

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

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

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## We Hate to Bother Our Busy Mayor

But Must Ask More Questions

HON. JAMES J. WALKER,

New York City Hall.

(Please Forward.)

Dear Mr. Mayor:

We trust that we are not boring you with these letters. At any rate you may be thankful to us that we are not calling you on the telephone. We understand that the latest alibi for your persistent lateness is the fact that just as you are rushing out to fill some important engagement someone calls you on the 'phone. We are told that you are much too polite to be abrupt and that as a consequence you are constantly being detained by your garrulous friends on the other end of the wire.

This is really too bad. But such things will happen in these crowded days when progress is everywhere making such vast strides, so that very little privacy is left anyone.

### THAT ROTHSTEIN MATTER AGAIN

But speaking of progress, the reason for this letter is to ask how your police department and District Attorney are progressing in the Rothstein case. You know the case we mean. The boy-friend who was shot on November 4th up in the Park Central Hotel. First name Arnold. Kept a lot of letters on file. Played cards a bit. Sort of a snow bird.

Well, you remember that last week we wrote you asking, as tax-payers who have to chip in to keep this police force in uniforms and beans, how come that none of these hired men of ours have shown what you might call an acute interest in this case. At any rate they don't seem to have worked up any passion about the affair. And you didn't answer us, because, as we remember, you were in South Bend, Ind., celebrating the victories of the Notre Dame football team. Of course, a big job like that does cut into your time. So you won't mind if we bring this Rothstein matter up again, with a few more questions.

We are most interested, not in the identity of the man who shot Rothstein (because we presume he will get his, when the publicity has died down a bit and some of Arnold's friends go out riding some night), but in the letter-files that the defunct gambler left behind.

As we get it, there were some 60,000 letters in those files. And according to our information these letters contained references to all sorts and conditions and people and their colorful activities. Correct us if we are wrong, but isn't there reference in these letters to an old-line newspaper executive, a large number of so-called "society people," prominent figures in Tammany Hall and even a few Republicans, for good measure?

### INTRODUCING MR. BURKAN

Of course, we don't know, for we haven't seen the letters, but what we are concerned about here is the man who first saw them after the shooting.

His name is Nathan Burkan.

It was to Mr. Burkan that these letters were turned over by District Attorney Banton right after the murder of Rothstein.

Who is Mr. Burkan?

Well, for one thing, he was the friend of Rothstein and is the lawyer for a number of Rothstein's associates in transactions which, to be extremely charitable, were not exactly with benefit of judge or jury.

And for another thing, hasn't Nathan Burkan something to do with Tammany Hall? Hasn't he been or isn't he now a district leader in the Hall?

To be sure, Judge Olvany has assured us that Tammany Hall is just a "patriotic organization" and has nothing to do with the running of this city. If we are able to believe the Judge, Tammany and the police department of the City of New York are as far apart as Commander Byrd and the North Pole.

But sometimes we just sit and wonder whether the Judge didn't tell a teeny-weeny whopper when he told us that.

Anyhow, what we would like to know is, why Nathan Burkan should have first shot at all those letters and how many of them that mean anything are now extant?

### THE REPUBLICANS GO SLOW

Like you, we hate to be abrupt. Take your time about answering this. Fortunately among them is not the prospect of a legislative investigation of your administration as some rash outside Republican proposed. Of course, you're not worried about this. Of course, you "welcome" such an investigation. Why not? Aren't there Republicans mixed up in this thing? Why, bless your singing heart, of course, there are. That's the reason, isn't it, why no local Republican leaders are a bit hot about pressing the investigation?

When a jam like this comes along, how lucky you old-party boys are to have comfortable murder on one another. If there were a strong labor and Socialist party in this town, you couldn't get away with it, could you? But as it is you are sitting pretty.

But not for much longer, Jimmy. Some day the honest folks in this town, the great majority who have to work for a living, will get together. Maybe they'll do it next election. And then you won't be bothered by the telephone; six months after the election, no one in town will remember your name.

Very respectfully yours,

THE EDITORS OF THE NEW LEADER.

# THE HELL OF POVERTY

LIKE a man with a past our social order has a dual life.

Outwardly it is polished and pleasing to the eye if we do not look beneath the surface. Inwardly it is ugly, often foul, even revolting. Vegetating in basements and garrets and shambling in the shadows of city streets are the wretches, the human driftwood, the misfit unfortunates, who do not live and who never had a chance to live.

Each year as Christmas approaches, capitalism casts aside its mask and bares its hideous sores. The spirit of the Carpenter broods over the earth, humankind grows mellow with sentiment for the unfortunate, the money bags yield a fraction of their contents for relief, and into dens and hovels and basements and other haunts of the social abyss agents of charity carry their alms. Sores are salved, empty stomachs are filled, fires kindled, backs clothed and feet shod—for a time!

Yes, Christ walks the earth one day in a year of 365 days. President and politician, banker and industrial magnate, editor and publicist, the grafter who markets his vote and the official who betrays his trust, all sing the praises of the best of all possible worlds. The president of the republic broadcasts to the multitude "an era of prosperity more extensive" than the world has ever known. *Secure in the upper range of their blessed "order," enjoying assured incomes, the ruling gentry live over a social abyss into which we are permitted to peer once each year.*

### THE PAGEANT OF POVERTY

In New York City the *Times* and other dailies lift the lid for a few weeks and reveal the social hell below. In all the great cities and in every town charitable organizations, the Salvation Army, the Volunteers, and hundreds of other relief societies parade before us the broken men and women, the cast off veterans of industry, the wretched unemployed, the human casualties and wrecks of a misdirected system of producing and distributing wealth. These hideous reminders of the social pit shamble in a revolting pageant before us in description of "cases" intended to awaken sympathy. This skeleton closet of capitalism is exhibited swift upon the heels of the gaudy exhibit of "prosperity," and thus two worlds confront each other in stark antagonism.

The New York *Times* each year has its "Hundred neediest cases." Always a hundred, and these only the neediest. How many other hundreds and even thousands still lurk in the shadows nobody knows. The New York *Evening Post* has its "Old Couples' Fund" and other papers have their special batch of the wretched. The sister publication of the *Post* in Philadelphia, the *Ledger*, carried a crusade against old age pensions in Mellon's paradise of Pennsylvania to a successful conclusion. Thank God, sayeth the *Post*, our batch of the old folks will get alms. No continuous reward throughout the year as justice due to useful labor, but a charitable dole thrust down into the pit for withered hands to clutch and only a few hands at that. Thus the *Post*, organ of the capitalist and financial gentry, bulletin of the Coolidge religion of "prosperity."

### A PEEP INTO THE ABYSS

Turn to the four pages of last Sunday's *Times* and note the parade of social pariahs, a hundred selected from the pit

## Organized Charity Shows The Hideous Sores of Capitalism

where thousands fester beneath the richest city in the world. Here is the presser in an East Side tenement who collapsed at his work and sank to destitution while four children cry for food. There is the girl of 13 in a basement stitching powder puffs, child of a longshoreman, head of a family of nine, and earning \$20 a week. There is the despairing woman in a rickety tenement thinking of drinking the lye which she purchased with her last 15 cents and a family of five living among rats in a dark and damp storage room. An emaciated young mother with five children starving because civilization had no room for her. There is the wife and five children whom a noble judge sentenced to destitution by sending the breadwinner to prison for some petty crime. There is the soldier who went to war to make a world "fit for heroes to live in," now a tubercular, homeless, hungry, and dependent upon the alms of neighbors. Another war veteran who at the end of three months of unemployment, his wife and two babes hungry, dazed at the social magic that has hurled him from the heights of a "hero" to the depths as an outcast of the industrial world.

Here comes a tottering old Negro mammy, one who in her childhood was a slave and played with the white brood of a noble master. Aunt Mary can no longer wrest bread from a wash tub and "freedom" has left her stranded in the pit. Will some one please toss her a few alms? There comes a middle-aged man with four little girls, a father unemployed for five months, furniture sold, all hungry, and the little ones having found beds on wooden planks. Out of a dank cellar stalks a family of eleven children unable to locate Mr. Coolidge's "prosperous" world. Then note the pale, thin man, still in his thirties; the hand-worker on fine shoes till the factory installed machines and he was turned into the street to walk for weeks in search of a job. It is finally found but the weakened man falls in a faint and tumbles into the pit, carrying his wife and three little ones with him. And here feebly walks a woman of 84, a wage worker all her life, and no old age insurance to assure her some comfort ere she passes into the shadows. Many "philanthropists" who solicit alms for her are sure that old age pensions are the essence of "paternalism" and possibly the path that leads to "Bolshevism," so this veteran of industry shambles into view to excite our pity.

### ICED CHARITY OF CAPITALISM

There are the cripples and the blind, the ragged and the diseased, the neglected and the wretches, who drag their weary bodies in a wretched pageant of poverty, famine and despair. And this parade of the social pariahs is repeated in every city in the United States every year in the season of "glad tidings." Not even the Coolidge "era of prosperity more extensive" than the world has ever known has passed these unfortunates into that moderate degree of assured comfort which our ancestors of the caves had. *And how many others are there down there in the abyss who are not exhibited at all?*

Yea, Christ walks the earth one day in the year. The remaining days the sanctimonious and the well-fed, the keepers

of the money bags, the polished apologists for the idle gent who live on the labor of others, the wasters, the speculators, the gamblers in human merchandise,—all sit at the earth and chant the praises of the social order built upon such rotting human foundations.

And now to your work with your salvaging corps, your bands of mercy and love. Be sure that only the "worthy poor" receive your ministrations. Some of the ragged may be encouraged in a career of "laziness" if not carefully investigated, listed, charted and indexed. Each one is a "case" as you know and the whole pageant must be interpreted in terms of statistics and analyzed in accord with that "rugged individualism" which the successor of Coolidge has told us is the basis of our glorious "civilization." This is the age of efficiency and unless you pry into the most intimate details of the wretched, their ancestry, their habits and their family histories, you might make a mistake in relieving some famished man or woman. Follow the course of

*Organized Charity, scrimped and iced.*

*In the Name of a cautious, statistical Christ.*

Do not misunderstand us. We would raise no bar against your mission of mercy. We would not prevent your descent into the pit to bring light, heat, clothing, food and comfort to its inhabitants—even though it be for only a day, a week, or a few months. It is the best that you have discovered and it is necessary, but it is not a substitute for the industrial equity and social justice that must replace it. Necessary as this mercy is it merely mops up some social pus and for a time keeps your wretches reconciled to their fate.

### THE SOCIALIST IDEAL

Frederick Douglass, a fugitive slave, wrote of these same holidays arranged for the black bondmen of another social order, an order blessed by their "betters" and protected by the Constitution. "These holidays serve as conductors, or safety valves, to carry off the rebellious spirit of enslaved humanity," wrote Douglass. "But for these, the slave would be forced up to the wildest desperation; and woe betide the slaveholder, the day he ventures to remove or hinder the operation of those conductors. . . . The holidays are part and parcel of the gross fraud, wrong, and inhumanity of slavery. They are professedly a custom established by the benevolence of the slaveholders."

And so this ex-slave probed the "benevolence" of the polished gentry of the Old South. It is also worthy of your consideration.

Finally, we Socialists peer into the social abyss with you but we see more than you do. We see the hypocrisy, the injustice, the social wrongs, the exploitation, the deprivations that are inseparable from a system where industrial opportunities are owned by one class and the rest of us are dependent upon the owners. For industrial mastery we are determined to substitute industrial democracy. For capitalism we shall fight for the ideals of Socialism.

Then the wretches and the misfits, yes, the social abyss itself, will gradually disappear. Some unfortunates will always be the wards of society, but these will not be the objects of private charity. They will be a social charge of a civilized people, as much as the maintenance of public libraries and the distribution of the mail.

Justice, not charity; Socialism, not capitalism; freedom, not dependence; genuine humanitarianism, not hypocrisy—these shall be the basis of the social order which we will build.

# Don't Keep The New Leader To Yourself

THE New Leader will soon be five years old and it is not often that we have talked direct to our readers. It is their paper. They can make it or break it. Whatever its merit may be its influence is limited by the circulation given it by its friends in the field. Without that aid The New Leader would not be worth the energy that is put into it each week.

This is the holiday season and we want to use this column this week to talk with you about your paper. There is not another Labor publication in the United States that places before its readers each week the variety of news and information which The New Leader provides. In this respect The New Leader is unique.

Consider its claims for the support of thinking men and women. There is the "Timely Topics" of Norman Thomas each week, an intelligent survey and comment upon public affairs and public problems that is not equaled by any other weekly in this country. There are the weekly contributions of McAllister Coleman, loaded with wit and satire and showing that Socialists can laugh and play while they build. Sam deWitt surveys the sorry scene of capitalism as it unfolds from week to week, using its dull wits for his jests, its tragedies as themes for his muse, and always inspiring the faltering with the need of plodding on. Joseph T. Shipley edits a splendid drama page, bringing to our readers sound judgment of an art which, since its origin, has registered important changes in society and often is the first to present problems of interest to humanity.

### THE FIELD WE SURVEY

Then there is the weekly survey of the Socialist movement in the United States, the most complete that will be found in this country. Supplementing it are the stories regarding the movement in other parts of the world, news obtained from the news services of the Labor and Socialist International, the Trade Union International, the Transport Workers International, and our foreign exchanges. In no other American publication will there be found as rich and as varied material on what workmen and women are doing abroad.

Labor struggles at home are also features of The New Leader. Whether it is the Sacco Vanzetti tragedy, the heroic sacrifices made by the men and women strikers at New Bedford, the present battle in Paterson, the sad struggle and amazing heroism of the bituminous miners—all such battles are reported and en-

couragement is given to the soldiers who fight in the ranks for a better world. The concentration of wealth, the race in armaments, the sorry intrigues of the world's diplomats, our dangerous expansion in Latin-America, the plight of the trade unions, the tragedy of the farmers, and a hundred other themes are discussed in editorials or special articles. Two-score special correspondents and the best features of The Federated Press supply the really vital news of the day.

The new books in every field that are of interest to those who think are reviewed by competent men and women. Whether it be a striking novel, a work in history, on labor, on imperialism, economics, politics, the drama, poetry or any other theme of social significance to the builders of a new world of labor equity and industrial democracy, The New Leader passes on to its readers an informing review of it. In this service it provides a guide to worth-while reading and helps its readers to avoid what is trash.

### THE COST TO YOU

Survey the columns of your paper, survey any issue you may wish, and we are certain that our readers will agree that The New Leader performs a service which no other paper provides in this country. It is accepted in all other countries as the authoritative voice of the progressive Labor and Socialist movement and it is quoted by journals of this movement in many countries.

Moreover, this service is provided at a cost that is out of all proportion to its value to its readers and its service as an organ of education. The New Leader is also read in every state of the Union, in Canada, Mexico, and by a few subscribers in other parts of the world.

Yet your paper is not self-sustaining. Its circulation is larger at the end of the national campaign than it was at the beginning but its receipts from subscriptions and advertising do not yet pay the cost of publication. The deficits are made up at annual dinners and by the contributions of generous comrades and sympathetic organizations.

We rarely have asked the aid of our readers but we take advantage of this holiday season to urge you to do something that will cost you nothing and that will help your paper much. In your community you know of men and women who do not read

The New Leader but who should have it. Some vote the Socialist ticket but are not active Socialists. Some are sympathizers and will be interested if approached. Some are progressive members of unions or other organizations. Still others are professional men and women whose broad outlook on life make them good prospects.

### WHAT YOU CAN DO

What we ask you to do in this holiday season is to remember your paper, The New Leader. Not in the form of a gift. We want more readers. We want you to help us get them. There are enough of you to add a thousand or more readers to our list in the next few weeks. That would be a splendid "boost." Consider the offer on another page of Upton Sinclair's great novel, "Boston." That offer is made as a special inducement to you.

In any event, get that subscription and encourage the noble friends whose generosity for several years has made it possible for you to enjoy your paper, The New Leader.

## A Message from British Labor Next Tuesday Evening

On Tuesday Evening, December 18th, 8.30 p.m., a reception will be given to Comrades James Marchbank and E. Edwards of the British Labor Party, and fraternal delegates to the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor held in New Orleans. Both of these men are prominent in the British Labor Movement and occupy high positions in their respective unions. Both men are excellent speakers. The address of Comrade Marchbank at the convention aroused a great deal of interest and enthusiasm.

The meeting and reception has been arranged in the auditorium of the Rand School, 7 E. 15th St., New York City, under the joint auspices of various trade unions, the New Leader, the Rand School and the Socialist Party of New York City. There is no admission charge and everyone is welcome to hear from these excellent and experienced labor men, relative to their prospects in England, and their impressions of the United States, and certainly of Mexico.



# N.Y. Socialist Vote Reveals An Increase

## Vote in Nation Now 242,269—260,000 Seen as Probable Grand Final

A ROUSING increase of 23,951 vote registered by the Socialists of New York State in the last election, the official figures issued this week show. New York State cast 107,332 votes for Thomas and Maurer, it was announced in Albany. Practically all of the increase were due to the rise of vote of the up-state counties. The alleged threat of more than 7,000 votes in Bronx County reduced the increase in New York City by about 6,000 votes. In 1926, the party polled 83,481 votes in the State for its candidate for governor.

Here are the figures on the vote in New York State:

Thomas and Maurer	107,332
Waldman (for Governor)	101,859
Hahn (Lieut. Gov.)	105,896
Mrs. Roth (Controller)	117,346
Karlin (Attorney General)	118,797
Wilcox (Court of Appeals)	120,076
Coleman (U. S. Senate)	111,208

The vote for Thomas and Maurer as reported from 36 states stands at 242,969.

SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE—1928	
Alabama	429
Arizona	2,630
Arkansas	3,019
California	4,936
Colorado	329
Connecticut	1,293
Delaware	19,138
Florida	3,871
Georgia	2,980
Idaho	6,205
Illinois	1,068
Indiana	1,398
Iowa	2,326
Kansas	2,630
Kentucky	1,068
Louisiana	1,398
Maine	2,326
Maryland	2,630
Massachusetts	4,936
Michigan	329
Minnesota	1,293
Mississippi	19,138
Missouri	3,871
Montana	2,980
Nebraska	6,205
Nevada	1,068
New Hampshire	1,398
New Jersey	2,326
New Mexico	2,630
New York	107,332
North Carolina	429
North Dakota	2,630
Ohio	3,019
Oklahoma	1,293
Oregon	19,138
Pennsylvania	3,871
Rhode Island	2,980
South Carolina	6,205
South Dakota	1,068
Tennessee	1,398
Texas	2,326
Utah	2,630
Vermont	4,936
Virginia	329
Washington	1,293
West Virginia	19,138
Wisconsin	3,871
Wyoming	2,980
Total	242,969

There are still twelve states to be heard from. Of these—Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico and Rhode Island—did not carry the names of the Socialist electors on the ballots. A few scattering votes cast by the writing in of names or other prescribed methods may be reported. In Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina the names of the Socialist electors did not appear but prospective Socialist voters were supplied with stickers to be pasted on the ballots.

The vote cast for the Socialist party

PICTURES FOR XMAS GIFTS—Color prints, Japanes prints, drawings, etchings, oil paintings, all sizes, very reasonable prices. Box 24, Rosbank, N. Y.

# "I Saw Your Ad in The New Leader"

The New Leader is your paper. You are interested in making it more effective and making it a greater power. It is impossible for a newspaper to be published without advertising and our paper is no exception to the rule. We can obtain results only by securing the co-operation of our readers.

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A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Fifty-three branches throughout the United States. Membership on June 30, 1927—49,000. Assets \$650,000. Insurance in force, \$51,000,000. No Profits or Dividends for Stockholders!

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Workingmen and women protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class.

No members at large admitted. Business transacted only through branches.

For further information apply at 227 East 84th Street.

# Ruse Ends Berger Recount

## False Statement That Stafford Had Won by 2,336 Votes Led Berger to Demand Recount

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—The official results of the vote cast at the last election for Congress in the Fifth Wisconsin district, where Congressman Victor L. Berger, Socialist, was a candidate for re-election, are as follows:

Stafford, Republican	41,265
Berger, Socialist	40,536
O'Malley, Democrat	24,937

These figures gave the election to the Republican by a plurality of 729 votes out of a total of 106,738 cast in that district.

This report was made public after Congressman Berger had ordered discontinued a recount which was in progress. Berger had gained about 400 votes up to the time the recount was discontinued. Half of the district had been recounted. Had he continued to gain at the same rate he might have overcome the lead of the Republican and won the election.

Socialists Indignant.

The reason for giving up the recount, it was explained at Berger's office here, was that the county election commission had falsely stated that the Republican had won by 2,336 votes. With only 400 gained in half of the district, it was not thought possible that in the remaining half that lead could be overcome. The effect of quitting the recount was the saving of several hundred dollars, which it would have cost to complete it.

Milwaukee Socialists are indignant at the action of the county election officials, who, it is believed, made the announcement that the Republican had won by 2,336 votes in order to have the Socialists give up the recount. One of the members of the commission, who is supposed to represent the Socialists, was expelled from the party two years ago, but he has continued to serve as the Socialist member of the commission. He has been actively working against the Socialists, and is believed to have been responsible for the issuance of the figures giving Stafford a substantial lead.

An investigation to determine whether it will be possible to have the recount resumed on the ground that false representations were responsible for its discontinuance, is being considered.

# "International Labor Defense" Communist

Receipt of two and three circulars from the "International Labor Defense" with appeals for contributions to help political prisoners and make their lot more bearable during the holiday season has brought inquiries regarding the character of this organization. The circulars are attractively printed and one batch carries stamps which sympathizers are urged to purchase in support of this cause.

The organization in question is one of a number maintained by Communists to obtain funds for various purposes. This one happens to be world wide. It appeals to the sympathies of people in behalf of strikers and political prisoners in each country. The strategic posts in the organization are held by trusted Communists while the names of non-Communists are carried as "innocent" to give the organization a "nonpartisan" character.

News bulletins of the Labor and Socialist International, the Trade Union and Socialist publications in other countries carry news of the activities of the "International Labor Defense" and its masked activities for the Communist movement and against other organizations of workers.

"For Our Labor Prisoners and Their Families—Give Generously!" Thus reads one appeal with accompanying pictures of the families of prisoners or strikers. Such appeals have been a lucrative source of funds for Communist work. It is this same organization which reported to Moscow that it had collected \$500,000 for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti and yet the Boston committee in charge and yet the Boston committee in charge and yet the Boston committee in charge.

The organization is unreliable and is an auxiliary of the Communist Party. The New Leader makes this statement to protect its readers and friends who receive the appeals of the "International Labor Defense."

# U. S. Open Shop Body Leads Fight On Albany Printers

ALBANY, N. Y.—(F. P.)—Open shop forces in the printing trades poured rats by the scores into Albany to break the strike of the Typographical Union against all Albany daily newspapers. Under the leadership of the open shop division of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, non-union printers were shipped into the state capital from Philadelphia, New Orleans and other points.

# Mass Meeting of the Community Progressive Women

A mass meeting of the Community Progressive Women's Union will be held Thursday, Dec. 20, at 8:30 p. m., at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, 132 West 134th street, Manhattan, at which a charter from the International Brotherhood of Hotel and Restaurant Employees will be presented to the union. The program of the union is to organize all colored cooks, waitresses, day and night workers, and all women workers engaged in the hotel and restaurant industry. Beginning Jan. 1 the wage scale will be enforced.

The speakers are Mrs. A. Elizabeth Hendrickson, Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. Irene Blackstone, Victor C. Gaspar, Rev. Ethelred Brown, Frank R. Crosswell and others. Admission is free.

# Coleman Scores Victory in Court Fight on Marvin

THAT McAllister Coleman has a good cause of action against the American Defense Society, is the decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. Coleman sued the Defense Society, Fred Marvin, writer, and the Beckwith Press for \$25,000 for libel in a pamphlet called LaFollette—Socialism—Communism.

The pamphlet causing the libel suit was widely distributed by the American Defense Society in 1924 as part of its effort to defeat LaFollette for President. It tried to show that the Progressive Party movement was inspired by Moscow and was really a revolutionary effort to overthrow the government. How these 100 per centers over-reached themselves, in denouncing the Communist movement and child labor reformists in the same breath, is pointed out by Norman Hapgood in his book "Professional Patriots."

# Labor Polls Good Vote In Massachusetts Municipalities

BOSTON—(F. P.)—Labor and socialist candidates in the Bay State made good runs in municipal elections, but were in no case able to pile up majorities. In New Bedford, Charles P. Archambault, running on a Labor and Taxpayers ticket, with the backing of Textile Council officials, got 10,000 votes to 14,000 for Mayor Ashby, whose friendliness toward the Labor, Bedford Cotton Mills, Assn. had led to expensive gifts from the mill owners. Fred E. Beal, communist candidate, received 288 votes. Secretary Batty of the Textile Council ran second in the race for auditor.

Echoes of the Sacco-Vanzetti case were heard in Peabody when Mayor Bakeman, Socialist, was defeated by J. Leo Sullivan, 4,000 to 2,700. When Alfrid Baker Lewis, Socialist state secretary, tried to speak for Sacco and Vanzetti in Peabody last year, he was promptly arrested. Mayor Bakeman immediately returned from New Hampshire, fired the chief of police and invited Lewis back to Peabody. The new mayor is a Legionnaire, bitter against the two labor martyrs.

In Haverhill, Alderman Flanders, former mayor and a Socialist, was defeated by Forrest Smith, president of the Chamber of Commerce, 8,000 to 5,000.

# Layoffs Outweigh Rail Wage Boosts

How the \$10,000,000 increase in railroad profits for the first 9 months of the year was achieved at the expense of railroad workers is shown in the September wage report of the Interstate Commerce commission. The commission shows that in this period Class 1 carriers employed on the average 91,153 fewer workers than in the same period of 1927 and paid out \$85,154,423 less in wages.

Individual workers, according to the commission's figures, averaged \$1,270 for the 9 months, compared with \$1,254 in the first 9 months of 1927. But this slight gain, less than \$2 a month, was more than balanced by the speeding up which enabled the railroads to switch tens of thousands of employees into the army of job hunters.

The contrast between 1928 and 1927 is even more striking. Average wages for the 9-month period have increased from \$1,216 to \$1,270, a gain of about \$54.50 a month per employee. But here again the railroads have forced their employees to more than pay for the increase by the laying off of 199,113 men. The railroads actually paid \$151,228,830 less in wages in the 9 months of 1928 than in the same period of 1927.

# Woolen Wages Average Only \$25 a Week

The average wage for a full-time week earned by employees of America's woolen mills in 1928 was \$24.34, according to a U. S. department of labor survey of wages and hours in woolen manufacture. This marks a gain of \$1.13 a week or about 4.6 percent over wages paid by the industry in 1926 when the department made its last survey.

Woolen mill wages are now 153.7 percent higher than in the prewar year 1913 and 178 percent above 1910. From 1910 to 1920 they advanced steadily reaching a peak of 203.6 percent above 1913 and 233 percent above 1910. The depression years 1921 and 1922 brought a drop of about 24 percent which was never completely reversed, the present weekly wage being about 16 percent under the peak wages earned in 1920.

# Reports on Foreign-Born Women in Industry

Washington—(F. P.)—One-fifth of all women employed in manufacturing industries in this country are foreign born, says Miss Mary Anderson, in her annual report as chief of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. These figures are taken from the 1920 census, and were basis for a study, now just completed, of the extent to which these women have been fed into the modern industrial machine. As a former immigrant to know how necessary their factory jobs were to these new arrivals, what effect their employment had on their families, how much of their time and strength was paid out for the wages they received, and how sharp was the break from conditions they had known abroad.

# Again Deny Parole To Matt Schmidt

SAN QUENTIN, Cal.—(F. P.)—Matthew A. Schmidt, serving life in San Quentin in connection with the Los Angeles Times explosion, has for the second time refused parole by the California prison board. He has now served nearly thirteen years, and is far past the time when many life-terminers are paroled.

# Centralia Victim Is Released

## Other I. W. W. Who Defended Selves Against Legion Raid Still Imprisoned

CENTRALIA, Wash.—(F. P.)—The movement for the release of the victims of the Centralia frameup, given new life last month by the bombshell letter of Capt. E. P. Coll of Hoquiam, himself a member of the American Legion, to his comrades, defending the action of the I. W. W. members in Centralia in protesting their union and their union against the armistice day raid of the chamber of commerce inspired returned soldiers, has been successful. Word comes from Olympia that the state pardon board has acted favorably in the case of Eugene Barnett, one of 8 members of the I. W. W. who has spent over 8 years of a framed-up sentence to life in the Walla Walla penitentiary.

The action on Barnett and probable future action favorable to the rest of the political prisoners resulted from a statewide campaign to free them that culminated in the last meeting of the parole board when Capt. Coll appeared in person and made a powerful plea for the release of all the victims of the Centralia tragedy.

Capt. Coll maintained that the attack was made by legion paraders and that the lumber workers acted within their constitutional rights in defending themselves. C. S. Smith, secretary of the Centralia Publicity Committee, urges that the fight for the Centralia boys be kept going by the labor movement of the entire country until all are released.

# Lecture Calendar

NEW YORK

Friday, Dec. 14, 9 p. m.—August Claessens, "These United States," Harlem Educational Center, 62 East 106th Street, Audubon Park Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch.

Sunday, Dec. 16, 8:30 p. m.—Henry Jager, "The Meaning of Hoover's Prosperity," 204 East Broadway, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch.

Friday, Dec. 14, 8:30 p. m.—Ester Friedman, "Kellogg Peace Pact and Preparedness," 114 Nassau Street, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch.

Sunday, Dec. 16, 4 p. m.—August Claessens, "Socialism and Human Nature," 1167 Boston Road, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch.

BROOKLYN

Friday, Dec. 14, 8:30 p. m.—Frank Crosswell, "Progress and the Price We Pay," Williamsburg Branch, 297 South 5th Street, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch.

Friday, Dec. 14, 8:30 p. m.—B. C. Viadeck, "The Role of the Working Class in American Politics," Brownsville Labor Temple, 219 Sackman Street, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch.

Friday, Dec. 14, 8:30 p. m.—Henry Jager, "The Robbery Case," 225 Brighton Beach Avenue, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch.

Sunday, Dec. 16, 11:30 a. m.—James O'Neal, "The Labor Movement at the Crossroads," Savoy Mansion, 63rd Street and 20th Avenue, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch.

Monday, Dec. 17, 8:30 p. m.—David Berenberg, "Revolutionary Poetry," Kingsway Mansion, 16th Street and Avenue C, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch.

Friday, Dec. 21, 8:30 p. m.—Frank Crosswell, "Socialism, Fact or Fancy," Williamsburg Branch, 297 South 5th Street, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch.

Friday, Dec. 21, 8:30 p. m.—McAllister Coleman, "Coal and the Men Who Mine It," Brownsville Labor Temple, 219 Sackman Street, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch, Audubon Branch.

# Final Results of Porto Rico Poll in Doubt

SAN JUAN, Porto Rico.—Santiago Iglesias, Socialist leader who headed the progressive "Coalition" in the recent Porto Rican election has given The New Leader the following statement on the vote:

"There were two principal parties in the field. The 'Alliance,' composed of the so-called aristocracy, big employers and financial powers, representing the Unionist and Republican parties. Then there was the 'Coalition,' formed by labor, Socialists, progressive republicans and liberals. Labor represents about two thirds of the voters of this 'Coalition.'"

# Civic Club Mourns Passing of Hibben

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee representing the members of the Civic Club of New York, Dec. 6, it was resolved: "That having known and loved Captain Paxton Hibben, as a fellow-member, having followed and admired him as a noble and devoted public fighter for human freedom and social progress, having respected his honesty and sincerity of purpose as a friend and co-worker, we wish to express our sense of deep grief at the irreparable loss of his passing in the prime of a life that has brought a great richness and devotion to all who had known him, and we wish to direct that this resolution be spread in the minutes of the Civic Club, publicly posted and a copy sent to Mrs. Hibben with our sincerest condolences and great sympathy."

Funeral services for Captain Paxton Hibben were held Saturday, December 8th, at Campbell's Funeral Parlor, 1070 Broadway, New York City. John Haynes Holmes officiated.

At a meeting held Dec. 6th, the League for Mutual Aid resolved:

"That the Executive Committee of the League for Mutual Aid records with deep sorrow the death of a member of the committee, Paxton Hibben—a high-minded and self-sacrificing supporter of the cause of human liberty, an enlightened student and historian of our times, a rare personality, a valued friend; and be it further resolved: That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes and that a copy be sent to Mrs. Hibben, with an expression of the sympathy of this Committee."

# Workers Want Bread Trust Suit Reinstated

WASHINGTON—(F. P.)—Chairman Norris of the Senate judiciary committee has begun to hear from organized labor on the bread trust issue. On the day before Congress adjourned last May, Sen. LaFollette introduced Resolution 258, proposing that the Federal Trade Commission be directed forthwith to reinstate its complaint in the federal court at Baltimore against the Ward Bread trust—known as the Continental Baking Corporation. The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America is asking all unions to appeal to Norris' committee to make an early and favorable report on this resolution.

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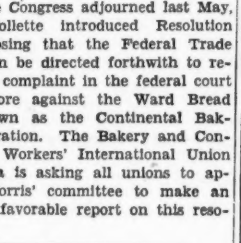
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## Standard Oil Seen Behind Bolivia Stand

Possible Rich Petroleum Deposits Beneath Lust for Paraguayan Territory

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Standard Oil of Bolivia has a concession of more than 7,500,000 acres of petroleum-bearing lands in Bolivia, near the recognized border of Paraguay. Beyond that border is a vast area claimed by Bolivia but generally recognized by map-makers as being the territory of Paraguay. This disputed region, inhabited only by wild Indian tribes, shows signs of richness in oil. British oil interests, now operating in Argentina, have cast longing eyes in the direction of this disputed ground. Now Bolivia has started a war for possession of those oil lands.

Secretary Kellogg may wring his hands in despair that a new war should start, in the middle of South America, just when his Pan-American Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration is meeting. He may be irritated that Bolivia serves notice of her withdrawal from the conference. But Charles Evans Hughes, his floor manager, is not so disturbed. Hughes, as counsel, for the Standard Oil interests and for the Petroleum Institute, is bound to feel that Paraguay must be wrong, and Bolivia right, in any dispute that affects Bolivia's chance to help Standard Oil. Indeed, the history of earlier Pan-American debates shows that the present line-up of economic and political powers is not new.

**The American Influence.** When Bolivia, in a recent Pan-American Congress, demanded that the right of a landlocked Latin American country to import arms through the territory of a neutral neighbor in time of war should be guaranteed, Peru and the United States voted with her. Paraguay, the only other landlocked country, voted against this proposal, and was supported by Chile and Argentina. Paraguay is a near-protectorate of Argentina, and Chile looks askance at the combination of Peru and Bolivia, whom she once defeated in war. It happens that Bolivia and Peru are the two South American republics whose finances are wholly controlled by American banks. That makes them wards of the Washington government. They always vote "aye" on proposals put forward by Hughes and Kellogg.

Bolivia is shut off from the Pacific by the Andes mountains, since she lost her port of Antofagasta some 50 years ago. She has for many years demanded an outlet to deep-water navigation to the Atlantic. Hence she claims two thirds of Paraguayan territory, to bring her boundary down to the Paraguay river at the Paraguayan capital, Asuncion. From there the Standard Oil could ship its product by barge to Rosario, Argentina, to trans-ship to ocean steamers. If Bolivia can now seize and hold the disputed territory, Standard Oil will make huge gains in operating economies. British rivals will be kept away. American banks whose agents now control the taxation and the collection and expending of revenues in Bolivia, will produce a better security for their loans.

**Paraguay Friendless.** Paraguay, with only one-third the population of Bolivia, with no American loans or concessions, almost no army and no Standard Oil friends, faces the Bolivian attack with full knowledge that her enemy is advised by Hughes.

The incident which started the present crisis was the planning of a Bolivian blockade on the river bank a few miles from the Paraguayan capital, some 300 miles from the actual Bolivian border. This tiny fort was captured by Paraguayan soldiers. Bolivian national dignity was then declared by Bolivian officials to have been offended. National honor, they said, could not be arbitrated. War was the only remedy. The Paraguayan mouse was to be punished by the Standard Oil cat.

## Henry Rix of 6-8-12 Passes Away Suddenly

Henry Rix, one of the active members of the 6-8-12 branch, died after a short illness on Sunday. Comrade Rix was a brother of George Rix. Both of them were young Germans and former members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Both boys immediately joined the Socialist Party of New York after their arrival, and were always present at all party gatherings and undertakings. They were very much attached to each other. Henry Rix was 31 years of age and a resident of this country for two years. He was a member of the Socialist Party in Germany and in this country since 1914. The last conspicuous work that he did for the party, was to take Comrade Norman Thomas around in his auto to the various meetings which were held on November 4th and 5th.

Comrade Rix was suddenly taken ill last Saturday, and died in the hospital Sunday. Autopsy showed a cerebral hemorrhage. His body was sent to the Frederick Engel Funeral Home, 315 E. 83rd st. On Thursday evening at 8:30 funeral services were held for him at the funeral parlor. Norman Thomas and many other members of the 6-8-12 A. D. were present. Funeral took place on Friday morning at 9:30.

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## New York Labor Turns Down The Red Cross

Delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council were critical of an A. F. of L. resolution passed at the New Orleans convention praising the Red Cross and promising cooperation. "When did the Red Cross ever do anything to help the striking miners, when they were literally starving in Pennsylvania and West Virginia," asked one delegate, who wondered why President William Green, formerly a miners' official, should have endorsed the Red Cross. Instead of advising members to give to the Red Cross, the council urged full support for the Medford tuberculosis sanitarium, operated by organized labor.

## Socialism Sole Hope of Farmers, Russell Says

DECLARING that Socialism is the sole hope of the farmer and offering himself to the Socialist Party, if he could be of service, Charles Edward Russell, former Socialist leader, writer and Pulitzer prize winner, thrilled the audience at the regular Saturday afternoon forum held at the Rand School of Social Science on December 8.

Russell's topic was "The Farmer and Farm Relief." He analyzed the agricultural problem in the United States today, and with his old directness pointed out that the trouble with farming in this country was transportation. The Canadian farmer can get his grain to tide-water at ten cents a bushel less than his neighbor across the border. The American farmer is being robbed by the railroads. The United States potentially has one of the best inland water transportation systems in the world and yet the farmer is unable to utilize it. The route from the wheat fields by water is by way of the Mississippi or the Great Lakes and the New York State Barge Canal. The first cannot be used because the United States government refuses to build the necessary barges and make needed improvements, while the second is unavailable, because Governor Alfred E. Smith, to please the New York Central Railroad, had the Barge Canal filled in to make it impossible for the wheat barges to go through it. During the last campaign both Hoover and Smith talked glibly about farm relief and neither dared suggest the one remedy that they knew would solve the farmer's problem.

The railroad lords, like the feudal barons, who took their toll as commodities had to pass by their castles, see to it that the farmers remain within their grip. The government has guaranteed the railroads a rate which will yield a "fair" return on their property. Rates, therefore, have nothing to do with service rendered. In addition the railroads have taken advantage of the doctrine of "physical evaluation" that the reformers invented to dry up watered stock. The roads have insisted that physical evaluation means replacement value.

"So long as the present competitive system remains, there is no hope for the farmer. Even if you adjusted railroad rates and made possible cheaper water transportation, it would only mean temporary relief for the farmer. The big business interests would find other ways to mult him. The competitive system has to be abolished." And in answer to a question Russell declared his willingness to help the Socialist Party, if he could be of use.

## L. I. D. Announces N. Y. and Chicago Conferences

"Methods and Limits of Social Control" will be the subject discussed at the coming intercollegiate conference of the League for Industrial Democracy. Both the New York and the Chicago conference will discuss this subject in the belief that questions raised by the growing power monopoly, the anarchy in the bituminous coal, etc., must be dealt with practically in the light of some well thought out social theory. The New York City conference will be held at Barnard College, December 26th, 27th and 28th, the Chicago conference will take place December 27th at Hull House and December 28th at the Morrison Hotel, Clark and Madison Street.

Some of the speakers for the Chicago conference are Jane Addams, Dr. Isadore Rubin, A. N. Holcombe, Robert Lee Hale, Carl D. Thompson, Leo Wolman, Lewis Lorwin, Paul H. Douglas, John R. Commons, (probably) and Dr. Harry Laidler. At the New York City conference some of the speakers will be Stacy May, George Soule, Walter Hadden, Paul Blanchard, A. J. Muste, I. M. Rubinow, Jessie Wallace Hughan, John Stracher, H. S. Raushenbush, Vladimir Karapetoff and Norman Thomas.

The first session of Eastern Conference will be a survey of the variety and extent of the various kinds of social control exercised by the United States government over economic activity, how they arose, how they operate and their outstanding limitations and accomplishments legal and economic. This session will also try to find out adequate for our conventional economics which President Elect Hoover calls "rugged individualism." The speakers at this session will be Stacy May who is the author of several books on coal and social control and Norman Thomas.

The sessions on Thursday, December 27th will discuss how publicly owned industries and services should be run and administered. In order to make the situation more definite they will discuss concretely the coal, steel and power industries. Later sessions will consider necessary changes in our political structure, changes which will make it possible for a political government to efficiently administer public industries. The final session will be devoted to a study of three approaches to social control namely through the trade unions, by means of a labor party and through increasing the workers buying power decreasing poverty and want by means of social insurance.

## American Prosperity A Myth, Ramsay MacDonald Declares

"Capitalism Had Better Try Again," He Says

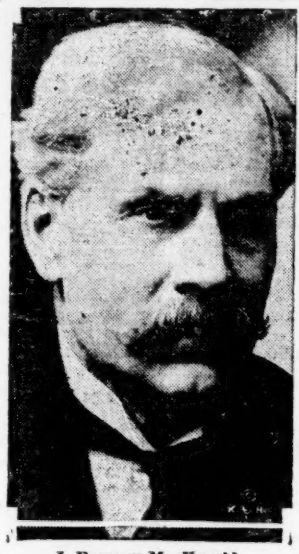
By J. Ramsay MacDonald

LONDON

WE are in quest of prosperity, some national, some individual, some both. We think of trade balances and banker's balances; we sum up savings and issue statistics about wages and prices (which generally make housewives marvel what manner of queer men these figuring gentlemen are); we look at the number of pairs of silk and fake silk stockings, we pass in the street; we look for the weekly reports on unemployment and we draft miners out of desolate villages into industrial towns; we lay our heads on our pillows every night to dream of a land where roast geese fly in flocks, each stuffed with apples and carrying a sauce boat in its bill. That is the common idea of prosperity, and nowhere is it pursued with hotter foot than in the United States. Indeed, there they think they have found it.

It is a purely Capitalist rendering of the human quest for security. A lack of the material needs of life lies on every one rich and poor alike under capitalism. The poor strive to get what they want so sorely; the rich are afraid that they may lose what they have. And there is no resting on one's oars. One must go on accumulating whether one has £1,000 or £1,000,000, one must make higher and higher demands for wages and more and more provision for public aid lest personal efforts should fail. There is no satisfaction in this sleepless urge, and therefore there is no end to it. The generations will come and go, but the last will still be pursuing and still be in fear. It is the fear that I emphasize—the fear ever brooding over the insecurity of material possession—the struggle on a purely material plain for something that in its nature is purely ephemeral and passing—the destruction of all values of being and living by reason of the tragic pressure of the necessity to possess things.

That is why our Socialism is far more than politics, and why Socialist politics must always be subordinated to Socialist social ideas of life. That is why I am sometimes nervous about some tendencies of the Labor Movement today. It seems to me that the close air of the city goes and pitches his tent in the midst of wide, open, inspiring nature, and in order to shelter himself from the winds and the rain puts up around him protections that shut him in from the very liberties and spaciousness which he has come to seek! That is Socialism diverted from its great human quest for qualities rather than for possessions. Socialism is in danger of being shut in amongst shoddy jerry built politics; and Movements like the I.L.P. are being led into muddy bogs by men who would bring the most healthy and spirited of organizations into a feeble incompetence. The cure is to bring Socialism out upon the hills of principle and vision once more.



J. Ramsay MacDonald

more. What an opportunity for our younger folks. Someone has said that every renaissance is of the nature of a return to the inspiration of clean and limpid origins.

Pursuing the thought of "prosperity" as the Capitalist spirit of this generation defines it, where is its quest more ardently pursued than in the United States? The recent election there was the homage that the United States' people paid to it. "Keep our prosperity" was the cry. What does it mean to the people? Undoubtedly the average standard of comfort is higher there than here as it must be in new countries of vast area and natural wealth like the United States. But I have just been reading in American papers accounts of how wealth is there distributed which bring the whole thing down to sober reality and show how far the citizens as a body have succeeded in their quest. Some have, and I wonder if they are really to be envied.

The population of the United States is about 110,000,000, and, of these, in 1927, 233 had an income per annum of over one million dollars, ten of these having over 5,000,000 dollars. Prosperity is all right for them. They surely will be on all fours crawling under their burdens for we get how can they sustain them. When we get that new instrument of television which not only shows us our neighbors, but our neighbor's thoughts and our neighbor's real personality, we shall wonder why it is that humans who are believed to be upright creatures standing on two legs are in so many surprising cases ambling about on four, and that the four are so short that their owners seem to crawl. Be those things as they may, one per cent. of the people of the United States own 59 per cent. of

the national income, which is estimated at over £16,000,000,000; at the other end of the scale 87 per cent. of the people own only 10 per cent. of it.

The health of the States is put down at something like £80,000,000,000 76.5 per cent. of the citizens who died left nothing that was worth taking into account. They just lived on wages from week to week, and when the time came and they had to close their account with life, their books showed no balance. Of the national income from this vast wealth, 55 per cent. goes to labor and capital gets the rest. And this is how the word "Labor" is defined. "It includes all the incomes of professional people, all the salaries, even those of the highly paid directors of great corporations, who may receive as much as one hundred thousand dollars a year." There are 31,000,000 wage earners in the United States, and they are exactly the same proportion of the population which does not worth a cent.

The world is misled as to the meaning of United States' prosperity by the high wages paid in some trades like building. High wages are the same as high incomes. From the report in front of me this statement is made. In New York City the daily wage paid in the building trades is equal to about £600 a year, but as a matter of fact, owing to broken time, it only yields an annual income of under £400. This is not more than the bottom figure which it has been officially estimated is necessary to keep a family of five. The paper pursues the subject in a most interesting way into districts and groups of trades. For instance, an economic survey in Southern California has just been completed, and seven dollars a day has been found to be the minimum income required for a family of five. "Not one industrial group receives that amount."

The Children's Bureau has found that wages are frequently so low that in some families, "in city after city" most babies die when born into them. The National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' association, have published proudly the fact that on a day estimates a working class family with a steady weekly income throughout the year, can save eleven cents per week. This calculation of the employers is based upon the assumption that families average four, e.g., two children. An average of two children does not allow the nation to survive, however. It is just enough if everyone would marry and produce two children, both of whom would survive and marry in due course. That is a vain expectation. Therefore, the conclusion from this study is: "A boast of national prosperity becomes a bit hollow where it is realized that the prevailing wage scale hardly permits that nation to maintain its 'population.'" Capitalism had better try again.

## U. T. W. to Hold National Conference

Organizers and executives of the United Textile Workers will meet in New York, Dec. 27-29 to consider problems confronting the union and the industry, according to President Thomas McMahon. The recent 5 percent wage cut in Rhode Island, the 54-hour week, southern competition and the tariff will be discussed.

## Another Miners' Official Goes to Work for Bosses

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—District No. 11, United Mine Workers of America, has lost its president and scheduled president-elect, Harvey Cartwright, to the Indiana Bituminous Coal Operators' Association. Cartwright said his resignation as president of the district became effective Dec. 6 and that he had been employed by the Coal Operators' Association as labor commissioner.

His new job with the operators is the same as that of secretary, which position was formerly held by Phil H. Penna, he said.

**Musi Renominate** Since Cartwright's is the only name in nomination for president on the ballots to be voted on Dec. 11 by the miners of the district it is expected that he will be re-elected, but his resignation would apply also to such a re-election.

Phil Penna, who resigned last winter as secretary of the Indiana Bituminous Operators' Association, after 25 years' service in the position, had been president of the International Mine Workers' Organization, the same position now held by John L. Lewis, before being employed by the Indiana Operators' Association.

The organized miners of this country have been more often the victims of this transfer of allegiance from the workers to the capitalists than any other organization in the world. Miners are taken out of the mines and trained for service to the organization and the officials then pass into the service of the enemy. A number of national presidents like Penna and quite a number of district presidents have been bought by large salaries offered by mine owners. It is a disgraceful performance that has continued for more than thirty years.

## Lectures—Forums—Schools

**THE GROUP**  
A Clearing House of Opinions meets every Tuesday evening at Auditorium, 150 West 53rd Street, Tuesday, Dec. 18, 8:30 P. M.  
J. M. KRAFT will speak on "International Drama Today"  
Admission 50 cents Organized 1918  
S. A. SELIGSON, Director  
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**LABOR TEMPLE**  
14th St. and Second Ave.  
Sunday, December 16th, 1928  
5:00 p.m.—Dr. G. F. Beck on "Don Quixote (Gervantes)."  
7:15 p.m.—Edmund B. Clark on "American Imperialism—Fact or Myth."  
8:30 p.m.—Forum—John Haynes Holmes on "The Kellogg Peace Pact."

**The International Club**  
2 West 64th Street, New York City  
Sunday, December 16, 4 P. M.  
LECTURE by HAROLD FIELDS  
"The Problem of the Alien"  
Sunday, December 23, 4 P. M.  
LECTURE by BUTLER L. DAVENPORT  
"The Theatre and Its Relation to Life"  
Admission 25 cents

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PROF. HARRY ELMER BARNES  
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Tuesday, December 18  
DR. W. F. G. SWANN, Director  
Bartol Research Foundation  
"Destruction and Reconstruction of Matter"  
Friday, December 21  
MR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN  
"Scene Eighteenth Century Ideas of Liberty—From Voltaire to Robespierre"  
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Open Forum Discussion

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Monday, December 17  
DR. MARK VAN DOEN  
"Fielding"  
Wednesday, December 19  
MR. NORMAN HILBERT  
"The Role of Spectra in Astronomy"  
Thursday, December 20  
DR. E. G. SPAULDING  
"The Development of Mathematical Idealism in the 17th and 18th Centuries: Descartes, Spinoza, Kant."  
Saturday, December 22  
DR. E. BOYD BARRETT  
"Does Religion Develop Nerves?"

**LECTURES**  
ANITA BLOCK  
Reader of Foreign Plays for the Theatre Guild will discuss the Theatre Guild's new play  
"Wings Over Europe"  
Wednesday Evening, December 19, at 8:30  
Admission at door 50 cents  
GEORGE PIERCE BAKER  
Professor of Dramatic Art at Yale University  
"The Changing Drama"  
Jan. 2—"Finding the Way—Jones and Pinero."  
Jan. 10—"What Is True?"—Shaw."  
Jan. 17—"Readjustment"—O'Neill."  
Jan. 24—"The Present and the Outlook."  
Thursday Evenings at 8:30  
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## No Action On Injunctions This Session

Congress Not Expected to "Have Time" to Consider Labor's Chief Demand

WASHINGTON—(FP)—There will be no anti-injunction legislation during the present short session of Congress. This conclusion, reached by labor union spokesmen and senators interested in curbing the use of injunctions in labor disputes, is based on two main facts. The American Federation of Labor convention at New Orleans declared against the anti-injunction bill prepared by the Norris-Blaine-Walsh subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. And the corporation forces in Congress are determined that no bill on this subject shall pass.

At the start of the first session of the 70th Congress, a year ago, Senator Shipstead introduced the anti-injunction measure drafted by Andrew Furuseth and approved by the executives of the A. F. of L. It provided that federal judges should have jurisdiction to issue injunctions only in cases where the property to be protected was "tangible and transferable." Protest against this plan was made by various elements during hearings that extended over many weeks. The subcommittee finally drafted a bill seeking to regulate in great detail the conditions under which injunctions should be permitted in labor disputes.

The Federation, approving a report by its executive council, has declared for the principle of the Shipstead bill—a positive limitation of the equity power of the courts—that being the power to issue injunctions. It proposes to stick to this principle, however long the fight may last.

Even if the advocates of anti-injunction legislation could agree, the opponents would defeat them in any effort to secure a roll call on an effective measure. The Boulder Canyon bill, the Kellogg treaty and the naval construction bill are about the only measures except necessary appropriation bills that will get a hearing before the session expires on March 4.

**The East Side Open Forum**  
At THE CHURCH OF ALL NATIONS  
No. 9 Second Ave.  
MR. F. LEIGH BEARCE  
Subject  
"The I. W. W.—Its Ultimate and Immediate Objectives"  
December 16  
Saturday 8 P. M.  
Admission Free Everyone invited

**Saturday Forum on Current Events**  
Saturday, 2 P. M. Adm. 25 cents  
December 15  
MORRIS HILLQUIT  
"The Future of American Socialism"  
Rand School  
7 East 15th Street Algonquin 3094

**RAND SCHOOL**  
7 East 15th Street Algonquin 3094  
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N. BRILLIANT FAGIN  
"American Life in Drama and Novel"  
Admission 50 cents

**Tell the Advertisers you "Saw Their Ad In The New Leader."**

## Mutual Aid League's Rainbow Costume Ball

Come dance and be merry at the carnival of joy! The League for Mutual Aid's Annual Rainbow Ball, Friday evening, Dec. 21, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth st. Tickets \$1.50 each.

The League for Mutual Aid, an organization supported by workers of all shades of opinion for Mutual Helpfulness, is giving the Rainbow Ball both as a social get-together as well as to raise funds to carry on its work.

Dance to your heart's content. Meet old friends and new. They will all be there! Labor leaders, artists, writers, intellectuals and pretty girls from the stage and screen. Sparkling entertainment as well as the gayest of jazz will be provided by Hall Johnson's famous Harlem Troubadours.

Don't delay, buy your tickets from either the League for Mutual Aid, 104 Fifth Avenue, (Watkins 7581) Rand School, 7 East 15th St., or The Civic Club, 12 East 10th St. Tickets at the door \$2.00.

**BOASTS OF PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP PORT**  
WASHINGTON—(FP)—Mayor Arthur C. O'Keefe of New Orleans, attending the Natl. Rivers and Harbors Congress in the capital, declared that the port of New Orleans is the outstanding illustration of successful public ownership and public operation of port facilities in America. Exports from New Orleans in 1927 were 15,370,038 tons, valued at \$911,950,000.

**BAKERY WORKERS CHARTER 2 LOCALS**  
CHICAGO—(FP)—The Bakery & Confectionery Workers Int. Union has issued local charters to Taylorville, Ill. (No. 53) and to ice cream workers and helpers of Chicago (No. 28) who come under the confectionery jurisdiction.

**Socialist Party.**  
**CHRISTMAS EVE SOCIAL GATHERING**  
DEBS AUDITORIUM NEW YORK CITY  
Monday evening, December 24th  
Special Feature  
DANCE RECITAL  
by  
Madam Dorsha  
and Her Theatre of the Dance  
1—"MAN IS THE MOB".....Paul Hayes and Ballet  
2—"MARCH SARDAR".....Madam Dorsha  
3—"Tango (a).....Madam Dorsha  
Tango (b).....Madam Dorsha  
DANCING  
Christmas Eve Surprises - - Merriment  
Music by Camp Tamiment Orchestra  
Subscription One Dollar

**RAINBOW COSTUME BALL**  
League for Mutual Aid  
FRIDAY EVENING  
December 21st.  
BEETHOVEN HALL  
210 E. 5th St.  
Tickets at \$1.50  
from Room 2008, 104 Fifth Ave.; Rand School, 7 East 15th St.; Civic Club, 18 E. 10th St.  
Tickets at Door, \$2.00

## Public Forums

Le Cercle Victor Hugo announces a Luncheon Conference on Saturday, December 15, at 1 o'clock sharp. Silas Bent will speak on "The Press and the Vestris Disaster." Roland A. Gibson is chairman. Place: The Civic Club, 18 East 10th Street.

"The Latest Thought About God" will be the subject of Dr. Leon Rouser Land's address at the Bronx Free Fellowship at 1501 Boston Road on Sunday evening, Dec. 16, at 8 o'clock Fellowship service. At the 9 o'clock Open Forum, James Wardman Wise will speak on "Jewish Contributions to Civilization."

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# The Socialist Movement and The Catholic Church

By James O'Neal

"Editor, The New Leader:  
"Recently I have been reading copies of The New Leader given to me by a local subscriber. The paper is instructive and well worth reading. This year I cast my first ballot. If I ever vote again according to the dictates of my conscience, it shall be for the Socialist Party."

"I am a Roman Catholic. Would you have the kindness to print in The New Leader an explanation of the conflict between the doctrines of Socialism and Catholicism from a Socialist viewpoint? This is not only of interest to myself but also to several others of my own faith. If you would do so I would deeply appreciate it. I would prefer at this time not to have my name published."

"A READER."

THE above letter from a reader in Vermont is interesting considering the deep religious prejudices that emerged in the recent national campaign, prejudices which found expression in the Republican and Democratic parties but which found no place in the Socialist Party. That is an important fact to be remembered by our correspondent and his inquiring friends. They must have been impressed with the fact that while other papers gave much attention to this phase of the campaign The New Leader almost completely ignored it and devoted its pages to issues and problems which affect the welfare of the masses regardless of what religious faith they may profess.

This young voter is puzzled for an explanation of the conflict between the Socialist movement and Catholicism. It is not one of our seeking. Moreover, it is not as keen as it was fifteen and twenty years ago, especially in this country. We cannot fathom all the reasons for the Church's attitude but some of them are perfectly clear because they have been clearly stated. We shall try to state these reasons as fairly as possible.

In all ages the Church has always defended the existing order whatever it might be. There is nothing surprising about this considering that vast changes in the social order may involve disturbances which the Church fears, may injure it as the possessor of vast properties all over the world. One can understand this fear when it is remembered that much church property was confiscated during the French Revolution.

On the other hand the Church has become an important institution of the old order in France and one can understand the rage of the revolutionaries because of the resistance offered to the new order. In the quarrel over slave property in this country the Church remained neutral as a whole, although in Louisiana where it was strong it accepted the old order of slave property as the Protestant churches did. By remaining neutral over this question the Catholic Church passed from the old order to the new one in this country with little friction. The Protestant churches spent many years after the end of the war in binding up the wounds inflicted by their divided views over slave property.

Now the Socialist movement seeks to reorganize the whole social order of modern times and this implies nationalization of the chief agencies of production, distribution and transportation—the national-

al resources, power sites, coal and metal mines, big trustified industries, railroads and so on. This means another change in the form and character of property—the passing of the industries named out of the hands of a few into the hands of the people and changing the motive in industry from one of private enrichment to one for the welfare of all.

Although never clearly stated there appears to be a fear on the part of many Church authorities that the Socialist movement would take over Church property. There is no desire and no necessity for it. We seek to socialize industry and operate it for the service of humanity instead of for the profit and gain of a few. The socialization of church property would contribute absolutely nothing to solving the labor problem and it is this problem alone that we are interested in.

Then there have been many charges that the success of the Socialist movement would bring with it a decree abolishing religious worship, the destruction of the family, abolition of marriage and with this the passing of the home. Every important change in society has been preceded by such questions, sometimes honestly held but too often otherwise. If one will study the literature published by those opposed to the Abolitionists in our own country they will find all these fears and charges stated. The abolition of property in slaves appeared to the partisans of chattelism as the abolition of the marriage tie and other evils mentioned. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that illicit relations between slave owners and their black girls had become so widespread that the very thing they charged to the Abolitionists was already present in the South!

**A Catholic on the Socialist Party**  
The varieties of religious and non-religious belief are so numerous that it is absurd to think of founding a political organization on any one of them. Moreover, the economic questions bound up with politics and political parties have no sectarian aspect. Socialists would nationalize the mining industry. If the mines become the property of the nation will that any more affect belief in any particular creed than public ownership of a library does? None whatever. The same is true of the nationalization of other industries.

Yet appeal to religious beliefs and prejudices has been made against the Socialist Party and the Socialist program. It again appeared four years ago when Socialists supported LaFollette and this appeal was made by certain politicians to Catholics. Father A. J. Muench, Professor of Social Science in St. Francis Seminary, St. Francis, Wisconsin, answered this attempt to employ religious bigotry against the Socialist Party because it supported La Follette and Wheeler. Incidentally he paid a tribute to the Socialist movement because of its fairness to the Catholic Church. Writing in the "Irish World" of September 20, 1924, Father Muench said:

"Especially have dastardly attempts been made to alienate Catholic voters from the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket by

calling up the spectre of Socialism. Much is made of the fact that the Socialists have thrown their support to the Progressives. . . . And Catholics are being urged by unscrupulous politicians to refuse support to a ticket with which the Socialists have aligned themselves. The dishonesty of such methods is apparent from the following considerations. In the '70's and '80's of the last century the German Socialists gave their support to the Catholics in the fight against the laws of religious intolerance of the Kulturkampf inaugurated by Bismarck. . . .

"Again in 1892 when Catholics fought for the abolition of the laws enacted against the Jesuits in Germany, the Socialists came to their aid in the defense of their constitutional rights." He went on to say that the "British Labor Party is frankly Socialist" and that in 1923 the Labor Party Conference "passed a resolution that the party's supreme object was the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth."

**Some Catholic Socialists**  
He added that knowing this, "Henry Somerville, an outstanding member of the Catholic Social Guild of England and author of numerous publications on questions of social reform, has been an ardent advocate of the British Labor Party." There are many Catholic workers who are members of the Labor Party, especially in Scotland, and within the past two years John Wheatley, prominent in Labor Party councils and a Catholic, has been mentioned as a possible Labor Premier in succession to J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Here we may point out that what the German Socialists did in helping to defeat anti-Catholic legislation in Germany they would do to defeat anti-Protestant legislation. With Socialists it is a matter of insisting on the State playing neither friend nor enemy to any sect or creed.

In this country there has been some bitter propaganda against the Socialist Party by prominent Catholics, but there is another group of which Father John A. Ryan and Father MacGowan are representative leaders who take a more tolerant and sympathetic attitude. In his book on "Social Reconstruction," a series of lectures delivered at the Fordham School of Social Service and based upon the Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction, published by the National Catholic War Council early in 1919, Father Ryan expounds a large installment of the Socialist program. The Bishops' Program is also a near approach to this program, for it provides for a considerable invasion of the system of private and corporate ownership of industries. The program was offered as a

means of averting the danger of revolution which was feared at the end of the World War. The following is a striking passage from the Program:

"Nevertheless, the full possibilities of increased production will not be realized so long as the majority of the workers remain wage-earners. The majority must somehow become owners, or at least in part, of the instruments of production. They can be enabled to reach this stage gradually through co-operative productive societies and co-partnership arrangements. In the former, the workers own and manage the industries themselves; in the latter they own a substantial part of the corporate stock and exercise a reasonable share in the management. However slow the attainment of these ends, they will have to be reached before we can have a thoroughly efficient system of production, or an industrial and social order that will be secure from the danger of revolution."

That is a remarkable statement. Suppose a majority of the workers today were "owners of the instruments of production, whether through co-operative societies or any other type of collective organization, is it not a fact that a large part of the Socialist ideal of collective mastery of production for the welfare of mankind would be realized? Certainly.

When it is remembered that this is taken from a long document carefully considered by high officials of the Church and that the lectures of Father Ryan explaining the Program bear the Nihil Obstat of the Censor Deputatus and the Imprimatur of the Archbishop of New York, it is difficult to see how the old antagonism to Socialism by the conservative Catholics can be maintained.

Our inquiring friends will also note that in the passage quoted the Bishops' Program has in mind the ideal of abolishing wage service and investing workers with the character of co-operative owners of industry. This is also the old Socialist condemnation of the wage system. Our ideal is the abolition of wage service and uniting useful labor and ownership in the same persons. Mark also the fact that this ideal of the Program when realized means a great alteration in the system of capitalist property, thus changing the very basis of the present social order and freeing the working people from dependence upon private owners and corporations for the opportunity to earn a living.

**The Fight For Political Power**

Another factor in the Catholic opposition to Socialism in this country is almost wholly political. The Irish immigrants faced deep prejudices before the Civil War. Early in the thirties and in

first time in Rumania, and it is easy to understand the spirit of jubilation that reigns amongst the population. They feel that the revolution is successfully over, and just there lies the danger. For the Revolution is not yet over. There are still many mighty Bastilles of reaction to be levelled to the ground. Not till an administrative reform has been carried out, substituting local autonomy for the present centralization of power; not till the national minorities have been ensured real equality of rights and the possibility of determining their own cultural system; not till the transformation of the Siguranza into an ordinary police force, which was promised immediately on the entry of the Government into office, shall have been accomplished, will the bourgeois regime in Rumania be secure and the social struggle determine the further developments.

**Coalition Is Effected**  
Driven by this necessity and the pressure of the electoral law, the National-Zarantist and the Social-Democrats have entered into an election coalition, according to which the Social-Democrats receive a number of candidates proportionate to the balance of votes in 1927. It is, however, expressly stated in this agreement that it is merely a coalition for election purposes and with reference to the law now in force, and that the Social-Democrats reserve to themselves complete liberty of action both in the election campaign and more especially after the election, and they have naturally entered into no engagements of any kind with the government. The agreement is further expressly made between the two parties and not between the Government and the Social-Democrats.

The Social-Democratic election manifesto refers to the political situation and to the connection between the present struggle and future conflicts. As immediate program for the next Parliament it demands the Democratization of Rumania, the Combating of Unemployment Measures, the Revision of the Agrarian Reform Measures, the Alteration of the Taxation and customs law, the securing of the national claims of the minorities and the maintenance of peace. "In particular it is necessary to prevent Rumania's being used in the service of imperialist or counter-revolutionary plans for an intervention in Russia."

The struggle will be a fierce one and will be carried on principally in the direction of strengthening the Social-Democratic organizations. Voting takes place on December 12.

each decade thereafter as their numbers increased their political influence as voters increased. They had been consigned to the most laborious and unskilled occupations. Native Americans were opposed to them holding public office and American workers kept them out of the skilled trades. This forced the immigrants to herd in camps for sheer protection and self-preservation. This was natural and necessary, as any other group would have acted in the same way under similar circumstances.

But this forced solidarity of the Irish Catholics made their alien and religious character all the more conspicuous. Eventually as they fought their way into the better paid occupations and into the professions such as the law, medicine, etc., they were able to break into the political organizations and eventually to become the most influential political group in them. For a number of reasons they were almost exclusively members of the Democratic Party and voted as Democrats. They came to be the dominant force in city organizations like Tammany Hall. Tammany had at one time been anti-Irish and anti-Catholic and the rise of the Irish in that organization offers an interesting study in the changing composition of city political machines.

Now northern cities came largely under the control of the Irish in alliance with professional politicians of other faiths. Where they did not absolutely control, their numbers and political influence were so important that they held the balance of power and had to be reckoned with by the politicians. This has been the situation for at least twenty-five years. The sons of the immigrants have as a rule followed the politics of their fathers. The main exception to the rule has been some of the Irish who have become millionaires. Like John J. Raskob they joined the Republican Party but in the recent campaign for obvious reasons some of them came back to the political party of their fathers. Immigrants of other nationalities and of the same religious faith have also tended to vote with the Democratic machines controlling northern cities.

**The Knights of Columbus**  
With this ascension to political power in the cities the rich prizes in offices and contracts came to the Irish politicians and their allies. They no more want to lose them than the owners of the mining industry want to see their property nationalized. Nearly thirty years ago the Socialist Party began to elect Socialists to city offices in Massachusetts where the Irish politicians shared in a large measure of power. Down to 1912 several thousand city offices in many states, including mayors of cities, were won by the Socialist Party. It was shortly following the Socialist successes in Massachusetts cities nearly thirty years ago that organized Catholic opposition to Socialism arose in this country. It has been chiefly waged through the Knights of Columbus who have employed two men to make unrelenting war upon the Socialist Party.

Now the K. of C. is not a political organization but it is safe to say that the overwhelming majority of the politicians of the Catholic faith are members of the K. of C. The public powers of the cities have in all countries been the first to fall into the hands of the Labor and Socialist parties. The prospect of these successes by Socialists in this country naturally alarmed the politicians of the city machines and they just as naturally fought us.

The crusade has been waged mainly in terms of religious faith but the underlying motive, we believe, has been that of holding on to political offices. A candid investigation of much that has been said against us from this source will reveal a startling fact. Recall all that has been said by the Ku Klux Klan against the Catholic people as a whole and you will know what the Catholic politicians have said against Socialists as a whole!

It is time that the workers of all faiths should emancipate themselves from the clerical politicians of all types. The Baptist, the Methodist and the Catholic each has something in common with all others of his own faith within the sphere of that faith, but in politics and industry it does not count. Is it not a stupid thing for Baptist workers who are denied the right to organize for their own protection in the Standard Oil industry to vote with the Rockefeller because they, too, are Baptists? Is it not just as stupid for Catholic workers to vote with John J.

(Continued on Page 5)

## THE NEW REGIME IN RUMANIA

By Jakob Pistiner

THE great struggle carried on by the National-Zarantist Party together with the Social-Democrats against the reactionary oligarchy in Rumania has borne fruit; the Liberal Government has had to make way for that of the Peasants Party, and—a new phenomenon in Rumania—it has been driven to this course by the pressure of the masses at the precise moment when it least wished to do so. It would at first sight appear to have fallen over the question of the loan which it was endeavoring to raise abroad. In reality, however, it was the newly created public opinion in Rumania which obliged foreign capital to demand other securities than the signature of the Liberals. How little the Liberal Government realized the situation is clear from the fact that it thought the moment a favorable one for bringing pressure to bear on the public. It demanded unconditional power over a long period for a Coalition Government, threatening, if this was not accorded, to resign in the midst of the loan negotiations. When it saw that this attempt was unsuccessful, it tried to thrust a Fascist Government into office, and even two hours before the leader of the Peasants Party was entrusted with the task of forming a Government, it was uncertain whether we should not have to reckon with a coup d'etat.

The situation was extremely critical. But the feeling of the masses was so strong that no one ventured to oppose it. Manu was requested to form a Government, and immediately dissolved Parliament. The Party of which he is the leader originally consisted of the Rumanian Nationalist Party in Transylvania and the much more radical Peasants Party in the other Provinces. It has however also embraced large sections of the middle-class town population and now stands for the industrialization of the country, and its transformation from a half feudal economic system, in the form of excessive Nationalism and banking based on exorbitant rates of interest, to that of a bourgeois State. It is no mere accident that Manu continually stresses the struggle for legal procedure. Up to the present Rumania has been characterized by anarchy, arbitrary power and corruption—all incompatible with the progress of industrialization.

**Socialists Were Active**  
The Social-Democratic Party has taken an active part in the struggle for the overthrow of the Liberals, and even entered into an alliance with the National-Zarantist Party for this purpose. The National-Zarantist Party wished to extend this alliance to an election coalition. The Social-Democrats, however, rejected this on the ground that it was impossible as yet to know under what conditions and under what law the election would take place. When the crisis declared itself, and it became clear that the elections would again be held under the Fascist Electoral Law promulgated by the reactionary elements in February 1926, negotiations were renewed. Not only the law, however, but also the political situation made an election coalition desirable. The course of events during the crisis showed that the reactionary forces are still very strong and are not at all inclined to yield. Even when the Government had been formed, it was, and is still, forced to take every step in advance in the teeth of the resistance of the reactionaries, who employ sabotage tactics and use every imaginable means to make the life of the new Government impossible.

The fact that the Peasants Party had come into power at first caused the Social-Democrats to feel strong scruples against entering upon an election coalition. The Government Party is traditionally hated in Rumania. It became increasingly clear, however, that the

## The Socialists Part in The Current Election

masses of the workers were pressing for a coalition, on the ground that the fight against reactionaries was not nearly over. It was also apparent that the influence of the Social-Democrats on the Peasants Party is needed both to urge it to quicker progress and in any case to preserve what has already been gained. But a great deal of rubbish had to be cleared away before the coalition could be organized. It was not till the Government, after a long and severe struggle with the military element, had succeeded in doing away with the exceptional regulations that have been in force since the war, that further negotiations were possible.

**Sees Terror Ended**  
It is scarcely possible for other countries to conceive what the abolition of the exceptional regulations means for Rumania. Over the largest part of the country no assembly or meeting of any Association has been possible without the permission of the military and civil authorities. All offences were tried in military courts, in which the public prosecution was not even conducted by a lawyer, and in which the General could instruct the judges as to their verdict. Throughout the whole country the population was exposed to the arbitrary control of the authorities and everywhere newspapers were suppressed in unconstitutional fashion. People were beaten and their property stolen, for the hand of an unchecked tyranny lay heavy upon the country.

Now that is all done away with. A small strip along certain frontiers is, it is true, subject to military control in virtue of the exceptional regulations, but the jurisdiction of the civil courts has been restored, the censorship has been completely abolished, and the right of assembly is now in the hands of the civil authorities. When it is added that 12,000 soldiers who had been placed at the disposal of the police for political purposes, were immediately demobilized and sent home, and that the whole of the election machinery, from the distribution of the voting papers to the counting of the votes has been placed entirely in the hands of the judges, in order to prevent the stealing of votes which has hitherto prevailed, perhaps the enormous transformation that has taken place may be realized even by those in other countries.

Free elections will take place for the

first time in Rumania, and it is easy to understand the spirit of jubilation that reigns amongst the population. They feel that the revolution is successfully over, and just there lies the danger. For the Revolution is not yet over. There are still many mighty Bastilles of reaction to be levelled to the ground. Not till an administrative reform has been carried out, substituting local autonomy for the present centralization of power; not till the national minorities have been ensured real equality of rights and the possibility of determining their own cultural system; not till the transformation of the Siguranza into an ordinary police force, which was promised immediately on the entry of the Government into office, shall have been accomplished, will the bourgeois regime in Rumania be secure and the social struggle determine the further developments.

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**Organisation**  
**Education**  
**Solidarity**

**FREE YOUTH**

JACK WASSERMAN EDITOR

Young People's  
Socialist League,  
21 Essex Street,  
Boston, Mass.

Published Every Week By The New Leader for the Young Peoples Socialist League

**THE PATERSON SILK STRIKE**  
Of the 3,500 silk workers of Paterson, N. J., who went on strike in response to the call of the Associated Silk Workers Union, 1,000 are still out. More than 1,000 are back at work in the shops that have acceded to the Union's demands. Fred Hoelscher, Secretary of the Associated Silk Workers, an independent, progressive union, says that the other 1,000 must not return to work until their demands are met in full; otherwise, the favorable settlements made in 130 shops will be lost. This would mean the sacrifice of recognition of the Union, the 8-hour day and increased wage scales. At the time of this writing the only outside financial help received is \$500 from the Forward Association. The Union is providing for 1,000 families from their fast dwindling treasury. The writer found a well-stocked Relief Committee Store at 53 Ellison Street with 39 different grocery items on its shelves. Grocery tickets are issued by the Associated Silk Workers on the relief store for so many dollars in goods. Around the edge are printed amounts from \$1 to \$11, which are punched out as the goods are purchased. The relief allowances are:

**SMALL FAMILY** — (1 to 4 persons), 18 grocery ticket; \$1 cash.  
**LARGE FAMILY** — (5 or more persons), 48 grocery ticket; \$2 cash.  
**SINGLE MAN OR WOMAN**: If eating at home \$4 grocery ticket; \$1 cash. If eating away from home, meal ticket and \$1 cash.  
This highly efficient and humane work cannot go on unless Labor and its friends respond to the call of the Paterson strikers in their fight for human conditions, recognition of the Union and the 8-hour day. It is a sad commentary on our American civilization that workers should have to fight a life-and-death battle for the 8-hour day. Many naive people think this was accomplished long ago. The only act of violence in the strike so far came from the bosses. Four bosses led an armed attack on a peaceful picket line at the Karl Miller Silk Co., 21 Mill Street. The four of them were arraigned before the Grand Jury last Friday. They are Karl Miller, David Miller, Sam Miller and Morris Miller. Louis Hahle, an elderly striker, whose arm was broken in two places when one of the Millers hit him with an iron bar, is still in the hospital as a result of the strike. His arm may never fully mend. Two other strikers were seriously injured. Harry Karashian suffered a fractured jaw and Charles Balish a deep scalp wound. The picket line included four women when it was attacked by the murderous bosses who have made previous attempts to provoke the strikers into violence.

The Associated Silk Workers have recently formed a Youth Section which has been injecting pep into the picket line. "Youth Day" has become a weekly institution on the picket lines and it's some day. One can hear from one end of Paterson to the other, "Oh, we ain't goin' to slave no more, no more," from the young throats of the enthusiastic pickets. Scabs do not like this youthful vigor and the activities of the young people are having a healthy effect. The youthful-pickets flaunted banners read-

ing like this:  
"Young workers need more than a living wage. We Demand a Growing Wage for Mine and Body." Another said: "Young Silk Workers: Whatever Your Craft, You Belong to the Youth Section of the Associated Silk Workers." "No Overtime for Young Workers," shouted a third. "Give us a Chance to go to Night School."

One is impressed with the vitality and militancy of the Union. I think it would be a good experience for any Yipsei who can look over this industrial battle right on to the ground.

FRANK J. MANNING.

**Another Reply to Yipsei Criticism**  
In THE LEADER of December First, Comrade Asherwitz wrote without knowledge of the Bronx Circles. An investigation would reveal that the business part of the meeting occupies a half hour at most and the educational activities have an interested group attending them for periods ranging from an hour to an hour and a half.

WINSTON DANCIS.

**Cleveland Circle Active**  
"Hy" Fish reports the organization of a circle in Cleveland, Ohio, meeting at the Socialist Free Library, 3467 East 147th St., near Kinsman Road. The last meeting on Wednesday was addressed by Clarence O. Senior, who was an American delegate to the World Youth Congress held in Erde, Holland, August, 1928. The subject was "How Youth Can Work for a New Society." Address communications to H. Fish, Young People's Socialist League, 12702 Oakfield Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

**Syracuse Circle Formed**  
Through the efforts of Comrade Kiehlman, a Yipsei group was started. Several meetings have been held. Those who are interested in joining the circle will please write to Fred Sander, 410 Renwick Avenue, Syracuse, N. Y. Incidentally, the formation of the Syracuse branch means that New York will soon have all the major cities represented. So far, Albany, Rochester, Syracuse and New York City have units.

**New York City**  
Circle Four, Bronx, has been rejuvenated, and is resuming active work after a long summer sleep. Their ranks have been increased and a new influx is expected from the Juniors who are about to graduate into the Seniors.

**Brooklyn**  
Circle Two Seniors will hold a social and dance tomorrow evening for the benefit of the Brownsville Sunday School at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn. Refreshments will be served and the admission is 35 cents. Circle Two wishes to emphasize that its last meeting was most excellent. The Educational Program having for its theme the History of Philosophy, which was accompanied by brilliant discussion.

**Tag Day for Paterson Strikers**  
The Yipseis will participate in a General Tag Day for the benefit of the Paterson Silk Workers who are in their sev-

enth week of strike. The Tag Day will take place Saturday, Dec. 22, and the organizations cooperating are: The Young People's League, Fellowship of Reconciliation (Youth Section), Bronx Free Fellowship (Youth Section), War Resisters' League (Youth Section), Pioneer Youth of America, Union Theological Seminary, the New York Student Council, including the colleges, and the Youth Peace Committee. Arm bands, tags and caps are being supplied by the Associated Silk Workers. All Yipseis Circles are requested to send in their contributions, both from Circles and individuals, to the Y. P. S. L. office, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

**Manhattan**  
Circle Six ushered in its new administration with a collection of \$2.50 for the Paterson strikers, and a donation from the Circle treasury of \$5.00, giving a grand total of \$7.50, which it maintained as an average should make the New York City quota about \$150.00. James O'Neal addressed a joint meeting of the Seniors and Juniors of Circle Eight last Friday on "Communism and Socialism." Both Circles report a growing membership. The Juniors, recently organized, number over thirty already.

**Boro Committee of the Bronx Meets**  
The Boro Committee of the Bronx has called a meeting of the Bronx Circles tomorrow at two o'clock. Comrade August Claessens will present a talk on the subject: "Human Nature and Socialism." The meeting will give an opportunity for the newly organized circles in the Bronx to take a look at each other.

**New Bedford, Mass.**  
Comrade Lester Shulman presented Circle Two Senior, South End, with a charter, at their meeting held Tuesday, Dec. 4th. The circle has sixteen members: two of them work outside of the State. The circle held regular elections: Sadie Neal, organizer; William Baron, recording and corresponding secretary; Florence Robinson, financial secretary; Wilfred Farland, educational and Social director. The circle is holding a Christmas party at the home of Sadie Neal, 15 Emma Street, Tuesday evening, December 18. Circle One Seniors was also presented with a charter by Lester Shulman at their meeting Friday night. This circle has twenty members. The officers who were elected are: Organizer, Henri Supranant, secretary: Leo Oullette; educational and social director, Ernest St. Pierre. This circle will hold its affair on Wednesday evening, December 19th, at the home of Philip Plouff. The members of this circle saw some remarkably active service in the textile strike. They constituted the hard-bolted Vigilante Committee.

**Yipseis Address Strikers**  
Frank Manning, of New Bedford fame, and Julius Umansky, the executive secretary of the New York Y. P. S. L., went to address the mass meeting of the Paterson silk strikers last Tuesday evening as well as to get some first-hand information concerning the strike. It is encouraging to note that the strikers have a Youth Section that has been prominent on the Picket Line and has been making itself heard in the strike region. Yipseis Circles will be formed in Paterson after the strike is over.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## "MEET GENERAL GRANT"

THERE would be a coal fire in the grate. Under the gas-jets that streamed up to throw shadows on the pictures of Emerson, Longfellow, Bryant and Lowell, an old man, reading aloud from a huge book.

The place, a brownstone house on the upper West Side of New York. The time, around 1894, when the West Side was pioneering territory. And the small boy listening so attentively to the reading from the "Memoirs of General Ulysses S. Grant," this columnist.

Curious mental diet for a boy of six, these detailed and somewhat labored descriptions of battles long ago. But my grandfather had never heard of Freud and Watson and experimental schools and what horrendous effects the first instructions of a child might bring about.

Perhaps it was compensation for a colorless business career which filled my grandfather with hero worship for that rather forbidding, rather frowzy figure in a sloppy uniform. I know that the old man brooded over the fact that he could not go to the Civil War and flounder through the mud around Vicksburg under Grant's leadership. At the time it was natural enough that he should hire a substitute. He had had a good business in cotton in the South when the guns that fired on Fort Sumter blew it to pieces and there was a wife to be cared for and a slow, painful rebuilding for my grandfather.

So when I came along, he may have looked upon me as a potential General Grant. At any rate he gave me everything he had, including his hero and hot chestnuts.

As soon as he came in the house there would be a rush and a hug and then a dive into overcoat pockets for hot chestnuts which I adored. And then after dinner, we would sit down together and fight Shiloh all over again and scramble up the sheer heights of Missionary Ridge and be gruffly courteous to the tired Lee at Appomattox. Once, I remember, we went across the Park to a place in the Sixties where Grant had lived after he had retired from his ill-fated Presidency. And we went as pilgrims to a shrine.

When my grandfather died, he made special provision that I should have the two volumes of Grant's "Memoirs" with the gold eagles blazing on their brown covers. And I have lugged them around with me ever since. But I'm glad the old gentleman isn't here to see how little like General Grant I have turned out to be, after all that early training.

Having served for a brief and decidedly inconspicuous period as a rear rank private in the Army during the war, (I mean that glorious World War, which has made us what we are today), anything that has to do with the military bores me to extinction. I abhor parades, bugles and the whole hocus-pocus and I know of no more offensive people than latter-day generals.

But I am not ashamed to confess that the other day when I took up, "Meet General Grant," by W. E. Woodward, (Published, and very handsomely, too, by Horace Liveright) I found that way inside of me there lingered a bit of the six-year-old's thrill at the mention of that familiar name.

As I read the book, I discovered that while the admiration of an old man and a youngster at his side, munching delectable chestnuts, may have concentrated on the military achievements of the General, there is plenty else about Grant, the man, to capture the imagination.

Here was a primitive, as Woodward points out. He says, "The most successful generals are primitive men, whose opinions on everything outside of war and soldiers are often—and, indeed, generally—extremely naive and childish." A man who lumbered into a distasteful job with head down, like a bull buffalo, and went obstinately butting on until it was over.

Woodward quotes Grant as saying, "I never liked service in the army. I did not wish to go to West Point. My father had to use his authority to make me go. I never went into a battle willingly or with enthusiasm, and I never wanted to command another army."

"He did not cut much of a figure on dress parade," remarks Woodward dryly. But out on the field he just raised almighty hell with the enemy.

Grant was tough, two-fisted, and yet as his biographer makes us perceive, an essentially lonely, wistful, unhappy man.

I think his greatest victory was won, not on any smoke-hung field, but in an invalid's chair on the porch of his home at Mt. McGregor, where he was dying of cancer of the throat.

He had resolved to write his "Memoirs" to pay off a crushing load of debt. And when his voice failed him and he could no longer dictate, he sat there, propped up with pillows writing away until the end came. There was nothing much left of him—except guts. Newspapersmen poking into his affairs. Parsons came and prayed over him. His family fluttered around him. But he just looked at them all out of cold eyes and plugged along to the very end.

The story of those last days throws a shining and immortal light over the dull pages of "The Memoirs." No one except historians read "The Memoirs" today. And they are dreary reading indeed, compared with the mastery job that Woodward has done for his subject. But just the same those two fat, brown volumes with their gold eagles make a memorial to the unquenchable spirit of a man more enduring than any of the thousand and one statues of the General which loom all across America.

When you've met General Grant, as Woodward introduces you to him, you can't dismiss him as just another "brass hat."

He is one of those considerable men whom you must consider to make any real estimate of the American character.

Without charm, with little imagination, with the fire that he had, securely banked from the eyes of outsiders, there was in him such integrity of purpose, such essential honesty, that a whole generation of young men would go marching cheerfully into death behind that slouching figure.

Now this is the hell of a way to review a book and I know that a lot of my pacifist friends will be writing in protesting against my praise for a book about a militarist. All I ask them to do is to go and get Woodward's book and there discover for themselves, how little a militarist Grant was and how big a man.

McAlister Coleman.

## Scanning the New Books

### Quacks and Quackeries In the United States

By James Oneal

THERE is a common belief among certain American intellectual cynics that a majority of the population consists of morons and there is certainly sufficient evidence to warrant belief in this view. But with this goes also the dictum that moronic beliefs and prejudices have their origin in the masses, that men of education and of wealth have had little or nothing to do with these queer lapses of normal thinking, and as a further consequence safety and progress would be assured if government were entrusted to men of culture and education.

We have never been able to subscribe to this view. If we consider a new religion which has evolved in this country in the past fifteen years, the cult of Nationalism, a cult that has its sacred altars, saints and saints' days; that substitutes the State for the idea of God; that has its flag ritual, its chosen people, and its solemn ceremonies; that regards the foreigner as an "infidel" and its admirals and generals as crusading priests; that cultivates the myth of "Nordic superiority" and hunts out heretics with savage ferocity; this Nationalism did not issue out of the mine, factory, field or workshop. It is the work of politicians, and editors, generals and admirals, university professors and historians, a swarm of patriotic organizations, societies devoted to ancestor worship, authors, publicists and even a few "scientists." The masses have had nothing to do with formulating this dangerous absurdity except to accept it as they received it from the intellectuals.

**The Super-Quacks**—Moreover, this is true of every other queer cult that has had its history in this country as Gilbert Selles demonstrates in an interesting book ("The Stammering Century. Eccentricity and Fanaticism in the U. S. 1800-1900." New York: The John Day Co. \$5.) "The astounding thing about almost all the quackeries, fads and movements of the past hundred years in America," he writes, "is that they were first accepted by superior people, by men and women of education, intelligence, breeding, wealth, and experience. Only after the upper classes had approved, the masses accepted each new thing. The boob-haters never to correct their theory. The more experienced classes were the first to accept an absurdity and the last to give it up. The pre-occupations of the lower orders may have been ignoble and silly; that is beside the point. The fact remains that one cannot distinguish the herd-majority from the civilized minority by ascribing to the former any special tendency to be taken in by charlatans."

It was Marx who said that the "ruling ideas of each age are the ideas of its ruling class." He paid little attention to the erratic and eccentric cults that have found a nest in certain regions or certain sections of the population yet Selles shows in this book that the Marxian view holds good for the creeds of the queer as well. If an aberration afflicts a few of the upper class or its intellectuals, crusading brings it to the attention of the "lower orders." It is never a process of infiltration from the lower class to the upper class but just the reverse. A particular quackery may have its origin in a ragged and penniless carpenter like Matthias, the "Messiah Murderer," but not till he had connected with a few individuals of education and cash was this impostor able to pursue a career involving "mania, delusion, sex-

ual aberration, hallucination, cataplexy and hysteria of every sort."

#### Some Eccentric Offshoots

The author provides an interesting pageant for the reader. Among the men and women he considers are Jonathan Edwards, Father Rapp, Robert Owen, Frances Wright, Charles Grandison Finney, Dwight L. Moody, John Humphrey Noyes, Andrew Jackson Davis, Bronson Alcott, William Lloyd Garrison, Carry Nation, Alexander Dowie, Amelia Bloomer and others. Some of these notions, as, for example, Garrison, are not singled out as wholly eccentric. Garrison's anti-slavery views were a healthy reaction against an economic monstrosity but his association with other movements and beliefs gives him a place in the book. Some were wholly ridiculous and others were only in part absurd. One might be normal except for a belief in mesmerism or phrenology or some religious mania or some other quackery.

Some of the offshoots of early eccentricities are traced into the contemporary period. The evolution of New Thought; an example of a mystical twist given to the discoveries of physical science and finally developing into a "religion of success," a sort of occult magic which woos dividends for the capitalist. "New Thought" advised stock brokers to become at one with God so that they might put over big deals. It also "sired" the go-getter. When it went into business for itself it was incoherent and often fraudulent. It became a mail order religion with loud complaints against the "peculiar laws" by which the post office department prevented prophets from selling sacred handkerchiefs guaranteed to cure cancer and barrenness.

Socialist and labor organizations have had experience with queer dicks who have brought with them some quackery and attempted to hitch it to the organization. I recall one, a day laborer, whose obsession was medicine. His idea of a perfect Socialist movement was one that demanded the abolition of all schools of medicine. Another was certain that if we popularized the primitive communism of the American Indians we would win the Indian vote. Hundreds of perfect systems of money reforms, some of them accompanied with convincing charts, have been received by The New Leader in the last three years. A few writers have been peeved because of a gentle declination to place their discoveries before the world.

#### The "Balanced" Man

Selles has performed a useful service in writing this book despite the fact that his final chapter, "The Complex of Radicalism," leaves one puzzled as to his meaning. One gets the impression that all radical movements are futile despite the fact that what was radical in one period became realized in another period. This is true of manhood suffrage, woman suffrage, legalization of trade unions, abolition of imprisonment for debt, the admission of women to the professions, the destruction of slavery, separation of Church and State. No doubt the eccentric has attached himself to these causes and made them ridiculous, especially when he became conspicuous as a leader, which occasionally happened, but the eccentric is not confined to the radical who advocates something new. The impossible and most absurd eccentricity is he who sits on the social safety valve and laughs at all warnings that the boiler will burst if he does not permit the steam to escape. "The balanced man is rare," declares the author. "The average man's equilibrium is often disturbed, but he readjusts himself. The radical, fanatic about

himself and his discoveries, refuses to make this adjustment." Here is the whole problem. Men will differ as to when a person is "balanced" and when he has "adjusted" himself to society. We have no doubt that the crusaders of the National Security League believe that they are "balanced" and that nobody else is. Then there are a few Socialists and other radicals who have found "adjustment" in devoted service to capitalism, militarism and imperialism. Such "adjustment" appears to us as eccentricity or something worse.

The author does not seem wholly satisfied with his own statement of the problem and the book ends with a quotation from Marcel Proust. "The magnificent and lamentable family of the neurotics is the salt of the earth. Everything great that we know we owe to neurotics." The author's comment is, "And yet—". In his own movement the Socialist is not puzzled. He expects eccentrics to turn up now and then. He keeps this type from the limelight and hopes that some experience and education will make him see his own folly. Should he break loose in some absurdity one may open the door and invite him to take a walk. Should the movement be caught in some mass hysteria like that of the World War he at least has the consolation of knowing that the whole world has gone mad and wait for the brain storm to subside. He will refuse to be "adjusted" to the madness, knowing that "balanced" judgment will return when the eccentrics who rule the world have recovered from their carouse.

#### A Fiction Foursome

To read Sten's "Prelude to a Rope for Myer" (New York, the Dial Press, \$2.50), is to live for the time not in the pages of a book but in the mind of a man. Lucas Myer, sensitive and observant young Jew, with a mind "like an outfit of railway signals, susceptible to any message that came to it," is flung, helpless through accident, against, corroding Gentile prejudice; and the same accident into the obsession that destroys him. Passion for Lorrie Erremew wipes out other realities for Myer. Life has meaning for him only through the possession, in Lorrie's body, of what in all women eludes embrace. He learns at last that crimes of horror and perversion spring not from extraordinary circumstances but from commonplace events.

Mr. Sten's writer with artistic competence that never obtrudes itself. The story moves to its inevitable conclusion, untaunted by easy suggestion that had one event been altered, one friend risen to Myer's necessity, he might have avoided the fate that met him. We feel that Myer could have fulfilled himself only in a different world where idealism is ungalled by reality. The sustained quality of the book is unusual in a first novel. We accept the characters as each accepts himself, understanding the inner urgency of each; even of Lorrie, who conveniently forgets "that she had contributed in any way to this horrible network of unpleasantness gathering around her." And when the final scene of frenzied satisfaction is left to the imagination, imagination does not fail.

If "Prelude to a Rope for Myer" is stark with actuality, "Ariadne," a first novel by Isadore Lhevinne (New York: Globus Press, \$2.50), moves in an atmosphere of dream fantastic as the grotesques that Mr. Lhevinne draws for his chapter headings. Vlad—Mr. Cornogold—genius-musician indifferent to prestige in the artistic circles of pre-war New York, sees once and loves. Ariadne, mistress of Count Rostovtsev. She becomes the incarnation of all that he creates, and element in all that he experiences. He carried her image to war-sodden Russia, where she is one with Lidda of flesh and blood, woman and helpmate. He bears her into his delirium, and she is the Centaur's daughter whose passion is universal. Life is a dream, art the memory of that dream; and love a dream within a dream. Only in Lidda, when the two lie greedily intertwining memories, do Vlad's dreams become one. Love, again in Ariadne, gives meaning to life.

We are the meaning of life, says Evie, in the title story of H. A. Manhood's volume "Nightseed" (Viking, \$2.50). "We are the meaning, not the problem. All the words of the world have brought no more peace than is in the simple fact of love." The sixteen powerfully wrought stories of the book range from the poignant simplicity of "Brotherhood" to the tragedy of "Misery Cottage," but one theme binds them: that man is undone by thought, and saved—if saved—by love. Feeling, the understanding that is another word for love, is the only path by which man may arrive at his own meaning; and the

which man gives it.

From the first, "Nightseed," where understanding restores a morbid mind to health, to the final story "Fear," where love grows terrified and both lovers are lost, every tragedy is precipitated by thought divorced from sympathy. Throughout, Mr. Manhood makes penetrating observation of life.

Jeremy's trip to the rainmakers' convention ("Jungling in the Wind," Elizabeth Madox Roberts: New York, Viking Press, \$2), gives Miss Roberts a chance to slant a laughing eye at the foibles of the day. Rustic fundamentalists quarrel with rural scientists over the will of God. A new caravan of Canterbury pilgrims—in a stalled motor bus—lingers under a liquidambar tree to salinize not modern life alone, but its chroniclers as well. Through the fresh eyes of Khadija, woman of Arab's harem, Miss Roberts looks at the glare and glory of a metropolis, and sees the great god Bunk sky-signed among the constellations. And always the spider that sits at the hub of the mind weaves philosophies, religions, histories, events; weaving at last the meeting of Jeremy and Tulip under a china-berry tree, where as is the way of lovers, they began to give each other things. Tulip gives Jeremy the abstract principle by which gifts may continue, and Jeremy broaches the very door of his secret mind and gives her his inner and guarded and sacred deficiencies. For "love is a royal visitor which that proud ghost, the human spirit, settles in elegant chambers and serves with the best."

Grace Stone Coates.

#### The Highlights of Voltaire

IT is never difficult to transcribe to book form the life of a dull man. By his very limitations the task is easily confined to a certain number of words, one can pick apart the various episodes that relate to even the dullest person and say: "This I will put in, and this, and this, but now I will close my story as I am making the volume too thick."

But conceive of the wealth of material that surrounds the most meagre life story of the genius such as Voltaire, whose story, (Voltaire, by Victor Thaddeus, Brentano, N. Y.), Victor Thaddeus has attempted to give us in the two hundred and fifty pages of Voltaire, Genius of Mockery. That the volume is perforce scanty goes without saying. Another volume of similar length could be added without fear of duplication. For not only was Voltaire's own life rich in incident but the effect of his writings upon racial thought of his day and down through to our own times has no parallel in the writings of any other writer. The favorite of one king, the scourge of another he was unmoved by praise or blame. Under the very noses of those who flattered him he kept on his impassioned rebellion, against religion, against the injustice of the French legal system, against the economic system of his time.

Mr. Thaddeus has not missed any of the major points in Voltaire's life. That he has in parts sacrificed fascinating details is due no doubt to the almost impossible task of confining that irresponsible rebel into any conventional sized biographical study. What the author has done, however, is to present a smooth well written portrait of Voltaire which would not suffice as a reference volume but to radicals, especially the young ones, this volume will be of interest both because of the powerful effect Voltaire's writings had upon the proletariat of his day and because of his insistence on expounding his principles often at the risk of his neck. Nor has Thaddeus glossed over this portion of his career. In fact over and over again we are informed that the responsibility of awakening the French to the point of Revolution rested mainly with Voltaire, that with Voltaire a new era of liberal thought began, which had a tremendous effect on modern civilization.

Freda R. Joel.

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## THE CHATTER BOX

IF I were a Santa Claus in the old manner, and it were given to me to answer every prayer for gifts, I would first load up my sled with comforts for the poor, and companionships for the lonely ones on earth. The rest of humanity would have to wait through a whole era of Yuletides before I came upon its multiform desires.

Indeed it is counter-revolutionary, yellow bourgeois, and anti-agitprop, to even suggest doing anything for the poor, or giving them what ought else than protocol, ukases from the Comintern, and a ten year subscription to the "Izvestia." I know all that, but despite all the terrific treachery involved by my charitable deeds, I would nevertheless thumb my nose at the Kremlin, and distribute warm clothing, good books, sleds, wagons, and constructive toys to all the needy victims of capitalism.

There should be less academic objection from the proletarian gubernias against my professed concern for the lonely.

Most of us are so taken up with Weltschmerz or indigestion, that we have little or no sight for the millions who wander about in this life like lost atoms that never find another one to mix up with and make for chemical affinity in some kind of happiness.

Whenever I find a moment's rest from world problems, and tumultuous existence, there is always a club, or a lecture, or some sort of gathering to go to where these isolated bits of life assemble. What a study in human futility they offer to the discerning thought?

It is true that some come in pairs, and some even singly for sheer learning. It is also true that the many come to find through any chance a mate, or a friend. And should the subject under discussion include any of the thousand titles about the relationship of the sexes, then the entire audience is a mass of loneliness.

With these changing times, with the liberation of us all from Victorian standards of moral conduct, with the bread and butter problem for marriage and family-raising so complex and difficult, the worlds of bachelorhood and spinsterhood widen and grow more populous. And nothing in this aspect is pleasant to look upon.

One comes upon men of thirty and over, living their singular days and plural nights until the queuing and drain of a drab monotony in irresponsible dalliance leaves them bored, cynical, and hard. A confirmed bachelor gives me the creeps. There is something tough, knotty and impenetrable about him, like the side section of a rhinoceros's hide. If ever there were tenderness in his being, it has vanished utterly, or is just the polished shell of a technique he keeps for his uses to play with, when the occasional woman chances his way.

And yet, for him, with all his self-sufficiency, one might squeeze out a tear of pity, since isolation makes him quite clearly for its own. There is an odor of spiritual halitosis that exudes from his presence, and the sensitive soul has an olfactory nerve of its own. The finely-strung girl shrinks from him at first contact, and only the toughened hunters of the wilds can tolerate his touch. Sometimes a flood of hopelessness carries toward him and his purposes, someone so brutalized by loneliness that there is no power of thought or sense of smell. The reaction to the woman when the play is over is ugly to contemplate.

Then there are the thousands of kind, good lads, whose shyness and general inferiority convictions build about them forbidding shells, and tortoise-like they waddle around, fearful of any contacts, and becoming duller and less desirable with every day of fear.

For these there are kindred thousands of timid mates, who parallel every act and emotion of theirs, and one is confronted with a long thin line creeping into eternity on the same plane with another long trembling line, and never a curve or convergence in the hopeless length of living.

And then, we have the large groups of troubled young men who cannot attempt conventional marriage for all of their natural bent because our economic disorder fills the future with certain insecurity. Poverty is a hateful state, and they know it, and will have none of it for their families. So these too, go about with all honest intent in their thoughts of women, and quite heroically decent in their relations with them. Thanks to a forced change of the moral standards, a sort of convivial pleasure is derived from external play at love, and a great deal of furtively careful indulgence prevails. But their deeply rooted purposes are nevertheless forbidden, and there is the great loneliness of living without their own children. For them my grief indeed.

So much for the men . . . With women the problem of proper tabulation is terribly complex. No normal woman is born to single-cursedness. Even through these latter-day efforts for freedom, one cannot see a protest against motherhood, or desire for affection and love from men.

But great changes make great complications. In her bursting out into freedom she brought along with her very little preparedness for the crass atmosphere of a man-made world. Smoking cigarettes, telling saucy stories, and speaking about the old unspeakable questions were as easy to acquire as short hair, shorter skirts and a taste of Rabelaisian literature. Even in the business world she could walk shoulder-lined with all the male go-getters and bull-slingers and put the big deals across. But here the equality ended. Biologically she is and must continue to be the female of the specie with all the eternal seriousness of her purpose and the intricate dreads and dangers that beset any too great liberties with herself.

And while a great many heroines take Havelock Ellis and Margaret Sanger at their intriguing word, and go through the devastating processes that pretend to fool the natural laws, no children come from these pretty plays, and even the usual animal pets cannot dispel the gloom of isolation.

For the bachelor woman, I have little more to say than her male counterpart. Unless of course there be a pathological inversion. There we can only be sad and understanding. If a hard man is ugly, a hard woman is cruel to consider.

But for the thousands of lonely discriminating girls who grow into a forced spinsterhood, because of our crazy chaos of economic life, I would want to be a great big Santa Claus with sleds, and wagons and truckloads full of fine, intelligent lads, all with good jobs, with a desire to bring up families, who enjoy good music, the fine arts, and have a love for the out-doors. For these women, in their endless, futile hunt for a mate, my Christmas spirit burns a clear flame.

And here I grow a bit pensive for all of my generous impulse. It seems that the Co-operative Commonwealth will mean so much in happiness for men and women beyond the dull lines of just economic and industrial revolution. It can flood their dreams and all their spiritual living with the full light of a natural and high reality.

S. A. de Witt.



# Morris Plan Employees Underpaid

Pious Loan Agency Stresses Discipline — Profits Soar While Wages Stay Down

By Harvey O'Connor

EMPLOYEES of the Morris Plan Bank, fall to share their firm's vast prosperity. While Morris Plan profits soar, Morris Plan wages go down. Men find themselves thrown out of work, to be replaced by girls. Girls employed several years find themselves jobless on the streets, to make place for business college graduates willing to start at \$15 to \$20 a week.

Ex-army officers are ideal bosses in Morris Plan offices. They understand discipline, know how to keep clerks on the job and stand for no foolishness. Speedup is administered by experts who know how to keep a girl busy 60 minutes of the hour on her tabulating machine. In fact the only letup in recent months was the two minutes granted employees on Armistice Day. The ex-army officer bosses stood at attention, with watches in hand. When the two minutes were up, employees were told to get busy.

In 10 offices in New York City, this firm employs nearly a thousand workers. Messengers, entrusted with sums as high as \$30,000, get \$60 a month. Office men hold on to their jobs, fearing the Morris Plan personnel policy of filling their \$25-\$30 jobs with girls at \$20.

Employees have been waiting for more than a year for expected wage increases. But Morris Plan recently took over new headquarters offices uptown. Fine woods were used for panelling the walls, deep rugs cushion the floor. In executives' offices, valuable oil paintings were hung. And so the firm can't afford to come through on its promise, employees are told.

Girls complain that factory and office laws are broken by Morris Plan—but they complain among themselves. For no one has the nerve to tell state inspectors or the boss that dirty washrooms are objectionable. A broken lounge, covered with dust and a washbasin decrepit with age constitute the furnishings of the washroom. The floor man, who keeps busy polishing cuspidors and brass railings in the outer offices, has no orders to clean up the washrooms.

In the swanky uptown headquarters, big executives get fancy pay. One is

quoted at \$428,000 a year. Others, chiefly in the legal department where Morris Plan puts the screws on unfortunate borrowers—get \$10,000 to \$50,000 a year.

But employment sharks get the gravy on furnishing the loan sharks with workers. Although an extensive personnel department is maintained at headquarters, its attention is centered on efficiency and speed-up. Those seeking jobs come from the private employment agencies, after having coughed up—in advance—one to two weeks' pay. To get the \$15 to \$25 jobs, they must be well dressed, have a high school education in addition to business training and offer the best of references.

Employees handling money, from the messenger up to the tellers, are covered by heavy bonds. Contracts must be signed in which the employee promises to stay a stated period; to divulge nothing that might concern the company. Every reference is checked, not only by Morris Plan but by the bonding company, which employs detectives to check up on the would-be employee's past, his family connections and his opinions—if any. Sunday school boys and girls are preferred.

Morris Plan used to give employees a day's cutting once a year. Busses would take them out into the country. But two of the busses collided on one occasion, injuring several workers. Fearing accident claims, the company called off the poodles. However, the company's publicity department, in charge of window displays, advertising and public good will, publishes an "employees' paper," the Planet. Poems, glorification of loyalty and hard work, and social items comprise its efforts on behalf of workers. Baseball teams and glee clubs for the higher employees carry the firm's name before the public.

Morris Plan achieves cooperation through competition, jealousy, suspicion and fear. Branch heads send messengers to headquarters on high executives' birthdays to see how much other branch heads are investing in flowers. The branch executive who fails to send flowers falls under official displeasure and puts himself in line to enlist in the army of the unemployed. Successful branch heads keep their jobs and get promotion by cutting wages and costs. The others are fired.

**TELEGRAPHERS IMPROVE CONTRACTS**  
ST. LOUIS (AP)—The order of Railroad Telegraphers announces an increase of 1.62c per hour obtained by mediation on the Western Pacific bringing the average wage to 68.96c per hour. The Boston Elevated Railway, which last year granted the 6-day week, has agreed to 1 week vacation with pay, retaining the average wage of 97.8c per hour. The Order enrolled 493 new members in October.

# On WEVD

236.6 WEVD—New York City—1300 KC  
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16  
12:30—Welschmiller's Entertainers  
1:00—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox  
2:00—Woodhaven Studio  
3:00—Florence Landy, mezzo soprano  
3:15—Paul Blanshard, "Bernard Shaw's Socialism"  
3:45—Leo Haggard, cello  
4:00—Theresa Wolfson, "Frances Wright and Her Group"  
4:30—Gudrun Ekland, lyric soprano  
4:45—Charles A. Wagner, poet  
MONDAY, DECEMBER 17th  
12:00—New Leader Clippings  
12:20—Elsie Schuman, contralto  
12:40—Gervase Thomas, Beards' "American Patriot"  
1:00—Betty Farr, contralto  
1:20—Paul Lowenkron, violin  
1:40—S. Pearl Tinsler, Thinking Thru  
2:00—Mary Linden, violin  
2:20—Anton Romatka, Labor Temple Poetry Forum  
2:40—William Dwight, contralto  
3:00—Gertrude Wolf Klein, Rebel Poems  
3:20—Betty Goldknopf, piano  
3:40—Bashka Scherer, contralto  
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 18th  
2:00—Paul's Radio Shop  
2:15—Hollis and Bellaire Community House  
2:30—Jack's Clothes Shop  
2:45—Queen's Community Company  
3:00—Community Men's Shop  
3:15—Community Men's Shop  
3:30—George Davidson, violin  
3:45—Alice Post, violin  
4:00—Maude A. Tolleson, contralto  
4:20—N. Y. Tuberculosis Association  
4:40—Jean Anderson, piano  
5:00—Elizabeth Bacon Walling, Cameos: Richard LeGallienne  
5:20—Casper Fishback, violin  
5:40—Estelle Scheer dramatic reader  
6:00—Lucille Marsh, Duncan Dance Memorial  
6:20—Lydia Mason, piano  
6:30—Jewish Radio Shop  
6:45—Algermon Lee, "Where Americans Came From and Why"  
7:00—Edna Levy, soprano  
7:15—Lester Coleman, Talking It Over  
7:25—Cantor S. Belin  
7:40—Winifred Harper Cooley, Plays and Books  
7:55—Cassie's Restaurant  
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19th  
12:00—Helen Gershwitz, piano  
12:20—Mrs. John Alden, "Blind Babies' Letter to Santa"  
12:40—Emily Vetter, soprano  
1:00—As a Poet Sees It  
1:15—Music  
1:20—N. Y. Tuberculosis Association  
1:40—Abraham Haiduck, violin  
2:00—Maude A. Tolleson, piano  
2:20—Vivian Gustavson, mezzo  
2:40—Dr. Werner Marchand, Animal Psychology  
3:00—Isabel Edman, soprano  
3:20—Timothy Murphy, Religion in America  
3:40—Bertha Jaffe, cello  
4:00—Gordon Richardson, Modern Art  
4:30—Woodhaven Studio  
4:45—Hints from Suzanne  
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 20th  
3:00—Dr. William Hayes, Health for All  
3:20—Bess Shapiro, soprano  
3:40—New Leader Clippings  
4:00—Women's Peace Society, Anne E. Gray, Secretary  
6:20—Ralph Hudson, tenor  
7:00—Brookwood Labor College  
7:40—Jessie Wallace Hughes, Socialism and Peace  
7:55—Suzanne's House Party

# AMUSEMENTS THEATRES

## The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

**I'M YOUTH, I'M JOY!**  
AT the Civic Repertory Theatre, Eva Le Gallienne is proving that youth and joy do not depend on years, but are heart-things eternally where the spirit wings. Psychanalysis of "Peter Pan" has often tempted us, but never when its spell is over the boards, and especially not while we are being won from old allegiance by the compelling presentation the play is now receiving. Bromberg is perhaps a trifle large to become canine; but never has there been such a captivating crocodile, never have the scenery and the costumes so adorned an effective performance. Maude Adams (since her name is graven in memory) heard longer applause, to restore Tinkerbell, than these unfair times will grant; but surely she had no more winning a Wendy than Josephine Hutchinson, surely her never-never boys romped no more naturally. In spite of Egon Brecher—the Civic Repertory's chief mistake—the pirate scenes are jolly roger indeed. And Eva herself, at all whose hearts have set a glow around Maude, is the biggest surprise and treat of all. Her performance is sprightly, is joyous; graceful of body and lilt of voice, Eva Le Gallienne lifts a careless gladness, with the breath of a wistfulness more elusive than Peter's shadow, to a triumph of youthful beauty. Those who have all ways recognized in her an actress of intellectual power and depth, now watch an unsuspected emotional flowering.

Every child, when grown, will have legitimate complaint against a parent who permits it to miss this performance of "Peter Pan," every grown-up will have a gap he will not know how to fill, until he falls under its spell.

**O, Woman!**  
The native Annamite name for woman is "Congal," which is also the name of the play by Harry Hervey and Carleton Hildreth, now at the Sam H. Harris Theatre. The play is a story of French occupation; we discover that when whites "occupy" far-off lands, their chief "occupation" is the native woman. Helen Menken is the lady of greatest concern in this play, from the native she loves, father of her child, she goes through a succession of white hands, wherein war and the various stages of heroism and cowardice are held, to the sad end of a submissive life.

Plays of the hot-sands, white cargo variety too often depend on the psychology for their effects, or rely on the exotic surroundings to draw attention from defects in workmanship; amid the pleasing elements of "Congal," it is well not to examine the play itself too closely. But the settings are as convey a pleasant sense of authenticity, the company, especially Maurice Burke, good support for the difficult yet well done work of Helen Menken.

**How Gentlemen?**  
Sometimes, in fiction as in life, a woman has tried to maintain her hold on a man by forming him at the psychology moment, that she is about to become a mother. This used to happen in the older serious tales just in time to save a married life from going on the rocks of abandonment or divorce. Since "Jude the Obscure," it has more frequently come to be the device by which matrimony is induced in a hesitant or otherwise reluctant gentleman.

In "The Lady Lies," John Meehan's play at the Little Theatre, the situation is complicated by the presence, already, of several legitimate children, for whom father, successful in other respects, wishes to provide a mother respectably to take the place of one long gone. This course of conduct, however, would involve the relinquishment of an association with a less respectable woman who has consoled the widower through seven shifting years. Naturally, this person is less desirous of withdrawing than she might morally be expected to be; out of the tug-of-war between children and comfort, the play pulls its power.

The play works smoothly through the difficult situation; Shirley Wards does the essential lying to the neatly discomfited William Boyd, while the remainder of the cast casts about, rather successfully, for enlivening movement to the evening's stir.

**The Bitter Bitten**  
What the Elizabethans called cross-biting is the blackmailing device at the core of "A Most Immoral Lady," Alice Brady's new vehicle at the Cort. To explain this trick in words our time can understand would be to lessen the force of the climax of Act 3, so I shall refrain—sentencing out, however, that the solid sides very neatly to a quiet close. Indeed, Townsend Martin shows that he has learned when to stop an act; his final curtain comes at just the right moment, two smiles earlier than the usual closing kiss. For, of course, all works to a happier end than earlier seems impending.

Alice Brady acts as one who is possibly "most immoral," but is surely a lady. Beneath her superficial banter are a poise and calm self-possession that no practice can bring, that bespeak dignity and breeding. The substitution of solid character permits the actress to do the most reckless, most "immoral" things with impunity, with no loss of sympathy in the beholders. Blyth Daly is more of the surface, yet carries her moments well; the others competently carry an ingenious idea to clever fulfillment.

**Playing For Our Day**  
The current number of the Theatre Guild Magazine, recently enlarged, and entrusted to the editorship of Hiram Motherwell, with Lucian Bernhard as art director, contains a number of excellent articles. Anne Herenden, in "Look Pleasant, Ladies," analyzes the "age-old inconclusive wrestling match of the sexes" to show how slightly it has progressed "beyond the Punch and Judy stage. Punch, at least, is chastened;" but that is all modernism seems to have done. Judy yields the stick as lengthily as before, though more successfully.

## CIVIC REPERTORY

THEATRE, 14th St. at 6th Ave.  
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# SOCIALIST PARTY WORK

**National**  
**THE IDEAL CHRISTMAS GIFT**  
The prison reminiscences of our late beloved Comrade Eugene V. Debs, "Walls and Bars," will make an ideal Christmas gift. It is a book that will be prized by all who receive it. The cloth bound edition is worthy of any library. The price is \$1.50 per copy, twelve copies for \$15.00. A special Debs edition, beautifully bound in gold, is \$4.00 per copy. Order of the National Office, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

**Bohemian Federation**  
Bertha Patern, translator-secretary of the Bohemian Federation, notified the National Office that Charles J. Glaser, 3551 West 26th Street, Chicago, Ill., has been elected to succeed her.  
Comrade Patern further reports that the Bohemian comrades had Vojta Benach, State Representative of Czechoslovakia, who visited this country last summer, lecture in many states and at the University of Chicago. His address in Detroit resulted in the formation of a good branch there, and he also lectured at the foundation for branches in Chicago, Ill., Baltimore, Md., and other places, but his tour was cut short by illness. The effect of his tour and the lecture by the Bohemian comrades are confident that they can build up a good movement.  
The daily Bohemian Socialist paper which our comrades have been publishing for years ago, but which for a time was controlled by the Communists, during the last campaign worked for the Socialist ticket.

Comrade Patern is confident that the foregoing facts, and the further fact of the re-activation of the Polish Socialist Alliance with the Socialist Party, will bring all the Bohemian Socialists back into the ranks of the Party. She reports that their dramatic lecture recently given an excursion to Detroit, where they played to an overflow house and did much to strengthen the branch and will soon be able to pay up their dues. They are now members of the Party. Their Y. P. S. L. has over fifty members.  
**Attention, Comrades!**  
In a number of states our reports now show that there is a wholehearted desire to strengthen the Party and organize are being placed in the field to build up the Party membership. The National Office is cooperating with several state secretaries in this work, and we urge the comrades in each state to get busy at once—get the members to pay up their monthly dues and go after new members.  
**The Referendum**  
The National Office on the proposed new National Constitution will close in the local and branches on Dec. 15. In State Org. Dec. 21, and at National Headquarters on Dec. 27. Comrades should see to it that reports are made in accordance with the statement recently sent out from the National Office to the Local and Branches.  
Our comrades should not hesitate to go straight ahead with the present dues system, for we will not accept the new Constitution has been adopted or rejected until nearly the first of the year, and even if it should be adopted, it will take a month or so to put it into operation.

**Virginia**  
A new local has been organized at Norfolk. The new local plans to hold a meeting each Sunday at 11 A. M. The Virginia comrades have four sections in line for organization just as soon as they can get to it. They are: Norfolk-Portsmouth; Richmond-Petersburg; Alexandria-Arlington; Roanoke-Lynchburg-Danville. Plans are being made to pay the State Office in a book store and sell radical literature. A benefit performance will be given in Richmond at the Workers' Circle Hall on Dec. 21. Comrade Rutherford, a prominent entertainer, will donate his services. This affair will help to clear the campaign debt.

**Illinois**  
Chicago Socialists Making Nominations  
The Socialists of Chicago are making nominations for Aldermen to be placed in the Primary that takes place on Feb. 2. Morris Seckind, Labor editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, has been nominated in the 23rd Ward. John M. Collins for the 35th Ward and Leon Hancock for the 24th Ward. Other nominations will be made later. The Chicago Socialists intend to combine their efforts in the more favorable wards and hope for victory.

**Utah**  
O. A. Kennedy reports that the comrades of his state are anxious for a renewal of Party activities and he predicts success. He is preparing to send a letter to the comrades outlining work that must be done.

**Iowa**  
State Secretary McCrillis reports that the Des Moines Local is coming along surprisingly well. At the last meeting they took in five new members and had a very good attendance. New members are being taken in at each meeting. McCrillis has sent out a letter to the comrades of his state, urging them to hit the trail and get active in the Party organization. McCrillis is a good speaker and is willing to fill speaking dates in or outside his state.

**West Virginia**  
We are sorry to report State Secretary Higgins must resign his office. His resignation will take place Jan. Higgins has been out of employment for six months and intends leaving the state to get work. He is a very good speaker and is a very good worker. He has been one of our most efficient State Secretaries and we regret very much to see him leave the office.

**Connecticut**  
**New Haven**  
The Banquet Committee, which is planning the Third Annual Commemorative Banquet, will meet at the office of Morris Rice, 23 Church Street, New Haven, Sunday, Dec. 18. All members are urged to attend.  
A. J. Muste, of Brookwood Labor College, will speak at the Dec. 20 Forum meeting of the New Haven Trades Council. The meeting is open to the public and all Socialists interested in A. F. of L.-Brookwood controversy should attend. The State Office is in receipt of a number of applications of Socialists who wish to join the party.

**Idaho**  
State Secretary Cammings is active in the work of building the Party in Idaho. He sends a copy for a letter to be mimeographed for him, which he is sending out to three hundred names for the purpose of keeping the good work going. Cammings never sleeps at the switch.

**California**  
**Los Angeles**  
At a recent post-election banquet of the party here, the Los Angeles comrades pledged for the coming year for organization work. A drive was also launched to raise these pledges to \$200 per month. An organizer will be employed for the county who will give all of his time to the work.

**Wisconsin**  
**Milwaukee Leader Anniversary**  
The Milwaukee Leader, the only English Socialist daily published in the United States, celebrated its seventeenth anniversary on Dec. 17. For 17 years the Leader has carried on in behalf of the Labor and Socialist movement and during the World War it faced the greatest trials in its career. It was deprived of its mailing privileges and even letters addressed to the paper were returned to the writer. This was "making the world safe for democracy." The paper's advertisement was boycotted and its editor, Congressman Victor L. Berger, faced a sentence of 20 years for violating the infamous Espionage Act. In some way the

paper pulled through. We congratulate the Milwaukee Leader. We hope that it will survive to the day that will announce the end of capitalism.  
**Pennsylvania**  
**The Western Front**  
Tim Murphy, state organizer of the party, continues work in the western part of the state and is now in Pittsburgh. He writes The New Leader that he has sold all his subscription cards and promises an order in a day or two for \$100 worth more. He has made a wager with the Carnegie comrades that he will dispose of all the cards in that city and vicinity. All his remaining cards were sold at one meeting, hence the rush order. Jewish comrades have been very helpful to him in his work. Later, The hundred dollar check has arrived!

**Reading**  
All Socialists are invited to join the study class which meets every Sunday morning from 10 to 12 at Labor Lyceum. A standard text-book on public speaking is being used by the class and Darlington Hoopes is acting as class leader.  
Local Pottstown held a successful hasenpfeffer party at the Labor Lyceum. There were 13 tables and 20 games were played. Another party is scheduled shortly after Christmas. The first one was a decided financial and social success. Five new members were admitted to the party and the monthly subscriptions to The New Leader were taken. Secretary Griggs believes that The New Leader "is getting better with each issue" but suggests more articles dealing with farm problems.

**Oregon**  
A total of 328,312 votes were cast in Oregon at the general election November 6, according to an item in the Oregon Journal yesterday. This is the official statement of the Oregon State Board of Elections. The result of the official canvass is as follows: For Governor, 205,341; Smith, 109,223; Thomas, 2,720; Reynolds, 1,564; Foster, 1,094. For Congressman, Third District, Republican, 75,835; Democrat, 29,073. For Congressman, Second District, Republican, 3,569; Democrat, 3,020. For Secretary of State, Republican, 14,187; Democrat, 13,575. For Justice of the Supreme Court, Independent, 69,852; Republican, 38,619; J. E. Hosmer, Socialist, 14,702; G. L. Perrine, Socialist, 14,702. For Attorney-General, Republican, 183,971; Democrat, 74,107; W. R. Beeler, Socialist, 14,504. Dairy and Food Commissioner, Republican, 213,118; Independent, 32,822; Socialist-Labor, 8,497; Peter Streiff, Jr., 7,651.  
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**New Jersey**  
The State Committee is working out details regarding party funds with the Budget and Finance Committee. The latter committee will also supervise work of the organizer who will consolidate his work in the north and then go to the southern part of the state. Lectures are being given in the state for next year. Andrew P. Wittel has been appointed State Secretary and the state office will be located at 53 South Orange Ave., Newark, after the middle of December.  
**Essex**  
Local Essex County is planning a banquet for Dec. 21. The banquet will be given in Richmond at the Workers' Circle Hall on Dec. 21. Comrade Rutherford, a prominent entertainer, will donate his services. This affair will help to clear the campaign debt.

**The Propaganda Car**  
The new car of the state organizer, rigged out in a novel way as a traveling library, is attracting considerable attention. State Organizer Sutton believes that if he can get people to read a Socialist book that he can follow up on his next call by an appeal to join the party or assist financially, or both. Subscribers to the new car are expected to be procured in this way.

**New York City**  
**Party National Referendum**  
All branch organizers and members will note that voting on the new national Constitution will close on Dec. 15. Branches must file their tabulated report with the Secretary, August Claassen, on or before Dec. 15.

**Theatre Parties**  
The Socialist theatre benefit performances held by the Socialist Party City Office, in cooperation with branches and other organizations, will be given at the Metropolitan Playhouse on Dec. 19, 20 and 21. On these dates Upton Sinclair's new play, "Singing Jailbirds," will be given under the auspices of the New Playwrights Theatre. Tickets for these performances include the following prices: \$1, \$1.75, \$2.50.

**Christmas Eve Social Gathering**  
The first of a number of social gatherings at which the membership of Greater New York and their friends will spend an enjoyable evening, is on Christmas Eve, Dec. 24. This affair will be held in the Debs Auditorium, Peoples House, 7 East 15th Street. The program is as follows: At 9 p. m. Madam Dorsha and her "Theatre of the Dance" will be the principal feature of one hour's entertainment. She is presenting a new program of dances including a group number entitled, "Man is the Mob," danced by Paul Hayes and a group of six. Madam Dorsha will render a number of solo songs, including "March Song" and two tangos. At 10 p. m., the Camp Tamiment Orchestra will occupy the stage and the rest of the evening will be devoted to merrier, general sociability and dancing. Another feature of the evening will be the presence of our old friend, Santa Claus. He will be on the job with full power to dispense gifts to the deserving. A fine collection of articles, useful and beautiful, have been donated by a number of comrades and these articles will be in Santa Claus' possession to distribute.

**Women's Section**  
Hopes ran high at the meeting of Socialists in New York City the other night. A spirit of optimism prevailed. Determined to build a women's movement within the Socialist Party was evident. Nearly a hundred women members renewed their faith in the Socialist Party. They came from New Jersey, Queens, Brooklyn, Harlem, Bronx and Manhattan. They showed a marvelous spirit, a boundless energy and a willingness to carry on the much needed but much neglected work—organization of the women.

The studio of the Rand School was filled to capacity in response to a call of the Women's Committee, to discuss plans which would serve as a basis for organization. The plan was not actually rejected, but all of them are, more or less, embodied in the plan published elsewhere on this page.  
It was good to see the younger element at this meeting. But young and old united in the desire to build for the morning. There was our old friend, Mrs. Zamestkin, who came all the way from Jamaica, L. I.; L. Alexander, who came from Orange, N. J.; the two "Ors" from the Bronx; Levinson and Weisberg, from Brooklyn; and many others. They were all there with energy and willingness to help the movement. There was Esther Friedman, Dr. Anna Ingerman, Mrs. Jacob Orr, treasurer, Mrs. Celia Rotter and many others. We wish we had space to mention all who were present.

The name of the Women's Committee was changed to New York Women's Section of the Socialist Party. Officers were elected as follows: Rachel Fanken and Hilde Claassen, Chairman and Vice-Chairman, respectively, for the Borough of Manhattan; Eleanor Levinson, recording secretary; Mrs. Nemer, financial secretary; Mrs. Jacob Orr, treasurer. Mrs. Sam Orr, chairlady for the Borough of

Brooklyn; Eleanor Levinson, chairlady for the Bronx; Mrs. Zamestkin for Queens, and Mrs. Alexander for New Jersey. At the meeting, Benjamin Shav's busy will be discussed.  
A good beginning. Now watch the "doings" of the women in the party! We have come to "deliver the goods." Watch us do it!

**The City Central Committee**  
A well attended meeting was held on Wednesday night, Dec. 5. The room was crowded to capacity by delegates and visitors. Report of the Executive Committee included a number of activities, such as the calling of a general party meeting on December 12, a mass meeting with Marchbanks and Edwards, fraternal delegates of the British Labor Party to the American Federation of Labor Convention—that assistance had been given by the City Organization to the Associated Silk Workers strike of Paterson, N. J.—that a new branch was chartered in Kings County, known as the Kings Highway Branch—that theatre paid benefits will be given on December 19, 20 and 21—that a new branch of social gathering and dance has been arranged—that the Women's Section of the Party is making excellent progress. Delegates from the various branches reported at length and their reports indicated a healthy condition of the Party organization throughout the city. Substitution of numerous forums; study classes; organization and social undertakings, all of which indicated increased activities and excellent spirit.  
Joseph Stein, Kings County, was elected delegate to the City Executive Committee. In the latter part of the evening, Comrades Birch Wilson and Sands of Reading, Pa., came in unexpectedly and were welcomed in behalf of the City Organization. Both comrades gave excellent and inspiring talks relative to the work of the Socialist administration in that city. Experiences of our comrades in tackling the many problems that municipality and how our Socialist officials are solving them, was the content of their talks, and both addresses were received with great interest and enthusiasm.

**MANHATTAN**  
6-8-12  
At a meeting Monday evening a number of decisions were made relative to educational activities. The Sunday evening forum, which meets at 96 Avenue C, will begin its sessions on Jan. 6. August Claassen will speak every Sunday night on the important events of the week, interpreted from the Socialist point of view. There will be discussions and also questions at these meetings and a short program of cultural character. On Friday evening, Jan. 25, a debate will be held by this branch at the Community Church between V. C. Calverton and August Claassen. A concert and dance will be held in the Debs Auditorium on Feb. 22.

The branch sustained a serious loss in the death of Heinrich Rix, brother of George Rix, both of whom were active members of the branch.  
**3-5-10 A. D.**  
On Tuesday, Dec. 11, this branch held an educational talk meeting. The speaker, one of our esteemed members, gave a very informative talk on "Trade Union Situation," touching on the history and growth of a number of important unions, such as the needle trades, the Miners' Union and the A. F. of L. She spoke of the having some arrogant with power, how they gradually began to lose their progressive features, and how they deteriorated during and after the World War, of the Communist disruptive influence, and the A. F. of L. Convention and the feeling of the A. F. of L. as at present constituted is not a power for working-class betterment. It was extremely interesting and the discussion in which the membership partook was exhilarating. The next meeting is to be left to the discretion of the organizer, but regular meeting comes during the holidays.

**Harlem**  
A forum is being established by the Harlem Branch beginning Sunday evening, Jan. 13, at 11 a. m. Prominent speakers have been invited. This forum will be under the direction of the following officers: Frank Crosswell, rector; Morris Extract, assistant director; Alice Crawford, secretary and Sophie Segaloff, treasurer.  
**2-2-23**  
The first meeting in our new headquarters was held Tuesday evening, Dec. 11. Judging by the attendance, a great deal of enthusiasm prevails among members as well as sympathizers. The large attendance is also proof that there is a large field for the Washington Heights Branch. The growth of this branch is very rapid. There are about 40 members on the books, and there is every reason to believe that before long we will double this number.

The next meeting will be held Tuesday, Dec. 18, due to the Christmas holidays. This meeting is called for the purpose of electing officers. Some prominent speaker will address the branch in an educational program which will be arranged. The address of the new headquarters is 600 West 181st Street, Room 10, and the time is 8:15 sharp.

**Central Branch**  
An important meeting will be held on Tuesday, Dec. 18, at 8:30 p. m., at which time we will have nominations and election of branch officers for 1937 and delegates to the various committees.  
**2nd A. D.**  
Success was achieved in the organization of a branch in the upper west side of the 2nd Assembly District. The meeting was held last Thursday night in the office of Dr. Molin, 1405 W. 141st Street. Several comrades who have recently joined the party along with some of the older members, were present at this gathering and decided to form a branch at once. They have 12 comrades to start with and at least four of the new members have undertaken the job of immediately increasing the number of members by canvass in their neighborhood. A collection of \$14 was obtained among those present to start a fund for the branch. Dr. Molin was elected temporary organizer, W. V. Weinstein, assistant organizer; Mildred Jonck, secretary and treasurer. The next meeting of this branch will be held on Thursday night, Dec. 20, at the same place.

**A. D.**  
A forum established of this branch and which meets every Friday night at the Martinique Mansion has achieved success. The program includes weekly lectures for the next three months. A social evening and dance has been arranged for the near future in the same hall.

**Italian Branch**  
The Bronx Italian branch has been dissolved. This small group that met in the lower part of the Bronx have had about a year's existence and did their best to carry on activities among working people of their race. It was decided at the last meeting that it would be far better for those few active members to transfer to their nearest neighbor the Harlem Italian Branch. Many comrades have moved into that section of the city and they will carry on their activities in Harlem.

**Ingerman Lecture**  
The Socialist Consumers' League, Branch 2 and 10, of Harlem, has arranged a lecture to be given Dec. 19, 8 p. m., at 121st Garrison Ave., Bronx. Dr. Anna Ingerman will lecture on "What is Old Age? Can Youth Be Prolonged and Old Age Prevented?"  
**BROOKLYN**  
5 and 6 A. D.  
The Sunday School established by this branch held its first session last Sunday and met with surprising success. A large group of High School boys and girls attended and the three teachers immediately organized these youngsters into classes according to age, etc. This is only one phase of the activity of some members of this branch, particularly among

the youth of this section. The YPSL Junior and Senior Circles are also being nurtured by the attention of several active comrades.  
**13-19 A. D.**  
This branch meets at the Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion Place, every 1st and 3rd Thursday. They had a well attended meeting on Dec. 6, with a lively discussion on the new constitution. At the meeting, Benjamin Shav's busy will be read and discussed. This procedure will be continued at the future meetings.

**18 A. D.**  
Resolution, "We, the members of the 18th A. D., mourn the loss of the mother of one of our most beloved and active comrades, Dr. Joseph N. Cohen. We extend to him our heartfelt sympathy in his hour of grief."  
Party to the American Federation of Labor Convention—that assistance had been given by the City Organization to the Associated Silk Workers strike of Paterson, N. J.—that a new branch was chartered in Kings County, known as the Kings Highway Branch—that theatre paid benefits will be given on December 19, 20 and 21—that a new branch of social gathering and dance has been arranged—that the Women's Section of the Party is making excellent progress. Delegates from the various branches reported at length and their reports indicated a healthy condition of the Party organization throughout the city. Substitution of numerous forums; study classes; organization and social undertakings, all of which indicated increased activities and excellent spirit.

At the last meeting, Dec. 10, a large attendance was present and the following matters were discussed: Reports indicated the success of the Sunday School held under the auspices of this branch; YPSL in excellent condition and under their auspices a dance will be held on Dec. 19 at the Labor Lyceum for the benefit of the Sunday School. The Friday evening forum was opened by Norman Thomas. A splendid crowd attended. These lectures will continue until the Spring every Friday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. In addition to this, the branch has been engaged Henry Jager for a series of lectures on the "Elements of Socialism," to be delivered every Monday evening following the business meeting of the branch. A literature agent has been elected and the branch is purchasing a large quantity of pamphlets and leaflets, etc., for intensive sale and distribution at the various affairs held by the branch. March 16 a masquerade ball will be held at the Labor Lyceum.

**Brighton-Sheepshead**  
This branch will hold its second lecture by Henry Jager, Friday, Dec. 14, at its headquarters, 235 Brighton Beach Avenue. His subject will be "The Revolutionary Social Case." The lecture will start at 8:30 p. m.  
**Kings-Highway**  
This branch held a very successful meeting last Tuesday evening at which three new members were proposed. Henry Jager was the speaker. The branch will meet Monday, Dec. 17, at 8:30 p. m., at Kings-Highway Mansion, 16th Street and Avenue P, Brooklyn. David Berenberg will speak on "Revolutionary Poetry."

**Mine Relief Assessment Unit**  
SCRANTON, Pa.—(AP)—In response to widespread demands from the United Mine Workers' union membership, the \$2 a month special assessment for the international strike and relief fund has been cut to \$1.

**INTERNATIONAL MECHANIC WELDERS**  
A. F. MORTON, General Secretary  
Executive Headquarters  
3803 SNYDER AVE., Brooklyn, N. Y.

**BUTCHERS' UNION**  
Local 151, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.  
Office and Headquarters:  
Labor Temple, 243 E. 54th St., Room 12  
Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

**Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.**  
130 East 33rd St., Madison Square 1934  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
D. GINGOLD, Manager  
MEYER POLINSKY, Sec'y-Treas.

**Embroidery Workers' Union**  
Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.  
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 101st St., Melrose 7600  
CARE GIBLIN, President  
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

**BUTCHERS' UNION**  
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Phone Orchard 9800-1  
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday  
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OPERATORS, LOCAL 1  
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday  
Executive Board meets every Monday  
All Meetings are held at 133 SECOND AVENUE, New York City

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Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
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Board meets every Tuesday evening  
All locals meet every Wednesday  
HYMAN NOVODOR, Sec'y-Treas.

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Local A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday  
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
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Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

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7 East 15th St. Phone: Algonquin 7082  
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Phone Orchard 1923  
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I. LEFKOWITZ, President  
ALVIN BOETTNER, Secretary

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Telephone Drydock 8616  
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Executive Board same day, 8:30 P. M.  
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M. WOLPERT, Vice-Chairman  
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Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union  
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Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
OFFICE: 133 SECOND AVE.  
Phone Orchard 9800-1  
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday  
S. HERSHKOWITZ, Sec'y-Treas.  
OPERATORS, LOCAL 1  
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Executive Board meets every Monday  
All Meetings are held at 133 SECOND AVENUE, New York City

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**United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America**  
LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 404 East 106th Street  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 101ST STREET, Telephone ME 6374  
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Telephone WAtkins 3091  
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Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor  
GENERAL OFFICE:  
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Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
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UPDOWN Office: 30 West 37th Street Phone WIC 1270  
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OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
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A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four"  
Office: 44 East 12th Street Stayman 5566  
Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office  
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I. MACLIN, Sec'y-Treas.

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Office: AMALTHEON BLDG., 205 WEST 14TH ST. Phone WAtkins 7794  
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at ARLINGTON HALL, 130 E. 14TH ST. Phone WAtkins 7794  
ALBERT E. CASTRO, President  
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Meet Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELD'S HALL, 87 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN

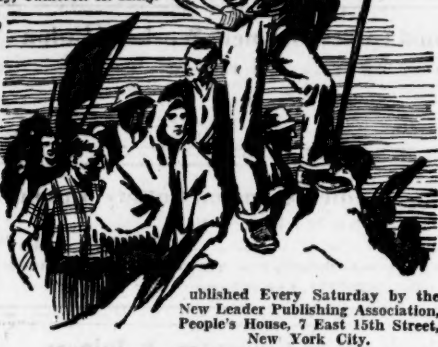
**N.Y. Joint Board, Shirt & Boys' Waist Makers' Union**  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
Headquarters: 621 Broadway (Room 553) Phone Spring 3268-3600  
G. GOODE, Manager  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 245—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These meetings are held in the Office of the Union

**BRICKLAYERS' UNION**  
LOCAL NO. 9  
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor



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

Editor: James Oneal  
Assistant Editor: Edw. Levinson  
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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1928

### Labor and the Machine

LABOR-DISPLACING inventions have increased the productive power of workers many fold and reduced the number of workers required to produce a given amount of service or commodities. Were it not that many inventions produced new wants and increased the need for more raw materials the present system of production would have faced a crisis many years ago. Although the productive power of the workers has been multiplied time after time their incomes have not been multiplied. They have been able through organization to wrest a fraction of the increase from the owners of industry but most of the fruits of increased production have gone to capitalists and increased the number of millionaires.

In the printing industry the workers are now facing a revolution by the invention of a machine which will replace the linotype operator. By turning an electric switch the new machine, the "teletypesetter," sets the type as news is received over the wire. The operator and linotype machine are no longer necessary. The only problem in perfecting the machine is the problem of editing the copy which may require one linotype machine for every ten or twenty formerly used.

The printers have advanced farther than any other union in job control as the union over a number of years has gradually taken over the employer function of hiring and firing as well as nearly all other managerial functions of the shop. But the teletypesetter displaces most of the machine workers by an electric switch tender and if this revolution is completed in the entire industry the shop democracy built up by the printers will be demoralized and probably destroyed. The savings made possible by the machine will be reaped by the owners of the industry.

Other inventions of recent years show the necessity of workers expanding their vision of shop democracy to industrial democracy for the nation as a whole, otherwise we will become robot slaves of the machine-owners.

### The Hunter at Home

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT will succeed Alfred Emanuel as Governor of New York and already some Democratic leaders see in Roosevelt a man of messianic proportions to lead the untiered to victory. He also seems to have been impressed by this prospective new role. If press stories are reliable Roosevelt is preparing himself for this new career.

Some twenty years ago Roosevelt was that queer bird known as an "independent Democrat," one opposed to Tammany Hall. It now appears that the hunter who hunted the Tammany boys and smote them hip and thigh is to make his peace with Olvany. The latter is to be consulted regarding appointments and the hunting season is at an end.

Mr. Roosevelt also has a reputation as a hunter in another field—Latin America. In a speech at Butte, Montana, in August, 1920, he boasted that the United States carried the votes of at least twelve Latin American countries in its pocket to be cast in the Assembly of the League of Nations if we joined the League. "The United States has about twelve votes in the Assembly," he declared. "Until last week I had two of them myself, and now Secretary Daniels has them. You know I have had something to do with the running of a couple of little republics. The facts are that I wrote Haiti's Constitution myself, and if I do say it, I think it is a pretty good Constitution."

So here is the Messiah who qualifies for leadership of the awkward squads, the former hunter of Tammany bad men and weak republics of the Caribbean Sea and Central America. We suggest the last line of Stevenson's *Requiem* for his inaugural text, "the hunter home from the hill."

### Against the War-Makers

OUR readers will be interested in the remarkable editorial in the *Terre Haute Star* which we reprint on this page. Its interest is enhanced by the fact that it appears in a very conservative paper. In substance it supports the opinion that if high government officials following a declaration of war are forced to "go into action with the fleets, or into the first line trenches with the armies, the complete and effective outlawry of war would be accomplished quickly. The necessity of abolishing it would become manifest in the minds of statesmen."

This comes from an organ which, during the World War, indulged in the pisantry of an occasional ferocious editorial against *Terre Haute's* most distinguished citizen, Eugene V. Debs, a man who expressed similar views. The *Star* goes on to observe that if the war-makers keep out of the trenches why shouldn't "the young men whose lives are potentially worth more to their countries and the world than those of their elders?" Moreover, if in the future "any violence is employed it will be used upon the man who tries to quarrel with our neighbors." After having disposed of the trouble-maker we will "shake hands with the fellows he wanted us to kill and say, 'Let's sit down and talk this over.'"

In short, this is the plea of intelligent youth, especially the youth of working class families, and the yearning of the masses in all countries against the stupidity of fighting in wars for the upper class gentry who make war. Did the shade of Debs look over the shoulder of the editor who wrote this editorial?

### Where Pity Is Not Awakened

IN TURNING down a proposed endorsement of the Red Cross the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York has called attention to the peculiar ethics which guide the Red Cross in its activities. "When did the Red Cross ever do anything to help the striking miners," asked one delegate and thereby probed the class ethics of that organization.

That the Red Cross has relieved suffering in war, storm, earthquake and flood is certainly true and no humanitarian would question the need of aid in such calamities and yet there are other disasters inflicting acute suffering which do not invite the assistance of the Red Cross. Such are the terrible privations endured by the miners and their families during their long strike and similar sufferings that have occurred and will continue to occur in many industrial struggles.

Why does the Red Cross remain unmoved in the presence of strikes and lockouts? Last winter thousands of men, women and children suffered extreme privation in the miners' strike. They were homeless and without food. They were as destitute as were many who were driven from their homes by the Mississippi flood. Some died because the relief given by labor organizations was insufficient.

The reason for this neglect is that the Red Cross dare not interfere on the side of labor in a struggle of the classes. A part of the funds which it receives for its work comes from the exploiters of humankind. We are inclined to think that its records will show that some of the capitalists with investments in the closed mines gave liberally to the Red Cross while they were starving and freezing men, women and children in the mining areas.

These economic disasters are just as worthy of attention as war, storm and flood but for the Red Cross to extend aid in industrial struggles would be to help workers in a struggle against masters. The "humanitarianism" of the organization is limited. The working class must provide its own Red Cross. Otherwise women and children may die like flies without awakening the pity of the professional "humanitarians."

### Cowardice Approved

WE HAVE no desire to pay attention to our Communist "friends" in these columns but occasionally something happens that is so eccentric that it is worth passing on to our readers. A long editorial in the issue of their English organ of November 15 considers the disaster that came to the steamer *Vestris* at sea. Here are three observations from that editorial:

If the sailors and other members of the crew did save themselves without regard to the fate of the passengers it is to their credit.

If the crew of the *Vestris* did try to save themselves first they are to be congratulated for having done so. Such an act is a phase of the class struggle.

When sailors become aware of these facts they become class conscious revolutionaries, who utilize their opportunities in the ports of the world to fight for the abolition of capitalism.

Which is simply glorifying the cowardice of men who would abandon men, women, and children at sea in the face of death! The passengers are regarded as members of the "petty bourgeoisie" and are consigned to death by the eccentrics of Union Square. The self-advised "revolutionary" is required to turn yellow and save himself while women and children drown. To so act is a "phase of the class struggle."

So be it. If that is what you are, gentlemen, that is what you are.

### A Different Sort of Christmas Card

This timely quotation is selected from the writings of John P. Altgeld, former governor of Illinois.

"TWO voices are calling you—one coming from the swamp of selfishness and force, where success means death; and the other from the hill tops of justice and progress, where even failure brings glory."

Two lights are seen in the horizon—one the fast fading marsh light of power; and the other the slowly rising sun of human brotherhood.

Two ways lie before you—one leading to an ever lower and lower plain, where are heard the cries of despair and the curses of the poor, where manhood shrivels and possession rots down the possessor; and the other leading off to the highlands of the morning, where are heard the glad shouts of humanity and where honest effort is rewarded with immortality.

FAY LEWIS.

Rockford, Illinois.

### The Gambler

I watched her shuffle down the street  
To where the Bookies stand.  
The only shilling she possessed  
Held tightly in her hand.

A shawl about her uncombed hair,  
A tattered, greasy skirt.  
The king's eyes on the shilling, too,  
Were clotted up with dirt.

She backed a horse at ten to one—  
A favorite is no good  
To one who lays an only bob  
In chance of getting food.

She let the baby drain her breast,  
And had the heart to sing.  
Though Bob the Bookie shouted up,  
"Your nose ran in the 'bing'."

That was the day the parson came  
Knocking at her door.  
Cading, to have Bibles sent  
To Inka Pinkpore.

—Joe Corrie, in "Glasgow Forward."

## From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

"Singing Jailbirds"

Editor, The New Leader:  
I have just received by airmail clippings from several New York newspapers, reviewing a dress rehearsal of "Singing Jailbirds" in the Provincetown Theatre in New York last Sunday evening. The fastidious metropolitan critics find the production worthy of praise; so perhaps you will grant me space to tell your readers about the practical side of the enterprise.

We who care about free speech confront a difficult situation out here on the coast. The police have arrogated to themselves the right to throw rebel workmen into jail at any time upon any pretext; and the courts invariably sustain the action. A month or two ago a number of Communists were raided, without warrant of law, and if it were not for the generosity of Kate Crane Gartz in putting up bail, a score of persons would be in jail at the present time. The police even arrested members of the International Labor Defense who were collecting funds for the striking miners of Pennsylvania.

The only hope appears to be an appeal to the rest of the country. Our "boosters" are sensitive to outside criticisms, they don't like the "wobbly" phrase, "California, land of Orange Groves and Jails." In the hope of stirring the sluggish-minded, I undertook to raise the money to finance a production of "Singing Jailbirds" by the New Playwrights Theatre. The budget was about one-fourth what the play would have cost if done for commercial purposes; but even so, I was unable to raise more than half and the rest has come from my own pocket. The play is to run for a month at the Provincetown Theatre, the house having been sold out at half price for the first three weeks to various labor organizations. As the theatre seats only two hundred persons, this barely pays the running costs. We would like very much to move the play to an up-town theatre, where larger audiences could see it; and if any of your readers will assist the enterprise, we will gladly give a lien upon the receipts. I am taking no royalty upon the play. It is necessary to act at once, if at all. Address the New Playwrights Theatre, 133 W. 14th St., New York.

UPTON SINCLAIR

Long Beach, Calif.

Tribute To Hibben.

Editor, The New Leader:  
Paxton Hibben was one of the bravest souls who ever lived. All who knew him loved him—honored him. We will pass on his name to our children's children.

JEAN JAURES PAUL

for Le Cercle Victor Hugo, N. Y. C.

### WILHELM HOHENZOLLERN'S GOOD SENSE

(The following remarkable editorial appeared in the *Terre Haute Star* of December 5. See editorial comment on this page.)

THE death of Admiral Scheer of Germany has given publicity to a story that in October, 1918, he was ordered to make a desperate final effort to wipe out the British fleet. It is said that the admiral refused to engage in the forlorn hope unless his Emperor would accompany him and take with him the chances of disaster and death.

Wilhelm Hohenzollern could not see the necessity for such self-immolation. He declined to seize the opportunity of ending his career in a manner like that according to the traditional standards, would have been heroic if not glorious.

Wilhelm, we think, is to be complimented on his good sense. Instead of going down with the ship under a storm of shells, he survives to enjoy a comfortable life if somewhat unexciting old age at Doorn. His conscience eased by such sedatives as human nature knows well how to use, he is doubtless getting a good deal of quiet pleasure out of his declining years.

On the other hand, we think the good sense of Admiral Scheer also merits compliment. It was Wilhelm's war—why, then, should the admiral or anybody else take risks that Wilhelm was not willing to take? Why should Wilhelm spare his life for a happy rustication at Doorn, while the admiral went to a hero's doom, standing with arms folded in calm courage on the bridge of his ship—or how ever and wherever admirals stand under such circumstances?

If it were required that in case of war all rulers—kings or presidents—and all secretaries of state and ministers of foreign affairs, together with diplomats and persons of like responsibility in the political sphere, should go into action with the fleets, or into the first line trenches with the armies, the complete and effective outlawry of war would be accomplished quickly. The necessity for abolishing it would become manifest to the minds of statesmen. They would have little difficulty in seeing that war is a stupid thing, and that good sense must avoid it.

And if it be good sense for the rulers and statesmen to keep out of naval battles and land engagements, and to spare their lives for such usefulness and happiness as the future may hold, why is it not good sense for the average citizen, for the young men whose lives are potentially worth more to their countries and the world than those of their elders?

We will get rid of war when all of us get as much good sense as the former Kaiser showed. In that day, if there is any violence employed it will be used upon the man who tries to make us quarrel with our neighbors. After dealing with him we will go and shake hands with the fellows he wanted us to kill, and say, "Let's sit down and talk this over. What is it we were supposed to quarrel about and why? Whatever it may be it is better that we should settle it by understanding and agreement, even if we must agree to disagree, than that we should create a vastly worse situation for ourselves and everybody else by killing one another."

## TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

Way to the South?

BOLIVIA and Paraguay are on the verge of a war. Hoover's triumphal goodwill trip on a battleship proceeds apace; President Coolidge has just opened the Pan-American Conference to work out a multilateral treaty for disputes between American states; there is a World Court in Geneva and Bolivia and Paraguay belongs to the League of Nations. Moreover they have signed or are about to sign the Kellogg Pact. Yet the politicians in

out of the city, mostly to Philadelphia, by the firm. Of four factories only one containing the central offices is open or has been open since the strike began. There a handful of non-union cutters work who are transported in limousines under guard of private detectives of a Russell agency who are allowed under Wisconsin law to operate in Milwaukee because they were licensed in another town after the city government had refused them a license.

Under the Socialist Mayor, Dan Hoan, mass picketing is permitted and is practiced without disorder and without any arrests. What that means may be seen comparing the situation in Kenosha where in the Allen-A hosier strike involving less than half as many workers there were up to the first week of December 600 arrests by the local police on the picket lines.

Even the courts have felt the different atmosphere in Milwaukee. Judge Gustave Gehrz of the Circuit Court in Milwaukee refused to make his court the agency of the bosses who were rebuked when they had the gall to ask the Supreme Court to take original jurisdiction over his head. Judge Gehrz granted the workers back pay for the time they lost because they were locked out three or four weeks before the expiration of the agreement with the union. This case involving probably \$35,000 to \$40,000, has been appealed to the higher courts. If sustained it will set an unwelcome precedent for bosses who like to collect damages from Danbury haters and Boston milk drivers but not to pay them.

Another thing about the strike worth comment is the hearty support and sympathy the workers and leaders of the A. F. of L. unions in Milwaukee have given to this strike of an organization outside the A. F. of L. That is something worth recording.

All this I saw for myself when I visited Milwaukee during the campaign. Since then has come a very interesting new development. The Adler firm would have yielded long ago to the just demands of the workers except that it has behind it the Employers' Council, a powerful body, which wanted to add this to certain other victories over the labor union. Against such powerful opposition the Amalgamated Clothing Workers introduced a new element of offense. They opened up a factory in cooperation with Hart, Schaffner & Marx. The latter firm places the orders and markets the goods. The actual management of production is in the hands of the union itself. Already these workers are running the largest clothing factory northwest of Chicago. They have put 205 workers back on the job, 90 percent of whom are earning 10 percent more than they did at Adler's under better working conditions. Recently in a peak week they produced 1600 coats and 3200 pants. Their efficiency has won the high praise of Milton Straus, Manager of Hart, Schaffner & Marx. The manager of this Milwaukee factory is Hyman Isowitz, a business agent of the union in Chicago. His assistant is Jerome Posner. Eigle Behling, captain of pickets, is in charge of the pants department but still keeps her deep interest in the strikers for whom there is not yet work and who keep up the fight on the picket line. Two other good Amalgamated men, Mike DiNovi and Louis Schultz, are what might be called personnel agents and help to pick the workers. At shop meetings all questions are taken up candidly for discussion. The executives there are not bosses but Brother and Sister So-and-So. Of course the workers have much to learn about the problems of production but the encouraging thing is that they are learning.

This story which I have had to tell briefly has all sorts of other interesting morals—the value of a strong union, the great value of a Socialist Mayor and some Socialist spirit in a community, the blessing of friendly feeling between workers of different unions, and the like. It raises some questions with answers not so obvious. Will the workers who have tasted better conditions ever want to go back to Adler even if the firm capitulates this side of bankruptcy? The arrangement with Hart, Schaffner & Marx is, frankly, temporary. Can a permanent arrangement for carrying on the workers' own factory be developed? The history of cooperative workshops and factories in general and in America in particular has not been encouraging for a number of reasons well recognized by students. Can this adventure in Milwaukee prove the exception, not under unusual conditions such as now prevail, but under more normal conditions of competition within the capitalist system? What form of organization must the workers set up to do the job? These are questions, the answer to which will mean much to workers far distant from Milwaukee.

### Light Needed On Columbia

The benign influences from the battleship *Maya* did not reach the workers on American banana plantations in Columbia. No decent man can be content by being told that all American lives have been saved, that the strike was the work of "agitators" and that it was being firmly dealt with by the Colombian government. What we want to know is the events that led to the strike, the demands of the workers; in short, the human price of the bananas we eat.

### An Inspiring Strike

In Milwaukee the strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers against the firm of David Adler and some of its attendant circumstances make encouraging and instructive reading for us in days when too often the cause of labor seems to be marking time.

The strike began as a lock-out of 700 union workers who refused to sign yellow dog contracts with the firm of David Adler. For 33 weeks, or ever since last April, the strike has been going on without break in the ranks of the strikers. Not one garment has been finished in Milwaukee, though some have been sent

### Young Circle News

To secretaries of clubs: Please read the following at your next meeting and let me know what your club decided:

"The U. S. Senate will soon have to decide on two questions dealing with war and peace. These are: 1. The Kellogg Treaty and Outlawing War; 2. A proposal to build 15 new battleships for the U. S. Navy. Which of these do you favor? Which do you oppose? What are you going to do about it?"

J. L. AFROS

The following is a resolution adopted by Young Circle League members at a meeting held at the League's Bronx Center on Wednesday, Dec. 5.

"We unanimously are opposed to the bill for the construction of fifteen cruisers, now pending in the United States Senate as against the interests of Peace and against the spirit of the Kellogg Peace Pact. Such naval construction will result in fostering a war psychology at home and antagonism towards the United States abroad. We call upon all to speak and vote against this military bill."

All Young Circle Members will be interested in these two new activities of the League:

Gymnasium—Every Saturday afternoon, beginning Dec. 15, a gymnasium at the Washington Irving High School, Irving Place and 17th Street, on the 8th floor, will be open to the Young Circle League members in New York and vicinity for exercise and games. From 2-4 p. m. the Gym will be open to girls; and from 4-6 p. m. to boys. A competent instructor will be in charge. Glen Club—Beginning Dec. 16, at 1:30 and every Sunday thereafter the Glen Club under the direction of Mr. Posner, will meet at the Rand School, 7 E. 15th Street. The members of last year's Glen Club will be there. New members will be admitted. All those wishing to join should come at 1 o'clock.

Circles are asked to reserve Sunday evening, January 27, for announcement of the event will be made later.

Activities at the Bronx Center, 1163 Boston Road

Sunday, Dec. 16, 4 p. m., Weekly Forum. J. L. Afros, director of Young Circle League, "How to Enjoy a Scrap." 7 p. m., Debate, Two Varsity teams from New York University will debate: "Resolved: That the American Jury System be abolished." The audience will judge the debate. A secret ballot will be cast and a majority vote will decide the winning side. All members are invited.

Tuesday, Dec. 18, 8:30 p. m. The Arts and Crafts Club will meet with Rose Russo as instructor.

Wednesday, Dec. 19, 8:30 p. m. Gen-

## Do Your Xmas Subbing Early

SAMUEL ORR, New York, never over looks the chance to secure a sub. An other one this week.

L. A. Fournier of Chicago, hurries to renew "to the brightest paper published by any radical movement."

"Getting better with each issue," is the opinion of Chas. E. Gregg of Pottstown, Penn. He sends in 3 subs and a newspaper clipping giving a good account of the activities of the Local organization. He wants to see our press grow in circulation among the farmers.

THE "APOLOGY" IS ACCEPTED. B. L. Rosenberg of Pittsburgh, overlooked renewing on time. His penance consisted in renewing for 2 years.

"Why cannot the worker wake up?" asks Jas. H. Birchard of Wis. "As long as he has enough to keep body (and if he has a soul), together, he thinks everything is O. K."

A SAGE OBSERVATION. Walter Sage of New Jersey, says: "Please renew my sub to your valued paper. It is correctly named. It leads all others in truth and facts."

Fred Whitcomb, Massachusetts, renews. Oh, yes, he sent two other yearlies with it.

Wm. M. Van Der Weyde, president of the Thomas Paine Memorial House sends in for a bunch of papers containing MacAllister Coleman's article on Tom Paine. He wants to know all about the children's book that Mac is writing on that fearless fighter for truth.

"The Socialist movement was shot to pieces down here as a result of making the war safe for hypocrisy but this sub will soon be followed by others," says E. J. Hoffpauir of Louisiana.

Chas. Morris of Watertown, N. Y., is buying extra copies of The New Leader.

WE BLUSH, BUT YOU'RE RIGHT. "Please send your truth-spreading, liberty-loving gazette to Jos. McCroskey, to El Paso down on the Mexican border." Victor J. Fawler, N. J.

Seven subs and a bunch of trial subscriptions from Alfred Baker Lewis, Boston.

Organizer Sutton of New Jersey, bags five.

Singles from many others, among them, Miss Jessie Johnson, Canada, Harry Herbst, New York and Daniel Polsky, Connecticut.

MAIL, TELEGRAPH OR RADIO. 7 E. 15th St., New York City. A Christmas gift of \$1 and a renewal from Mrs. Louis Mittlacher, Chicago.

Karl A. Zeitner, Pennsylvania, is seeing to it that his friends are supplied with sample copies. He is sure that subs will follow. Meanwhile he sends in 2 and wants Art Young's cartoons.

Orders for copies of Upton Sinclair's "Boston" continue to roll in. W. M. Corvill, Kentucky, takes advantage of the offer of the set and a year's sub to The New Leader for \$5, he says, and his wishes are for a greater circulation.

### UNCLE SAM PASSES BY

"Uncle Sam passed my door when he distributed the winnings of our boasted national prosperity, but I cannot be without the New Leader. I rather deny myself material necessities than be deprived of the rich mental nourishment to be found in our paper," writes John Antisdal of Michigan.

Did you notice the "our" in the above paragraph. The attitude of the writer is the correct one. If more of our readers felt as they should feel, that The New Leader is indeed their paper, our circulation would soon double.

"Not a Socialist but a real progressive likely to build up a strong opposition to the two old parties," is the way a new subscriber, O. E. Reynolds of Nebraska, speaks of himself.

The Minnesota Union Advocate favors us with a sub.

Speaking of Christmas gifts, we make this valuable suggestion: Renew for the year 1929. Order a Sub for a friend. Send for some Sub Cards. Send for "Boston" (2 vols.), and a year's Sub, \$5.

"Don't see how I can get along without the paper, so here's my renewal," W. H. Pate.

"Greetings to all the vallant comrades who are working faithfully for principles," is the message that accompanies a renewal from Mrs. French, "One of Debs' loyal comrades."

"It's hard digging dollars out of the Arkansas hills, but The New Leader is a necessity to me. A Merry Christmas and a million subs for our paper, is my wish." R. Demse.

OUR THRIFT SERMON. Save yourself annoyance, time and postage by renewing promptly and send in a sub or two with your own.

Local discussion on current events. Thursday, Dec. 20, at 8:30 p. m. The Dramatic Group will meet with Ida Ulan as coach.

The Arc Junior Circle will debate the Marco Juniors, Sunday, Dec. 16, at 2 p. m., at the Harlem Workmen's Circle School, 104th St. and Park Ave.

Dr. Roberts will lecture on "The Origin of Jewish Holidays" for Senior Circle 4, at 129 Summer Ave., Brooklyn, Sunday, Dec. 16, at 4 p. m.

Fred Shulman, principal of the Brownville Sunday School, will lecture on "Debating Early American History" at 190 McKibben St., Saturday, Dec. 15, at 8 p. m.