

SNOWDEN TELLS HOUSING PLANS OF BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT

Socialist Cabinet for Fifteen-Year Building Program and Municipal Housing to Relieve Unemployment by Extensive Public Work—Human Life Put Before Capitalist Profits.

By PHILIP SNOWDEN, M. P.
(Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer)

London, Feb. 22.—The first Labor Government in Great Britain has met the House of Commons. It was a historic scene when the new Labor Prime Minister rose in a crowded House to make the statement of Government policy.

Russia has been recognized. The Soviet Government has accepted the recognition, and at an early date the plenipotentiaries of that Government will come to London to discuss all matters outstanding between the two Governments.

Within the last few days the Board of Agriculture has taken steps to facilitate the granting of credits to small farmers for the development of their holdings.

The Ministry of Health has amended a number of orders passed by previous Governments which limited the activities of the local authorities in such matters as giving assistance to expectant mothers and improving health clinics.



Snowden

Housing Plans

The two most important and pressing problems which face the new Government are housing and unemployment. The difficulties in the way of dealing with housing are tremendous.

The Government's housing scheme in its broad outlines is to carry out a plan for building an average of about 160,000 houses a year in Great Britain over a period of fifteen years.

This will provide a total of nearly two and a half million houses. The normal need for new houses to supply the increase of population is about 70,000 houses a year. About 30,000 houses are needed annually to replace those which become unfit for habitation. On a modest estimate there is at present a shortage of about 400,000 houses.

The crux of the housing problem is to get houses which can be let at a rent within the means of the people who need them. The cost of building a working class house has gone down by about sixty per cent from the peak figures of two or three years ago, but is still about twice the figure of the days before the war. Since that time local tax rates have nearly doubled, and these two items taken together make it impossible to let houses at a rent which a working man can pay with a considerable subsidy from public funds.

The scheme of the Labor Government is based upon charging rents approximately equal to those charged for houses which are controlled under the Rent Restriction Acts. Put into figures this means that on the houses it is proposed to build there will be a loss of about six shillings a week on the average, and this loss will have to be made good by the State and local authorities. It is proposed to apportion this loss between the two public bodies in the proportion of two-thirds to the State and one-third to the local authority.

The success of this scheme depends in the main on three things. First, the willingness of the local authorities to accept this financial burden; second, the solution of the problem of labor supply; and third, the supply of building material.

Local Aid to Housing

The scheme will have to be worked by the local authorities. They will have to prepare plans, let the building contracts, let the houses, and own them and collect the rents. From the local rates they will have to subsidize each house to the extent, upon the average, of two shillings a week. When the full program has been carried out fifteen years hence the full burden on the local authorities will be equal to a rate of about ten pence in the pound on the assessable property of the local area.

There may be some reactionary local authorities which will hesitate to incur this burden, but a large State subsidy which will in reality be a capital gift to the local authorities should be an attraction to the enlightened local authorities.

Building Labor

The question of labor is a very difficult one. The suspension of house building for five years during the war led to the depletion of the building trades. Apprentices did not come into the trades; many men

Hieroglyphic Brush Workers Win Their Strike

Washington.—Workers employed in making the brush pens with which the Chinese write their weird-looking ideographs have won a strike in Shanghai, getting a wage increase of twenty-one per cent, according to a report just received by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. The men went out for a forty per cent raise. The pay varies in the different shops, some requiring the men to work a certain number of hours a day, with wages on a monthly basis, while others are on a piece work basis.

HILLQUIT TO REPORT ON ST. LOUIS AT DEBS AUDITORIUM

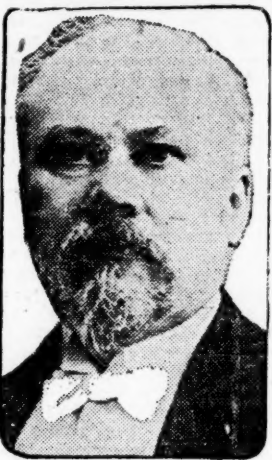
A full report of the recent St. Louis Conference for Progressive Political Action will be made Friday night, March 7, at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East Fifteenth street. The meeting is to be under the auspices of the Joint Merger Committee of Greater New York.

Morris Hillquit, who was delegate from New York City, will tell the story of the happenings at the conference, will explain the purpose of the convention to be held at Cleveland, July 4, called by the Conference, and the function of the Socialist Party in that Convention.

Admission is limited to Socialist Party members in good standing. An opportunity will be given to Party members in arrears to pay dues and thus gain admission to the hall.

Algernon Lee will report for the joint merger committee of Greater New York, and the addresses will be followed by discussion.

HIS POWER TOTTERING



PREMIER POINCARÉ

WORKERS' GOV'T IS GAINING NEW STRENGTH DAILY

Henderson's Victory Emphatic Vote of Confidence—Old Parties Drawing Together—Socialist Statesmanship Creates New Era.

London.—With the seventh week of Labor Government in Great Britain, the stock of Socialism in office is going up all along the line. The MacDonald Ministry is making good.

The Labor Party has been through its first bye-election, and has won a magnificent triumph. The one remaining restriction upon universal suffrage is about to be removed. International relations, Socialist diplomacy is making history—and is making for world peace and understanding. In internal affairs, Labor politics is creating a realignment of British parties, and has brought nearer the day predicted in Ramsay MacDonald's speech in Parliament last July, when he said that there was room for only two parties, the Capitalist Party and the Socialist and Labor Party.

Arthur Henderson, Home Secretary in the MacDonald Ministry, was defeated in the December elections. Old Dan Irving, veteran Socialist propagandist, who had represented Burnley since 1918, had recently leaving a vacancy for Henderson to contest.

In December, Irving won in a

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MANY GRAFTS FOR FAVORED FRIENDS OF WASHINGTON GOV'T

BANTON'S OFFICE AGAIN CALLS OFF TRIAL OF HARLEM VOTE THIEVES

The trial of the men under indictment for stealing the election of August Claessens in 1921, set for Monday, March 3, has again been postponed.

This time the case is "off the calendar," that is, no date has been set for its reappearance on the court calendar.

The pretext given for this latest postponement is the illness of Mr. Edward McGowan, a clerk of the Board of Elections, who is one of the witnesses. Mr. McGowan's role in the trial is to present as evidence the mutilated tally sheet of the Second Election District of the 17th A. D., showing the deliberate stealing of 394 votes. Any other clerk could present the sheet in evidence as well as Mr. McGowan, since he was not in the polling place election night and has had no connection with the case other than custody of the sheet.

Mr. Joab H. Banton, District Attorney of New York County, has been positive in his assurances to The New Leader that there is no intention deliberately to delay the case, and that the case would be called March 3. He made as positive assurances of an early trial as

long ago as September, 1922 to reporters of The Call.

The methods in vogue in Harlem elections, of which the 1921 election was a sample, were described in detail in a long article in last Sunday's Times. The writer says that he asked a Tammany leader last election day "what arrangement had been made between the two political parties in the district for election day. Would the names of absentees be voted on? Would the usual political arrangement in the district be carried out in the count, or would the count be carried through legally and the changes fixed made upon the tally sheets?"

"The Tammany captain answered sententiously 'a little of each.' We have the usual 'one to two' arrangement and it will work out all right!"

The Times also told of the signing of tally sheets by poll clerks before the count, permitting gangsters to make the count to suit themselves, and fill in whatever they want; of ballots prepared in advance and deposited in boxes instead of ballots cast by the voters, and other pleasant practices long in vogue in Harlem election.

Postal Deficit Made by Favors to Railroads and Express Companies—Chemical Patents Another Source of Graft—Three Attorney-Generals.

By MARX LEWIS

(Special to The New Leader)

Washington.—That the trail of the serpent should have led to Harry M. Daugherty and the department over which he presides was inevitable.

Administrations, like rivers, cannot rise much above their source, and whether Mr. Daugherty, was more responsible than any other single individual for the making or the breaking of this administration, it is clear that the pollution is one from which many officials cannot escape. Neither justice nor honesty is possible where the fountains from which these virtues are supposed to flow are poisoned.

The Department of Justice, during the last few administrations, has been as much the source, as the effect of corruption. As an effect it has been subject to the same ills to which all the other departments are heir—but it has differed from the others in that it was also an independent cause of corruption.

The Wilson Regime

Beginning with the second Attorney General in the Wilson regime, who, when he was told that there was considerable stealing going on in war contracts, said, "Well, this is war, isn't it?" continuing with A. Mitchell Palmer, who permitted if he did not actually aid, the Chemical Foundation to get away with hundreds of millions of dollars worth of patents, and who, it is now learned, refused to carry to the court of last resort a case in which hundreds of millions of dollars of land was taken by railroads; and ending with Harry M. Daugherty—we have three gentlemen who could no more be recognized apart than three peas in a pod.

When Mr. Daugherty denies charges that the people have lost confidence in him, he is probably right—he knows that they could not have lost what they never really had. The fact that William J. Burns is his chief lieutenant would in itself be a sufficient indictment of any administration officer.

The only difference between Gregory and Palmer and Daugherty, is traceable to the difference of the years in which they served. A few years ago a "red scare" would have been sufficient to have set at rest all rumors about dishonesty and corruption in the Department of Justice. That was a favorite method of subduing criticism, and it was used successfully by Gregory, Palmer, and in the early days of Daugherty.

The "Great Detective"

That Burns has not completely given up his faith in this method is evidenced by reports that he has set his machinery in motion "to get the goods" on Senator Burton K. Wheeler, author of the resolution which may lead to Daugherty's retirement—the goods being some "radical" affiliations of former days, of the Senator from Montana. And Burns has a reputation of being able to get what he is after—the thugs over which he presides are able to get anything, even if they have to manufacture it in order to get it.

But it is exceedingly doubtful whether Burns and Daugherty can use any more red scares or make them serve as red herring to divert attention from the immediate question at issue—the administration of the Department of Justice. And this is Daugherty's greatest misfortune—it is here that Gregory and Palmer have had an advantage over him.

To the discriminating observer, the evil, as evidenced by the daily acts of the administration, will be seen to be the basic class character of the Government as it is now constituted, the devotion with which it serves the privileged interests of the nation.

Gauging Postal Workers
A splendid illustration of this was
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KEENEY EXPOSES MINE TYRANNY IN W. VIRGINIA

Fayetteville, W. Va.—The class struggle in the coal fields of this State is again dragged into court with the trial of Frank Keeney, president of District 17 of the United Mine Workers. He is charged with murder in connection with the march of miners in 1921 against the hired thugs of the mine owners.

The original plan of the prosecution was to try William Blizard again, District 17, subdistrict president, whom they have failed to convict in the two previous trials. The reason for the change, according to the prosecution, is that two terms

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GOMPERS ASKS AID FOR GERMAN LABOR UNIONS

Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, has thrown himself and the whole influence of his organization into the campaign to raise funds for the relief of the German Labor movement. The catastrophic fall of the mark completely wiped out the funds of the trade union and Socialist organizations, and unless help comes from abroad, the movement that has been the bulwark of democracy in central Europe, and that has protected the German people from the industrialists and from Poincaré's reaction is doomed to extinction.

In the old days, when the German labor movement was the most powerful in the world, its leaders made it a habit of contributing to the Socialist and labor movement in all countries, as a tangible token of world solidarity. The world is now reciprocating, in the face of events for which the Germans are not at all responsible.

At a recent meeting in New York Mr. Gompers said that it was the German trade union movement that had prevented the restoration of the Kaiser or a Hohenzollern in the last two years and that had also prevented Germany from suffering "from the misery that might have been brought about by the extreme left."

A letter from the head of the German Federation of Trade Unions thanking the American Federation of Labor for its aid was read to the meeting. Up to February 16 approximately \$13,000 has been forwarded to Germany by the National Committee, but this did not cover the extent of the donations, as some of the pledges made by local unions have not yet been presented to the committee as cash payments. It was estimated that New York local unions have contributed about \$25,000 toward the assistance of the German Labor organizations.

The Socialist Party has also opened a fund for the relief of the German workers. The party is asking for funds for the German Socialist party and for the German unions.

Money should be sent to Bertha Hale White, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, and marked whether it is for the German unions or for the party. The money that is contributed to the party will be sent directly to the German Socialist organization, while the money that is contributed to rebuild the unions will be transmitted to the fund being raised by the American Federation of Labor.

Movies and Jazz Enliven Denby's Junket to Editors—At Public Expense

Undisturbed by midwinter blizzards, about eighty-two sweet young lives cruising the sun-kissed blue Caribbean as the guests of the soon-to-be ex-Secretary Denby and at the expense of the people of the United States. On the trip, the 18th Amendment is more honored in the breach than in the observance.

While the attention of the people was riveted on the oil business the transport Henderson, the same luxurious ship that took President Harding to Alaska last summer, slipped out of Charleston harbor for a cruise to the West Indies, the Canal Zone, and then to see the maneuvers of the fleet.

The Navy Department had invited 100 picked newspaper editors and publishers to be its guests, all expenses paid.

It is not denied that the junket is to pave the way to create sentiment in favor of the Navy's program of building big ships and in other ways to prepare for the next "last" war. When the successors to Mr. Denby and Mr. Roosevelt ask for hundreds of millions, including money for the purchase of oil that once had belonged to the nation and had been given away to friends of public officials, the newspapers whose proprietors had enjoyed the balmy trip 'neath tropic moons will hardly be in a frame of mind to oppose.

A representative of the New York Times, writing about the good times the journalists are having at public expense, tells of the excellent movies every night, lectures on the Navy's idea of history and the "Aims and present Status of the Navy,"

and "International Law," delivered by Navy officials to men enjoying to the full the generous bounty of the Navy.

The officers of the ship are getting out a mimeographed daily newspaper, and in a recent issue the following appears:

ARTICLES IN COMING ISSUES

In this issue The New Leader begins a series on "Gift, Graft and Guarantee" by Donald G. Richberg. You would have to read many tedious histories to get the facts regarding the railroads that Mr. Richberg tells in this series.

The second installment of Morris Hillquit's lectures appears in this issue. These lectures present a keen analysis of present problems that face Socialists and will be followed by answers to questions. Two more lectures will appear.

How are the workers organized in Porto Rico, politically and economically? What are their prospects? William Toole will tell us in an informative article next week on "Socialism in Porto Rico."

For forty years the American Federation of Labor has added scarcely a new idea to the philos-

ophy of the Labor struggle. At the Portland convention the A. F. of L. for the first time stated its position regarding problems of the present industrial order. James Oneal presents an analysis of this new program next week in an article on "The New Philosophy of the A. F. of L."

Other articles for future issues include "Waste in our Industrial System," by William Bloom and "Socialism or Barbarism?" by David P. Berenberg. William Morris Feigenbaum will also soon have a series on the elementary principles of Socialism.

We reserve other announcements for other issues of The New Leader. Let your Socialist comrades know what they are missing if they do not get The New Leader.

GERMAN LABOR PREPARED FOR EARLY BALLOT

Berlin.—The executive of the German Socialist Party issued a New Year's statement summing up the outlook for the German workers and preparing them for an early national election.

In all parts of Germany the reactionaries are getting together for the purpose of reducing the influence of the Labor and Socialist organizations on the Government, the statement says.

The reactionaries hope that the next general elections will once more return them to unhampered power over the nation. If they succeed, they will carry forward that policy which so far has forced the working and middle classes to bear the whole burden of the lost war and of reconstruction.

Sum Up Situation

The statement declares that the policy of the capitalist parties obstructed every effort of the Socialists to stabilize the economy of Germany and to come to an understanding with the allies about reparations and reconstruction.

While the statesmen of the old parties blocked the way to normal living conditions in Europe, they at the same time shifted the economic results of these policies to the shoulders of the working and middle classes.

When finally the Socialists prevailed with their demand for an effort to fulfill the Versailles treaty, the obstinacy of the French Premier Poincaré prevented all negotiations about the economic and financial agreements which are necessary before Europe can be normalized.

Workers Suffered Most

The chaos and depression resulting from this stupid deadlock between German and French capitalist statesmen fell with crushing force on the working people of Germany.

This economic suffering paralyzed the workers politically. The economic depression thus resulted in a reduction of the political power of the working classes.

The reactionaries, who never tired of praising the courage and endurance of the workers while they were fighting foreign invaders, now turn against the working class heroes and want to do to them what the foreign enemy could not accomplish.

Have Reactionary Program

The program of the reactionaries now is directly aimed against the progress made by Labor during the war and the revolution. This program of the reactionaries wants to reduce wages, prolong the hours of labor, abolish the safeguards to labor established as war measures, annul the social legislation, weed out the Socialists from the Government, hold the masses down by force, reduce Parliament to impotence, abolish the Weimar constitution of the republic and install a dictator in Berlin.

HOUSING PLANS OF LABOR GOVT

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formerly employed in the industry drifted into other occupations; a great many emigrated to the colonies and America. The result is that the available supply of skilled labor is only about half that which existed before the war, and is quite inadequate for such a big housing scheme as the Government now contemplates.

The building trade unions have hitherto naturally resisted the dilution of their industry by the introduction of large numbers of semi-skilled men. They had no guarantee that there would be work for them for any lengthened period. The building trades in the pre-war days often suffered terribly from unemployment. That experience has left a lasting impression. More men, and indeed a large number of additional men for the skilled branches of the building trade are needed if the large program of housing now contemplated is carried out. If the trade unions can get a guarantee of continuous work for all men said to be needed for the scheme, for a period of fifteen years, their objections to dilution will be removed.

A Labor Government is in a much better position to negotiate with the building trade unions on the subject of dilution than a Government of the employing class. Negotiations are going on, and so far the prospects are very encouraging. Conferences between the trade unions, the employers and the Ministry of Labor are taking place daily and there is every prospect that a satisfactory arrangement will be the outcome.

But if this problem of getting a full supply of labor is settled there will still remain the question of an adequate output of materials. The chief difficulty will be bricks. The present capacity of all the brickfields of the country is barely sufficient to supply the bricks which

Youth Conference Declares for Service to Mankind as Its Ideal

For the first time in the history of the United States, young people from such widely diverse organizations as the Christian Endeavor, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., the Student Volunteers of America, the League for Industrial Democracy, trade unions groups, the Y. P. S. L. and Young Workers' Leagues, met under one roof at a conference at Bear Mountain Inn, March 1 and 2, and adopted a program of social reforms satisfactory to all elements.

The program calls for the socialization of railroads, mines and super power, opposition to militarism, support of trade unions, an independent political party of workers and farmers, and an increasing emphasis upon service to the community as opposed to the pursuit of commercial success.

It was a remarkable conference in many ways. There were many Socialists, all there in the spirit of the fullest cooperation, seeking means of getting all sides to see each others' viewpoints. The principal addresses were inspiring speeches by Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas.

To continue the work of the conference, an executive committee was organized, and provision was made for a committee of 32, one from every organization that accepts the program adopted. The following organizations cooperated at Bear Mountain:

Brookwood Labor College, Christian Endeavor, Young People's Group of the Community Church, Economics Club of Columbia University, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Fellowship of Youth for Peace, Harlem Forum, Industrial Workers of the World, Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Clubs of the Young People's Group, League for Industrial Democracy, National Student Forum, Student Fellowship for Christian Life Service, Student Volunteers of America, Trade Union College Groups, Young Friends' Society, Young Poole Zion, Young People's Socialist League, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Men's Hebrew Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Young Women's Hebrew Association, and the Rand School.

The Chairman of the Conference was Devere Allen of the World Tomorrow, while the members of the Executive Committee included Morris Novak of the Y. P. S. L., Richard Clarke of the Christian Endeavor, Thomas McCurdy of the Y. M. C. A., Jean Kennedy of the Y. W. C. A., Allison of the Urban League and Harry W. Laidler of the League for Industrial Democracy.

Declaration of Principles
The declaration of principles follows:

Efficient to supply the bricks which would be needed for the housing program alone, leaving nothing for other needs. It is hoped, however, that with the prospect of a guaranteed market for their output for fifteen years, the brick makers will extend their works. This problem of the supply of material, though difficult, is not insuperable.

But if all difficulties are successfully overcome there will still remain the problem of stabilizing prices. The housing scheme of the Government is based upon the assumption that prices will remain at their present level. If they rise and the cost of houses is thereby increased considerably, the financial basis of the scheme will be upset, and it will probably collapse with terrible consequences.

It is most important, therefore, that prices and wages should be stabilized. The Government may find it necessary to adopt stern measures against profiteering, and to follow the practice followed during the war when prices were fixed by a costing system.

Unemployment
The unemployment problem is still more difficult. The Government is approaching it from many sides. Amendments are to be made by which something like 500,000 unemployed persons not now legally entitled to benefit will receive it.

But the policy of the Government, while favoring maintenance when there is no work, will be directed to getting the unemployed back into remunerative work. With that object comprehensive schemes of public work are being planned. The Road Board is considering plans for great arterial roads. The Board of Trade is hoping to be able to set many schemes on foot for electrification of railways. Export trade is to be encouraged by giving trade credits.

The most hopeful direction in which to look for a revival of trade is to the foreign market. The two industries where unemployment is greatest are the shipbuilding and the allied engineering trades, and the cotton trade. The development of the export trade will make a demand for increased shipbuilding. There are signs of a revival of trade. Perhaps, more than by all else, the Labor Government will be judged by its success or failure in reducing the volume of unemployment.

"We favor a social order based primarily on production for use rather than for profit to the end that all may be provided with an equal opportunity for the development of their physical, mental, aesthetic and spiritual powers."

"We deplore the attempt on the part of many of our so-called educators to set before the youth of our country the ideals of militarism and the pursuit of private profit, and we favor the development of educational work among the youth of the country which lays chief emphasis on the ideals of social mindedness and of service to the community."

"We likewise deplore the assiduous cultivation of race and religious prejudices and suspicions by many of our citizens, and welcome every movement tending toward a better understanding and more effective cooperation between races and religious groups, and to equal rights for all."

"As immediate steps toward a better world, we favor the restoration of civil liberties, the abolition of child labor, the principle of collective bargaining, equal pay for equal work, insurance against sickness, unemployment, accident and old age, and the socialization of the mines, railroads and super-power."

"We urge the increase of world friendship through concerted agitation against war, militarism and armaments, and through the establishment and strengthening of representative international organizations—political, economic, social and scientific—not only on the part of governments, but also on the part of the peoples."

"We feel that the medical profession should be allowed, by law to give such knowledge to parents as will make it possible for them to limit their families to the number which, under the present economic organization of society, they can maintain in health and happiness."

"As agencies tending to bring about needed economic changes, we favor the organization and the strengthening of labor unionism, of voluntary cooperation, of labor education, and of an independent political party of labor and of farmers."

"We believe that in our work for social improvement we should individually strive to emphasize the values which tend toward the development of human personality rather than the material value of wealth."

"We favor the holding of further conferences of youth organizations, and the cooperation of these organizations for specific purposes."

Other Plans

The Old Age Pensions Act is to be amended by dealing with some of the admitted hardships, particularly those which penalize old people who have been thrifty and saved a moderate sum.

The Board of Education is going to introduce a new spirit into the administration of the Education Acts. A better chance is going to be given to the clever children of the working classes, and the improved staffing of the schools is to be taken in hand.

All these schemes will cost money, and it is here that the chief difficulty of the Labor Government will be encountered. Retrenchment in the matter of unnecessary expenditure is essential in order to finance schemes of social reform. It will be the policy of the Labor Government to see that the nation gets full value for every penny of money spent upon the public services.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

This evening, (Friday) at 8.40 p. m. Joseph Jablonowicz is beginning a six lecture course on the "Drama of Social Conflict." Mr. Jablonowicz will compare the modern drama with the Greek and Shakespearean drama, as to content and technique.

Tomorrow, (March 8), at 1.30 p. m. Scott Nearing will discuss "American Pay Envelopes" in his Current Events Class. The Saturday Afternoon Cameraderie will meet as usual at 3.15 p. m. for tea and talk, followed at four o'clock by a discussion on "Does the New Psychology Suggest New Social Techniques?" by Prof. Harry A. Overstreet.

On Wednesday evening, at 8.40 p. m. Morris Hillquit is giving the last lecture in his series on "New Problems for Radicals." The topic discussed will be "The Future of American Socialism." Also at 8.40 p. m. Mr. Clement Wood is giving the last lecture in his series on Modern Poetry, "America the Voice of Labor."

On Thursday evening, March 13, at 8.00 p. m. August Claessens is beginning a six lecture course on "Sex and Society." The course will include a discussion of Women and Modern Industry; Prostitution with its economic, psychological and social causes; Marriage and Economics, and the fundamentals of discord; the Home, present and future, and emancipation of the household drudge; Elements of Marital Incompatibility, and a study of sex conflicts; and Mental Difference between men and women.

SOCIALISTS NAME J. W. SHARTS FOR OHIO GOVERNOR

Cleveland, Ohio.—Joseph W. Sharts of Dayton, noted Socialist editor and novelist, and one of the attorneys for the defense of Eugene V. Debs in his trial in this city six years ago, was unanimously named as Socialist candidate for Governor at a State convention held Friday and Saturday of last week.

The convention was held at Socialist headquarters, and was spirited and enthusiastic. In addition to a fine State ticket, the convention adopted a ringing platform, and made plans for building up the State organization. State Secretary Oscar K. Edelman of Dayton reported that instead of a bankrupt treasury, as was the case two years ago, there was a balance of \$600 and membership growing in every part of the State.

Thomas Devine, Socialist councilman from Toledo, was chairman of the convention. There were delegates from Cleveland, Cincinnati, Ashtabula, Toledo, Dayton, Massillon, and many other places.

It was a compact, harmonious, well-disciplined company of time-tried party workers. Flights of vague and windy oratory departed long ago with the "Left Wingers." Scant time was spent on speeches.

Platform

The Platform Committee, after some amendments from the floor, declared that "the Socialist Party of Ohio reaffirms our adherence to the principle of international Socialism."

"Our aim is to organize the exploited workers and farmers politically in order to uphold the interests of all who live by honest labor and brain or hand, and to curb the power of exploiting the masses. We would substitute for the present anarchy of production, based on antagonisms and competitive struggle, a system of cooperation and of industrial democracy wherein those who labor shall receive the full social value of their labor, and shall not have to divide up with those who privately own or control the means of life of the masses."

Then follows the immediate demands of the party. A feature is a vehement denunciation of the Ku Klux Klan, which is especially strong in Ohio.

Virgin Islands Want Civil Gov't

Washington, D. C.—Rothchild Francis, Executive Chairman of the Virgin Islands Committee today handed copies of a draft for a permanent form of civil government in the Virgin Islands of the United States to the Hon. Louis W. Fairfield, Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs and Admiral Latimer, Judge Advocate General of the Navy.

Resolutions passed by the American Federation of Labor; American Civil Liberties Union; the Negro Sandhedrin; the Lincoln League of America, and the Virgin Islands Committee demanded citizenship for Virgin Islands and a civilian administration. At a joint session of the legislatures (Colonial Councils) in the islands among other things Congress was asked to determine the status of natives. The Committee on Insular Affairs will hold a hearing at the earliest opportunity.

Keeney Exposes Mine Tyranny

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of court have passed since Keeney was indicted.

The defense moved for a change of venue on the ground that William McKell, multi-millionaire non-union coal king and avowed enemy of organized labor dominated the life and thought of Fayette county. McKell owns 25,000 acres of coal lands and is said to have 15,000 more under lease. Railroad and banks are also listed as his property. 10,000 men are in his employ. His control of the local Republican party is absolute. His field marshal is Osenton, a Democrat and a national committeeman. Osenton's sway of the Democrats equals McKell's Republican influence.

The change of venue was denied. In the courthouse Frank Keeney made the following charges to show that the operators are the "state."

Keeney's Charges

"Sitting there at the prosecuting attorney's table is Charles W. Osenton, chief counsel, William McKell, coal interests, representing the State; with him is Alfred Belcher, hired by the Logan County Coal Operators' Association. There besides Belcher sits Emmett Keadle, employee of Don Chaffin, sheriff of Logan County; at least until a few months ago he was drawing his pay from the Logan coal operators. At the same table is J. E. Thurman, millionaire coal operator of Logan County; S. A. Scott, president, New River Coal Operators' Association; M. L. Garvey, Maryland New River Association. Standing near the portals of the courthouse is William Gray, a Logan thug, who has been implicated in several disorders in Logan and Kanawha Counties. And with Gray is James Scott. James Scott is the paymaster employed by the Logan coal operators. He is the man that went to the witness stand in Lewisburg, where Blizard was tried several months ago, and admitted he paid State witnesses money to testify against Blizard."

"In McDowell County the Steel corporation, has several large operations. In Logan County the same organization has large holdings. Through interlocking directorates the Steel corporation and the Pennsylvania Railroad control more than forty per cent of the mines in the southern fields."

"The Steel corporation," said Keeney, "hopes to dominate the coal markets of the nation by making West Virginia fields non-union. That is why the fight is so bitter. It is not that the coal operators think I inspired the miners' uprising in 1921. They know that is ridiculous; that I was doing everything in my power to turn the men homeward. 'They have set out to crush the United Mine Workers, and I am simply incidental.'"

DEMANDS RESIGNATION OF ATTORNEY GENERAL
Minneapolis.—Immediate resignation of Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty is asked by the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly in resolutions passed at a recent meeting.

The resolution, which was passed without a dissenting vote, requests President Coolidge to ask for the immediate resignation of Daugherty as United States attorney general. It recites the alleged connection the attorney general had with the Teapot Dome oil lease scandal, his failure to prosecute war-time profiteers, his disregard for constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly during the 1922 railroad strike, and his appointment of William J. Burns to head of the Department of Justice.

Lectures and Forums

The PEOPLES INSTITUTE

COOPER UNION

FRIDAY, MARCH 7

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
(What Psychology Can Tell Us About Human Nature and Society)
PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES, A LECTURE ON JUNG'S WORK

SUNDAY, MARCH 9

EDMUND VANCE COOKE
"SELF-SIGHTEDNESS"

TUESDAY, MARCH 11

CONCERT BY AMERICAN ORCHESTRAL SOCIETY
CHALMERS CLIFTON Conductor
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Lectures Start at 8 o'clock

Brooklyn Ethical Society

Academy of Music—Atlantic Ave. Sta.

SUNDAY MORNING AT 11

March 9th HORACE J. BRIDGES
(Leader Chicago Ethical Society)
"The Martyrdom of Man or His Triumphant Progress?"

March 16th JOHN COLLIER
(Indian Defense Society)
"JUSTICE TO THE AMERICAN INDIAN"
PUBLIC INVITED

LABOR TEMPLE

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Sunday, March 9th—5 p. m.

PROFESSOR

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"Communism Among the Early Hebrews."

OFFERING 25 CENTS

7:15 p. m., American Int'l Church

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

"What Is Democracy?"

8:15 p. m.—Public Forum

PROF. JEROME DAVIS

"Oil and the Government"

Educational Center

OF THE

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A. I. SHIPLACOFF, Director

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Oswald Garrison Villard

Editor of The Nation

Will speak on

"The European Collapse"

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East Side Open Forum

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Sun., March 9th, 8:15 P. M.

"THE THEORY OF

MARXISM"

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MINNESOTA F.L.P. IN CONVENTION

Minneapolis.—An effective, State wide organization of the Farmer-Labor Party is expected to result from the State conventions to be held in this city March 12 and 13.

The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Federation will meet Wednesday, the Working People's Non-Partisan Political League and the Minnesota Non-Partisan League on Thursday.

If a State Farmer-Labor Party is formed as a result of the conventions, it will meet Friday at St. Cloud.

Efforts will be made at the convention of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Federation to weld the various Farmer-Labor political units into one organization, thus avoiding considerable duplication of work that has taken place in past elections, where all were working for the same end, but constantly overlapping into the territory of some other unit.

Minnesota is now represented in the United States Senate by two Farmer-Labor men, and with the proper political organization and united effort on the part of the farmers and city workers, this representation can be maintained. In the lower branch of Congress the number of Farmer-Labor men can be materially increased.

The corruption of the Republican party now in control of the State Government, makes a Farmer-Labor administration seem probable. The Democrat party in Minnesota is a mouldering corpse, and it is not to be considered a factor in the coming campaign.

PANKEN SPEAKER AT ANTI-FIRE TRAP MEETING, MAR. 12

Judge Jacob Panken will be the principal speaker at a mass meeting next Wednesday, held to protest against conditions that led up to the recent disastrous Madison street fire.

The meeting will be held at Hennington Hall, Second street and Avenue B, and will be under the direction of the Socialist Consumers' League.

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Pennsylvania Socialist Convention Favors National Party of Workers

HARRISBURG, Pa.—The Socialist Party of Pennsylvania is solidly back of the national organization of the party in its plan to cooperate with a national Labor party, should one be formed at Cleveland, July 4.

Resolutions to that effect were the main features of the two-day State convention that concluded its labors in this city Sunday, March 2.

In addition to putting itself on record on that subject, the convention transacted much routine business, strengthening its organization and making ready for the campaign.

The party organization was reported to be in excellent condition, and the spirit and enthusiasm of the members at a high pitch. The party's weekly organ, the Pennsylvania Worker, is successful and doing excellent work, and propaganda and organization work going on satisfactorily everywhere.

The convention named the following State ticket:

For Judge of the Superior Court—

Henry John Nelson of Philadelphia.

Auditor General—Sidney Stark of Braddock.

State Treasurer—Charles Sehl of Philadelphia.

There is no election for Governor in this State in presidential years.

The convention, which was presided over by William J. Van Essen of Pittsburgh, Saturday, and P. A. McGowan of Williamsport, Sunday, was opened with a "keynote" speech by Joseph E. Cohen of Philadelphia and W. J. Wright of Allegheny.

The spirit of the convention was enthusiastic and no time was wasted on personalities. The following constituted the organization of the convention:

Organization Committee—J. Henry Stump, Reading; Darlington Hoopes, Norristown; J. W. Wright, Pittsburgh; William Adams, Pittsburgh; A. V. Kaiser, Philadelphia.

Credentials Committee—Cora Bixler, Lancaster; P. A. McGowan, Williamsport; F. Silvis, Pittsburgh.

Officers of Convention—Chairman, Dr. J. W. Van Essen, Pittsburgh; Vice-Chairman, P. A. McGowan, Williamsport; Secretary, Darlington Hoopes; Assistant Secretary, Alfred Baker Lewis.

Platform—Jos. E. Cohen, Philadelphia; Dr. W. J. Van Essen, Pittsburgh; Cora Bixler, Lancaster; P. A. McGowan, Williamsport; R. S. Hofses, Reading.

Constitution—Charles Sehl, Philadelphia; Harry Eckard, New Kensington; D. M. Sachter, Charleroi; Geo. Snyder; F. Silvas, Pittsburgh.

Resolutions—Sidney Stark, Pittsburgh; J. Henry Stump, Reading; Alfred Baker Lewis, Philadelphia; Isaac Lindset, Philadelphia; Walter R. Hollinger, Reading.

The Party Press

Secretary Hoopes reported that the Worker, the State paper, had been largely used in the miners' and shopmen's strikes and had made a profit of some \$500 the past year. On motion, the Party branches were called on to cooperate in building up its circulation and in furnishing news of all party activities.

The matter of The New Leader and its relationship to the Pennsylvania movement coming up, George H. Goebel, a visitor to the convention, was invited to speak on the matter. It seemed to be the consensus of opinion that the State paper and The New Leader cover different fields, both essential to the Party membership. It was voted to suspend the rule of not giving out list of branch secretaries and to instruct the State secretary to furnish this list to The New Leader for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions in the State.

It developed that the State secretary and every delegate to the convention is a mail subscriber to The New Leader. Sidney Stark, speaking for Pittsburgh, said they were confident of at least 500 New Leader subscribers in Pittsburgh, with a possibility of it being 800 or over 1,000.

St. Louis Conference

Leo M. Harkins, as a member of the N. E. C., opened the discussion with a full report of the conference, emphasizing that in debating the report the delegates should have in

mind the desires and hopes of the rank and file rather than their own views. He gave in detail the steps leading to the St. Louis conference, starting from the national convention of the Party held in Detroit. At the conclusion of his remarks, the resolutions committee reported as follows:

1.—That we endorse the participation of the N. E. C. in the St. Louis conference and request them to continue in such efforts.

2.—That we send our full quota of 16 delegates to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, and that the 16 comrades polling the highest vote for delegate to the Party national convention shall serve as the delegates to the conference.

3.—When a convention is held in Pennsylvania carrying out the action of the convention at Cleveland all our State-wide candidates shall stand pledged to withdraw in favor of such candidates as are there nominated.

Among other measures adopted were: resolutions on Mexico, Ku Klux Klan, Bonus, and Coal, the latter congratulating the miners on their efforts to nationalize the mines; protesting against any further restriction of immigration and discrimination against aliens; demanding enforcement of the State law against segregation of Negro children in the public schools.

For Delegates

Nominations for delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party, July 6, to be submitted to Referendum 21, to be elected, the 16 receiving the highest vote to serve as delegates to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, July 4:

William Adams, Morris Adlor, John Aulenback, S. Auerback, Cora Bixler, Joseph E. Cohen, Henry Close, Harry Eckard, E. Hainsohn, F. W. Hirt, Fred Hodgson, Darlington Hoopes, Isaac Lindset, Herman Levine, Alfred Leach, Alfred Baker Lewis, Emil Limbach, Pat McGowan, Nathan Malyn, Dr. Helen Murphy, Louis Neff, Charles Sehl, Henry Schlegel, P. A. Silvis, John W. Slayton, George W. Snyder, Sidney Stark, J. Henry Stump, William Temmes, Dr. W. J. Van Essen, Mrs. W. J. Van Essen, Mary Winsor, W. J. Wright, Howard Woolman, Julius Weisberg, George W. Weinstein.

A stirring platform was adopted, calling for the restoration of the natural resources of the State to the people; for a constitutional convention, to restore the government to the people; and declaring for an independent party of workers and farmers.

A feature of the convention was a fine address by James H. Maurer, President of the State Federation of Labor and one of the most active Socialists in the State, urging a national Labor party.

LABOR GOV'T GAINS DAILY

(Continued from Page 1.)

three cornered contest by 2,651. His vote was under 17,000, and he had a minority of all votes cast.

Henderson Faces Fusion

In February, the Liberals did not nominate, in order not to divide the opposition to Labor. Every effort was thrown into the contest to defeat Henderson and thus discredit the Labor Government at its very beginning. Winston Churchill, whose declaration several years ago that "Labor is not fit to govern" bids fair to become a classic joke of Great Britain, threw himself into the campaign in the interest of the Tory, although he is a Liberal. The press took up a fancied discrepancy between a campaign statement of Henderson's and a statement by the Premier in the House, and rang the changes on it, declaring noisily that MacDonald had repudiated Henderson—which was untrue. Conditions were as unfavorable as they well could be. And in spite of them Henderson scored a remarkable victory, increasing Irving's vote by 8,000, polling 24,571 to 17,534 for Camps. For the first time, Burnley scores a clear majority for Labor.

The victory is taken quite generally as a remarkable vote of confidence in the MacDonald Government.

Henderson was introduced to the House by W. W. Henderson, M. P. and Arthur Henderson, Jr., M. P., his sons, both of whom are enthusiastic Socialists.

There is a sentimental interest in Socialist circles in Burnley. That Yorkshire constituency was several times contested unsuccessfully by the veteran Henry Mayers Hyndman, who built up the Socialist strength there. He never won, but he had the happiness of seeing a disciple of his win out, and it was while making an open air speech in Irving's behalf in November, 1921, that he caught the cold that led to his death.

THE L. I. D. DEBATES LABOR PARTY AND THE UNITED FRONT

There was some argument, a bit of history along with a fine bunch of comebacks and rebuttals, at the League for Industrial Democracy gathering the other day. An arena where Marie MacDonald, Abraham Lefkowitz, Juliet Stuart Poyntz and Charles Solomon discuss the question of how can we have a "united front" of labor on the political field, cannot but help be interesting.

Marie MacDonald reviewed the history of the American Labor party and set forth its aims and objects in the work of trying to establish the organized labor movement on the political field.

The program of the American Labor party is summed up in the following line of action: parliamentary action, legal methods, educational work and organization. Political groups, trades-union bodies and co-operatives constitute the make-up of the New York American Labor Party.

One sensed the approach of an intellectual combat when Lefkowitz opened. A historical review of the Farmer Labor party soon launched him into his defense of parliamentary action and he dealt heavy blows to those who come pretending to believe in parliamentary action but whose actions betray them as hypocrites.

When Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Communist spokesman, took the floor there was a general feeling that now the real fight was on. She claimed the approaching power of the Communists in Germany and other countries on the continent, and took occasion to lament and predict the abject failure of the British Labor party and criticised it for attempting to assume power when it was so inadequately equipped for the position.

Charles Solomon is never in finer form than when meeting an antagonist, and this night he was well up to grade. He refused to be inveigled into arguments or disturbed by figures that had no bearing on the question at hand and showed how in the past the Socialists had insisted on the workers taking political action according to our ideas and program. But experience has taught us that we must go along as labor wants to go, helping and directing where we can, but never getting so far ahead that labor could not see us.

In the general discussion Norman Thomas gave a short account of his observations at the recent St. Louis Conference for Independent Political action and reported that the spirit of the meeting was indeed encouraging and hopeful and the prospects of a powerful third party movement along working class interests was most promising.

Lefkowitz's reply to Miss Poyntz of how the Workers' party was compelled to accept power unexpectedly thrust upon it at the Chicago convention was perhaps the spiciest part of the whole program. Jessie Wallace Hughan argued for a program rather than simply a movement to get the workers united. Edmund Seidel made the closing speech showing forth the necessity of common sense in tactics.

To Extend the Franchise

The present election laws permit all men of twenty-one and over to vote, while women cannot vote until they are thirty. This distinction was made to equalize the men and women voters, the women outnumbering the men by millions in Great Britain.

It appears now as if the MacDonald Ministry men and women will be allowed to vote on equal terms, that is, at twenty-one. The bill has passed its second reading, and although it is not a Government bill, the Labor Party is solidly for it.

The international situation has been cleared by the remarkable note that MacDonald sent to Premier Poincare, and by the Socialist Premier's instant publication of the full text of his letter and Poincare's reply. It is an unheard of proceeding for the public to be taken into confidence of their rulers—but then, it is an unheard of thing for a nation to have a Socialist Premier and Foreign Minister!

New Diplomacy

At the same time, under the influence of the friendliness engendered by the MacDonald policy of frankness, the reactionary Thuenis cabinet of Belgium was overthrown and Poincare is left without a friend among the European nations. Poincare, himself, has been compelled to mitigate the harshness of his former position, and due solely to the existence of the MacDonald Government in England, the international situation is more hopeful than it has been for ten years. There is daylight ahead.

Meanwhile, the distinctions between the Liberals and Conservatives are disappearing and it is certain that if an election were held tomorrow, the proud Liberal party would be almost wiped out. It means nothing to anyone. The crippled Tories, victims of political blundering of the worst kind, still are the main anti-Socialist party, and soon may be the only one.

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DOTY WAVES RED FLAG AT CHURCH FORUM IN BROOKLYN

By LENA MORROW LEWIS

If Aaron T. Doty were a poet like James Whitcomb Riley, he would undoubtedly write a poem on "The Reds'll git ya' if yuh don't look out."

He has worked up a big scare over these dangerous people, and last Sunday night at an open forum, in Rev. Land's church in Brooklyn, the self-appointed custodian of the nation's morals made vigorous onslaught on the Reds. With a mountain of books and papers and pamphlets piled on the desk in front of him, he started in by throwing sections from them at the audience.

His attempt to link up the Socialists with the Communists and the Workers' party was a weak affair, and he admitted that since 1919 the Socialists claimed not to be in favor of the advocacy of violence although he doubted their sincerity in this claim.

A group of Yipsels repudiated any affiliation, with the Young Workers' League. One of them asked why if the speaker had only condemned the Communists and Workers' party, did he oppose the granting of a teachers' license to David P. Berenberg. To this Doty replied that because Berenberg had signed the foreign relations committee report of the Socialist convention in Chicago in 1919, he considered him unfit to teach in the public schools.

Jessie Hughan Wallace made an able defense of the Socialist Party's position on the question of violence, citing the careful research she had made of the history of the party while preparing a Ph. D. thesis at Columbia University.

Another lady school teacher protested against the advocacy of turning teachers out of school by force if they were radicals, and called attention to the evils now in our midst. She said the Ku Klux Klan is operating now, while the much-advertised violence of the Communists is still in the future.

A Republican teacher came to the defense of the Socialists. He said they should not be confounded with the Communists and even if some Socialists were a little strong in their talk, the whole party should not be held to account for it.

Judging from his speech, it is evident that Mr. Doty has a copy of every book and paper and pamphlet put out by the Communist and Workers' party, as well as the Socialist publications. Several times during his speech he paid his respects to The New Leader.

R. T. U. I. SPLITS FOOD AND DRINK WORKERS' UNION

Amsterdam.—The Netherland Association of Workers in the Baking, Chocolate and Candy Industry has withdrawn from the International Food and Drink Workers, according to a report given out January 14 by the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The Dutch organization declares it cannot consistently remain in the same international with the Russian unions that also belong to the Red Trade Union International and, consequently, are obligated to work for the disruption of the Amsterdam International.

At the congress of the International Food and Drink Workers, held in Brussels last Fall, the Russian and Bulgarian unions were admitted by a vote of twenty-two against twenty, with the understanding that they were to live up to the statutes of the International barring the formation of "cells" within the international organization and similar Communist propaganda.

According to a report made by Secretary Schifferstein of Zurich at the Brussels congress, the Food and Drink Workers' International on September 1, 1923, embraced twenty-nine national organizations, with 577,999 members. At the founding congress in Zurich, in 1920, eighteen national organizations, with 284,654 members, were represented.

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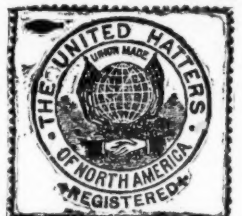
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MANY GRAFTS IN WASHINGTON

(Continued from Page 1.)

afforded several days ago, when President Coolidge announced that the postal employees of the nation cannot be given the wage increase they are pleading for because it would cause a substantial increase in the deficit which now exists in the Post Office Department.

The reason for the deficit, the President omitted to say, was that there were certain interests to which the Government is paying a huge subsidy each year in the form of postal rates which are far less than it costs to supply the service the Government performs. The tremendous graft of the express companies, the rental charged by the railroads for their cars and other sources of "velvet," have been the big crying abuses for many decades. These grafts continue and have been responsible for many postal deficits.

It has been established by investigations that the Post Office Department could charge one cent on first class mail and make more than enough to cover cost of this branch of the service. It has also been established that the surplus derived from this branch is consumed, and a huge deficit is created in addition, because of the excessive charges of railroads and express companies.

Graft to Favorites

The volume of mail has increased 500 per cent since 1907, and fully seventy per cent of this is parcel post, on practically every package of which the post office loses money. The zoning system of the department works out to the advantage of the express companies. This is a story by itself.

The postal employee is receiving \$1,800 a year—a sum which was fixed some years ago, and which was considered a temporary expedient even then, the understanding having been that a scientific determination would be had of the salaries which employees ought to get to maintain themselves and their families above a starvation basis. An increase of two cents a pound on parcel post mail will produce, it is estimated, ample revenue to cover the increase the employees seek.

Other "Infant" Favorites

What is true of the subsidies the Government pays to the express companies and railroads is true of the protection which the Government has afforded to the numerous "infant" industries, by providing high protective tariff rates. The Woolen Trust, in a report of its last year's business just made public, states that it has had the most prosperous peace year in its history, and that the prosperity was excellent in only two war years. Other industries, afforded the protection of the Government by the use of the people's power to safeguard their interests, are piling up their profits, thanks to a very large degree to the tariff.

Railroads which have been receiving huge land grants, and permission to charge freight and passenger rates based upon an invested capital which exists only in the imagination of those who claim such investments; the shipping interests, who are favored by the Government every time the Government withdraws vessels in order not to compete with Government enterprise; the thousands of other beneficiaries of all sorts, the most notable of which are now those who were given the oil leases—all of them have particular reason to be gratified with the work of Republican and Democratic administrations, the Gregorys, the Palmers, the Daughters, and all the others who have made their riches possible in the land of equal opportunity.

TALKS TO OUR BOYS AND GIRLS

Every day something happens that people talk about; sometimes it is an oil scandal, sometimes it is a Labor ministry in England; sometimes it is an attempt on the part of reactionaries to prevent a Socialist from teaching in the public schools. The Socialists have something to say about all these things. In this department The New Leader will explain why the Socialists think as they do. The articles will be written for boys and girls, of school age, who hear the other side and who would like to hear the Socialist side. Parents are urged to call their children's attention to this feature, and to ask them not only to read it, but to clip the articles and preserve them as the Socialist position on the important events of the day.—Editor, THE NEW LEADER.

TEAPOT OIL AND SOCIALISM

You have heard a lot about Teapot Dome, and about Mr. Fall and Mr. Doheny. You know by this time that the oil business is a first class scandal and that it has injured everyone who has been implicated in it.

But why are these things so? Why is there objection to Mr. Fall accepting a favor from an old and close personal friend? Why is there objection to leasing the old lands to Mr. Doheny, Mr. Sinclair and Standard Oil?

The text of the leases, as published by The New York Tribune shows that the Government owns certain lands; that oil in large quantities repose in that land; that adjoining oil lands were owned by private companies; that if the public oil lands are not drained, the wells nearby, belonging to Standard Oil and Mr. Sinclair and Mr. Doheny would drain Government oil away from Government land and make them valueless; that leasing the public lands to private companies has saved the nation's oil, and that by the terms of those leases, the Government got royalties of twelve and one-half to fifty per cent. And what are people kicking about? Of course, Mr. Doheny got a nice plum in the contract to supply tanks for Government oil that the Government was to pay for in oil—thus making royalty much less than that.

Of course, the two old parties are doing their best to find something crooked about each other, for purely campaign purposes. That goes without saying. If the Democrats can prove that Republican leaders are dishonest, they can shout those facts so loudly that it will drown out the Republican proclamation of thievery under the Democratic party during the war years, such as the aircraft contracts and the German dye patents and other alien property chicanery.

But from a larger standpoint, from a national standpoint, there is something involved so important that it makes the mere quest for good campaign material contemptibly petty.

And this is what it is:

There are in the United States large quantities of oil, coal, iron, and other minerals and natural resources. And likewise, forests, water power sites, and vast areas of fertile soil, suitable for growing wheat, corn, barley, rye, oats, hay, cotton, sugar, and other staples of life, and vast ranches upon which cattle are pastured.

At the same time, there are over 100,000,000 people in the United States, mostly human beings. Those people require food, clothing, shelter, and decent recreation and amusement to keep up health and spirits.

To feed the people, clothe them, house them, and provide them with recreation and amusement requires the products of the mines, forests, fields and plantations and ranches and oil wells. All those products plus labor of the hands and brains of the people who live in the country, properly directed:

It happens that oil is the center of discussion now, but what we say here is as true of iron and steel; forests and water power sites and of all other natural resources and products of the country. Further, this is an oil age, and with the developing of the Diesel engine and the internal combustion engine and with the growing use of motor power and oil is very close to being the staff of industrial life.

Now, the oil in the ground (and all other resources) may be treated in two ways. It may be taken from the ground and used by the people—through their agents and representatives—to develop the industries that tend to make for the happiness of the people.

Or they can be exploited to make profits for Mr. Doheny and Mr. Sinclair and Mr. Rockefeller. Of course, these excellent gentlemen cannot make profits out of oil unless the oil is made use of by the people in some way. But their method of using the oil is to make huge profits for themselves, and only incidentally to serve the people, and to serve them only enough to make such profits.

While the other way would be to get 100 per cent use out of oil for the people—and 000 per cent profit for the oil speculators.

The method that suits Mr. Doheny not only gives him huge profits, but gives him such vast sums of money that power over the lives of men, and over public officials, and over governments, follow. It is no accident that he who is a leading Democrat, has donated money to the opposition party while Mr. Sinclair donates equally to both parties; that Mr. Doheny graciously employs whole Presidential Cabinets on his payroll and majestically donates gifts to the Government of the United States.

And if that method is right and proper, it is just that the neighboring wells should be exploited by Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Sinclair, no one can have any moral objection to leasing Government land to Mr. Doheny to save a little something out of the wreckage for the Government.

The Socialists call attention to the dishonesty of leading members of the two old parties as comment upon their hypocrisy in claiming to be the custodians of the virtues in the world. But that is merely incidental.

The two old parties maintain as a fundamental principle the sanctity and propriety of allowing all natural resources to be developed solely for private gain; of carrying on all industry, all manufactures and mining and transportation not for the public good but for private gain, and only incidentally for public use. They maintain that as a matter of right and justice, not as a measure of graft and favors. That is merely a legitimate by-product.

The Socialists maintain that natural resources should be used for one purpose only; for the benefit of the people. That not only should government oil deposits be used for the public benefit, but that there should be no neighboring Standard Oil deposits, no Sinclair or Dutch Shell deposits. But that it should be all publicly owned and used for all the people.

The Socialists criticize the entire oil business not so much that it led Mr. Fall astray, or that Mr. Roosevelt has been shown up to be so cheap, or that Mr. McAdoo has been drawing \$50,000 a year from Mr. Doheny. The Socialists criticize the whole business of letting anyone get any profits out of natural resources except the people as a whole.

To allow private exploitation gives men like Mr. Doheny huge fortunes—the total that the entire breed of oil men have would probably amount to many billions—that of right should be the people's property, that could be used for the national well being, to build homes and schools and parks and improving the health of the masses. It gives men like Mr. Doheny vast power over individuals and over governments. And it leads inevitably to huge corruption—it cannot help but lead to such corruption—that breaks down the faith of the people in their government and in orderly processes.

That is why the Socialists say that the only way to prevent further oil scandals is Socialism. And as much of it as we can get in a hurry.

Waistmakers in Organization Drive

A campaign to round up all waistmakers in the city who are not yet members of the union has been launched by Local 25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. It is stated that there are many shops that are still unorganized, and the campaign contemplates lining up every waistmaker in the city in the local.

Literature has been printed and distributed by tens of thousands in which conditions in union and non-union shops have a minimum of 44 hours and much lower wages. The literature also points out that union members are protected against arbitrary discharge.

Ada Rosenfeld is secretary of the local, and among the workers in the drive are David Fruhling and Pauline Morgenstern.

PAPER BOX MAKERS ELECT

The Paper Box Makers' Union, Local 130, of the International Paper, Pulp and Sulphite Workers of America, has elected the following officers: Joe Mordkowitz, president; Nathan Epstein, vice-president; Anna Musciant, secretary; Joseph Knapper, treasurer; Morris Waldman, manager, and Herman Wiener and John Repecki, organizers.

The new administration has made arrangements for activities for the union. Among them, a large mass meeting for the unorganized workers in Brooklyn, March 28, at Empire Hall, Broadway and Ralph avenue, at which August Claessens, Chas. Solomon, and a number of others will speak, and the annual ball of the union which will be held April 26 at Central Opera House, tickets for which are already on sale at the union office, 3 St. Mark's place.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS' BALL

The annual ball of the Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, will be held March 15 at the Park Palace, 110th street and 5th avenue.

The ball is for the benefit of the sick fund. Committee consisting of Max Esenfeld, Nathan Riesel, Celia Silver promise a splendid time for all who attend.

The New Leader Forum

CITIZENSHIP AGAIN

Editor of The New Leader:

I am sorry to note what Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blach has to say concerning my letter on citizenship for women. Let me assure your readers that it was not my intention to accuse or quarrel with any woman's rights woman, or Mrs. Blach in particular. Mine was a cry in the wilderness.

Facing the condition of citizenship among the foreign-born women as it is at present, I felt it criminal to keep silent. It is not a case of indifference on the part of the alien women that keeps them from becoming citizens.

Not acquainted with their life, Mrs. Blach may not know that many of them were never apprised of the fact that the law was amended, and that many others suffer from lack of opportunity to learn the language. There is no work being done by the women who fought so valiantly for suffrage to stimulate the desire of women to avail themselves of the law.

I did not suggest swinging the pendulum backward. I questioned the value of new laws when they are left to remain a dead letter. Our women's rights, women have gone to sleep on the job. And yet—so much depends upon their activity. A man is a man for all that. The husbands do not hasten to help their wives to become citizens. It remains for women to do it. Not Mrs. Malkiel alone nor Mrs. Blach.

In sending my first letter to your paper I had hoped to arouse the many women who helped in the suffrage fight to new activity on behalf of the women aliens.

It is rather late to snivel nor can anyone call me a sniveler. And yet, fighter thought I may be, I feel that it is not always necessary to pay the price for liberty. I would rather see a movement that would educate the hundreds of thousands of alien women in our midst to reap the benefits of the law.

I sincerely hope that every reader of The New Leader will view my resort to publicity on the matter from that angle and will join with me in starting a campaign of education for the naturalization of every foreign born woman married or single who has been long enough in this country to become a citizen of the United States.

Theresa S. Malkiel.

ANOTHER PARTY?

This question should arise in the minds of the members of the Socialist Party, and also the sympathizers of the movement whenever the proposition of a new political party is advanced. We have so many persons travelling around advocating a third party, telling us that on account of the present situation surrounding the two old parties, we should immediately get together and start a Labor Party—that we have to cause for breath. It is during this

pause that we should think a little, and look into the possibility of such a party. We should find out where the Socialist Party would stand. Of course the sponsors of this movement extend a hearty invitation to the Socialist Party. They practically insist that the standard bearers of the workers' emancipation take part in such a movement.

Without any ceremony they adopt the Socialist platform, or as much of it as they desire, at the same time they carefully refrain whilst advocating their principles to acquaint the people with the fact that their platform or a part of it has been adopted and advocated by the Socialist Party for a number of years.

This so called progressive element wants the Socialist philosophy, the Socialist form of organization, its support moral and financial, BUT it will not come out flatfooted and say: "we want Socialism." No—the Socialists must compromise, BUT WHY SHOULD THE SOCIALISTS COMPROMISE? Why should this movement that has been persecuted ever since man first dreamt of liberty and justice submit to something it knows nothing about? Its own ship has weathered many a bitter heart-rending storm, and yet today it is more sea-worthy than at any time in its history. Why change over to a new un-tried ship, when there is room enough for all in the present one?

If these people who are so tired of the form of government they have received from the hands of the Republican and Democratic parties, if they are really so nauseated with the present ruling powers, who by the way are the choice of the people, and they want a change, a real third party, let them come to the Socialist Party. There is no middle ground. The system under which we live must either be Capitalistic or Socialist, consequently there should be no compromise on the part of the Socialist movement.

According to the evolution of history, it is only a matter of time until the system now in power will crumble of its own weight, its own inefficiency. We have had too many wars, too much unemployment with its attendant miseries, too much murder and corruption, to even think our people can remain satisfied very much longer.

If a remedy is to be placed on the market, place the real remedy and not a substitute. If we are in favor of Socialism, let us work for Socialism, and not a subterfuge. There is room in the Socialist Party for every man and woman who is interested in securing that much-needed freedom and emancipation. There is no need for another movement. We are split into too many factions already. Let us get together if we are really desirous of accomplishing anything and carry the banner of Socialism on and on to victory, rather than tarry at the cross roads waiting for another party. WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE. YOU HAVE NOTHING



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BLATCHFORD QUILTS KEPT PRESS AGAIN

London.—As a protest against the attempt of the syndicated newspapers to muzzle the press and dictate to the Government, Mr. Robert Blatchford has resigned his post on the Sunday Chronicle and Sunday Herald.

"I am tired of all this dirty business of lying about the Labour party and similar tactics," said Mr. Blatchford. "I have been associated with these papers for seven years. My last article will appear in the issue dated January 13."

Blatchford, who is author of "Merrie England" and other notable Socialist propaganda books, repeated in his late middle age what he did as a buoyant youth, that is, quit writing for the Capitalist press when the yoke galled him.

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JAP SOCIALISTS ARE VICTIMS OF WHITE TERROR

After the great Japanese earthquake martial law was proclaimed, ostensibly for the preservation of order and the prevention of looting, but actually to cover the imprisonment and murder both of Koreans and labor leaders—who are about equally disliked by the dominant class in Japan.

A rumor was spread on September 2 that Koreans had been looting, poisoning wells, and murdering. It is stated that this rumor arose from a circular issued from police headquarters. Large numbers of Koreans were lynched and murdered. Eighty-five were massacred at Houjo-Machi, 35 at Jimbo-gahara, 42 at Kumagai, and 14 at Fujiohka. Many other Koreans were injured and killed; the total deaths, including 30 Japanese killed by mistake, amounted to about 180.

The "Japan Weekly Chronicle" stated: "It is superfluous to say that the butchery of Koreans immediately after the disastrous earthquake was the most deplorable and lawless event in Japan's history."

On October 2 and 3 nine labor leaders were arrested as "dangerous characters" by the police in Kameto, a suburb of Tokio. Fifteen others were arrested on the ground that they belonged to "a band of robbers."

These 24 prisoners are stated to have caused disorder among the 770 prisoners in the prison, and to have sung "revolutionary songs." The military were sent for; on their arrival there was increased disorder.

The 24 prisoners were then forcibly taken outside and bayoneted to death. It is reported that Keishiohi Hirazawa died singing a "revolutionary song."

Members of 20 different organizations, mostly trade union, Socialist and Anarchist, were arrested in large numbers.

"We find," says the "Japan Weekly Chronicle," "that the police and gendarmes, undeterred by the most terrible of disasters, and in spite of the urgency of extraordinary duties and responsibilities, still pursue the hunt for Socialists, and take advantage of the confusion created by the earthquake to arrest people they distrust and murder them wholesale."

Perhaps the most callous murder was that of Sakae Osugi (the famous anarchist), his wife and seven-year-old nephew, on September 16. The authorities only allowed the facts to be published on October 9, limiting previous announcements to the statement that Sakae Osugi and "two others" had been put to death by Captain Amakasu.

Captain Amakasu was a prominent officer of the gendarmie. In his statement at the first divisional court martial, he confessed that he had strangled Osugi, his wife and his nephew—the last without knowing what he was doing—but he subsequently denied murdering the boy, and a private confessed doing so under orders. Captain Amakasu has been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

Captain Amakasu was granted amnesty upon the occasion of the marriage of the Prince Regent.

WAR PROFITEERS' ORGY REACHES DIZZY HEIGHT

Washington. — New light was thrown on the orgy of war profiteers by Congressman Watkins in a speech favoring an excess-profits tax.

He quoted court records to show that "many firms were making profits from 36,327 per cent and less, some of them 1,500 per cent, many of them 3,600 per cent."

Reasons why an excess-profits tax should be enacted are to be found in the records of the Federal courts, said Mr. Watkins.

The Lever Act was intended to stop profiteering, but the United States Supreme Court set that law aside. Firms that had been fined under the act asked that the fines be returned to them. It was at these trials that profits as high as 36,327 per cent were made a matter of record. This unbelievable profit was made by a chemical company. One iron concern made a profit of 1,403 per cent, and one steel concern 1,546 per cent.

"These are just a few of the cases which justify some kind of excess-profits tax," said Congressman Watkins. "It is the only restraining influence that a thief will heed, for there is no reason to commit extortion if the loot is in turn taken away and an accounting exacted."

MINERS TO FIGHT FOR 8-HOUR DAY

Brussels.—Miners' unions in all countries are urged to fight the world-wide employers' campaign against the eight-hour-day and to ask the Governments of their respective countries immediately to ratify the eight-hour-day convention agreed upon at the Washington International Labor Conference of 1919 in an appeal issued on February 25, by the officers of the Miners' International Secretariat at a meeting held here.

GIFT, GRAFT AND GUARANTEE

By DONALD G. RICHBERG

The New Leader herewith submits excerpts from an important paper read to the delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action in St. Louis in February. There will be three or four installments of this important brief history of the railroads and railroad bandits.

I.

The railroads of the United States are our most magnificent public charity. For more than seventy years the people have supported railroad promoters, their heirs, devisees, and legatees out of the public purse with lavish generosity. We have not merely provided these gentry with a good living to pay for their work as public agents in maintaining public highways. We have in addition endowed them with vast estates, with over 200,000,000 acres of public lands with forests, coal and iron mines and oil deposits and with several hundred millions of public money. We have paid them profits for which they have issued stocks and bonds on which they demand that their benefactors shall pay several hundred million dollars of interest every year. They not only look the gift horse in the mouth but they demand good pay for riding him.

The seventy years in which we have been establishing this imperial charity may be divided into three periods, each identified by the prevailing method of obtaining public support—the periods of Gift, Graft and Guarantee.

Hereditary Crime

To understand the railroad problem of today we must read the history of these seventy years. We must enter upon a research that may be likened to a study in hereditary crime. We must go back to the founding of the great railroad fortunes and review the exploits of the founders of this imperialism in imperio—this Government within a Government. We must chart the development of the noble traditions of highway robbery that have enabled successive generations of railroad aristocrats to live gorgeously at public expense.

The period of gift was productive of comparatively small gains until war convulsed the nation. War always opens the public treasuries to greedy patriots who are willing to use popular emotion for private enrichment. The period preceding and following a great war, when public attention is engrossed with weighty issues; is peculiarly well adapted for raids upon public wealth. It is no mere coincidence that in the ten years preceding and following the Civil War, the Congress of the United States granted nearly 312,000 square miles of land to the railroads.

Giving Empires of Land

These gifts included one-fourth of the States of Minnesota and Washington; one-fifth of Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota and Missouri; one-seventh of Nebraska; one-eighth of California; one-ninth of Louisiana. The total land grants to the railroads were fifty per cent greater than the land area of France; or, if this comparison will make it clearer, these land grants were greater than the combined area of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina.

Let us examine the operations of a few of the noble founders of the railroad dynasties. Let us consider first the case of Collis P. Huntington, one of the four lords of the house of Southern and Union Pacific. These four aggressive gentlemen started in 1861 with a total

combined wealth, according to their sworn statements, of \$108,987. Inside of twenty-three years they had reaped from public service, approximately \$35,000,000 in dividends; incalculable profits from construction companies through which they built their railroads, and with their heirs and associates they controlled nearly 6,000 miles of railroads with a total capitalization of \$454,000,000.

Origin of the Looting

They began this financial adventure with an Act of Congress passed in 1862 giving them 6,400 acres of land for every mile of railroad they built, together with Government bonds of \$16,000, per mile of level land, \$32,000 per mile in the foothills and \$48,000 per mile in the mountains. Finding that Congress was so obliging and willing to foster their patriotic enterprise, to save the Union by uniting the Pacific coast to the Mississippi Valley with bands of steel, furnishing transport for food supplies and troops, they obtained a new Act in 1864 increasing their allowance to 12,800 acres per mile and including in the grant the mineral rights to the vast deposits of coal and iron and oil which had been excluded from the previous grant.

Also it may be added that the Government generously waived the first lien of its bonds upon the railroads as constructed and took a second mortgage so that the promoters could obtain more money on a first mortgage. The result of this generosity was exhibited in 1897 when these railroads out of which fortunes had been taken represented themselves as unable to pay the Government bonds and sought to have Congress pass a law whereby the United States would lose \$100,000,000 more on a refunding operation.

Watering the Plunder

At this time a few interesting facts were developed by a Government commission which are worth reporting here. It was shown that for the \$54,000,000 stock of the Central Pacific only \$760,000 had been paid in cash. The balance was just pure water—not very pure at that. For \$36,824,000 Union Pacific stock only \$406,650 had been paid in cash, the balance being that same variety of water. It was shown that the promoters of these railroads had obtained from first mortgage bonds \$61,000,000; from United States bonds \$61,000,000; from land sold \$50,000,000; from stock \$97,000,000, a total of \$259,000,000, and that the costs of the roads had not exceeded \$95,000,000, thus giving the promoters a tidy profit on this public enterprise of \$164,000,000. It was also shown that from 1879 to 1894 the net income of the roads after paying all operating expenses had exceeded \$374,700,000; and yet it was claimed before Congress that the roads were practically bankrupt and could not pay the Government bonds.

Eventually a deal was worked out whereby these bonds were to be paid off over a series of years, the public supplying the money to pay themselves, through transportation rates, in order that the genial promoters and their heirs might retain their publicly donated fortune intact. To those who marvel at the generosity of Congress it is only

necessary to refer to the correspondence between Mr. Huntington and his legislative agents which became public some years ago when an attempt was made to find out what had been done with some \$5,000,000 of railroad monies expended for political purposes. It is enlightening to read the following comments by Mr. Huntington upon the representatives of the people in Congress assembled.

Some Interesting Letters

"Scott is prepared to pay or promises to pay a large amount of money to pass his bill, but I do not think he can pass it although I think that this coming session of Congress will be composed of the hungriest set of men ever got together, and the devil only knows what they will do."

Another letter:

"I notice what you say of Luttrell (a Congressman); he is a wild hog; don't let him come back to Washington."

Another letter:

"Can you have Safford (Governor of Arizona) call the Legislature together and grant such charters as we want at a cost of say \$25,000?"

Another letter:

"It costs money to fix things so that I know that his bill would not pass. I believe with \$200,000 I can pass our bill, but I take it that it is not worth this much to us."

Another letter:

"Scott is working mostly among the commercial men. He switched Senator Spencer of Alabama and Walker of Virginia this week but you know they can be switched back with proper arguments when they are wanted."

"All the members in the House from California are doing first rate except Piper, and he is a damned hog; anyway you can fix him. I wish you would write a letter to Luttrell, saying that I say he is doing first rate and is very able, etc., and send me a copy."

(To be continued)

BETRAYED BY 'GENIUS'

By "ICONOCLAST"
(In "The Man of Tomorrow")

Future generations will surely note with interest the malign twist to our standards of values given, first and foremost, by Mr. Lloyd George and in a secondary degree, by President Wilson. The unprincipled cleverness of the one, the high-principled stupidity of the other, have, between them forced upon vast numbers of people a distrust of idealism.

Few perhaps now regard President Wilson as a genius, even as a moral genius, though millions did, once. Fewer still perhaps recognize that in his case a failure of intellect was a failure of character.

But millions now regard the expression of lofty views with distrust, and feel that when a man gets on to the mountain tops it is for the purpose of bamboozling them. The cleverer he is the worse he is.

The measure of Mr. Lloyd George's genius was his success in exploiting the simple trust of those who were dazzled by him. The remarkable tributes paid at the time of his resignation to Mr. Bonar Law, and since to his successor, on the simple ground of their "honesty"—i.e., of their goodness—show how far the moral reaction against immoral cleverness has already gone.

The "geniuses" of the war period, in our country, were Lloyd George and Winston Churchill. The judgment of their more contemporaries upon them is expressed in the unwillingness to believe that a man of brains can be a man of character; in the distrust of genius of any sort.

AN AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

By Norman Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy

Unquestionably the success of British labor in Britain will stimulate the labor party movement in America. If British labor can do it, why can't we? It would, of course, be a mistake to assume that our circumstances run on all fours with the British. Great Britain is a small island, not divided into 48 states, where cooperation is easier than in America because of the greater homogeneity of the workers, their common language, and their greater class consciousness. In Britain, moreover, industrial labor is a much larger proportionate part of the population than in the United States.

But when all is said and done, the development of the British labor party is enormously suggestive for us. It grew out of the British legal decisions which crippled the power of the unions. It was developed in response to the realities of the situation rather than in accordance with dogmatic Marxism. It has met with a reasonable degree of success all the problems that exist where labor is still divided into independent craft unions. In other words, the British Labor party has had to deal with a psychology among the workers quite like that to be found in America and with a very similar trade union organization. It began as a protest against anti-labor injunctions, less serious than those which already exist in the United States. Under these circumstances, it has gone far on the road to success.

We can do as well. It is not necessary that a labor party in any country should be born fully grown and fully armored for the conflict. A party which cannot elect a president can hold the balance of power, can capture local and even state governments and make its influence felt as labor's influence is not felt today. The workers, and to a very considerable extent, the working farmers have already come in the United States to a place where their interests are diametrically opposed to the monopolists of credit, coal, oil and all the company of the holders of special privilege who are the lords of our life. To face this situation, industrial organization is, of course, the supreme necessity. Labor banks and cooperative societies can be enormously useful, but until labor makes its influence felt in politics, government will remain on the side of privilege. That advantage to privileges can at least be minimized by effective political action of a sort in which the British labor party has shown the way. It is as absurd to believe that labor can obtain what it wants in politics by rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies in the old parties as to believe that it can win on the industrial field by a policy of rewarding good employees and punishing bad.

In this situation events in Britain ought to act like a tonic. We cannot be imitators. We have our own problems and must do our own thinking and acting. But surely American labor can, if it will, give to the voters of America a party which represents the interest of the people against privilege, and will substitute a real conflict for the shadow boxing by which the Republicans and Democrats divert our minds and distract our attention from our own needs.

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THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

NEWS FROM OTHER LANDS

AUSTRIA

Party Training School Reopened

Resumption of the work of the Socialist Party training school, whose activities were interrupted by the World War, is reported from Vienna. The Central Office for Educational Matters announces a strong list of teachers for the school, including Dr. Karl Renner, the first president of the Austrian Republic, on Marx's Economic System; Prof. Dr. Karl Grünberg, Victor Stein, Dr. Siegmund Kunfi, former Foreign Minister of Hungary, on the History of Revolutions from 1917 to 1923; Dr. Adolf Scharrf, and Dr. Max Adler on The Austrian Constitution.

With sixty-eight Deputies in the National Assembly of 165 members and about one Austrian in every dozen paying dues to the organization, the Social Democratic Party is in a position to play a big role in Austrian politics and economics and to exercise a certain check upon the rehabilitation plans of Dr. Zimmermann, the Dutch Commissioner of the League of Nations, and the Clerical Cabinet, headed by the Chancellor, the Rev. Dr. Seipel, when they cut too deeply into the rights of the working people.

During the year ended June 30, 1923, economic hardships had reduced the dues-paying membership from 553,022 on June 30, 1922, to 514,273, but with an improvement in general conditions came a revival of growth, and on Nov. 1, last, the membership in Vienna had risen to 216,711, a gain of 17,596 in five months, with similar reports coming in from the provinces. The Austrian trade unions, with a membership of about 1,000,000, work hand in hand with the Social Democratic Party. The little regular army of some 21,000 is made up largely of Socialists, especially among the rank and file, and is regarded with unfriendly eyes by Commissioner Zimmermann and the Clerical Government because it can hardly be counted upon to break strikes in the name of law and order.

GERMANY

Party Convention On March 30

The National Convention of the United Social Democratic Party of Germany will open March 30, in the Prussian Parliament building in Berlin by Deputy Arthur Crispian. Plans for the coming Reichstag elections will be outlined by Rudolf Hilferding and a definite line of campaign decided upon. Among the other important subjects on the agenda is the question of pushing the Party's work among the farmers. Immediately preceding the convention there will be a conference of Social Democratic women to discuss their special work in the campaign.

Reaction Scores in Mecklenburg

Early reports of the election for the Diet held in Mecklenburg on February 17 indicate that stronghold of German reaction has become blacker than before, as the German Popular Liberty party, the reactionary anti-Semitic group headed by Reichstag Deputies Graefe and Wulle, polled 55,458 votes, the German Nationalists, 80,936, and the German People's party, 22,582. The Social Democrats cast 62,580 and the Communists 39,590 votes. The two extremely reactionary parties and the Communists gained at the expense of the moderate bourgeois parties and the Social Democracy. The three parties of the Right now have a strong majority in the Diet.

Vorwaerts Accused of Treason

Because the Berlin Vorwaerts, central organ of the Social Democratic party, severely criticized the Government for allowing the military authorities to use high-handed methods against the Socialist-Communist Government of Saxony, while tolerating the reactionary regime in Bavaria, and also averred there was connection between some Regular Army officers and illegal anti-Republican military organizations, its responsible editor has been charged with treason by the Ministry of Justice upon the request of the Ministry of Defense.

FRANCE

Another Socialist Party victory was added to the growing list in France on February 3, when the Socialist candidates for mayor and two municipal councillors in a special election in the town of Vierzon-Forges beat the Communists by a vote of 407,403 and 402, against 353,350 and 349. In May, 1922, in a special election for municipal councillor, the Communist candidate was elected by a vote of 482 against 170 for his Socialist opponent.

Marseilles Resolution On Russia

Contrary to early telegraphic reports, the resolution on Russia adopted by the Marseilles Convention of the French Socialist Party did not condition the Party's support of immediate recognition of the Soviet Government by France upon the release of political prisoners. As printed in le Populaire, the resolution reads:

"The Congress of the Socialist Party appeals to the Government of Russia for the definite liberation of the Socialist-Revolutionaries condemned at the big political trial in Moscow and for the abolition of the death threat hanging over the head of Khomeriki, former Social Democratic Minister of the Government of independent Georgia.

"The Congress directs the atten-

tion of the Bolshevik Government to the value of such a measure at a moment when the problem of recognizing the Russian Republic is entering into a new and decisive phase. The Socialist Party wants to continue, as it always has done, to demand that the French Government recognize the Russian Government, but it wants to be able to do it without compunctions, as it does it without reserves."

AUSTRALIA

Nailing Communist Slanders

The Australian Labor party has been much troubled recently by Communists who have insinuated themselves into the organization and are obeying instructions from Moscow by creating dissensions. Recently an order was issued from Labor Party headquarters to the effect that Communist party members are not eligible for membership in the A. L. P. There are some, however, who deny the fact that they are Communists, but who carry out their instructions by spreading lies and misrepresentations among party members and causing dissensions in the organization.

An order has thereupon been issued asking secretaries to turn in lists of meeting nights of subdivisions, in order that a representative of the party might be on hand whenever a Communist begins his characteristic work and nail him with the facts. All Labor Party Aldermen and members of Parliament have volunteered to serve in this way.

"BABUSHKA" IS 80

Recently the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," Catherine Breshkovskaya completed her eightieth year. Born in 1844, she is the sole surviving comrade of that generation of Russian Socialists and Revolutionaries celebrated by such names as Peter Lavroff, Peter Kropotkin, and Stepaniak. Her sufferings in prison and in exile for the cause of the Russian Revolution need only be mentioned. The Revolution of March, 1917, welcomed Catherine Breshkovskaya, and Kersensky received her with military honors. After the Bolshevik coup of November, 1917, she decided rather to go into exile than live in Russia. She is at present in Prague.

VETERAN'S 80th BIRTHDAY

We learn from "Vorwärts" that the old Swiss Socialist Andreas Scheu has recently celebrated his eightieth birthday. Scheu was a member of the Social Democratic Federation of England, in the early 'eighties, but left with William Morris and others at the end of 1884, and helped in the formation of the Socialist League. Years afterwards he rejoined the S. D. F. and wrote a good deal for London "Justice." He went to Weimar in 1912 or 1913, and according to "Vorwärts" he has been living in Switzerland since 1915. He is publishing his reminiscences under the title of "Umsturzkeime" ("Seeds of Revolution").

PARTY NOTES

ITALIAN ALMANAC

The Italian Socialist almanac, recently issued, is one of the most attractive publications issued by the party in recent years. Edited by Giralmo Valenti, recently secretary of the Italian Socialist Federation, it is a review of the year in both the United States and Italy.

There is an English section in which the story of the Fascists is told, illustrated profusely with pictures. With true international Socialist understanding, Valenti explains that the Italian Socialists tell the story of the Fascists, not because as Italians they are more interested in their own native country than in Socialism, but because as internationalists, it is their duty to warn their comrades everywhere of the menace to the international movement that is comprised in the black shirt ruffian bands.

There are articles by James O'neal, Arturo Giovanitti, Leonardo Frisina, Giuseppe Bertelli, Eugene V. Debs, Constantino Lazzari—the Debs of Italy, they call him—and many others. Ryan Walker has done some of his inimitable drawings, from giving his conception of what the Fascists really are, to illustrating a magnificent calendar, with pictures of incidents in the struggle for freedom. Valenti announces that Ryan Walker's Italian is perfect—at least, there are no mistakes in spelling when he informs us that February 22 is famous because on that day Augusto Bebel was nasce. The Almanac sells for \$1 and the address is 7 East 15th street. It is beautifully bound and would be an ornament to any library.

FREE YOUTH EXHAUSTED

The first edition of Free Youth, the bright and interesting monthly published in the interest of the Young People's Socialist League, is almost exhausted. There are no more copies to be sold at meetings, and only a few left for mail subscribers. The success of the first issue was instantaneous, and a much larger edition will be printed of the next issue.

Subscriptions can be sent to Room 505, 7 East 15th street, New York.

WISCONSIN

First Socialist Candidate for Mayor Dies

John Ulrich, sixty-nine years old, pioneer Milwaukee Socialist and first candidate for Mayor, died last week at his home. He was an educator, and for twenty-three years he was principal of one of Milwaukee's public schools. He was an active member of the Socialist Party to the day of his death.

Ulrich was born in Switzerland, but was brought to Milwaukee at the age of three months. From the very beginning he was an enthusiastic Socialist and in 1893, he was candidate for Mayor on the Cooperative ticket, the name adopted by a temporary coalition of the Socialists and Populists. He polled about 550 votes. The Socialist vote in Milwaukee now is about 50,000, and steadily rising. Ulrich became a teacher in 1880, and was identified with the school system for forty-five years. He was universally popular in both school and Socialist circles.

MONTANA

Despite occasional bad weather the organization and agitation tour of National Organizer Emil Herman through Washington and Montana continues to be successful. Wherever Comrade Herman carries his eloquent message of complete amnesty for all war-prisoners and of social justice for the prisoners of capitalism new interest is aroused and the old timers are again stimulated into activity.

Washington has been pretty well covered. There are a few dates still to be filled. Then Comrade Herman goes into Montana.

INDIANA

The State convention will be held in Indianapolis on May 31 and June 1. It will be a mass convention, where every member in good standing will have a voice and vote. A full State ticket will be nominated.

The State Committee with the assistance of the active comrades are making every effort to increase our membership and reorganize locals that have become inactive. During the past month two locals have revived and sent in an order for due stamps and supplies, and a number of members at large have joined.

The recent jollification meeting held by Local Marion County in celebration of the victory of the British Labor party was the largest gathering of Socialists in that county for years.

Comrade McMillen of Huntingburg sends in a report of a revival of activity and informs the State Office that there will be a full County ticket for the fall election. Comrade Carroll of Kokomo, reports preparations underway for the coming campaign. He said a full ticket will be nominated this spring. Severino Pollo of Clinton has revived the activity of the Italian branch and is now working among the English comrades to help them reorganize. He is planning for a good attendance to the State convention.

A number of the active comrades of Indianapolis are making plans to run out into the State week ends as soon as the weather is good, going by automobile to organize and reorganize locals in the nearby places.

PENNSYLVANIA

The state convention held at Harrisburg during the week end was a great success. A full report appears on page three of this issue of The New Leader.

To Fight Old Forge Mayor

The State convention adopted a resolution to make a fight for the right of free speech in Old Forge, whose Mayor twice ran Giralmo Valenti of the Italian Socialist Federation out of town a year ago. Valenti had gone to speak on behalf of striking miners, and the Mayor, who is an Italian and suspected of membership in the Fascists, had him arrested, his papers confiscated, and after throwing him out of the town, warned him not to return. Valenti returned prepared to speak, and found 5,000 Italian miners to hear him, but again the Mayor threw him out of town. Valenti's question, "Do you think you are Mussolini?" enraged the Mayor and nearly precipitated a riot.

The state organization of the party will make a fight for the restoration of the right of assembly in Old Forge, and shortly Valenti will go there to make his often-deferred speech.

Hollinger Candidate in Reading

The city legislative candidates of the Socialist Party in the coming campaign will be Walter R. Hollinger of the 13th ward and George W. Snyder of the 15th ward, Hollinger taking the place of James H. Maurer who was forced to decline the nomination by the press of work in connection with his office as president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

While Maurer will not be a candidate, he has assured the local campaign committee of his active support in the coming campaign and will speak at a number of street meetings in behalf of Snyder and Hollinger.

Hollinger is a veteran in the Socialist and labor union movements of Reading and is an experienced campaigner, having been the choice of his party as a legislative candidate on two previous occasions.

Philadelphia Notes

The North East branch, which had dwindled down during the summer to four or five members, has had a revival during February. All in one month, old members came back, 4,500 leaflets were bought and distributed, 150 pamphlets bought by the branch and sold by the members, \$59 worth of dues stamps bought,

and a start made on covering union meetings with Socialist leaflets. The branch meets Thursday night at Kensington Labor Lyceum, Second and Cambria streets. To keep up the interest of the members the branch has a speaker at every meeting. Comrades Close, Lewis and Sehl have spoken, and Comrades Harkins and Thompson are booked. The Germantown branch has secured new headquarters at 5900 Germantown avenue, and a revival in activity has begun. The devoted work of Comrade Lester has caused the branch to turn in over \$60 worth of subscriptions to the Pennsylvania Worker in the past two months.

The Dauphin branch decided that inactivity had lasted long enough, so it proceeded to advertise by dodgers a meeting on the British Labor party, to be addressed by Comrade Thompson. As a result the branch had the biggest meeting it has held for two years.

There are seven Socialists on the Labor College Executive Board, and they have secured the endorsement of a number of Socialist pamphlets, including Claessens "Trinity of Plunder," and the Hillquit-Keating debate on a third party, for use in the Labor College classes.

There are three Socialists on the Executive Board of Young Democracy, and a number of Socialists have spoken at the Young Democracy forums, including Hillquit, Thomas and Blanchard. In addition, nearly 1,000 Socialist pamphlets have been sold at the meetings including O'neal's "Labor and the Next War," Thomas' "Challenge of War," Nearing's "Oil and the Gears of War," Claessens' "Is Socialism Inevitable?" Zimand's "Open Shop Drive," Hillquit-Keating "Debate on a Third Party," and O'neal's "Next Emancipation."

Local Philadelphia is circularizing all Pennsylvania members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom with the leaflet "What Is Socialism?" the leaflet on "Imperialism," and advertisement of the book store, calling special attention to anti-war books and pamphlets.

Local Philadelphia owed \$1,300 two years ago and now owes \$105. The Socialist book store owed \$800 additional two years ago and now owes less than \$100. So you see there is some progress.

NEW JERSEY

State Convention March 22

The state convention of the Socialist Party will be held March 22 and 23 in Camden. The meeting place is Maennerchor Hall, 27th street, and the call to order will be at 4 o'clock.

A previous announcement had been made that the convention would be held May 30, but Local Camden had made all arrangements for the earlier date and could not cancel them. Locals have therefore been urged to elect delegates to the convention at their next meetings.

BERGEN COUNTY

Bergen County Socialists had a real honest-to-God revival meeting last Sunday at the home of the veteran Comrade Sam Hoke. Members who had not been seen at a party meeting in many months were present. A talk by Lena Morrow Lewis on some historical data and the future of the party was the principle feature of the program. Seven new members joined the local and four subscribed to The New Leader.

CONNECTICUT

State Executive Reports Progress

Five members of the Executive Committee were present at the State Executive Committee meeting, besides the State Secretary and Organizer. A balance on hand of \$372.60 was reported by the State Secretary. Organizer McLevey reported that he had attended a second meeting at Hartford and this local is reestablished on a firm basis. Forty due stamps were taken, former members are working to build up the local and the attention of the committee can now be directed elsewhere. The Organizer and State Secretary Plunkett visited Waterbury and Derby this month. Waterbury is also a promising spot and can be counted on as a part of the state organization once more. Twenty copies a week of The New Leader will be sent there at the expense of the State Office for six weeks. It was voted to arrange with Comrade Claessens for a series of tours through the unorganized locals under the supervision of the Secretary and Organizer. The Organizer suggested holding the State Convention later in June than usual and combining it with a state picnic with a national speaker. It was decided that as much of the work of the picnic would fall on the local where it was held, to discuss the matter with the locals and report at the next meeting.

Edward C. Hotchkiss of New Haven, Business Agent of the Machinists' Union of Connecticut, spoke at the New London Open Forum on February 10, on Free Speech and the Schleifer case. The attendance was not large but was representative of educational, business and labor interests. This Local now has twenty-seven subscribers for The New Leader.

Local New Haven has been running an important series of Open Forum meetings all winter. The speakers for March are: Professor M. Borchard of the Yale Law School, "Economic Elements in the International Situation," Meyer London, March 9, "The Work of Congress." On the 16th, Philip Troup, editor of the New Haven Union, subject, "Saint Patrick." March 23, Robert Fechner of Boston, member of the Executive Board, International Association of Machinists, "What Labor Unions Are Doing in the Way of Character Building." March 30, Geo. H. Goe-

bel, "New Devils for Old." These meetings are held every Sunday evening and will run through April. This local gained several members during the month.

Local Hamden takes a large share in the work of the New Haven Forum, has nominated delegates to the national convention from Connecticut, is getting subscribers for The New Leader, and is buying leaflets to enclose in all letters sent out.

Local Meriden holds meetings twice a month, has subscribed \$5 for the German children's relief fund, and is also working for The New Leader.

Bridgeport is holding a series of weekly Forum meetings with Comrade Claessens as speaker. Several members have been gained during the month. Bridgeport is buying leaflets for distribution.

The Executive Committee urges all Local Secretaries to push the sale of the voluntary National Office Campaign Stamps.

NEW YORK CITY

Joint Merger Committee

The Joint Merger Committee of Locals New York, Kings, Queens and Richmond, can report the following results of the vote on the referendum sent out recently under its auspices:

Local New York, unanimously in favor of amalgamation. Local Kings, in favor of amalgamation with large majority. Local Queens and Richmond, unanimously in favor of amalgamation. Bronx County did not vote on this referendum.

On the basis of these returns, the Joint Merger Committee desires to make the following recommendations to the joint meeting of the Socialist Party membership in Greater New York:

1. That the meeting issue a call to the Party branches of the four named locals to elect their delegates to a new Central Committee for Greater New York. This committee to meet by or before April 15, outline a plan of organization and report back to another joint meeting of the party membership.

2. Ask the State Executive Committee to take the steps necessary to amend the State constitution in view of the merger.

3. That a committee be elected to visit Local Bronx and urge upon the comrades of that local, the importance of joining with locals New York, Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond, in creating Local Greater New York.

Fraternally submitted,
JOINT MERGER COMMITTEE.
ALGERNON LEE,
Chairman.

MANHATTAN

Local N. Y. Dance

Local New York announces the first of a series of membership dances to be held on March 14 in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. The entire membership is expected to turn out. There will be some special features at these dances. Further announcements later. Keep the date open.

Mohr to Lecture

Theodore Mohr, industrial engineer, will speak Monday night at a meeting of the 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D., Local New York, at 22 Bank street. There will be a brief business meeting before the lecture.

8th A. D.

Saturday night the 8th A. D. in conjunction with the Y. P. S. L., Circle 8, will hold an entertainment and dance at 73 St. Mark's place. The committee in charge decided to conduct weekly dances to be held on Saturday evenings. This Sunday evening Samuel Ovi will substitute Norman Thomas and will speak at the regular Forum meeting on the Housing Problem.

The 8th A. D. is now considering plans of buying a building and establish itself as a permanent institution in the district. Educational meetings are also being arranged for Thursday nights, these being the regular meeting nights of the branch. The 8th A. D. is now the center of intense activity and hopes to keep it up indefinitely.

Young People's Socialist League

A meeting of Circle 7 will be held Saturday evening, at 8 p. m., at 132 Broome street. Julius Green will lead a discussion on "Current Events" and Morris Novik will report on the Youth Conference. Dancing will follow the meeting.

A regular meeting of Circle 8 will be held Friday evening at headquarters, 73 St. Mark's Place, at 7:30 p. m. The order of business for the meeting includes the election for all circle officers. An interesting educational program has been arranged. This Saturday the circle will have its first weekly dance. Members and friends are invited.

Circle 6, Juniors

There will be a meeting of Circle 6, Junior Y. P. S. L., at 62 East 106th street, Friday night, March 7.

Yipsel Arbeiter Ring

A group of young Socialists, members of the Y. P. S. L., are planning to organize a young people's branch of the Workmen's Circle. All young people between the ages of 18 and 25 that are interested in joining the largest radical fraternal order in this country can communicate with Julius Green, care of Y. P. S. L., 132 Broome street.

BROOKLYN

Kings County Ball

The annual ball of the Kings County Socialist local will be held Saturday night, March 8, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. A fine band has been engaged for dancing, and a large crowd and a good time are confidently anticipated.

Branch 2, Second A. D.

The Second A. D., Branch 2, has undertaken to hold lectures every second and fourth Tuesday at the Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P. Following a successful meeting last Thursday at which August Claessens spoke, William M. Feigenbaum was elected organizer of the branch and Lee R. Goodman, financial secretary. James O'neal will lecture next Tuesday, and on March 25, Samuel A. De Witt will speak on "Poetry and Rebellion." De Witt will read from his own poems.

Other lectures are being arranged for, and socials, dances and other activities are being planned for the spring months.

The 1st, 3rd and 8th A. D. will meet Tuesday night at 122 Pierrepont street.

Rand School of Social Science

7 EAST 15th STREET

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JOSEPH JABLONOWER

"Drama of Social Conflict" (6 lectures, Fee \$2.00)

Saturday, March 8, 1.30 P. M.

SCOTT NEARING

"American Pay Envelopes"

HARRY A. OVERSTREET

"The New Psychology"

Wednesday, March 12, 8.40 P. M.

MORRIS HILLQUIT

"Future of American Socialism"

Thursday, March 13, 8.00 P. M.

AUGUST CLAESENS

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110th STREET and FIFTH AVENUE

TICKETS, Inc. Wardrobe, 75 Cents.

Music by Union Orchestra

THE FORUM
CALENDAR

FRIDAY, MARCH 7

Manhattan

JAMES ONEAL, "How Our Ideas Are Formed," 62 East 106th street. Auspices, Harlem Socialist Educational Center.

The Bronx

JEROME T. DE HUNT, "Labor's Next Step," 1167 Boston road. Auspices, American Labor Party and Socialist Party.

Brooklyn

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, "The Fight for Free Speech," 3033 West 22nd street. Auspices, Coney Island Forum.

Newark, N. J.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Must We Change Human Nature to Bring About a Better Social Order?" New Clinton Hall, Springfield avenue and Broome street. Auspices, Socialist Party, Local Essex County.

SATURDAY, MARCH 8

Bridgeport, Conn.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Prostitution; its Economic, Psychological and Social Causes," 306 Fairfield avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party.

Manhattan

SAMUEL ORR, "The Housing Problem Here and Abroad," 73 St. Marks place. Auspices, 8th A. D., Socialist Party.

HARRY LANG, "Radical and Conservative Unions," 204 East Broadway. Auspices, East Side Socialist Center.

Brooklyn

B. C. VLADECK, "Current Events," Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion place. Auspices, 13th and 19th A. D., Socialist Party, 11 a. m.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Race Prejudice; the Psychic Factors," 14 Graham avenue. Auspices, Williamsburg Progressive Association.

SAMUEL A. DE WITT, "The Poetry of Rebellion," 1709 Pitkin avenue. Auspices, American Labor Party and Socialist Party.

Rochester, N. Y.

DR. FRANKLIN W. BOCK, "Socialization of Medicine," 476 Clinton avenue, N. Auspices, Socialist Party, Local Rochester.

New Haven, Conn.

MEYER LONDON, "The Work of Congress," Trades Council Hall, 215 Meadow street. Auspices, Socialist Party Forum.

Washington, D. C.

JAMES H. MAURER, "What's Wrong With the Coal Industry?" Typographical Temple, 423 G street, N. W. Auspices, League for Industrial Democracy.

Pittsburg, Pa.

L. J. STEINBACH, "Some Other Theories and Principles on the Subject of Health," Walton's Hall, 220 Stanwix street. Auspices, Educational Forum.

MONDAY

Manhattan

THEODORE MOHR, Industrial Conditions in Russia," 22 Bank street. Auspices, 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D.

Brooklyn

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Organization," Empire Hall, Ralph avenue and Broadway. Auspices, Paper Box Makers' Union.

TUESDAY

Brooklyn

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Race Prejudice; the Psychic Factors," 319 Grand street. Auspices, 4th and 14th A. D.

JAMES ONEAL, "The Workers in American History," Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P. Auspices, Second A. D., Branch 2.

WEDNESDAY

Manhattan

MARIE B. MACDONALD, "Labor and Politics," 204 East Broadway. Auspices, East Side Socialist Center.

THURSDAY

The Bronx

NORMAN THOMAS, "The Case for a Labor Party," Tremont Educational Center, 4215 Third avenue.

COMIC SUPPLEMENT

Mr. Fred R. Marvin, conductor of the amusing "Searchlight" department of the New York Commercial contributes the following literary gem as his modest offering to lighten a somewhat grey and drab week:

The expose of the real forces, back of the present attempt to discredit this Government as a whole reflects on the integrity and character of those in public positions, weakens the morale of the American people and in the end results in a Soviet form of Government to be conducted under the direction of the Communist Internationale sitting at Moscow, in the columns of the Searchlight and in the news columns of The Commercial during the past week, has done much to open the eyes of the people.

The meaning of the lucubration is a little obscure, but after careful study with a dictionary, a grammar and a diagram, we gather that there is something in our suspicion that after all, Mr. Marvin is an agent of the Communist Internationale in disguise working under Mr. Gregory Zinoviev's orders to get into a position of importance where he can undermine the morale of the Bourgeoisie. But why give yourself away, Frank?

When two sets of corrupt impostors are contending for supremacy, I cannot for the soul of me grow enthusiastic over it; nor do I see why anyone should.—Keir Hardie.

NEW PROBLEMS FOR RADICALS

This series of four articles by Comrade Hillquit is based on lectures delivered in the Rand School of Social Science. Questions are invited and will be taken up by the lecturer. Address all questions to him, in care of The New Leader.

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

ONE of the thoughts I tried to bring out in my first lecture was that the problems that confront us today cannot be reduced to a common formula as readily as they could before the war, because the conditions in the different countries of the world are more dissimilar than they used to be.

In post-war Europe, we must distinguish sharply between the newly-created and the old countries, between victor, vanquished or neutral countries and between countries under Soviet, Fascist or Parliamentary regimes.

The differences between the conditions in the United States and those of Europe are even more marked than those that divide the European countries among themselves. The whole starting point and course of development of the two continents differ radically.

European history takes its inception in class organizations—America begins its career practically as a society of equals. European development has been gradual growth. America is a country artificially put together; a "ready-to-wear" country, if you want.

MODERN society in Europe springs directly from the feudal order with its three main pillars—the manor, the serf and the guild. The lord of the manor owned not merely the land and everything on it but also the workers of the land—the "serfs." There was no theory of equality between the lord and the serf. Legally and in actual practice the lord was the ruler and the serf was his rightless subject. In those early days it did not call for the genius of a Karl Marx to discover the existence of classes.

Alongside of these two principal classes, there developed a class of artisans who formed a more or less independent population. These were the guild masters who plied their trades as a sort of monopoly, generally with the feature of hereditary transmission of the industries from father to son.

Upon this general structure of feudal society the modern industrial order grew up. It was a gradual, almost imperceptible process, which slowly evolved the modern land-owning noble from the old feudal lord, the capitalist or bourgeois from the guild master, and the peasant from the serf. As the industrial development progressed and agriculture receded to the background, a large portion of the serfs, migrating from the village to the town, turned into industrial workers, and became "proletarianized."

THUS the classes of modern European society spring directly from the old feudal castes. Of course, I do not mean to say that the development took place in a straight line in every case; that every modern noble is a direct descendant of a feudal lord; that every modern capitalist has a guild master for a progenitor and that all peasants and all workers are descendants from the old-time serfs. There have been individual rises and falls in the social scale. But on the whole the line of development holds true; the bulk of the land-owning nobility of all countries of Europe spring from the feudal lords; the large industrial capitalists are the historic descendants of the guild masters and the large mass of peasants and industrial workers have evolved from the serfs of the middle ages. The modern classes thus naturally inherited the social psychology of their historic predecessors. Class distinctions in Europe are not merely economic categories. They are social, almost physical. The practiced eye can place every individual within his proper "class" by his personal appearance, dress, speech and general demeanor.

The various classes in Europe are not only definitely formed by a process of historical development, but they are also quite homogeneous. They speak the same language, have the same customs and traditions and are organized by an almost mechanical process through the similarity of thought, habit and mode of life.

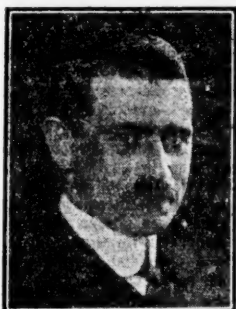
NOW it must be remembered that politics in the modern sense is of exceedingly recent origin in Europe. As a matter of fact it is hardly more than a generation old.

In England, of course, a parliamentary regime has been in existence for centuries, but until a comparatively short time ago the workers were excluded from the franchise and all parliamentary activities. In France political life as the expression of the modern constitutional regime may be said to date from about 1848, although it was seriously interrupted during the reign of Napoleon III. German political action in the modern sense of the term starts in 1871. In Italy popular politics were practically unknown until the consolidation of the present kingdom. Even with the definite beginnings of parliamentary regime in most European countries the large mass of people were excluded from the franchise.

When the regime of political

democracy was definitely established it thus found the classes crystallized and practically organized. The political parties formed under these circumstances were class parties undisguised.

IN every country of Europe there have been from the inception of the modern political period three main parties: The party of Conservatives or Tories which is the party of the aristocrats, looking for its social ideal to the past rather than to the future. This is the modern political survival of the feudal nobility. Then there is the so-called Liberal Party, which is primarily the party of the industrial bourgeoisie. It stands



MORRIS HILLQUIT

for "expansion," looks for new markets and channels of trades, and is from that point of view always "progressive." Finally there is the Labor Party, representing without quibble or disguise the interests of the workers.

The names and labels of these parties may change; the parties themselves may split up into several offshoots; they may represent different shades of conservatism or liberalism or divisions within the working class political movement, but in all instances we will find them reducible to the three main political trunks. Once in a while all parties of the possessing class unite against the party of labor, particularly in times of "national crisis," and this is prob-

ably a growing tendency, but the main feature of European politics has heretofore been the three-party system.

THEN again the whole organization of political life in Europe is calculated to maintain definite class divisions in politics. Political struggles always adjust themselves to the political form of the state organization, and there again we have a marked difference between conditions in the United States and Europe.

Government in Europe is centralized. National parliament is the main legislative and executive body. Parliament, as such, chooses the members of the government, who are directly accountable to it and who are maintained in power only so long as they represent the policy of the majority. Parliamentary elections are therefore the most important manifestation of political activity, and these elections are of necessity conducted on lines of national policies and bring out the class divisions between the parties.

Now, let us contrast these conditions with those prevailing in the United States.

Ours is practically the only modern country without a past. Our government was formed at a time when Europe had gone through all stages of social and political development up to the very latest phase, that of modern capitalism. It was made up originally of immigrants from different parts of Europe—all of them equal in their poverty, without distinction of birth or class—all equally engaged in the hard task of making a living under pioneer conditions. Such differences as have developed subsequently, have been largely the outgrowth of economic developments—they did not spring historically from established class—or caste divisions as they did in Europe.

ANOTHER distinguishing feature of American development was that it started with an almost unlimited land area and practically inexhaustible natural resources of wealth. A century ago when Europe

FOR YOUR SCRAP BOOK

Under this heading The New Leader will reprint excerpts from books, ancient or modern, that our readers should be glad to keep for future reference. Readers are invited to offer selections for consideration. The name of the author and the title of the book from which the selection is taken must accompany each contribution.

MORALITY IN CAPITALISTIC SOCIETY

By Achille Loria

In "The Economic Foundations of Society"

AN imposing system of moral oppression succeeds in making the laborer believe that he is a slave by nature, that his chains have been forged by a superior power, and that it is vain to strive to break them. This fiction, built up with the secular assistance of clients and liegemen, becomes so formidable in the minds of the oppressed that they no longer dare to rebel against their masters, and bow instead before the destiny which condemns them to serve. Thus the usurper egoism of one class, while assuring it enormous advantages, engenders as its natural corollary, the necessity of perverting the egoism of the other class, in order to induce it to endure in silence the injustice of which it is the victim. The necessary perversion is accomplished by investing the ruling class with an appearance of terror and almost superstitious awe, which exert an overwhelming influence upon the oppressed.

These ethics of fear, which prevailed in classic antiquity, are necessarily reproduced whenever the economic or geographic conditions recur upon which they were based. They reappeared, accordingly, in Christian America, where slave owners committed, under the auspices of the Gospel, the most iniquitous outrages against their Negroes, and kept them in subjection by assuming a fear-inspiring attitude. They have come to light again in our day in Erythrean Africa, where we Italians have become sanguinary creatures, conquerors and violators of female slaves; and where we pooh-pooh the morals of pity and love, in which we affect to believe at home, in order to establish a very different ethical code, that of orgy, rapine and slaughter.

We can henceforth accord religion but a secondary influence upon human actions, and we must therefore recognize that the conduct of the laboring classes has in our day to be subjected to a more modern and potent method of discipline. This modern method of moral coercion is supplied through the influence of public opinion, which, by means of a series of psychological processes and adroitly inspired ideas, succeeds in rendering every act dishonorable which carries with it any menace to the property system, and thus prevents its commission. Public opinion requires the laboring man to acquiesce in the dominion of capital. It appeals, indeed, to his intelligence, but only to warp his judgment, with a view of urging him to fulfill certain requirements which, though directly contrary to his own real interest, are nevertheless rendered attractive by the approbation of the well-born.

Public opinion at the same time requires the capitalists to restrain themselves in their policy of usurpation within certain bounds, in order not to compromise the fate of the property system. Having become the despotic arbiter of judgments and deeds, public opinion now sets the seal of its disapproval upon the least reaction on the side of the laborers against the system which oppresses them, and yet it tolerates usurpation on the part of proprietors to the injury of laborers, and it even favors suspicious appropriations by one capitalist to the detriment of another, so long as such acts do not threaten the cohesion of the capitalistic system.

Now, if our present economic system is bound to go to pieces in the not far distant future, it is certainly not rash to forecast the approach of a moral decomposition which will in turn be followed by a period of moral recomposition. The unproductive laborers (intellectuals) now allied to capital and employed in perverting the real egoism of the wage-earners by systematically influencing public opinion, will break away from this alliance as soon as the capitalistic income begins to fall off, and pass over to the ranks of the laborers to lend them their aid and advice. No longer artificially perverted, the laborers' egoism will then be developed directly to their own advantage, and this will impel them to overthrow the social order that oppresses them, in order to replace it with a better economic system.

was almost over-populated, the United States had a very scant population, so that the struggle for existence between man and man could not be as keen and bitter as it was in the corresponding period in Europe.

Modern capitalism came late to the United States, and until the latter part of the last century was predominantly agricultural. The struggles of the agricultural population against the first timid self-assertion and subsequent growing aggression of the industrial town dwellers furnished the main economic basis of American politics. The peculiar feature of American political development which is very rarely understood by radicals here and still less by radicals abroad, is that our politics have been marked by class divisions but not class struggles. The political struggle in America has always been principally between the farming population and the industrial population. It has not been a struggle which in the Marxian phraseology would be called a revolutionary struggle, a struggle by a dependent class against a dominant class, a struggle of one class to displace another class. It has always been a struggle for political ascendancy rather than for absolute rule. Our politics in so far as they have reflected economic conflicts have been sectional and occupational rather than class struggles as the term is understood by Socialists. Of course, within the last generation definite classes and class distinctions have developed in the United States but so far they have found little expression in the main currents of American politics.

ANOTHER factor which operated to retard the development of definite class divisions in the general political life of the United States is the federal structure of our government. Instead of one centralized national government, we have forty-eight different sovereign political units, each complete in itself, with the exception of certain rather minor powers delegated to the national government. The matters of immediate vital importance, the matter which affect the daily life of the people, such as housing, education, health, labor laws, etc.—are all left to state legislation. Thus the political interests of the people are divided into forty-eight different parts, and the conditions and problems in every state are by no means uniform.

Our Federal Government, moreover, is really not a parliamentary government. Our Congress is a body of limited legislative functions and of no executive power. Congress does not govern the country; it does not choose, supervise and control Cabinet ministers, it does not elect the President as European parliaments almost invariably do. Our Congressional or national elections by no means take the place of the parliamentary elections in the countries of Europe—they do not unite the classes along the broad lines of their general economic interests, while the local elections often tend to obscure rather than to bring out class differences.

ANOTHER condition peculiar to American politics is that even within the limited sphere of economic divisions to which it gives expression the parties are not definitely or permanently aligned on one side or the other. When we are analytically disposed, we sometimes assert that the Republicans represent the interests of large capital while the Democrats represent the interests of the farming population, but this is true only in a very limited sense. As a matter of fact except for the solid Democratic South, the agricultural and industrial states are almost evenly divided between the two parties, and the wage workers support them both. The two parties change and swap their issues and programs so often and so inconsistently, that they can hardly be said to represent definitely divergent economic interests. Both represent the interests of the dominant classes in the sense that they stand for the present order and its perpetuation—but just because they have this fundamental feature in common their fights are not class struggles. The truth is that our class struggles have not, at least up to the present, been reflected in our political life. Except for the Socialist campaigns, which have not seriously affected the political complexion, our politics have been practically classless and so have our political parties.

THE conception of politics as a general governmental rather than a partisan class institution was thus bound to arise. It was expressed and strengthened by another peculiarly American political institution, the Primary, particularly the so-called open Primary, which permits every citizen to participate in the nomination of candidates of any political party he may choose.

Add to these peculiar features of American public life the fact that our population, and particularly the working population, is often divided by origin, race, language and habit and that the workers as a whole have developed no definite class psychology, that they do not consider themselves permanent members of an oppressed class; that as a rule they still envisage possibilities of rising into higher social spheres; that neither physically nor psychologically have they developed the type that constitute the working class movements in all parts of Europe, and we will readily see why the problem that has at all times in the past confronted the radical in

the United States has been so vastly different from that in the countries in Europe.

ROUGHLY speaking, we may discern three main currents of radicalism in the recent history of the United States. One takes its inception in the grievances and jealousies of the farming population against the industrial population. The American farmer is not the European peasant. The peasant represents a definite social, economic and intellectual type which distinguishes him very clearly from the industrial type. The American farmer is a perfectly civilized individual, who wears the dress of the city dwellers and reads the same papers and has the same intellectual interests and general outlook on life as the man in the city. It is this farmer that occasionally rises in revolt against the dominant political influences of the industrial population, and it is this type of revolt that has supplied the bulk of American political "radicalism." To this type of radicalism belongs the so-called Jeffersonian Democracy, which held sway for quite a long time and also many latter-day movements.

The Greenback party which sprang up in the 70s of the last century, was largely a movement of the mortgage farming population, against the creditor class of capitalists. The Populist movement was likewise a revolt of farmers against city dwellers. Both attained to a considerable degree of power. The Greenback party polled a million votes in 1878, and the Populist party reached a million and a half in 1894. Both of them, however, ran their courses rapidly and disappeared tracelessly.

ANOTHER line of radical movements in the United States is that which found spasmodic expression in attempted Independent Labor parties. The American Labor movement formed late because the working class developed at a comparatively late date. It was only after the Civil War that the real beginnings of the modern trade unions appeared, but it was as early as 1867 that the National Labor Union, an organization representing about 60 to 70 national and international labor unions declared for independent labor politics and formed a Labor party under the name National Reform Party. That party gave great promise not only of physical growth, but also of intellectual development. It came in close contact with the International Workingmen's Association of Europe and at one time determined to affiliate with it. But after a very few years it began to dwindle and finally it disappeared. In the middle of the eighties of last century a veritable crop of local labor parties appeared in all industrial centers of the country but they all had short and precarious careers and disappeared from the political field.

Another type of American political radicalism, is one that comes even nearer home to us at this time, the movements represented by a combination of the industrial workers and the poor farmers. Way back in the days of the Greenback party, the necessity of cooperation between the farmers and industrial workers was recognized by the leading men in both camps and a convention for the purpose of forming such a party was called. The Greenback Labor party was thus formed in 1880. At that convention there were represented not only farmers' organizations and a large number of trade unions but also the Socialist Labor party. That movement was also of short duration.

The Populist party, in the later stages of its career, likewise made advances to organized labor. The movement was killed in 1896 by the endorsement of Bryan.

THE modern "Farmer-Labor" parties in the Middle West are a recurrence of the same movement, and are borne by the exploited farmer in cooperation with the organized workers. The "radical block" of progressives in Congress largely represents the same movement. I have omitted the Socialist movement from this hasty survey of American radicalism reserving that subject for a separate lecture. All other movements of American radicalism have been of the types I have mentioned.

These movements in the past have all perished because they have had no proper soil upon which to grow, because the peculiar social, economic and political conditions in America have been unpropitious for the development of permanent radical political movements. The question before us now is whether the peculiar obstacles in the way of American radicalism can be overcome. Can we discern a definite tendency towards removing the difficulties? What has the war and the post-war development done in that direction? What are our conditions and problems today, five years after the end of the war? Are the prospects for a successful Socialist or radical movement in this country better today than they were before the war and what methods must we adopt to aid in such developments?

These are some of the questions which I propose to treat in my next lecture.

I. L. G. W. U. MEETS MAY 5

Boston.—Local garment workers are arranging for the biennial convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which will convene in this city Monday, May 5.

GLORIFYING THE NORDICS

A Review by JAMES ONEAL.

JEFFERSON DAVIS: PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH. By H. J. Eckenrode. New York: The Macmillan Co.

A peculiar blend of biography and history, this book challenges attention because of a new interpretation given to the struggle between the North and the South. The overwhelming trend of opinion during the past three decades is that the Civil War was a struggle between two economic and social systems that could not possibly continue to live side by side under the same government. The institutions of the two sections came to be in marked contrast with each other. The South was mainly an agricultural society served by slave labor. The North was a manufacturing region served by "free" labor. The expansion of each brought them into conflict over the possession of western territory and the South lost.

While Mr. Eckenrode admits the existence of this economic antagonism between the two systems he assigns it a subordinate role. At the very outset, in his first chapter devoted to "The Tropic Nordics," he expounds the theory that slavery "was but an incident in the conflict, the two determining factors of which were Nordic blood and hot climate." The Nordic strain in the North was corrupted by a large inflow of immigrants while the South maintained the pristine purity of its Nordic origins. The difference between the northern mongrels and the southern Nordics, becoming ever more marked with the development of North and South, constituted the big factor which explains the Civil War. In his final chapter he returns to this theme. The following gives an example of his reasoning:

"The truth is that the Confederacy was a milestone on the progress of the Nordic race to nothingness. It was a Nordic protest against a leveling age, against the principle of leveling. There was democracy in the South, but it was the democracy of conquerors. There was no brotherhood with the weak. The South discovered democracy and repudiated it. The inequality of races was its creed, though it worshipped the Moses who proclaimed equality. Democracy withered in the South, not so much because the South was slave-

holding as because it was Nordic. This is the fact that the world does not understand."

Well, Mr. Eckenrode appears to understand it if few others do. It strikes us as an example of trying to read into history what is not there. These proud and conquering Nordics also lose their majestic proportions on page 16. Here we note that the white wretches of the lower South "belonged to the superior race and, thus, were masters, if manless. Nordic degenerates they might be, yet they were Nordics among helots and therefore, in an essential sense, aristocrats. Aristocrats often in rags and hungry, but still proud of their race." Just what can be superior in the Nordic breed when we remember that this ragged proletariat never struck a blow at their Nordic masters who had reduced them, to rags is something beyond our ken.

On the other hand an interesting portrait is drawn of Jefferson Davis. Mr. Eckenrode contends that the lack of economic subsistence in the South has been exaggerated and that the reason for scarcity in many communities was not lack of supplies but a poor transportation system. In any event it is certain that the South did not have the productive powers of the industrial North. The fact that the railways were not adequate for the pressing needs of the South is itself evidence of insufficient economic power to withstand war with the North.

Davis as an executive makes a poor showing in this book. He appears as a tragic figure, hesitating when a decision was imperative, and at one time so isolated and undecided that there was serious consideration of a "palace revolution" and the installation of a dictator. The author concludes that "success depended, in the last analysis, on Jefferson Davis. He failed. Not from lack of brains, for he had a good mind, and not for want of character, for he was a strong man. But from temperament. He did not have the faculty for success; the power to grapple men to him, absolutely self-forgetfulness. So he failed, and with him faded the last hope of the Nordic race." Few of us will mourn this lost "hope" for some of us have a vision of another triumph than that of a "Nordic race."

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

OUTLINE OF THE BRITISH LABOR MOVEMENT. By Paul Blanshard, with an introduction by Arthur Henderson. New York: George H. Doran Company.

With the Labor Party in control of the British Government, with exciting incidents occurring every day, with the capitalist press up to its old game of attempting to create divisions among the workers by judiciously praising one section of the party to cause other sections to distrust their comrades, interest in that party is growing day by day. People want to know just what the organization is and what it stands for.

Paul Blanshard is Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and he is thoroughly familiar with the history, the development and the organization of the British Labor Party. He has written this book for the Workers' Bookshelf as a piece of information. It is an admirable work, especially for the purpose for which it is designed.

The author gives a brief history of the rise of the Labor Party, and a more detailed outline of the present stand of the party and its current resolutions. Under the head "What a Labor Government Would Do," Blanshard takes up plank by plank, the program and platform used in recent elections.

Other chapters tell the form of organization, the interrelation between the unions, the Socialist Parties and the Labor Party, the work of the women members and of the Cooperatives, Labor and the Law, and the status of trade unionism and the industrial struggle.

There are brief, but informing views of the personalities of many of the leading spokesmen of the movement, both in the political and the industrial wings.

One gets an impression from the book of a harmonious united, mutually tolerant and decent body of men and women, animated by a common ideal and working together with mutual respect toward that ideal. One gets the feeling of men and women in great masses inspired by idealism and hope, and moving soberly toward the object of their ideals.

Blanshard's book is an encyclopedia of information. Every Socialist and worker should read it, and then keep it on his shelves for reference. It will be taken down and referred to very often in these interesting days.

W. M. FEIGENBAUM.

Knopf will issue soon "Christopher Columbus," by Johannes V. Jansen. This is will be the third volume of the series in the author's great epic of mankind. "Fire and Water" and "Cimbrians" being the first two.

Marshall Jones & Co. of Boston are publishing three more volumes in their "Our Debt to Greece and Rome" series.

AMONG THE MAGAZINES

THE CENTURY

The March Century thrusts a port face among periodicals, with sprightly stories and informative articles (but poetry disappointingly below its usual standard). C. W. Gilbert develops a portrait of President Coolidge from the phrase "Like the singed cat, he is better than he looks." While denying any greatness to him as a statesman, any largeness to him as a thinker (witness the absurdities of his magazine series on The Red Menace Among College Women), Gilbert maintains that the President is like "a Vermont farmer teasing a living out of a thin soil." Jean Longuet, a well-known French Socialist, points out the great extent to which the future depends upon the defeat of Poincaré, and on the political victory of the French "left." Ferdinand Reyher, in "The Tragedy of Thrift," gives a graphic survey of German life today. Charles E. Russell questions the worth of the woman suffrage movement, charging it with failure in two great respects: international disarmament, and political responsibility. Ex-President Meiklejohn, since his resignation from Amherst, has been challenging the basis of our education and thought; in this issue he wonders whether the decline of the cult of the Devil has not produced an equal decline of the respect for God. In his editorial, Glenn Frank sets forth what he considers the three fundamentals for world peace, after dismissing the Bok bosh. Of the literary articles, the Poe letters, Ernest Brennecke's amusing survey—too pretentiously titled—of our Comic Sections, and the story by Bojer, are engaging. Perhaps most stimulating of all is Winifred Kirkland's picture of an America from which, for thirty years, all competitive advertising has been banished. The antidote to her glowing description, however, is promised for next month.

McNAUGHT'S

In the March McNaught's, Samuel Blythe points out that it is the ignorance of the people that keeps the government alive. "No person who understands how the thing is worked can doubt that if the whole people knew what is being done to them day after day, the people would rise and wreck the existing order." Only some twenty per cent of the people, according to recent statistics, have the intelligence we might expect of a normal adult. Of this twenty per cent a small section without moral scruples, by "graft, collusion, extortion, subversions of justice, bribes, subornations, police compliances and complaisances, robberies, crooked compromises, lootings of the public purse, legislative malfeasance, governmental ineptitudes and worse"—exploit and control the other eighty per cent, and the honest among the twenty. Protest by these honest men is useless; the others control the schools and the press. An editorial commenting on Blythe's denunciation sees hope for the country in drastic immigration restriction and extended influence of the schools, so as to develop a greater conservative middle class. What the editor sees as salvation for the country is what Blythe calls unending exploitation. "Given understanding and there inevitably would ensue a revolt. . . . The bulwark of our country as it is, is the ignorance of its people." We are agreeably surprised at this emphatic presentation of a view we have long been stressing. Will Rogers develops a corollary of this idea in another of his pungent paragraphs, saying the slogan to stop war is: DRAFT WEALTH; Big Business would soon see that there was peace. The satire of Willson Whitman should not be missed; W. P. Eaton's views of Shaw hold us; and more is of interest, if only for the reason implied in the title of P. Kelly's article, "Our Hatred of Novelty."

BUSINESS AS USUAL

HUMAN FACTORS IN INDUSTRY. By Harry Tipper. New York: The Ronald Press Co.

This is a lazy man's book. A book without reference to the work of contemporaries in the same field of interest, without footnotes, without bibliography deserves the label above. It is an easy, contradictory, sterile, running account for the "tired business man," not "for the student of industrial affairs" as the author indicates in the preface. The student had better apply his time on more nourishing sources.

The human factor is insisted upon throughout the book, but we are not enlightened as to plans of realization. In fact, we are told that "there is no evidence that any political or economic leaders have arisen as yet whose understanding of the practical necessities of cooperation is sufficient to outline clearly the principles upon which it rests." p. 53. This passage might be quoted by Sidney Webb in support of his thesis that the capitalist system is on the decline, that is, as regards the particular type of brotherhood between capital and labor which Tipper has in mind.

One of the distinctive impressions which the book produces is that Sidney Webb's thesis is being felt on this side of the Atlantic. Here are some of the admissions: "The connection between a man's social morals and his industrial morals has been lost sight of and there is no recognition of the fact that a completely inter-dependent society cannot continue to exist unless these moral obligations are coordinated."

The educational system comes in for a scolding. "We have mistaken training for education." p. 62. . . . it has given little consideration to the fundamental changes." p. 60. The author talks interestingly about the virtues of the handicraft system and its educational reaction upon the worker, but fails to give an inkling of how to work this matter out under modern industrialism, except forsooth, by rotation of jobs, as the author mentions.

Again, "The mechanical character of industry has destroyed: 'the desire for work, pride as to quality, incentive to speed, sense of responsibility.'" p. 194. In Chapter 14, the author assumes that a psychological aversion to work is natural to humans. In the following chapter human nature is endowed with a powerful incentive to accomplishments. "No labor has been too great for the accomplishment of a worthy object." p. 199. One is aggravated by the recurring question: "How are you going to do it?" Let's get at this "worthy object."

When the reviewer approached this book, one question was directed to the writer: Granted, an indefinite life to modern industrialism, with its inevitable routine and robotizing influence, how can we get the work done and still release the so-called creative impulse in man? Tipper has no answer. He is in dilemma. Not so George Bernard Shaw in his recent Fabian address in which he offered himself as a robot for two hours per day. The reviewer would willingly give four hours upon the assurance of enjoying unhampered freedom during the rest of the day.

MARIUS HANSOME.

A BIG STORY

A Review by LENA MORROW LEWIS.

SO BIG. By Edna Ferber. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Page & Co.

Life does not proceed on the theory of a deep and mysteriously laid plot. Neither does Edna Ferber's latest novel, "So Big." It runs along just like life itself with its bits of charm, its sombre realities, its dull and all but unbearable moments, its victorious triumphs.

To one who has not read the book, the title is meaningless, almost absurd; but when you have finished it, its appropriateness is very apparent. Geographically the scenes are located in Chicago and its near-by farm environs. Chronologically, it runs from the late 80's up to the near present.

The dominant personality, the character which furnishes the reason for the appearance of practically every other character in the book, is Selina, the daughter of Simon Peake, a gambler, a type well known in Chicago in the earlier days; then the wife of the plodding man of the soil, Pervus De Jong, and, most important of all, mother of SO BIG, otherwise known as Dirk.

If one desires to know the tragedy of a woman of vision and ambition tied to a dull clod of the earth, you get it in this story. Fortunately the man dies in time to leave the woman still young enough to do something worth while with her life. All the things the husband said were impossible and impractical she succeeds in doing.

Quite indifferently she refers to

the recent world war period, but finds occasion to put in the mouth of Selina, in talking to her son, these significant words: "If I were a man I'd make up my mind straight about this war and then I'd do one of two things. I'd go into it the way Jan Snip goes at forking the manure pile—a dirty job that's got to be cleaned up; or I'd refuse to do it altogether if I didn't believe in it as a job for me. I'd fight, or I'd be a conscientious objector. There's nothing in between for any one who isn't old or crippled, or sick."

One is fascinated with the countless number of illustrations and figures of speech which fairly grip one as they read. The characters stand out in such vividness that to one who has lived in the Middle West during much of these periods they seem like folks we have known.

But it is not until the very end of the book that one gets the high point of the story which is—but to tell it here would be like explaining the point in a joke before telling the joke. And there is something about this fine point in the story that must be sensed by the reader, and can only be understood by those who comprehend the higher values of life.

No one who wants to know the story of Chicago's growth and the changes in the farm country near by, the continual conflict between the people of vision and the folks who never get away from the material grind of life, can afford to miss this book.

IMPORTANT BOOKS

"The New Larned History for Ready Reference, Reading and Research," published by C. N. Nichols Co., Springfield, Mass. Volumes seven and eight of their great work have just been issued. Four more are yet to appear. These volumes contain the actual words of the world's best historians, biographers and specialists and there are many illustrations in color, half-tone and line. Some of the subjects covered

at great length in these two last volumes are: Medical Science, Mexico, Money and Banking, Music, New York, Painting, Papacy, Printing and the Press, this particular article contains a reproduction of the work of William Morris. There is also a long and exhaustive story of Rome which closes the eight volumes.

This history is an invaluable work of reference for students, working-men's circles and for those who want to get information quickly on almost any subject.

HISTORY! FICTION!

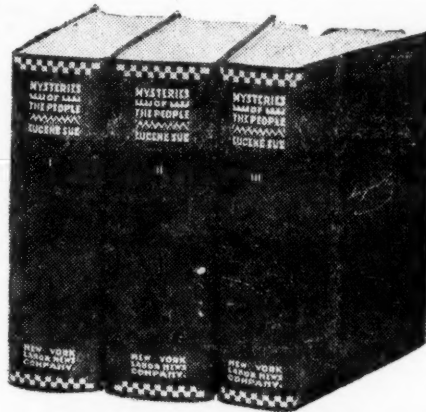
THE GREATEST WORK DEMONSTRATING THE CLASS STRUGGLE THROUGHOUT THE AGES.

Eugene Sue's

MYSTERIES OF THE PEOPLE

OR

HISTORY OF A PROLETARIAN FAMILY ACROSS THE AGES.



he proposed to sketch was not to be a work for closet study. It was to be a companion in the stream of actual, every day life and struggle, with an eye especially to the successive struggles of the successively ruled with the successively ruling classes. In the execution of his design, Sue conceived a plan that was as brilliant as it was poetic—with profound philosophy. One family, descendants of a Gallic chief named Joel, typifies the oppressed; one family, the descendants of a Frankish chief and conqueror named Neroweg, typifies the oppressor; and across the ages the successive struggles between oppressors and oppressed—the history of civilization—is thus represented in a majestic allegory.

THERE IS NO OTHER WORK LIKE IT. Every Socialist study class and Local should own a set. Read what the AMERICAN LABOR MONTHLY says about it:

"If the Socialist Labor Party group had never done anything else for the advancement of humanity, their publication of this supremely valuable work would fully justify the entire expenditure of time, energy, sacrifice, and money that has filled their history in the United States. Every person that has not read Sue's compelling narrative ought to put off all other reading until he has gone through these volumes, and then, if he has the real revolutionary spirit he will be certain to return to them again and again and to see to it that all his friends learn to know the work. Every working family ought to have these volumes as a part of the family library even if no other works of fiction can be afforded. Every worker that can at all manage to do so ought to buy the work even if he has to go without smokes for six months or make the old overcoat spin out a year or two longer. Wells and Van Loon are of trivial value from the standpoint of a dynamic insight into history, as compared with the powerful work of Sue."

"THE MYSTERIES OF THE PEOPLE"

"The 'Mysteries of the People' is Sue's masterwork, long neglected and suppressed by reason of its revolutionary spirit. It was finally unearthed by Daniel de Leon, translated mostly by him, and published in twenty-one volumes. This earliest American edition has for some time been out of print. Now the work reappears in three magnificent volumes totalling some five thousand pages, beautifully bound, well printed on thin but opaque paper, fittingly ornamented, and illustrated with a picture of Sue and facsimiles of the title pages of the original French edition."

"The reader is introduced to the narrative by a charming picture of Gaul (France) at the time of the Roman conquest. From that point down to the revolution of 1848 he follows through stirring conflict and vivid progress the struggles of the working-class against the master-class. While the work is avowedly fiction rather than prosy chronicle, and while it is not to be used as a textbook of history, the reader will learn from it more real history than he would by the perusal of vast quantities of the ordinary historical stuff. There is an air of intimacy and reality all along the grim and harrowing path and a touching faith and loyalty to the workers' future that cannot but grip and inspire the reader and fire his zeal for the cause that marches majestically and relentlessly through Sue's pages."

"The writer of this review read the original twenty-one volumes. He has long been anxious to add the work to his library so that when his boys come to adolescence they may be nurtured on the vigorous life that fills every step in the narrative. Now he has bought the new volumes for fear they may be out of print again ten years from now when his sons will begin to need them. . . . If these volumes cost fifty dollars, they would be easily worth the price. They ought never again to be allowed to get out of print. It would be quite worth while if an organization could be developed to place them in every public library in the United States."

"The compelling power of the work is due not merely to the absorbing theme, but also to the simple grace with which the human touches in daily life and the deeper emotions of humanity are given power to charm and stir the reader. As one follows the proletarian family through the ages, he can not but come closer to the heart of mankind and renew his own life by communion with the heart of humanity struggling upward toward light and freedom. Any open-hearted person, whether of revolutionary affiliations or not, will be stirred, warmed, moved, broadened, deepened, as he follows the series of stories that carry the proletarian family generation by generation across the centuries. The book is first-class propaganda, just because it is not propaganda but life. It offers a splendid tool with which to approach persons of ordinary human sympathies who have never awakened to the real meaning of human struggle, of human hopes, of human progress."

"LABOR PAPERS OUGHT TO PUSH THIS WORK UNCEASINGLY. LABOR GROUPS WITH LIBRARIES OUGHT TO BUY ONE OR MORE SETS RIGHT AWAY. LABOR SPEAKERS OUGHT TO GO OUT OF THEIR WAY, IF NECESSARY, IN ORDER TO SPREAD FAMILIARITY WITH IT. If only we had a labor film service that could put the whole stupendous action on the screen!"—(Reviewed by A. W. Calloun.)

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NEW LEADER SUB-GETTERS IN BIG DRIVE

Well, well, where will we begin? Letters from readers say they like The Booster column. They kick because we occasionally leave it out. But, honest-to-goodness, we have been so busy taking care of ads and subs that it was simply impossible to give you the weekly intimate peep into the inside of things that we wish as a fixed policy. Of course, it is impossible to tell you of the many persons and groups who are helping us build up the subscription list and make The New Leader a powerful Socialist weekly. All we can do is to dip into the mail bag and give you what comes first until "The Master Mind," that others call the Editor, looks kind of queer and asks us if we think we are writing a book? But—

Gee, they won't let us write, for here is Brother Max Deisenhouse of the Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union with ten subs and swearing he is out to get every scalp in sight; and right on top of him is Wm. Schriber, Secretary of the Camden Bakers and Confectioners Union, with subs and saying The New Leader is "good stuff." Then along comes Secretary Louis Sager of Los Angeles Workmen's Circle No. 443, with an order for a weekly bundle of ten to be distributed in the meetings. Bless my soul! Here's R. P. Parks of Arkansas, an old Call booster, with three subs, and the Jersey City Educational Club also with three, and H. W. Morin of Williamsport, Pa., with two, and John Kiebig, Secretary of a Cleveland Slovenian Organization, with four subs and a weekly bundle order of ten. They know the value of the party press!

Another live one is John W. Stoner of Lancaster, Pa., with two and Charles Manhoff, of Newark, and his friend Dr. Louis Reiss, who gets a sub with every tooth he pulls, and says it's painless. And that steam engine, Wm. E. Davis, of Connecticut, with two. Chas. A. Byrd, of Florida, arrives with a sub for himself and three to give away! D. D. Gregg, of Columbus, (remember Villa?) New Mexico, wants us to "apply a hot poker" to some of you fellows. That good scout, Peter Marcus, of Providence, R. I., sends one and promises more. So does D. V. Linnahan of Glen Falls, N. Y., and J. M. Byram of the real Niagara Falls, who also sends names to receive sample copies. T. J. Bowling, of Tecumseh, Okla., remarks, incidentally, that the boys out there are in a H-of-a-humor, and that he will constitute himself a New Leader agent to get subs, which of course receives our parental blessing, and if persevered in, could easily add some shekels to his pocket.

And (just a moment while we rub our eyes) Chief Justice Clark of North Carolina, sends his sub and wishes us success. Then a letter from a college professor out in Kansas, enclosing subscriptions for all his students, and saying that he intends to use The New Leader in his course in Socialism. We can see ourselves getting a new hat if this keeps up!

Then, to kind of sober us up, comes Max Cohen with a renewal of Local Yonkers' weekly order of 100 copies, which they are sending with a letter to enrolled Socialists. Nestling up against it is one from Thos. Axtell, of North Platte, Neb., a long time Socialist, and recently member of the State Legislature. Another from Jose Andereg, of Mercedes, Calif., with the fragrance of the Yosemite still clinging to it. And from M. Wagman, of Detroit, who, in addition to his sub, is getting the town newsmagazine to handle The New Leader. August Claessens is the barber's despair, but our delight. He lands with a bunch of subs every nineteen hours on an average, and always adds a smile for good luck. He was the first President of the Sunshine Club.

Hats off to the various State Socialist organizations! Helen Turitz, Secretary for Massachusetts, who is always on the job; far off California, whose State Executive Committee subscribed for every member; New Jersey with every Branch on the list; Connecticut, and its State Secretary and Organizer, Comrades Plunkett and Jasper McLevy. And even Pennsylvania, where they have a good weekly (The Pennsylvania Worker) of their own, and yet gave The New Leader representative a good reception. They will send Lena Morrow Lewis out for a month or more in the interest of both papers. And now, just as a sort of doxology, a bundle order of ten from Alice S. Eddy, the former live State Secretary of Arizona, now equally active in Los Angeles.

"And—Darn it! Here's the 'Master Mind' telling me, 'enough, enough,' and to pull down the blinds for the day. See you again next week!

Help us build up the subscription list. Your personal efforts beat all the letters we could write. You know lots of people that we never heard of, and who may never know about The New Leader unless YOU give them the chance.

AMERICAN LABOR AND POLITICS

By WARREN K. BILLINGS

Ever since I have been interested in the organized labor movement and cognizant of the existence of the Socialist Party I have wondered just what the main points of diverging opinion are that keep the two bodies from joining hands and becoming a unit for the benefit of the workers generally. It cannot be denied by either side that to benefit the workers is their ultimate aim—the sole object of their being, in fact. What then is it that keeps them from working in harmony? They have admittedly a common purpose—they are composed generally of a common element, and they are avowedly against a common enemy—capitalist imperialism.

With these fundamental points in common it is quite obvious that the considerations that keep them separated must be minor ones. Then let us examine one or two of them.

In the first place Labor says, "Socialism is a political organization, concerned with the improvement of social conditions by means of the vote alone,"—"while we are a non-partisan, non-political, organization of craftsmen concerned mainly and primarily with the improvement of working conditions." This however, is an old and outworn argument for Labor. In recent years, it has ceased to be a non-partisan, non-political craft organization for the workers have come to realize that after all what they really want is improved social conditions and that their pretensions of improving working conditions are only the first step in that direction. Then too, the workers have come to realize that they cannot improve social conditions to any appreciable extent by improving working conditions alone and that they must therefore advance beyond their non-partisan, non-political precepts in order to accomplish desired improvements in education, housing, public health and civic efficiency.

An Ancient Policy

Labor has already given up its non-political ideal and has formulated what its leaders are pleased to designate as a "Plan of Non-Partisan Political Action." The policy of "Elect our friends and defeat our enemies" was adopted but how has it worked out? Is it strictly "non-partisan" in character? I venture to say that it is not. In many cities the Republican candidates nearly always get the indorsement of the central bodies and Trades and Labor Councils while in other cities the Democrats seem to be largely in control and in one city at least, the Socialist Party usually gets Labor's endorsement. What then, is the result of this—Labor non-partisan? It is not! It is rather "all partisan"—that is, it is affiliated with and divided among all political parties.

Consider Labor thus divided into political factions, each faction fighting for a modicum of control, each seeking support among the workers and each trying to foist its theories and ideas upon protesting advocates of other theories and ideas. There you see labor in its weakest condition and with no more unity or solidarity of purpose than our whole system of society is today—each faction and each individual at another's throat goaded by greed and selfishness, swayed by petty prejudice and with nothing in common but a lust for battle. Were it not better that Labor should learn to approve and indorse one political party—one set of political theories whether it be a party of their own or of earlier origin or a consolidation of the two?

Division and Weakness

In the past this division into political factions has caused much dissatisfaction in the ranks of labor and has caused many abortive attempts to formulate what was meant to develop into a political party of the workers, for the workers and by the workers. None of these organizations ever developed into a powerful Labor party, however, because at their inception it was only the bolder, more progressive radical elements who were willing to dare organizing politically and so these parties were dubbed "Radical" and "Revolutionary" and were doomed to small results.

This however, is not to be regretted for it taught both sides a lesson. Conservative labor learned that at least a large part of the rank and file wanted to organize politically and the radical progressives learned that they could not stand alone nor win solely upon a platform of social revolution. Out of this knowledge has grown the new Labor Party which for a while promised to become nationally prominent after its coalescing with the Farmer's Party and at one time seemed upon the point of bringing together all of the minor political organizations and one of the major ones—the Socialist Party. When the coalition was formed in New York that went to the polls under the name of the American Labor Party. I thought that we were safely upon our way toward the organization of a great third political party—a true American Labor Party.

Need of Solidarity

Is there any real reason why Labor, Socialism, The Non-Partisan

League, the Farmer's Party and even the Single-Taxers should not join hands and become a unit for the political and social betterment of the workers in general? I think not!

What Labor needs most now is education and organization along this line and towards this end and it is only by continuous effort and willing cooperation that anything at all may be accomplished.

Some there are of course, who will say that all this tends toward compromise and that there can be no compromise between craft unionism and Socialism, but it will be found upon further examination of the subject that the differences between them are really small and inconsequential and are largely concerned with methods to be employed rather than in the changes that are to be brought about.

In the light of this knowledge it behooves all of us to put our shoulder to the wheel and make a concerted effort to bring about a coalition of all of the parties and political factions in the labor movement whose ultimate aim is the betterment of working and living conditions and to thus crystallize and consolidate all of the thought and power of the workers generally toward the common goal of civic and social improvement.

WITH THE UNIONS

HOTEL WORKERS' BALL MONDAY

The Restaurant and Hotel Workers' Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers will hold their annual Masque and Civic Ball next Monday, March 10, at the Terrace Garden, 58th street and Lexington avenue.

The dance will start at 8 o'clock. In addition to the two regular orchestras there will be about eight more to entertain the public. Thelma Harvey, dancer, and Bert Lewis, vaudeville star, are two of the many headliners on the entertainment program. Admission will be \$1.00 for tickets purchased in advance and \$1.50 if purchased at the door.



Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council. MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING. Office, 166 East 56th Street. Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

CLOAK AND SUIT OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 1, I. L. G. W. U. Local 1 Building, 128 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 5390. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office. LOUIS HOROWITZ, Chairman. LOUIS LEVY, Manager-Secretary.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Lexington 4510. Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. SECTION MEETINGS: Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 2nd Friday at 6 P. M. Bronx—E. 187th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M. Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M. Bklyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—74 Montgomery St. SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary.

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. 799 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4330, 9510, 9511. JOS. GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

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CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 144 Second Avenue. Telephone Orchard 0415-0416. Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 79 Delancey Street, at 8 P. M. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office, at 7 P. M. ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary. ABRAHAM BELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

DRESSMAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 16 West 21st St. Watkins 7930. I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION. GENERAL OFFICE: 62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4408. CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman. OSSIP WALINSKY, General Manager.

Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 80, I. L. G. W. U. Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 8 West 21st Street. Telephone 7748. LUIGI ANTONINI, Manager-Secretary.

CLEANERS AND DYERS UNION

of Greater New York. Office and Meeting Room: 175 E. Broadway. Phone Orchard 6646. Regular Meeting Every Monday at 8 P. M. Executive Board Meets Every Thursday. J. EFFRAY, D. HOFFMAN, Manager. Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 67 of I. L. G. W. U. 117 Second Avenue. Telephone Orchard 7106-7. A. SNYDER, Manager. MOLLY LIFSHITZ, Secretary.

NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS

Union Local No. 239. Office and Meeting Room: 126 Seventh Avenue. Phone Chelsea 3549. Regular Meeting Every Monday. Executive Board Meets Fridays at 8 P. M. G. B. HOVELL, J. S. COVIGAS, President. Sec. Agt. J. J. COOGAN, D. J. NAGLE, Rec. Secretary. Fin. Secretary.

BROOKLYN MILK DRIVERS STRIKE

The Milk Drivers' Union, Number 584, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, appeals to the public to support it in its present strike against the Chardovayne Milk Co. of 315 Smith street, Brooklyn. The strike came about because the firm discriminated against employees for belonging to a union, the men say. This firm does most of its business in south Brooklyn.

The officers of the union, Nathan Laut, secretary, and F. J. Sterbinsky, president, say that if the people in this section show their resentment at such methods by buying milk only from union concerns, this firm will immediately sign up.

The Hebrew Butchers' Union, Local 234 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of N. A. will have their ball Friday, March 7, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street. I. Korn, manager of the ball, urges all members to come and bring their friends as the proceeds will be used for the benefit of union's Sick and Loan Fund.

The Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union, Local 10, of the I. L. G. W. U., will have its annual ball on Saturday evening, March 29, at Hunts Point Palace, 163rd street and Southern Boulevard. Joseph Fish, secretary of the union, announces that the proceeds will be used for the sick and unemployment fund.

GREECE

Paris.—Belated reports from Athens say that the Greek Government has removed the ban placed upon the trade unions in connection with the short-lived general strike of last August and has given back the organization's archives and funds seized at the time of the dissolution.

See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union Local 584, I. B. of T.



Office: 565 Hudson St., City. Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ASTORIA HALL, 62 East 4th St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at 8 P. M. FORWARD BUILDING, 115 East Broadway, Room 3. F. J. STERBINSKY, Pres. & Bus. Agent. NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

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UNION DIRECTORY

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

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City. Telephone Chelsea 2148. MORRIS SIGMAN, President. ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer.

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK. Office: 22 East 22nd Street. Phone Gramercy 0618. Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office. SAM COHEN, President. ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager. ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, Sec. Treas. ADOLPH LEWITZ, Rec. Sec. WILLIAM CHERNIACK, Vice-Pres.

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office 231 East 14th Street. Telephone Lexington 4180. EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION. DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager. JOSEPH FISH, General Secretary.

Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76

Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283. Meets Every Second and Fourth Wednesday at Arlington Hall. 23 ST. MARKS PLACE at 6:30 SHARP. JOSEPH HARKOW, Secretary-Treasurer. J. ROTTER, President. WOLF ALPER, Business Agent.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488. MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St. OFFICE, 394 EAST 150TH ST., ROOM 3. Telephone Melrose 5674. THOMAS DALTON, President. CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent. HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y. JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y.

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LOCAL UNION NO. 463 OF NEW YORK CITY. Meeting Room, 243 East 84th St., New York City. EVERY WEDNESDAY, 8 P. M. 2033 Fifth Ave. Phone Harlem 4878.

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432. Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY. MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, President and Business Agent. JOHN PEARL, Vice Pres. THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y. JOHN LEAVY, JOHN DOOLEY, MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y. JOSEPH LeMONTE.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 106th Street. Telephone: University 2828. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office. Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street. ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNENFELD, Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer.

Journeyman Plumbers

Local Union 418. Of Queens County, New York. Meets Every Tuesday Evening at 8:15 at 519 Jackson Ave., Long Island City. MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President; W.M. PIPOTA, Fin. Sec'y; JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Rec. Sec'y; CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Bus. Agts.

Union Members!

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United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L. 7 East 13th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office. LOUIS FELDHEIM, President. ED. GOTTESMAN, Sec'y-Treas. L. D. BERGER, Manager. LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U. 7 East 13th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3657. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. Z. L. FREEDMAN, Pres. M. M. ESSENPELL, NATHAN RIESEL, Manager. Sec'y-Treas.

SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORT-FOLIO MAKERS' UNION

62 University Place. Stuyvesant 6538. The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet Mondays at the office. Regular meeting every Wednesday at 151 Clinton Street, New York. M. WIENER, H. KAPLAN, Organizer. Secretary.

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

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. M. POLINSKY, A. WEINGARTEN, Manager. Sec'y-Treas.

SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U. 130 East 23rd St. Madison Sq. 1471. EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 8 P. M. D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

Cloth Hat and Cap

OPERATORS LOCAL 1. Office 210 E. 5th St. Tel. Orchard 9560. Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board Every Monday. MORRIS GELLER, Organizer.

--- D R A M A ---

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

M. MAURICE DE FERAUDY, Sociétaire and Vice-Dean of the Comédie-Française and his company of French players will be presented by WENDELL PHILLIPS DODGE for a fortnight of French plays at the GAIETY Theatre beginning Monday night. The repertoire for the first week is as follows: Tomorrow night, "Les Affaires sont Les Affaires" ("Business is Business"); Tuesday night, "L'Avare" ("The Miser"); Wednesday matinee, "L'Avare" ("The Miser"); Wednesday night, "Monsieur Brontonneau"; Thursday night, "Il ne faut jurer de rien" ("You Never Can Tell"); Friday night, "Monsieur Brontonneau"; Saturday matinee, "La Nouvelle Idole" ("The New Idol"); Saturday night, "Les Affaires sont Les Affaires" ("Business is Business").

TUESDAY

"WE MODERNS," which will open an engagement at the GAIETY Theatre on Tuesday evening, was written by ISRAEL ZANGWILL in a merry as well as a thoughtful mood. The comedy tells an entertaining story, from quite an unusual viewpoint, of one phase of the conflict between the terrible infants of the Georgian today in England and their Edwardian or Victorian begetters—the conflict that is ever waging between the new generation and the old.

George C. Tyler, the producer, has assembled an unusual cast that includes Helen Hayes, O. P. Heggie, Kenneth McKenna, Mary Shaw, James Dale, Gilda Leary, Harris Gilmore, Isabel Irving, St. Clair Bayfield, Olin Field and Galwey Herbert. Harrison Grey Fiske staged the play.

WEDNESDAY

"THE LADY KILLER" a new comedy by ALICE AND FRANK MANDEL, will be produced at the MOROSCO, Wednesday night by the Morosco Holding Company. The cast includes Claiborne Foster, George Allison, Ethel Jackson, Lucille Webster, James Gleason, Paul Kelly, Harold Vermilye, Charles Hammond, William A. Norton, James Donlan, William J. Rathbun.

SATURDAY

"MACBETH" which opens at the 48th Street Theatre, Saturday evening, March 15, with JAMES K. HACKETT in the title role, will include Clare Eames as Lady Macbeth, Moffat Johnston, Henry Mortimer, Douglas Dumbrille, Lawrence Cecil, Catherine Proctor, Helen Strickland, Helen Van Hoose, Louis Wolheim, Barry MacCullum, Russell Morrison and Teddy Jones.

Mr. Hackett's own setting version which he used for his London, Stratford-on-Avon and Paris productions, will be used. He has directed the entire production assisted by Lawrence Cecil. The costumes are those which Mr. Hackett used abroad, but an entirely new scenic investiture has been designed by Woodman Thompson who has designed the sets and the stage effects for all of the plays which Equity Players have produced this season. The engagement of Mr. Hackett for "Macbeth" will be limited to four weeks.



JAMES K. HACKETT

"POTTERISM"

"THE POTTERS" BY J. P. McAVOY AT THE PLYMOUTH

Among the many contradictions that fashion this muddling world of ours, none is a source of greater pleasure than man's keen eye for his neighbor's weakness, nor source of greater pain than his blindness to his own. Self-deception is the first and the fundamental deceit; he that can convince himself of his greatness is likely to overrate his associates, less sure about themselves. Thus it is that the self-confident are the successful; the wiser—too keen to delude themselves into a belief in their own high merit—are less decisive; they have their understanding to compensate for their failure.

This power of self-deception it is that allows us to remain delightfully untouched by the most pointed satire. Let a caricaturist put us into sketches or upon the stage, let him reveal our inefficiency and parading pride, our foibles of daily doing, let him with unsparing hand unmask us as the incompetent braggarts we are, and we chuckle in glee at the penetration with which he has pictured "the man next door."

"The Covered Wagon" Celebrates Its First Birthday

The coming week will be a 7-day birthday party at the Criterion Theatre, where "The Covered Wagon" completes its first year on Broadway. This is a new world's record.

In honor of the event there will be a second "Opening Night" at the Criterion Monday evening. The management has invited a number of noted interests, among them being the theatrical producers of New York who have had a play that ran a year on Broadway.

Among the famous motion picture stars who will attend are Gloria Swanson, Thomas Meighan, Richard Dix, Beebe Daniels, Rudolph Valentino and many more. Dr. Hugo Riesenfeld, who composed the score for "The Covered Wagon," has arranged a new number in honor of the birthday.

The Arapahoe Indians, who have been appearing with the presentation of "The Covered Wagon" in London, Paris, Brussels and other Continental cities during the past year, are returning to this country, and will appear at the Criterion Theatre every day during the week before leaving for their homes on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. Ernest Torrence, who plays the role of Bill Jackson, the scout, in the picture, is expected in New York on Monday, and will make personal appearance at the Criterion Theatre during the week.

London will have the opportunity of seeing "Tarnish," now playing at the Belmont Theatre, in the spring. John Cromwell, Inc., has sold the English rights and it is likely that Mr. Cromwell himself will go abroad and direct the production.

"Masse Mensch" To Be Staged By Guild

The Theatre Guild will produce the long promised "MASSE MENSCH" by ERNST TOLLER, under the title of "Man and the Masses" some time in April. The play, "a fragment of the social revolution of the twentieth century" is in seven scenes. The translation is by Louis Untermeyer. Lee Simonson will not only design the settings but direct the entire production.

Ernst Toller was one of the leaders of the Spartacist revolution in Munich five years ago. Upon the collapse of the Communist government he aided the escape of all of his friends but refused to make any attempt at flight himself, and he is still serving the last year of his sentence in the fortress of Niederschönenfeld. The play was written in prison, in October, 1919, the first year of the German revolution. It was produced by Jurgen Fehling in Berlin at the Volksbühne September 29, 1921, and aroused not only great excitement in Germany, but international interest. An attempt was made to produce it in Nuremberg but crowds rioted at the first performance and it was not repeated.

Lee Simonson who saw the German production and was much impressed with it, and who has been studying the play with mounting enthusiasm ever since, says of it: "The extraordinary fact is that it is really a poet's profound questioning of the nature of revolution. The protagonist is a woman convinced that no cause can be won if it is won at the price of war and bloodshed. Certain scenes are supposed to take place in the woman's soul, symbolizing her distrust of warfare and her pity for its victims. The mass scenes in the play have a choric nature perhaps more suggestive of Greek tragedy than any other modern drama."

Mme. Simone in French Matinees

MME. SIMONE, recently arrived in New York, is preparing to make her appearance in French at a series of matinees, the first of which will be given at the Gaiety Theatre on Friday, March 21. Her first bill will be "La Vierge Folle," by Henry Batille.

Mme. Simone will give these matinees under the direction of George C. Tyler and Hugh Ford, by special arrangement with Edgar MacGregor. It was under Mr. Tyler's management that she made her last appearance in the New York. That was 2 years ago when she played in English in "The Thief," "The Whirlwind," "The Return from Jerusalem," "The Lady of Dreams" and "Frou-Frou." She will make her first appearance here in French at these coming matinees.

Besides "La Vierge Folle," she will give performances of "La Couturière de Lunville," by Alfred Savoir, and "Le Passe," by George de Porto-Riche. The dates for these performances will be announced later.

A company of well known French actors has been engaged to appear with Mme. Simone at her matinees and rehearsals are already under way.

ADELE KLAER, artist, and wife of David Robinson, well-known illustrator, who is at present in "Artists and Models," at the Shubert, will be represented by two paintings at the annual exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists at the Waldorf-Astoria. Miss Klaer's paintings are titled "Silent Eve" and "Spring Flowers."

ROMANTIC CYRANO

WALTER HAMPDEN IN RO-STAND'S "CYRANO DE BERGERAC" AT THE NATIONAL

Is it in spite of, or because of, those who, physically, are poorly endowed, rise to great heights of achievement? The stutterm Demosthenes, greatest orator of all time, the puny Napoleon, first among generals, the crippled Steinmetz, "electrical wizard"; is it in the effort to counterbalance their deficiencies that they rise above other men? Among such handicaps, the Cyrano is famous in literature; nor is there any question but that Rostand intends to show that the enormous facial protuberance of Cyrano has shaped his entire existence. Spurred by a sense of inferiority as large as his nose, Cyrano blusters his way through life until he becomes a mighty warrior. Forced to look upon his own ugliness, he learns to see the rest of the world as it is. Despairing of winning his love to kiss lips overshadowed by so lengthy a projection, he builds his loss into self-sacrifice and undying devotion. Cyrano the poet, warrior, satirist, lover, and friend—Cyrano the romantic, is the product of his nose.

Beyond the lofty nonsense that Rostand erects so beautifully about his name, that Walter Hampden carries so high-handedly upon the stage, there once really lived one Cyrano de Bergerac, libertine of the Seventeenth Century. He would have defined libertine as free-thinker, free-worshiper, free-lover . . . and perhaps, free-drinker. All of these Cyrano was. He builded no systematic philosophy, yet his was one of those recurring scientific winds that guessed evolution long before Darwin's evidence. He, like Leonardo Da Vinci, made practical suggestions for heavier-than-air flying machines; in one of these Cyrano took imaginary trips to the sun and the moon. Here he pictures Utopias that furnish keen satire of his own times (much of which "Gulliver's Travels" reflects) and a bitterness too strong for his age. In one of the censored passages, Cyrano makes the birds who govern the sun speculate as to whether he is a man (in order to kill him, if he is); they decide that he is a man because, on looking at him, they "feel an instinctive disgust!"

This man, who saw the hypocrisy of life, spent his days in activity of which others reaped the rewards. Yet he fought undaunted, and—in life, as in the play—ended his days defying dishonesty and vanity and cowardice and compromise, the enemies of Cyrano as they are still the enemies of man.

J. T. S.



BERTHA KALICH

This talented artist is back in New York with a revival of "The Kreutzer Sonata," at the Bronx Opera House next week.

Vaudeville Theatres

HIPPODROME

Harry Carroll's Revue with Linda and the Hippodrome Girls; "Minstrel Days," a blackface novelty, with Harry Carroll and George Le Maire; Zoro Singers, Jan Garber and the Garber-Davis Band, The Avon Comedy Four, George Le Maire and Company, Mme. Bradna; Miscellanea; Fortunello and Cirillino.

PALACE

Ned Wayburn's Honeymoon Cruise, Fritz Ridgeway & Company, Janet Velle & Jay Velle, Harry Watson, Jr., Rae Samuels, Jack "Rube" Clifford, Canary Opera, and Rath Brothers.

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre beginning Monday, will have a new first run feature picture, "The Hilly Billy," starring JACK PICKFORD. "The Hilly Billy" is an original story written by the star in collaboration with Mary Pickford and Marion Jackson. It is a love story of the Kentucky mountains.

The B. F. Keith acts will include LILLI MC CONNELL and GRANT SIMPSON, in "A Quiet Evening at Home," Willie Kreiger and his Ambassador orchestra, the newest of the musical organizations that will make their first Broadway appearance; James B. Donovan and Marie Lee in their comedy offering; Pinto and Boyle, Keller Sisters and Lynch, Irvin and Bellinger and other acts.

LOEW'S PALACE

ZANE GREY'S "The Heritage of the Desert," made at the exact locales called for in the original story, will be shown at Loew's Palace Theatre Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the coming week. Bebe Daniels, Ernest Torrence, Noah Beery and Lloyd Hughes head the cast.

Arthur Alexander and Company in a musical comedy revue featuring a jazz band, called "From Dixieland to Broadway" will head the vaudeville bill. Others will be Renzetta and Grey, Lillian Morton and Samarooff and Sonin. GLORIA SWANSON in "The Humming Bird," based on Maude Fulton's play, will be shown the last half of the week.

--- T H E A T R E S ---

America's Foremost Theatres and Hits, Direction of Lee & J. J. Shubert.

Jolson's 59th St.
Theatre, at 5th Av., one block from Columbus Circle.
EVENINGS 8:30
Mats. Thurs., Sat., 2:30
Charles Capehart Presents
THE ADORABLE
ELEANOR PAINTER
In the Charming Musical Comedy
THE CHIFFON GIRL
A Stampede of Laughter, Music and Pretty Girls.

"A Musical Comedy Gem."
—Eve. World.
MOONLIGHT
The Musical Comedy Gem
WITH A SPARKLING CAST AND A TIFFANY CHORUS
MOONLIGHT GLORIFIES MUSICAL COMEDY
LONGACRE W. 48th St., Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

COMEDY THEATRE
41st St., East of B'way, Evenings, 8:30
Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2:30
5th MONTH!
MORE THAN 100,000 PEOPLE HAVE SEEN
"THE SHAME WOMAN"
By LULA VOLLMER, Author of "Sun-Up"

JOHN GOLDEN PRESENTS
7th HEAVEN
Comedy Drama by Austin Strong
72d Week, 609th to 616th Times
BOOTH W. 42d St., Eves. at 8:30
Reg. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

OUTWARD BOUND
The Play that is Making History
Anne Nichols' RECORD-BREAKING COMEDY
2nd YEAR REPUBLIC
W. 42d St., Eves. at 8:30
Reg. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

Fokine To Do Ballets In "Hassen"
Michel Fokine has been engaged by A. L. Erlanger to arrange the ballets in the production of "Hassen," James Elroy Flecker's spectacular drama, which Mr. Erlanger will make here next autumn. Mr. Fokine went abroad last summer especially to arrange the ballets for the London production of "Hassen" at His Majesty's Theatre, where it has been the reigning success since last September.

Notes

EDWIN FORSBERG has been added to the cast of "The Chiffon Girl," the new Eleanor Painter musical comedy.

"THE GOOSE HANGS HIGH," current at the Bijou Theatre, is being issued in book form by Little, Brown & Company.

MRS. THOMAS WHIFFEN, aged seventy-nine appearing in "The Goose Hangs High," and DOROTHY STONE, aged eighteen, of the "Stepping Stones" cast, the oldest and youngest actresses now on the New York stage, will lead the grand march at the dinner and dance to be given by the American Dramatists at the Hotel Astor, Sunday evening, March 16.

MAY BOLEY was engaged yesterday for prominent comedy roles in "Vogues," the forthcoming Century Roof Revue.

When DORIS KEANE appears in the leading feminine role of "Wedded," Eugene O'Neill's new play which the Selwyns will present in association with the Provincetown Players at the Thirty-ninth Street Theatre, Monday March 17, it will be the first time that she has played the role of an American woman in almost a decade, and the first time that New York had had the opportunity to see her without a wig.

SHUBERT THEATRE 44th W. B'way Eves. 8:15 Sharp
Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:15
8th MONTH AND STILL THE REIGNING REVUE HIT OF NEW YORK
ARTISTS AND MODELS
OF 1922. 400 SEATS AT \$1.00

WINTER GARDEN--TO-NIGHT
SUNDAY CONCERT

THE SELWYN'S PRESENT THE TWO SOLID HITS OF THE YEAR
CHARLOT'S REVUE of 1924
With BEATRICE LILLIE, GERTRUDE LAWRENCE and JACK BUCHANAN
GOOD BALCONY SEATS AT \$1 AND \$1.50 AT BOX OFFICE ONLY
SEATS ON SALE EIGHT WEEKS IN ADVANCE
FREDERICK LONSDALE'S COMEDY
SPRING CLEANING
With VIOLET HEMING, ESTELLE WINWOOD, ARTHUR BYRON, A. E. MATTHEWS
GOOD BALCONY SEATS AT \$1 AND \$1.50 AT BOX OFFICE ONLY
SEATS ON SALE EIGHT WEEKS IN ADVANCE

STILL THE FUNNIEST MUSICAL COMEDY IN NEW YORK
GEO. CHOOS'
Mr. Battling Buttlar 6th MONTH
with CHAS. RUGGLES & WM. KENT
SELWYN THEATRE 42d St., Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

"WALTER HUSTON is Zona Gale's 'MISTER PITT.' . . . 'Especially in the lighter scenes, for which the play was obviously intended, he is superb.'—Gilbert Seldes in Phila. Public Ledger.
"Mr. Huston's delineation is one of the unforgettable gallery of one's theatre memories."—Lisle Bell in Ohio State Journal.
Moves March 17 to larger theatre.
39th ST. THEATRE EAST OF BROADWAY, EVENINGS AT 8:30. MATINEES WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY, 2:30.

"THE AUDIENCE REMAINED LONG AFTER THE LAST CURTAIN PRAISING THE PLAY AND ITS ADMIRABLE PERFORMANCE."
—Percy Hammond, Tribune.
LIONEL ATWILL
IN
THE OUTSIDER
49th ST. Theatre, W. of B'way, Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

NATIONAL Theatre, 41st W. of B'way, Eves. at 8
MATINEES THUR. & SAT. AT 2
WALTER HAMPDEN
"GREATEST LIVING AMERICAN ACTOR."
—J. Hamilton Towner, in Eve. Post.
in CYRANO DE BERGERAC MAIN ORDERS 4 WEEKS AHEAD

OF ALL THE DRAMAS OF THE YEAR
TARNISH
EASILY HOLDS ITS PLACE IN FRONT
BEST SEATS AT BOX OFFICE IF BOUGHT IN ADVANCE
BELMONT THEATRE, 48TH STREET, EAST OF BROADWAY
EVENINGS, 8:30—MAT. THURSDAY & SATURDAY, 2:30

PLYMOUTH THEATRE 45th St. W. of B'way, Eves. 8:30
MATS THURSDAY & SATURDAY, 2:30
The play with
1002 LAUGHS
THE
POTTERS
By J. P. McAVOY
"An indispensable play."
—Hagwood Brown, World.

ALFRED LUNT
who does such excellent work in "Outward Bound," Sutton Vane's play, now holding forth at the Ritz.

PHILIP BARTHOLOMAE and OTTO HARBACH have finished the musical version of "LITTLE MISS BROWN" for William A. Brady. It has been named "Kittie's Kisses." Lou Hirsch is writing the music for it.

WINTERGARDEN THEATRE B'way & 50th St.
Eves. 8:20. Mats. Tues., Thurs. & Sat. 2:30
LAST 2 WEEKS
Greatest Revue Ever Staged:
TOPICS
of 1923. Introducing
ALICE DELYSIA

ALWAYS THE BEST SUNDAY ENTERTAINMENT IN NEW YORK

THE CHARLOT'S REVUE of 1924
West 42d St., Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30
With BEATRICE LILLIE, GERTRUDE LAWRENCE and JACK BUCHANAN
GOOD BALCONY SEATS AT \$1 AND \$1.50 AT BOX OFFICE ONLY
SEATS ON SALE EIGHT WEEKS IN ADVANCE
FREDERICK LONSDALE'S COMEDY
SPRING CLEANING
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GERTRUDE LAWRENCE and BEATRICE LILLIE, co-stars of "Charlot's Revue of 1924" at the Times Square Theatre will spend next Monday afternoon in broadcasting from WOR station, Newark. Three o'clock is the hour set for the Charlots to begin their respective talks.

EDGAR SELWYN returned from Palm Beach Friday to begin immediate preparations for the production of "Dancing Mothers" the new play he has written in collaboration with Edmund Goulding.

JANE COWL begins her last week Monday night at the Lyceum Theatre in "Antony and Cleopatra," her previously announced limited engagement in this production being due to end March 15.

MUSIC

Repetition of "Roi de Lahore" at Metropolitan

"LE ROI DE LAHORE" will have its second performance Monday evening, opening the nineteenth week of the Metropolitan Opera season. Messrs. Reinhardt and Alcock and Messrs. Lauri-Volpi, DeLuca, Rothier and Mardones will compose the cast. Miss Galli and Mr. Bonfiglio will dance and Mr. Hasselmann will conduct.

Other operas next week will be: "TRAVIATA" on Wednesday evening with Bori, and Lauri-Volpi.

"CARMEN" on Thursday afternoon, with Bourskaya and Martinelli.

"MADAMA BUTTERFLY" on Thursday evening with Kethberg, Tokatyan, "COSI FAN TUTTE" on Friday evening with Reinhardt and Mender.

"LOHENGGRIN" Saturday Matinee with Easton and Taucher.

"AIDA" will be the "popular" Saturday night opera with Peralta and Kingston.

At Sunday night's "Opera Concert" IGNATZ FRIEDMAN, pianist, will play and Messrs. Peralta, Mario and Gordon and Messrs. Tokatyan and Mardones will sing. The orchestra will be under the direction of Mr. Bamboschek.

MUSIC NOTES

ELY CLEMENT will give her song recital at Aeolian Hall, Saturday afternoon, March 15.

Noted Artists for Goldman Band Concerts

All details of the twelve-week season of Summer Concerts to be given on the Mall in Central Park have been completed, and an interesting series may be looked forward to. This entire season of sixty concerts is the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim and Mr. and Mrs. Murry Guggenheim and will be entirely free to the public.

The Goldman Band, under its conductor, Edwin Franko Goldman, will soon begin to rehearse its programs. Many novel and interesting works will be added to the repertoire of the band this season. The programs will again be issued in pamphlet form containing explanations of the music rendered.

The programs are of great educational value and will be distributed free of charge. The season will start June 2 and end on August 24. Besides the band, which has so often been referred to as "A Symphony Orchestra in Brass," there will be numerous vocal and instrumental soloists. Among those who will sing during the season are Lotta Madden, soprano—Helen Yorke, soprano—Miriam Fine, soprano—Frieda Klink, contralto, Waino Kauppi, who is considered one of the foremost cornet virtuosos of the day has been engaged for the season.

No admission tickets are required for these concerts but program schedules are being printed giving all information concerning the various programs. These schedules will be mailed after May 1, to anyone requesting them, the only requirement being that a self-addressed envelope be enclosed with the request.

FRIENDS OF MUSIC TO GIVE PROGRAM OF MOZART AND MENDELSSOHN

Society of Friends of Music will give its next to last concert of the season Sunday afternoon in Town Hall. Arthur Bodanzky will conduct and the orchestra will be that of the Metropolitan Opera Company. OSSIP GABRILOWITZ will be the soloist. His offering will be Mozart's concerto in A major (Kochel 488) for piano-forte and orchestra. Preceding the concert to Mr. Bodanzky will direct the orchestra in the overture to Mozart's opera "La Clemenza di Tito."

Music at the Cinemas

RIALTO
The Riesenfeld Classical Jazz this week will be "Covered Wagon Days," in tribute to the first birthday of "The Covered Wagon," which begins its second year at the Criterion. Hugo Riesenfeld and Willy Stahl will alternate at conducting the orchestra through this number and the overture. A dance divertissement and a musical number are on the program.

CAPITOL

S. L. Rothafel has arranged a special music score for the presentation of the Cosmopolitan production, "The Great White Way," which opens at the Capitol Theatre Sunday. The far-reaching character of the picture which introduces every phase of interest of Metropolitan life, offers an opportunity for a characteristic score, replete with musical highlights and shadows. Victor Herbert's specially composed overture will be played by the orchestra, conducted by David Mendoza.

STRAND

The ALL-SCHUBERT musical program at the Strand will consist of Excerpts from "Rosamunde," played as the overture by the orchestra, conducted by Carl Edouard; "Moment Musical," interpreted by Mlle. Leokadia Klementowicz and the Strand Ballet Corps; "Serenade," sung by Ruth Arden, soprano, and "Marche Militaire," danced by Ballet Master Anatole Bourman and the entire ensemble.

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY
BRUNO WALTER, guest conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra, will direct his final concert this season for the Symphony Society in Aeolian Hall, Sunday afternoon.

The program includes the Overture to Smetana's "Bartered Bride"; "Symphony No. 3 in A Minor" (Scottish) by Mendelssohn; Volkmars "Andreas's Little Suite"; Symphonic Poem "Don Juan" by Strauss; Entr'acte and Ballet Music from Schubert's "Rosamunde" and Overture "Oberon" by Weber.

WALTER DAMROSCH will resume the baton of the New York Symphony Orchestra when that organization goes upon its annual March tour beginning March 10. The tour will last two weeks and the Symphony Society will give concerts in Poughkeepsie, Schenectady, Toronto, Battle Creek, Milwaukee and Chicago.

Mr. Damrosch will also conduct two concerts in Dayton, one of which will be a Young Peoples' program, and the remainder of the second week will include appearances in Akron, Buffalo, Wilkes-Barre, Scranton and Easton.

Music Notes

JACQUES GOUTMANOVITCH, a Russian violinist, will make his American debut on Tuesday evening at Aeolian Hall.

The recital of RUTH PIERCE POSSELT, youthful violinist, who was to appear again in recital at Aeolian Hall on Monday afternoon, March 10, has been cancelled owing to the illness of the artist.

An interesting song recital of the season should be the debut appearance of MARIE SUNDELIN, soprano of the Metropolitan Opera Company, at Carnegie Hall, on Sunday evening, March 16. Although Madame Sundelin has been a prominent member of the opera for seven seasons, as it happens she has not appeared before in New York in recital.

ELENA GERHARDT and ERNA RUBINSTEIN will join forces on March 14, at Carnegie Hall, for the benefit of the Associated Music School Settlements. This will be Gerhardt's last appearance in New York this season and Miss Rubinstein's only appearance this season.

JOHN POWELL will give a piano recital at Aeolian Hall, Saturday afternoon, March 8. He has chosen the following program:

Sonata in E Flat, Op. 31, No. 3, Beethoven; Carnival, Schumann; No. 3, first performance, George Harris; Chaconne, first performance, Bassett Hough; Birthday Waltzes, first performance, Daniel Gregory Mason; Hungarian Rhapsody, No. 15, Liszt.

THE ELSHUCO TRIO will give its second subscription concert of the season at Aeolian Hall playing a trio in A Minor, Opus 22, by H. Waldo Warner, viola player of the London String Quartet, on Thursday evening, March 13.

MARIA IVOGUN who sang last year with the Chicago and Wagnerian Opera Companies, will appear in recital at Town Hall, Thursday evening, March 13, on a program with Frederick Swain, baritone.

The program of the concert by the ASSOCIATED GLEE CLUBS, when more than 600 male singers will be heard in chorus, on Monday evening at Carnegie Hall, is in eight parts. The concert will open with Coleridge-Taylor's Viking Song, conducted by Mr. Theodor Van Yox sung by the combined chorus.

ISA KREMER, the international balladist who has just returned from a tour through the Canadian Northwest, will give her sixth recital in Carnegie Hall, (Sunday evening) singing songs in seven languages; French, Russian, Italian, English, Yiddish, German and Hebrew. Miss Kremer will be assisted by Sepp Morscher, harpist and Ben Livitzky, violinist. For Miss Kremer Vladimir Hefetz will be at the piano.

JASCHA HEIFETZ, who, it is announced, will make another tour of the United States next fall, will give his second violin recital of the season Sunday afternoon, March 16, in Carnegie Hall. Mr. Heifetz is going to Havana in May for a series of concerts, from there he is going to London and after that he will appear with Mr. Walter Damrosch in Mr. Damrosch's Beethoven Festival in Paris.

MARGARET NORTHRUP, soprano, who made her debut last March, will give her second song recital at Aeolian Hall, Wednesday afternoon.

MISCHA LEVITZKI will play two different concertos at his only symphonic appearance this season in New York with the New York Philharmonic on the 23rd and 25th of this month, the Schumann and the St. Saens G Minor.

DRAMA



HELEN HAYES

in a new play by Israel Zangwill, "We Moderns," coming to the Gaiety, Tuesday night.

Bertha Kalich in "The Kreutzer Sonata" at the Bronx Opera House Next Week

BERTHA KALICH is due at the Bronx Opera House beginning Monday night, presenting under the management of Lee Shubert, a revival of her starring vehicle, "The Kreutzer Sonata," a drama in four acts, adapted from the Yiddish of Jacob Gordin by Langdon Mitchell. The Kalich revival is being staged under the direction of Harrison Grey Fiske.

"THE KREUTZER SONATA" is a study of discordant social conditions with a dramatic end. "Miriam Friedlander" the part essayed by Miss Kalich, is the daughter of a Russian contractor whose patriarchal dignity must be maintained, and he succeeds in preventing his daughter's marriage to the man she loves by intriguing the aid of a musician by the name of Gregor, who arrogates distinction at the expense of Miriam. The lover, unable to cope with conditions, destroys himself and leaves Miriam with an illicit child. To save her reputation and the name of her child, Miriam marries Gregor, and the scene shifts from Russia to New York City. In the freedom of America, Miriam's husband plays fast and loose with her sister and in the final scenes Miriam, goaded to desperation, kills them both.

GRANT MITCHELL in "THE WHOLE TOWN'S TALKING," will be the next attraction.

CHARLES GILPIN AND ALL NEGRO CAST IN "ROSEANNE," AT SHUBERT-RIVIERA

Charles Gilpin, famous negro, who achieved recognition through his brilliant work in "Emperor Jones," will head a cast of negro players at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre Monday in "Roseanne," which was seen here earlier in the season with an all white company. The presentation of the play by the colored cast is due to insistence of Jules Hurlig, the producer who is backing up his judgment by taking over the play and starring Gilpin. Apparently his theory is correct for the negro players were so well received in Pittsburgh last week that the engagement was extended for a second week.

The engagement at the Shubert-Riviera is preliminary to a second run of the play at a Broadway house.



LAURETTE TAYLOR in a film version of "Happiness," at the Rialto next week.

Music Notes

MAIER and PATTISON will be the soloists with the Rochester Philharmonic on April 7, when they will introduce for the first time in New York the Leo Sowerby Ballad for two pianos.

On March 23 the Society of the Friends of Music will present in Town Hall Bach's "St. John's Passion" under the direction of Arthur Bodanzky. The chorus of the Society of the Friends of Music, trained by Stephen Townsend, with orchestra of the Metropolitan Opera Company and distinguished soloists will take part.

George Barrere's Little Symphony Orchestra concerts in Henry Miller's Theatre will begin its series of programs in the Spring instead of starting in February. This postponement Mr. Barrere considers an advantageous one because of the less crowded musical calendar later in the season.

There will be a series of three concerts and the dates definitely decided upon are the Sunday evenings, March 30, April 6 and April 13.

WILLEM MENDELBERG, conductor of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, was the winner of a popularity contest conducted recently by the Dutch illustrated weekly, Het Leven, published in Amsterdam. Each voter was asked to submit a list of the twenty most popular men in Holland, and Mr. Mendelberg appeared on 14,943 out of the 15,266 ballots submitted. One of Mr. Mendelberg's rivals was A. H. G. Fokker, the airship builder, who finished in fourth place.

MANUEL QUIROGA will give his second violin recital Saturday afternoon at Carnegie Hall. On his program is a sonata, "Le Trille du Diable," Tartini; Poeme, E. Chausson; a group by Sarasate; "Romanza ni G Minor by Beethoven; a Caprice by Paganini-Kreisler.

THEATRES

New York's Leading Theatres and Successes.

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

BERNARD SHAW'S Latest and Greatest Play

SAINT JOAN

EMPIRE THEATRE

Broadway at 40th. Mats. Wed. and Sat.

OPENING SAT. EVE., MAR. 15

First Appearance Since His Return From England and France

James K. Hackett IN "MACBETH"

For a Limited Engagement of 4 Weeks.

Seats Now on Sale at Box Office.

48 ST. THEATRE, E. of B'way.

Eves. 8.30. Mats. Tues. & Sat. 2.30.

The ARISTOCRAT AMONG COMEDY TRIUMPHS The SWAN

With EVA L. GALLIENNE

Basil Rathbone, Philip Morris, Hilda Spong, Allison Shipworth, Halliwell Hopwood, Richie Lioe

at the

CORT

West 48th St. Eves. 8.20.

Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2.30.

YIDDISH ART THEATRE 27TH STREET & MADISON AV.

MAURICE SWARTZ, Director

ABRAHAM GOLDFADEN'S

Classic Comedy Revival

THE TWO KOONY LEMMELS

FRIDAY AT 8.30

A N D SATURDAY

AND SUNDAY AT

2.30 AND 8.30.

LAST WEEK JANE COWL

ANTONY

and CLEOPATRA

LYCEUM THEATRE

at the

Eveling at 8.20

Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2.20

Eveling at 8.20

Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2.20

"The Hit of the Town" GEORGE M. COHAN

In the success of his career

"THE SONG AND DANCE MAN"

HUDSON THEATRE, West 44th Street

EVENINGS AT 8.30

MATS. WED. & SAT. 2.30

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THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, March 8, 1924

THE LESSON OF THE OIL GRAFT

THE names involved in one way or another in the oil graft include some of our most eminent "patriots." Albert B. Fall, Edwin Denby, A. Mitchell Palmer, Harry M. Daugherty, William J. Burns, William G. McAdoo, Edwin L. Doheny, John C. Shaffer, Davis Elkins, Frederick G. Bonfils, Harry F. Sinclair, George Creel and Theodore Roosevelt. Here is a roster of capitalists, cabinet officers, former senators, journalists, editors, publicists, politicians, professional "dicks" and vocal "patriots" to grace this era of vulgar capitalism.

To accompany this collection are the grafters of the Veterans' Bureau. Disclosures thus far made indicate that high officials of this bureau fattened upon the misery of thousands of soldiers, wasted many millions of dollars intended for the relief of these soldiers, indulged in booze junkets, and played the part of buzzards flocking about carrion in consuming what was intended for the cripple, the insane and the blind.

Another list of grafters involved in the sales of war material are still at large. A few years ago Congressman Woodruff attempted to probe these huge steals before a Senate committee and instead found himself on the defensive. Not because he did not have the goods, but because there was no intention of the committee probing these swindles.

Hot words are inadequate to portray this compound of blackguardism, graft, nepotism and capitalist politics. It is evidence of the decay of a ruling class and its agents. A ruling and its agents. A ruling class in the days of its vigor and youth will not tolerate this descent into the mire. It is still under the sway of its revolutionary ideals. When old age creeps upon it, when its mission of consolidating its interests is finished, its idealism dies. The broker, the yegg, the grafter and the cynic ascend to power. Its political organizations degenerate into agencies of grafting routineers. Its days are numbered. It is time for another class to retire it and its agents.

This is the lesson of this post-war drama of swindle. The working class of the nation has no interests bound up with the preservation of the system that breeds this foul thing. The decay of the old ruling class is a summons to the workers to prepare for political control through a party pledged to their claims. Capitalism is rotten ripe for fundamental change. The despoiled masses have their opportunity now that the grafting routineers must go to the masses for a new lease of power. Will they give it? The answer lies in the action taken by the organized masses in the months to come.

MACDONALD TO POINCARE

PREMIER MACDONALD, representing the workers of Great Britain, sends a note to Premier Poincare, representing the bankers and organized capitalists of France. The documents are published, probably upon the initiative of MacDonald who stands for open diplomacy.

What characterizes the MacDonald note is its frankness, a frankness that is unique in these days of weasel words employed by the old school of diplomats. He states frankly that he and the British people are apprehensive regarding the foreign policy of France. "It is widely felt in England," MacDonald writes, "that, contrary to the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, France is endeavoring to create a situation which gains for it what it failed to get during the allied peace negotiations."

Here is a bold challenge of the pretensions

of French imperialism. These words would be unthinkable as an expression of an old school diplomat. MacDonald went on to enumerate reasons for his apprehension, citing increase in French armaments, the occupation of the Ruhr, "what appears to be the determination of France to ruin Germany," "the interest shown by your Government in the military organization of the new States in Central Europe," and "these activities * * * financed by the French Government."

This document is an amazingly frank challenge, by the spokesman of the working class of one country, to the spokesman of the capitalist class of another country. The suave Poincare takes no offense. He contents himself with a restatement of French imperialist policy in the evasive terms for which he is noted. He has added nothing new to the discussion. Only MacDonald has added something new. He has spoken out as no British Premier representing British capitalism would dare to speak.

There are those who hold that the working class cannot develop its human agencies for handling foreign affairs. It is assumed that foreign affairs are something that require the skill of polished gentlemen trained and groomed for the job.

HOW 'BOUT IT?

ANY petty thief who steals a purse sets the whole machinery of law into action. Solemn asses assure us that laws must be enforced, that this is "a government of laws and not of men." The thief who violates that holy of holies, private property, shambles to prison for a term of years and our guardians breathe a sigh of relief.

But an organized clique can rob many thousands of a sacred right that is not interpreted in terms of private property and that clique will remain immune. Its agents interpret the law. Twenty-eight months ago election thieves stole an election in the 17th Assembly District of Manhattan. At least fifteen times the case against the thieves has been called for trial and as many times the trial has been postponed. In each instance the machinery of the law has been palsied.

Why is it impossible to bring the thieves to trial? The charge is that they robbed thousands of voters. Isn't that sufficiently grave to warrant a speedy trial and a final disposal of the case? District Attorney Banton states that he is anxious to try the case. Then why not try it? What dirty influence intervenes every time witnesses are summoned only to be told that the case is again postponed?

We are not stupid and we think that we know the answer. The voters who were robbed voted for a Socialist candidate. The gangsters who stole Socialist ballots rendered a service to Tammany Hall and Tammany is a cohesion of capitalist rule tempered by the activities of thugs in elections. If the law is paralyzed in the presence of Tammany thefts there is reason for believing that Tammany's trail leads through the portals of "justice" itself.

How 'bout it, Mr. District Attorney? If this isn't the explanation, what is?

WORKING CLASS STATESMANSHIP

THE fall of the Belgian Cabinet is accompanied with an announcement of a more advanced position taken by the Belgian Labor Party. This includes demands for a heavy capital levy, a complete socialization of industry, and amicable relations with all other countries including Russia. The fall of the Cabinet is also a blow to French imperialism in the Ruhr and is so interpreted by Poincare and Company. The French franc has also gone to a new low level and as it falls it sinks the prospects of the Poincare gang to continue in power very long.

Another aspect of events in Belgium is that the fall of the Theunis Cabinet is partly due to the Labor Government in England which is opposed to the Franco-Belgian alliance and the other alliances contracted by France for the hegemony of Europe. One of Premier MacDonald's efforts has been to quietly work for a dissolution of such alliances and to free Europe of the abysmal reaction of the Versailles Treaty and its French sponsors. This carries with it the recognition of Russia and permitting Germany and Austria to recover from the strangulation inflicted by the French usurers and their political agents.

An important fact to remember in this situation is that a Labor Government in England is helping not only the British workers but the workers of other nations. The rise of a working class power in England is doing more for the recovery of Europe than

all the silk-hatted agents of capitalism since the end of the World War.

These events should inspire the workers of all countries with a sense of their own power, initiative and statesmanship. A superstition survives that only the polished brokers and diplomats of capitalism are capable of managing public affairs. Events of the past ten years show that this official class is only capable of bungling. This class does not understand its own vicious social order. Out of the mines, shops, factories and industry in general is to come the statesmanship that will reorganize the modern world, give peace and plenty to the working class, and make the butchers of modern war a hideous memory.

MARVIN MARKETS SOME GARBAGE

WHATEVER we may think of the stuff being written by Fred R. Marvin for the Commercial in an attempt to whitewash the oil grafters, we congratulate him on his ability to sell this worthless matter to that journal of our financial aristocracy. His success is evidence that there is a market for any story that may have its only basis in the head of the writer. If there are any journalists out of a job and have any kind of garbage to sell we advise them to apply to the Commercial. It is easy money.

A recent installment of Marvin's exploits the idea that the "reds" are back of the exposures of the oil grafters. We wish that we could take credit for this but it happens that these exposures are the result of a rivalry between two sets of capitalist party brokers for an advantage in rounding up the voting herds next November.

Marvin goes back to the strike of the miners nearly ten years ago in Colorado, ascribing the violence that occurred to the "reds" who were "in complete control of the United Mine Workers" at that time. The facts are that the miners of that state were of the conservative type and had been voting Democrats and Republicans into office for many years. They are still following this habit. They were always paid with bull pens, injunctions, and private armies of thugs. The miners refused to die at the hands of the thugs without making a noise about it and the result was that some of these mercenaries took the count and never recovered.

Marvin admits that a congressional investigation never revealed what he claims to have found regarding this Colorado class struggle. We may be sure that had it been there this congressional committee would have made it prominent. What it did discover was that the mine owners and their agents had usurped the police powers of the state and established a dictatorship.

However, Mr. Marvin has succeeded in marketing fiction in a sober journal serving our greater nobility. We again congratulate him on marketing stuff that a village editor would consider an imposition on the peasantry of our yokel communities.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

GRANTING independence to the Philippines is now embodied in a bill reported by the House Committee on Insular Affairs. It isn't likely that the Philippines will ever reach the status of independence so long as capitalism lasts. Should the islands ever prove to be worthless for purposes of American exploitation or as a basis for operations in a world war the Filipinos might be permitted to shift for themselves.

But in this event some other power would seize the islands and hold them for exploiting or strategic purposes. American imperialists have often cited this as a reason for holding the islands. It is an instance of appealing to an evident fact to support a policy of imperialist dominion.

It is unfortunately true that if an oppressed people escapes the clutches of one of the imperialistic wolves it will eventually fall a prey to another wolf. The only way to avoid this is for the lamb to turn wolf itself and prey upon other lambs. Japan was once at the mercy of the imperialist powers. She turned imperialist in order to escape being devoured by other imperialistic powers. She then proceeded, in true wolf fashion, to exploit Korea and China.

Of course, the Filipinos are too impotent to ever found an imperialistic state themselves. It therefore appears to be a matter of choosing which boss they prefer. Complete independence and guaranteed opportunity to work out their own destiny depends upon the emancipation of the working class in the imperialistic countries. In short, the nations afflicted with capitalism must become Socialist nations before the hopes of the oppressed little nations will be realized.

The Williams History Bill before the New Jersey Legislature would prohibit the use of textbooks belittling or falsifying events leading to the Declaration of Independence. Washington's curses on the grafters and profiteers comes to mind. Did he belittle the revolution by denouncing some of the patriots? How can we be 100 percent kosher in New Jersey if this bill passes?

Charles W. Wood insists that The New Leader is neglecting the interests of Secretary of the Navy Denby and we offer his suggestion to our readers. Mr. Denby goes out of business on March 10. Oil leases and tatters of a reputation will be disposed of at bargain rates. No charge for this ad.

It has occurred to some of the master minds in Congress that a law denying access to government officials by agents of corporations will help to preserve the reputations of these officials. We amend with a proviso denying these servants any access to the telephone.

In most of the large cities of the country outside of New York it is important that the truth be told about the Democratic Party.—National Democratic Magazine. Right! See our subscription rates on this page.

Harry M. Daugherty once told Eugene V. Debs something about the sacredness of the law and we hope that Harry will look up those remarks if he ever visits—well, let us say Atlanta.

It is reported that McAdoo has given up his Doheny retainer which will aid him to take the next step of giving up a budding ambition to be President.

Bad as we Socialists are, our enemies have never yet charged that any of us have ever been connected with Doheny's pipe line.

The Chatter-Box

INVENTORY

I have stored too many useless things,
You say; my attic is a cheerless place
With broken mechanisms, gears and springs,
And shafts and pulleys trimmed by spider lace;
And scattered records of my cancelled debts,
And shameful entries of the ones I fled,
Paying for kindness with polite regrets,
When harsh confession might have comforted.

All these and more of a disjointed past
Are heaped and strewn around in autumn rout;
But what am I to do? The sand runs fast . . .
And still, if I could twist the glass about
To sift; Time back, I would return, it seems,
Only to potter with my broken dreams. . . .

ABOUT OUR NAME

Friend James Reynard suggests we change our little changeling's baptismal name—to Pandora's Box. He blames the dearth of contris on the fact that literary gentlemen find a glory in having appeared in a Sun Dial or a Conning Tower; but in a "Chatter-Box"—heaven forgive. . . . Sorry, old-timer, but if the mere inanity of a name will scare away our intelligentsia—we will have frightened a gnu with a gnat.
Comrade Harry Dee of Eastern Parkway registers the same complaint—only he suggests "Peppy Odds and Ends."

Since when, Harry, have you gone and joined the intellectuals? But even the cactus of a criticism relieves the monotonous prospect of another week in Sahara.

THE SENATOR RINGS IN

How many rings make a ring cake?
How many rings make an ear ring?
How many rings made a phone ring?
And how many rings smoke a herring?
(See the Litwackian Encyclopaedia.)

EDMUND SEIDEL

Will somebody ring for a Black Maria?

Elizabeth Goldstein of the Village waxes irate over the fact that Jewish employers advertise for "Christian Girls Only"—which is a "fact." She asks for a poem or editorial on the subject. We will furnish both as follows:

I am a boss—my name is Cohen,
And I got rich by dizzy stages;
I never hired no Jewish girls—
They think too much of hours and wages.
Christian girls ain't so particular,
They are Americans AAI,
And they won't join no strikes and unions,
So—I should give a worry!

Editorially speaking, we refuse to wilt before the fierce frenzy of our flaming sense of injustice. Business is. We know of Gentiles that insist on hiring Jews—where shrewdness and acumen are needed to outwit the slower brains of others. Also, we know of a case where a certain group of rich Jews betrayed and had a certain Jewish young man crucified for his seditious agitation. Scratch Russia and you find Tartary; prick a Jew or a Gentile boss in his wallet, and you find a godless worshipper of Golden Calves. . . .

SCALLIONS

Hail to you, Scallions!
Spring, Spring is here!
Sing, oh Italians,
Hail to you, Scallions!
With your battalions
What need you fear?
Hail to you, Scallions!
Spring, Spring is here!

DAVE BERENBERG.

We had our choice of ending this week with the odor of oil or the scent of scallions, each brilliantly—or shall we say scholarly?—presented by D. P. B. Our selection will be commended, we are sure, by Dave and Italy. Our "poem" contest still rages.

S. A. DE WITT.