would be in-
teresting to see what life there is in
this play. But only when the people
have their own theatre will Upton Sin-
clair be likely to find production.

"THE FUTURE OF THE THEATRE" By
B. Dobree (Today and Tomorrow Series).
Dutton, 21.
"MAMMONART" Upton Sinclair. Published
by the author, Pasadena, Cal. 50.
"THE TRIAL OF JESUS" John Masefield.
Macmillan, 4.75.
"ROBERT BURNS" John Drinkwater.
Houghton, Mifflin, 11.50.
"THE DAY BEFORE COMMENCEMENT."
Francis Neilson. Huebsch, 11.50.
"BILL PORTER" Upton Sinclair, Pasadena,
Cal.

GOVERNOR MINTURN

(Continued on page 3)

with the glow of lights. There was
animation and stir before them. They
turned homeward.

Alice said: "We'll take a bus, Dan.
I'll pay this time. It is late and cold."
He allowed her to pay. They climbed
into the car, found a double seat well
back where they spoke but little.

Dan occupied himself with watching
the occupants of the stage—mostly si-
lent business persons, travelling men,
a young lawyer with a brief case fresh
from the chambers of the supreme
court, a woman with dark, engaging
eyes and a pretty face behind a veil
toward whom Dan felt a long, slow
attraction, several boys in bell-trous-
ers and tight smart jackets, students,
no doubt. Beyond, through the win-
dow, he saw the flaming electric signs
on the huge manufacturing plants, past
which they whirled as the motorbus
swung into its ungainly speed—these
broken by vistas of residence streets
with their vigilant rows of lights, Dan,
beholding them, thought of the home
which he might sometime have, and
recalled not his own home, where
Hugh dominated, or the model house
which Alice had shown him that after-
noon at Danton's, but the houses on
Pillbury, where there was luxury and
refinement.

He now understood the fear under
which he had been laboring all after-
noon. He feared that Alice Miller
wanted him to marry her. He observed
her covertly where she sat thought-
fully beside him, a precise, matter-of-
fact, energetic, oh so pitifully energetic
girl, and he decided on a defensive pol-
icy of coldness.

The bus did not take them near their
neighborhood, and when they alighted
in Minneapolis they found themselves
on a cross-street blocks from home.
They decided to walk. They talked
about the past campaign and the com-
ing legislative session. Alice forcibly
discussed issues, conjectured outcomes,
and suggested tactics and strategy for
the minority to which Dan belonged.
As the conversation progressed Dan
became easier. It was over. He was
safe, he thought, when without pre-
ludes Alice said:

"Danny, don't you think we can
marry now? You have a good position,
your law practice will increase, and I
can be a great help to you in poli-
tics."

He came near saying, "My God, no."

He wondered if Alice had heard him.

gasp in amazement at her proposal. He
was grateful, however, that she was
as matter-of-fact in this business as
in all things.

"I don't see how we can, Alice," he
replied with conviction. "I haven't a
cent. The legislature pays only while
we are in session, and I doubt whether
politics helps to law. George Kimberly
—he's the ablest lawyer in town—was
telling me the other day that he was
just beginning to make a decent liv-
ing." He tried to be jovial. "We'd
starve."

When she spoke he caught a note of
wistfulness, of fettered disappointment
in her voice.

"I'll go on working, Dan, just as now.
I'm twenty-eight, and I can't go on
waiting forever."

The unadulterated nerve of the crea-
ture—so his heart hooted at her. Where
did she get that stuff about her waiting
for him? Who asked her to wait? Dan
was angry but baffled. He felt indig-
nant at this piece of guile on Alice's
part. So he tried guile in turn.

"Do you think that working makes a
home," he asked, "your working and
all? You want more than that; it isn't
fair to yourself."

"If it babies you mean," she an-
swered, "they can come later, when we
get on."

He was silent. She dropped his hand
which she had been holding child-
fashion. What was he to do? He did
not want to say "yes," he could not say
"no." All his life he had been follow-
ing the leadership of Alice Miller. He
had allowed her as a pig-tailed kid in
pinafors to do much of his thinking
for him. In some dim way he saw that
she was more than a friend; she was
his mother and had been ever since he
had ceased taking his mother's advice.
"Well, I'll tell you, Alice," he at last
replied, "we'll consider we are engaged;
then in January when the legislature
opens we'll talk about getting married."

Before they parted, at his gate, not
hers, he added:

"Alice, I am going to move out of
here right away, and I am going back
to work at Hornbloom & Glanz's. You
see that is the only way to get Hugh
back. You see I think mother wants
it that way."

Alice thought the whole Hugh epi-
sode very sad, but she praised him for
his good sense in clearing out.

As he turned into the house he won-
dered if he should have offered to kiss
her.

(To be continued next week)

EMILY STEVENS



Will play the principal role in the
Actors' Theatre production of "Hedda
Gabler," opening at the Comedy The-
atre Tuesday night.

"Aloma of the South Seas"
At Bronx Opera House

The love drama, "Aloma of the South
Seas," which comes to the Bronx Opera
House Monday night after a run of
eight months on Broadway. John B.
Hymer and Le Roy Clemens, the au-
thors, created a drama with realistic
incidents, the nature of which are de-
scribed in the novels of Somerset
Maugham, Frederic O'Brien and Jack
London.

The cast embraces Mary Ann Dent-
ler, Harry C. Bannister, Ray Collins,
George Fitzgerald, Lily Kerr, Walter
Ayers, Ben Taggart, Ruth Abbott, Sally
Stember, Rita Nolan, Doris Williams
and Larry Woods.

"Applesauce," the Barry Connors
comedy, with Allan Dinehart, will be
the following attraction.

"Is Zat So?" at the Central Theatre
underwent many changes in the cast
last Monday. Richard Tabor, co-au-
thor of the comedy, is playing Hap
Hurley, the prize fighter; his wife,
Mary Ellen Hanley, has the part of
the nurse; Hale Norcross, the fighter's
manager, and Sammie Green, a pro-
fessional fighter, follows Jack Perry,
who also was a professional.

The New Cinemas

BROADWAY—Reginald Denny in
"California Straight Ahead,"
with Gertrude Olmstead.

CAMEO—Oscar Wilde's "Lady
Windermere's Fan," with Irene
Rich, Bert Lytell, May Mc-
Avoy and Ronald Colman.

CAPITOL—"Dance Madness," by
S. Jay Kaufman, with Claire
Winsor, Conrad Nagel and
Douglas Gilmore.

COLONY—Peggy Hopkins Joyce
in "The Skyrocket."

RIALTO—"The Yankee Senator,"
with Tom Mix, Margaret Liv-
ington and Tony.

RIVOLI—"The American Venus,"
from a story by Townsend Mar-
tin, with Esther Ralston, Fay
Lanphier and Lawrence Gray.

THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1926

OUR NEW FEATURE

CAPITALISM in its corporate phase is assuming forms of development in the United States that were unthinkable a generation ago, and it is necessary for Socialists to understand what is going on. Behind ingenious devices the great corporations are extracting increasing riches from the masses but concealing the process by which the plunder is taken and the volume that flows into the hands of the capitalist class.

Fortunately, The New Leader is able to present to its readers the current history of this development in the able contributions that are being made to its columns by Louis Silverstein each week. The contribution last week on the issue of rubber which Secretary Hoover has raised was a model of presentation. The historical background of the rubber controversy was presented in a brief review and then its current aspects were analyzed and its inner character laid bare. This week he presents our readers with the inside story of the "melons" cut by our oligarchs in two great corporations.

We commend these contributions to our readers and especially students, speakers and writers. They provide important information regarding the current evolution of American capitalism and we are glad to be able to present this additional service to our readers.

HELP THE MINERS

WE call special attention of our readers to the letters from officials of the United Mine Workers to A. I. Ship-lacoff of the Socialist Party regarding the work of the party in New York City in collecting and shipping clothing to the miners. Little can be added to these letters. They reveal a background of human need that should appeal to Socialists and their friends. They are a call to service in a class struggle that is not theoretical but which is as real as the grim servitude of many mining towns.

We suggest that Socialists can do nothing better at this time than to give what they can to this work of relieving the distress of the miners and especially the need of the women and children. The Socialist movement is something more than an educational force to awaken the masses to the need of political action. There have been years when the organized Socialists have contributed more funds to such forms of relief than they have to their political campaign.

Here is an opportunity to mobilize the party branches and to enlist the help of others, especially members of the trade unions, in sending material aid to the miners and their families who are holding the lines in a struggle with the mine owners. The work might well dovetail with some mass meetings to dramatize the needs of the strikers and also to stress the need of nationalization of the mining industry which the miners have favored for years and petitions for which are being circulated by Socialist Party organizations in New York State.

Get to work. "Start something." All packages should be sent to A. I. Ship-lacoff, Room 401, People's House, 7 East 15th street, New York City.

GAS VS. STEAM ROLLER

THE attempt to apply closure to obtain a vote in the Senate on the World Court resolution is likely to revive the agitation of Vice-President Dawes to limit debate in that body. Dawes has used the radio a number of times during the past two months in an effort to show the absurdity of one or two Senators holding up all business by exercising the privilege of unlimited debate. With the uninformed his argument is convincing.

But those who oppose the Senate rules in this respect generally have in mind the House rules which they consider commendable. But in the House with its limited debate we have an oligarchy of a few leaders in cahoots with the speaker. It is a notorious fact that for many years the Republican and Democratic floor leaders in alliance with the speaker determine who shall speak. Legislation is a mechanical process and intelligent discussion is rare. Decisions are really taken in the more important committees by the leaders and the rubber stamps are told what they are to do. Occasionally they permit a little discussion on the floor, just to maintain the pretense of a deliberative body but the rubber stamp who tries to break the discipline of the committee oligarchy is refused recognition. In this way he is "punished."

Considering all this, we are inclined to favor the rule of unlimited debate in the Senate rather than the House rules which make dummies of Congressmen and whose conspicuous product is the inclusion in the Congressional Record of recipes for colic, a patriotic oration delivered in the hills of Kentucky, or a wheezy editorial from the Vermont Bladder. Let 'em talk. We favor the gas pipe rather than the steam roller in the diet of the upper classes.

SECURITIES

RESIGNATION of Prof. William Bradley Otis from the directorate and membership of the National Security League has caused a flutter among this collection of money bags. Otis is opposed to compulsory military training in colleges and the money bags want cannon fodder "prepared" to serve them. There is the issue.

Banker Johnson takes up the cudgels for the money bags. He does not think that Otis is in "sympathy with the purpose of the League" and that there is "no place for a pacifist in the League." This provides a new definition of a pacifist. Unless we favor compulsory military training in educational institutions we are pacifists. We thought that the pacifist was a chap who refuses to fight in wars but we stand corrected.

Prof. Otis, in his letter of resignation, appears to have learned something. He objects to being militarized by being taught obedience and does not believe in "intolerance and regimented thinking." Holding these convictions we wonder how he ever strayed into the National Security League. He had no business there in the first place and the money bags did right in demanding his resignation.

Supposing there is to be a war for the security of petroleum or of one of our banker's investments in Mexico. Does Prof. Otis think that the members of the Security League are going to the front? It's preposterous to think of it! Yet petroleum and investments must have security abroad and if this security is to be guaranteed we must have regimented thinking in the colleges and compulsory military training. Where are the bankers to get their soldiers if not in this way?

Banker Johnson is right and Otis has no business in the League to make the world safe for securities.

BABBITTOLOGY

WE have been inclined to award the booby prize to Harry F. Atwood, an exponent of Babbitology, who is quoted in the January number of the American Mercury to the effect that the writing and adoption of the Constitution "was unquestionably the greatest and most important achievement since Creation, and as an event it ranks in history second only to the birth of Christ."

We are now not so sure of making the award to him. Kitty Cheatham, who claims to be a descendant of Washington, is now a strong competitor, judging from her letter in The World. Kitty boils over because Rupert Hughes said that Washington danced, could employ a hearty oath to relieve his wrath, and could enjoy an occasional glass of grog. Kitty smites the patristic blasphemers who try to "kill the Christ ideals, the granite constituents of the foundation-stone of this nation, to which George Washington is a living witness."

We thought that George was dead but we will have to take Kitty's word for it that he is a "living witness." Having made George the "granite constituents" of the stone and not the stone itself, she passes on to Lincoln who becomes the "God-anointed preserver of our Union." But Kitty isn't through. She observes "an undercurrent of Divine protective tenderness ever manifested" in Franklin's affection for George.

The prize goes to either Atwood or Kitty, we do not know which. We will reserve our decision for the present as we feel certain that some one will not overlook the claims of Cal Coolidge who certainly is headed for sainthood or for a god in the creed of ancestor worship.

GOLDEN RULE GARY

RULING classes always find it necessary to justify their class privileges in terms of moral and religious cant. Long after the adoption of the Federal Constitution the Congregational church and its clergy in Connecticut maintained a coalition with Federalist politicians for a union of Church and State. Yale College trained young aristocrats to serve the oligarchy which was maintained by a restricted suffrage and a frame of government that came down from the middle of the seventeenth century. All education and public offices were in the hands of the clerical-political oligarchy. Naturally, the ruling oligarchs consigned the Jeffersonian "Jacobins" to perdition and annexed God to their class rule.

We are reminded of this by an editorial blessing conferred upon Judge Gary of the steel trust by the Christian Science Monitor. That worthy sweats piety from every pore and is engaged in expounding the "Golden Rule" in industry. He believes that success in business rests upon "the foundation stone of good morals" and observance of the Golden Rule. Whereupon the Monitor becomes sentimental, slops over in its blessing of Gary, commends the introduction of the eight-hour day in the steel industry and Gary's pious recommendation of the Golden Rule. It is "practical Christianity."

Timothy Dwight never fought more valiantly against the abolition of the Connecticut oligarchy than Gary has fought against any concessions to industrial democracy in the steel industry. His consent to the gradual introduction of the eight-hour shift followed only after many years of continuous attacks on the slavery of the steel pens and years after it had been introduced in the steel industry of Europe. Moreover, he remains opposed to organization of the workers in the plants while he becomes sanctimonious about the Golden Rule.

The Monitor is a spiritual descendant of the Federalist-clerical organs of the Connecticut oligarchy if it can accept the cant of the slave driver of the steel industry.

Congressman Blanton of Texas has introduced a bill against picketing in the District of Columbia that would make it unlawful to "make any loud or unusual noise, or to speak in a loud or unusual tone, or to cry out or to proclaim, on any street, sidewalk, alley, or public place" to influence any person to refrain from purchasing goods, etc. Will they have to pay for their gags also, Mr. Blanton, or would you provide them at the expense of the Government?

The News of the Week

Boring Into the Negro Porters

Scarcely a week passes that our Left Wing friends do not find a place in the headlines, and now they are good copy in connection with the organization of the Negro porters. They are said to be "boring" into Negro labor by planting "nuclei," and there seems to be some fear that they will gobble the porters. Reporters are also recalling the American Negro Congress inspired by the Workers' Party in Chicago last fall, and there is some apprehension that Negro workers will all be Communists within a few months. All of which is good copy, but displays much ignorance of current history. It was only last August that Mr. Foster wrote in the Workers' Monthly of his success in "boring" into the trade unions with his Trade Union Educational League. In that periodical he sadly admitted that he had stirred up so much enmity to his organization that it had practically "become an underground organization" in all the trade unions of this country. Certainly, this cannot be said to be a howling success, and it does not forecast any brisk business for "boring" into the porters. In fact, all these organized ventures of our late friends have started with a roar and ended as a disaster. No less than 17 parties since 1919 have been organized, and nobody knows how many side shows like the Negro Congress and Irish Famine Relief have appeared. The International Labor Defense is now one big specialty, the idea being to release political prisoners in all countries—Russia always excepted. Nobody should get excited. The show is a continuous one.

Slavery to State Mussolini's Ideal

The straw-man of slavery to the State so frequently set up and demolished by opponents of Socialism has now been replaced by a real live man, revelling in blood and iron. It is Signor Mussolini himself, idol of Judge Gary of the Steel Trust, and many other American anti-Socialists. Interviewed in Paris last Monday, Alfredo Rocco, Fascist Minister of Justice, said: "We Fascists have taken the opposite path to the theory of individualism. We contend that society, and therefore the State, is the ultimate end and that the individual is only a means to achieve the noble purpose of the State. As a result we feel completely justified in suppressing those who would retard the progress of the State." On the same day Edmondo Rossini, the ex-Anarchist from Paterson, who heads "Il Duce's" so-called labor unions, announced in Turin that the Government intended to pass a law penalizing "voluntary idleness," doubtless having strikers in mind, not loafers wearing black shirts. A classic example of how to "suppress those who would retard the progress of the State" was seen in the Chamber of Deputies when twelve Catholic Deputies and three Democratic Socialists were expelled by Mussolini's thugs, several being dragged out by the hair.

and severely beaten. These members of the Aventine Opposition had come to the Chamber for the first time since the murder of Deputy Matteotti in June, 1924, to take part in memorial exercises for Queen Margherita, but that made no difference to the ruffians. The next day "Il Duce" issued a statement to the effect he would not allow the Aventine Opposition Deputies to return to the Chamber until they had publicly apologized for their "landlards" and admitted that "no moral question ever existed against the Fascist Government or the Fascist party."

German Socialists Reject Coalition

Chancellor Luther's efforts to organize a new government that will be able to stand the strain of unemployment troubles, settling Hohenzollern claims, engineering the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, etc., have been seriously handicapped by a decision of the Social Democratic Party's Reichstag group against entering a coalition cabinet under the present circumstances. The vote was 85 to 33, indicating that the great majority of the Socialist Deputies is against trying to work with the People's Party (the big business group) in a government which in advance is known to be opposed to Socialist demands for bigger unemployment benefits, lower taxes on the workers, cuts in military expenditures and the submission of the question of compensating ex-Kaiser Wilhelm and others of his tribe for the property they assert belong to them as individuals to a referendum of the German people. By thus retaining their freedom of action, the 131 Socialist Deputies are in a position to support any government that Dr. Luther may form as long as it is worthy of such support, while at the same time they can fight it openly when it goes wrong. Last Sunday, the sixth anniversary of the murder by regular army officers of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, was observed in many German cities, especially Berlin, with meetings and memorial pageants. Recent arrests of several ex-army officers in Prussia on charges of having murdered alleged traitors to their reactionary secret societies may indicate that Karl Severing, Socialist Minister of the Interior of Prussia, is to be allowed to make a serious attempt to stamp out these militant monarchist groups.

The Opposition Muzzled in Russia

Russian Communists holding responsible positions and sharing the views of the "Left Wing" opposition are forbidden to discuss publicly the decisions of the recent Communist Party convention by an ukase issued by the new Central Committee and reported in a Moscow dispatch. The reason given for this order is a desire to prevent the reopening of the dispute, to the injury of the Communist Party and the State. Contin-

uing its policy of shifting members of the opposition to less important jobs, the Council of People's Commissars, now in complete control of the so-called moderates, has demoted Leon Kamenev from chairman of the Council for Labor and Defense and Vice premier to Commissar of the recently consolidated Domestic and Foreign Trade Department. G. Y. Sokolnikoff has lost his place as Commissar of Finance and is now vice chairman of the State Planning Commission, his former assistant, M. Bankhanof, is acting as head of the Finance Department. Reports from Paris and London seem to indicate that the "principle" of non-payment of Czarist debts is soon to be abandoned by the Soviet Government in the interest of trade agreements and formal recognition abroad. Addressing the cadets of the Military Academy in Leningrad last Sunday, C. Voroshilof, Commissar of Defense, assured them that the Red Army was far superior to European armies in political sense and discipline and that within a couple of years it would be their equal, if not superior, in military technique.

Mine Owners' Plan of Arbitration

Suppose that Wheeler, instead of Coolidge, were now President of the United States, and Brandeis, instead of Taft, were Chief Justice. Do you think for one moment that the coal operators would have proposed their scheme for arbitration in the industry with the so-called public representative, appointed by the President or Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, having the final voice on wages? You know you don't. What the operators have done is to make some concessions more apparent than real as to the inspection of their books and then plead for public sympathy by proposing arbitration which will not apply to prices of coal, but to wages. They have carefully rejected the miners' proposal for regulation in the public interest by the Federal Government, and of course, they won't listen to nationalization. We believe in nationalization. If we can't get that we believe that regulation might be better than the present situation. We do not believe that outside arbitrators who belong mostly to the social class of the employers are the people to be given blanket power over an indefinite period to fix wages. It is only in special emergencies under special conditions that labor is well warranted in accepting much arbitration. It is one thing to propose with the operators blanket arbitration of wages. It is another thing to propose, as did the Pinchot plan and the plan of the League for Industrial Democracy Committee on Coal and Super-Power, that outside experts determine the facts as to wages and prices and the degree of increase in wages which the anthracite industry can stand without too great an increase of prices. Some settlement may be reached in the anthracite industry before these words are published, but whatever that solution may be, these principles hold good.

THE CHATTER BOX

More Sonnets to a Dark Lady

XXXV.

"There is no permanence," you sagely said.
"Why mummy every kiss and fevered vow
With the balm of tape of faith? This love
once dead,
Will shrink into a grisly shape; while now
It pulses quick; it radiates and springs
Like a young beast, prime passioned for
the stud...."

This is the way of all terrestrial things:
This is the ordained manner of the blood.

And why make motive nonsense over flesh
When it be meant for open gluttony....?

Then gorge and revel while the game is
fresh...."

All this and more, you wisely said to me,
And when love died, I fled the proffered feast
To find a permanence in pain, at least.

XXXVI.

If I were less the man, I might have kept
A show of worship at your trammelled
shrine;
Or in a swinish incarnation crept
To snout your crumbs and lap the dripping
wine...."

But being more the man, and more the fool,
I fashion outrage for your simple sins
And mouth it frothing with fanatic drool...."

Now all your smiles are like gargoylian
grins,
And ghastly madness frames a silhouette
Against my wall of thought; your form
Conforms into a monstrous thing; and yet
My reason finds a haven from the storm.

However passion fume and fog and blur—
I still can see the light I dreamed you were.

Richard Boyajian's outburst over our open letter to Rabbi Wise leaves us somewhat disappointed. We really had expected much more of an excellent pupil of the Rabbi than just a huff and cry calling of silly names, and mutual admiration paragraphs. In the first place Richard forgets altogether that the only reason why we took Dr. Wise to task was his sudden discovery of Jesus as a Jewish teacher. Richard makes no mention of that, throughout his entire letter, which leads us to believe that he has read our letter with his preconceived prejudices and not with reason. All of which we would gladly forgive him on the ground of his declared worship for the Rabbi. An idolator never remarks on the doings of his Gods, except to praise them, or blindly to defend them from any criticism.—We cannot, however, forgive Boyajian for his utter lack of a sense of humor. Sometimes we do write with tongue in cheek, trusting that our readers will notice the facial distortion, and assume a like grimace while they read. We exceedingly regret that our young critic has plodded through our impertinences with the heavy probing of a Bronx Communist studying the last report of the minutes of the Central Soviet Executive Committee from Kansas. Really, dear Comrade, Dr. Wise is not all as bad as we painted him, nor is he as divine as you hold him. A very ordinarily talented individual, we assure you, who has risen to eminence in a circle of mediocrity, and who through the years of his ecclesiastical operations has pursued the thorough business-like methods

of selling himself by all manner and means of publicity. Personally, he must be what we regulars term, a hell of a nice fellow. Publicly, we consider him just above the average preacher in vocal ability, but right on a par with the rest of the demagogues who place personal end above impersonal ideal, or else, Dr. Wise would have long left the Tabernacles of the Mighty, and made his cause common with those most needful of guidance and light. But all this is repetition. Our point throughout our letter was, that this constant dragging out the teachings of Christ for sensationalism, by the Billy Sundays and Stephen Wises and the rest was due for a halt, unless they made good, and followed a bit in His Steps. We had our little snicker of course when Richard wallowed us over the inference that all the good, noble and glorious was contained in the Socialist Movement. Thinking it over, outside of our Socialist, I. W. W., and, yea, even Communist ranks, there is damn little idealism left in gold-calved America. Dismal as the progress we have made may appear, hopeless as the day may seem, we still contend that the idealism of one Norman Thomas, August Claessens, Jim Oneal, Billy Feigenbaum, Morris Hillquit, Ralph Chaplin, Ben Gitlow, or Patrick Murphy, were worth the years of sermonizing and leadership of a hundred Dr. Wises. Whatever our comrades have been or now are, this much is certain, that they have given of their talents, time and energies without stint and without thought of personal profit, in that most profitless pursuit—the lifting of the low to higher plane of life and living. Their lives, any one of them, can fill tomes in a record of sacrifice and service. Of course, Mr. Boyajian, like most of us in the Socialist movement, has lost the sense of perspective as the actual value of the ones with whom he has been so closely associated these many years. Yes, sir,—put us down as one of those stupid and arrogant, and narrow-minded bigots, who still can see more great and noble souls in our limping and withered ranks, than in all the strutting battalions of the movements led by Dr. Wise and his kind. And as for actually desiring Dr. Wise as a Comrade—she's welcome to come, not on his record of the past, but on his willingness to perform a true sacrificial duty for the future. Otherwise, Richard, we have no fear that our letter shall have driven him from approach to us. Our movement, Richard, consists purely and simply of those who have something to give to it; and who are above all happy that there is nothing they can receive from it save the priceless joy of having given, even beyond self-

\$ and c.

He strived and connived to beat the band,
And every dollar that he could land,
He'd clinch it, he'd pinch it.

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He gathered in dollars for years and years,
Dollars and cents in stacks and tiers,
He'd hoard 'em, he adored 'em.

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He died with a fortune that was immense,
But, alas, his soul wasn't worth ten cents.

\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$

ccccc

G. Harrison Riley.

The Truly Great

God said: I am tired of kings,
I suffer them no more.
Up to mine ear the morning brings
The outrage of the poor.

I will have never a noble,
Nor lineage counted great:
Fishers, and choppers, and ploughmen
Shall constitute a State.

—Emerson.

S. A. de Witt.