

CONGRESSMEN SELL INFLUENCE FOR LEGAL FEES

Wheeler Indicted for Practices Common in Washington—Whether or Not He Is Guilty, Many Others Are.

By MARK LEWIS
Staff Correspondent

Washington.—In engineering this indictment of Senator Burton K. Wheeler, of Montana, former Attorney-General Daugherty and his friends have failed to achieve the purpose they had in mind—to discredit the investigations of the corruption of high officials in both old political parties.

The revelations affecting the Department of Justice, preceding the indictment, had disclosed too much of the actual working of the Department to make any indictment of this character effective, or seriously to hamper the investigation.

But if the indictment failed to accomplish the ends which Mr. Daugherty and his friends had in view, it did help to reveal to a greater extent than had previously been possible the less known but none the less extensive ramifications of the corrupt political system to which the Government as now constituted has been reduced. They disclose the manner in which high government officials have conspired to violate the laws they were sworn to enforce.

Whether Senator Wheeler is guilty of the particular charge made against him is of little importance, except to Senator Wheeler, whose reputation is at stake. This much can be said for him before he is tried: If he had not instituted the proceedings against Mr. Daugherty, he would not have been indicted, even though guilty; and having instituted those proceedings, he was sure to be indicted, even though innocent.

A Form of Corruption
But what is more important, is that the practice in which Senator Wheeler is charged with indulging is one of which many members of Congress are undoubtedly guilty, whether he is or not. It is important for two reasons: In the first place, it is a form of corruption, to which many evils may be traced; and in the second place, the criticism to which members of Congress expose themselves by adopting those practices gives those who have knowledge of them a whip which they can always use to silence opposition.

That many members of Congress, more particularly those who are lawyers, use their Congressional influence in behalf of clients, in return for which they receive a fee—and what would be, if they were not lawyers, a bribe—is commonly known. The fact that in some cases it is done indirectly, through law firms of which these Congressmen are members, does not alter the fact nor reduces the dangers that flow from the practice.

Corporation Members
There are other members of Congress who represent corporations which have cases before the various Departments, some of them involving substantial sums of money. While the law partners of the members are generally the ones who are supposed to be acting for their clients, it is not infrequently the case that the Congressman "interests" himself personally, handling the case as he would that of a constituent.

In some of these cases, the Congressman clearly violates the law which prohibits them from appearing.

CAPITALIST PRESS LIES FOUR TIMES OUT OF FOUR TRIES

On April 1, the Socialists swept Milwaukee, the Socialist Mayor winning by a record vote. The news was practically suppressed by the Capitalist press, not only in this city, but everywhere else.

On April 16, Benito Mussolini failed miserably in his desperate attempt to drown the Socialist movement of Italy in a sea of castor oil, being beaten in the big cities and winning his parliamentary majority only by violence and by his crooked election laws. The Capitalist press hailed the fixed election as a "great victory" and a "vindication" of Benito.

On April 11, the Socialists swept Denmark and Theodor Stauning, leader of Socialism in that country, was made premier. The news was "played down" in the Capitalist press, not a single newspaper giving the full story that it was the Socialists that had won the election, and most of them burying the news in obscure corners.

A few weeks before, the Socialists made heavy gains in elections in Finland. Not a word appeared in the Capitalist press.

More Socialist victories will come. They will be all treated in the same way by the Capitalist press—unless the workers themselves build up a powerful press of their own and make such suppression impossible.

A word to the wise is sufficient.

PUBLIC HOUSING IS PLANNED BY BRITISH GOV'T

Labor Ministry Makes Public Scheme for 2,000,000 Workers' Houses at Not More Than £515 Each.

London.—While the MacDonald Cabinet is fighting to safeguard the right of workers to be safe from eviction when they are unable to pay rent because of unemployment against the united opposition of the two landlord parties, the Ministry of Health, under the direction of John Wheatley, Minister of Health, has worked out its scheme for building 2,000,000 homes at not more than £515 (about \$2,500) to be rented at cost.

While others have deplored the housing situation, the Labor Government has met the situation, with the result that the end of the dreadful housing situation is at last in sight.

To carry out this task the Government is to set up a Statutory Committee, which will be composed of representatives of the unions in the building trade, the employers, and the municipalities through which the public will get direct representation.

This committee will be responsible for the carrying out of the Government's scheme. All parties have given their word to assist and cooperate with the Government, which will be responsible only for the financial administration of the scheme.

There may also be a separate committee for manufacturers of building materials.

Types Proposed
Dealing with size and cost, the committee suggests that no house should have less than 850 square feet.

May Day Meetings

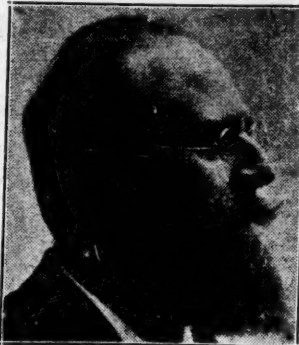
International Labor Day is being celebrated by the Socialist and labor forces in every part of the country.

The Socialists of Yorkville, the 15th and 16th A. D. of Local New York, have arranged a meeting in conjunction with the German branch of the Party, to be held the evening of May 1, at 227 East 84th street. Algernon Lee will be the principal speaker, and there will be short addresses in German, and musical numbers.

The Italian Socialist Federation will hold its celebration at Bryant Hall in the evening of May 1, with speakers and music.

Other May Day meetings thus far reported are in Bridgeport, Chicago and San Francisco.

SOCIALIST PREMIER



THEODOR H. STAUNING

SOCIALISTS WIN MANY SEATS IN FINN ELECTIONS

Gain Seven While Communists Lose Nine—Socialists have 60 Seats and are Strongest Party

Helsingfors, Finland.—The Socialists made substantial gains, while the Communists lost heavily in the parliamentary elections held throughout Finland two weeks ago.

In spite of the dissensions in the movement, and the bloody White Terror in which 30,000 Socialists were butchered, depriving them of their best leaders, the Socialists held their own as the largest party, and gained seven seats. The Communists, heavily subsidized by the Communist International in nearby Russia, lost nine seats. The new Chamber, elected under a system of proportional representation, stands:

Socialists	60
Agrarians	44
Fusion Conservatives	37
Swedes	23
Communists	18
Progressives	17

The Socialists are thus more than three times as strong as the Communists, while in the last Chamber the relative strength of the parties was 53 and 27. The Communist strength is due solely to the nearness of Soviet Russia.

The Agrarians, who held the Government before the election, had outlawed the Communists, and arrested their 27 deputies. They produced evidence that the latter had advocated and prepared for a new civil war in Finland, supported by Soviet arms and munitions.

The Socialists, in spite of the bitter and unrelenting warfare waged

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Another Labor Government

Adelaide, South Australia.—This State is now in the hands of the Labor party. At the recent elections, the party elected 26 out of 46 members of the House, and now Leader Gunn of the Labor party has assumed office as Premier and Treasurer of the state.

OUR MAY DAY NUMBER

May Day is a symbol of the awakening of nature. Its observance by humble folk for many centuries made it certain that it would become Labor's international holiday when it awakened to a knowledge of the solidarity of Labor in all lands. This general awakening came in the nineteenth century.

Next week the workers of all countries celebrate May Day. Our next issue will be a May Day number. We cannot mention all the features of this number. We can only mention a few. Among the leading contributors will be Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit and Abraham Cahan.

From abroad comes an article by Theodor Stauning, Prime Minister of Denmark, on "Capitalism the Source of War." The Socialists of Denmark recently made heavy gains. L. d'Aragona, recently elected Socialist Member of the Italian Parliament, writes on "Labor and War." The Fishermen's Union of Newfoundland, having a majority in the Newfoundland Ministry, sends May Day Greetings.

Giralmo Valenti writes on "Socialism Comes Back to Italy," in which he shows what courage can accomplish in the face of Mussolini's thugs. A. Philip Randolph of the staff of The Messenger and Frank Crosswaith contribute the Negro's sentiments of Labor solidarity. Joseph E. Cohen writes on "For All the World," one of the finest things this veteran has ever done. Ossip Walinsky, John M. Work, of the Milwaukee Leader, the American Labor party, and others are represented in this notable number.

**CELEBRATE THE DAY OF LABOR SOLIDARITY!
HAVE A BUNDLE OF THE LEADER ON HAND!**

SOCIALISTS RULE DENMARK AFTER ELECTION SWEEP

LABOR GOVERNMENT'S SITUATION IMPROVES DAILY, SAYS SNOWDEN

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

London, April 5.—There has been a distinct improvement in the position of the Labor Government during the past week. Some of the difficulties which threatened serious consequences have either disappeared or have lessened. Business is being carried through much more easily. The Opposition has modified its attitude, and they are now cooperating to a greater extent in getting through the necessary financial business.

The announcement by the Prime Minister that the Government had decided not to proceed with the new naval dock at Singapore has been received with great enthusiasm by the Liberals and with very strong disapproval by the Conservatives. Before announcing this decision the Government communicated with the Dominions, all of which, with the exception of Australia and New Zealand, either approved the decision of the Imperial Government or expressed no views on the matter.

The Labor party is unanimous and the Liberals practically so in approving the abandonment of the scheme. It was a very curious situation last Tuesday when the Navy Estimates were introduced. The Government had to defend the new cruiser program, which the Liberals opposed as being unnecessary and provocative, while the Conservatives gave their support to it, while on the other hand the Government had to defend themselves against the Conservative attack on Singapore. The Prime Minister made one of the best speeches he has ever delivered in the House when defending our Singapore policy. His argument was that instead of relying upon an increase of naval and military preparations the Government policy was to try to come to some international arrangement for the limitation of armaments.

Industrial Troubles
Probably the greatest danger which threatens the Labor Government is the frequent recurrence of serious industrial troubles. The claims of the men in the industries affected are not disputed, but the impression made upon the public mind is very unfavorable. There can be little doubt that the workmen are pressing their claims in some cases in the hope that the public inconvenience caused by the strike will force Government interference in their favor.

On Saturday, after only a few hours notice, the whole of the tramway men and busmen in London struck work. They are demanding an increase of eight shillings a week in their wages. The men have had their claim before the employers for many months. The problem of street traffic in London is in a very chaotic way, and past Governments have been pledged to set up some coordinating authority under public control. The owners of the trams and busses maintain with some reason that owing to the waste of competition it is impossible at the same time to give the public cheap fares and to pay the men good wages. The men themselves admit this, and hence there is a demand for immediate legislation to deal with the control of street traffic.

The Labor Government took up this matter as soon as it came into office, but there has been some delay in framing the Bill owing to the necessary negotiations with the various interests and public authorities. Today, however, a Bill has been introduced into the House of Commons, and it will be passed as quickly as possible.

Immediately the strike took place the Minister of Labor appointed a Court of Inquiry into the causes of the dispute, and its interim report was published in two days. This report states that the claim of the men for increased wages is not contested by anyone, but owing to the fact that severe competition is making it impossible for many of the

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CITY CONVENTION VOTES FOR MERGER

A merger of the five Socialist locals in Greater New York was voted by a two to one vote at the city convention last Saturday, after a discussion that lasted several hours. The delegates from the Bronx, who had expressed strong opposition to the plan of a merger of the locals, withdrew from the convention after the vote was taken, and took no further part in the proceedings.

No action was taken Saturday, however, a committee being elected following the taking of the vote to draw up definite plans for a merger and report to an adjournment session of the convention within a month.

The arguments against the merger, outside of those made by the Bronx delegates, was that no merger was possible with an element in the city that was not convinced of its necessity. Those who argued against the merger urged that a city committee be constituted to legislate for the city, leaving the locals their autonomy in county matters.

The main argument for the merger was made by Algernon Lee, who emphasized the fact that county lines in New York mean nothing, and that the city is in effect a single unit. To continue the county locals, he said, is merely to clutter up party work with unnecessary machinery and expense.

Despite the earnestness of the Bronx delegates in maintaining their point, the spirit of the convention was excellent, the debates being earnest and in good comradeship.

Over 100 Delegates Attend

The committee that will draw up a definite plan is Walter Dearing, Richmond; Harry T. Smith, Queens; Adolph Warshaw, Bronx; Joseph F. Viola, A. Weil, Kings; Algernon Lee, Herman Volk, Hyman Waldman and Joshua Lieberman, New York.

Algernon Lee presided and Joshua Lieberman was secretary of the convention.

The committee is expected to have its report ready within a fortnight.

TH. STAUNING WILL FORM ALL- SOCIALIST GOV- ERNMENT—RADI- CALS AID.

Socialists Have 55 Members and 460,845 Votes—Liberals Routed

Copenhagen.—The Socialists came out on top in the elections here April 12, and Theodor Stauning, leader of the Social Democratic party, has been summoned to be the next Premier of Denmark. He has accepted and will form an all-Socialist Cabinet, although he will have to depend for his support upon the Radicals in the Folketing. The Socialists are the largest party in the new House, but have not a clear majority.

The elections showed the following results:

Party	Votes	Seats
Socialists	460,845	55
Liberals	362,397	44
Conservatives	*	28
Radicals	*	20

*The vote of the two smaller parties is not yet available.

The Socialists ran a straight Socialist campaign, and demanded a capital levy on fortunes over 50,000 kroner.

Political experts expected before the election that the present coalition Conservative and Liberal Government under Premier Neergaard would fall, but no one suspected that it would be by such a heavy vote or that the Socialists would gain so much.

In the last House the Socialists had forty-eight members, while the Liberals had 51 and the Conservatives had 44.

The Socialist vote went up 71,000, while the Liberal went down 49,000.

Stauning's Career

Stauning is the leader of the Social Democratic party, and was for several years, beginning October, 1916, Minister without portfolio and later Minister of Labor in the Cabinet, when a political situation arose that in the opinion of the party required Socialist participation. He was first elected to the Chamber in 1906, and was elected Vice-Chairman of the Chamber in 1913. He is about forty-seven years old, and had to shift for himself from a very early age.

Lacking opportunities for education, he learned the trade of cigar-making and went out in search of a job. He travelled from city to city and finally landed in Germany. Here he came in contact with Socialists and he became an ardent convert. Upon his return to Denmark he immediately affiliated himself with the Socialist and trade union organizations and by his remarkable abilities as speaker, writer and organizer he was soon promoted from the ranks to a real leader of the working class.

Tobacco Workers

For many years Stauning was the head of the Tobacco Union and editor of its official organ. When the Danish Trade Union Federation was formed, in 1898, he was made the business manager, a position he held for a number of years. He was a member of the executive committee of the Social-Democratic party for twelve years and then became its national secretary. In 1906 he was elected to the Folketing as a member for Faxek. Four years later he was chosen chairman of the Social-Democratic Parliamentary group.

As the Danish representative on the International Socialist Bureau, Stauning has on many occasions been called upon to participate in Socialist affairs of an international character. He presided at the Copenhagen International Socialist Conference in January, 1915, and attended the Socialist Congress of the neutral countries in August, 1916. His influence among the Socialists in Scandinavia has grown with the years and he is now the most popular man in public life.

The advent of the Danish Socialists to power is the result of more than half a century of hard, unrelenting, tireless Socialist propaganda and education. The first

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NEARING AND SOLOMON WILL DEBATE TACTICS

The present tactics of the Socialist Party will be the subject of a debate to be held April 30 between Charles Solomon, who will defend the Party, and Scott Nearing, who adopts a critical attitude toward the policies of organization.

The subject will be: "Resolved—That the Socialist Party, by its affiliation with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, is jeopardizing its revolutionary principles and purposes." The debate will be held at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, and will be under the auspices of the Youth.

FASCIST OUTRAGES CONTINUE AFTER ELECTION "VICTORY"

Milan.—Victory at the polls on April 6, insured by the Mussolini election laws, did not seem to satisfy the unruly spirits of many of the Italian dictator's followers, as cabled reports continue to tell of outrages committed against Socialists and Communists in various parts of the country. Burning batches of Labor papers and even of bourgeois opposition journals is the mildest of these "joyous outbursts," while beating up Labor leaders is quite a common amusement. The enthusiastic blackshirts showed their great joy in winning what is called by courtesy an election by burning down every newspaper office in Milan, except those of the papers that supported Mussolini.

Il Mondo, the Rome organ of the Constitutional Opposition, in denouncing Fascist outrages, declares that in Southern Italy the election intimidation practised by Mussolini's partisans was so patent and effective that their opponents are going to carry the matter up to the Court of Appeals in Rome and ask for the nullification of the election results in Salerno and Potenza.

Details of the make-up of the new Chamber of Deputies and of the popular vote will not be available for some time, but the combined vote of the Unitarian Socialists, the Maximalists and the Communists is expected to reach about 1,500,000 in a total of some 7,000,000.

Socialist's Visit to London Barred
Shortly before the election Giacomo Matteotti, secretary of the Unitarian Socialist Party, was invited to come to London to a meeting of the Socialist and Labor International's Bureau, but the Italian Government refused to give him a passport. Comrade Matteotti was among the victors on the Socialist ticket April 6.

Just before the election, G. Giglio, the Rome correspondent of the London Daily Herald, was expelled from Rome by force. He was torn from his wife and child, and sent away without being given even a day to arrange his affairs.

The official decree expelling him was passed at a Cabinet meeting and was moved by Mussolini himself. The dictator gave "public order" as the excuse for his motion.

"The atmosphere of Italy is not good for people like you," Giglio was told by a Fascist official at the border. "The Fascist club rules here with absolute power."

Much-Praised Fascisti Use Postmark to Boost Their Campaign



Above are the stamps and postmark on a letter that arrived from Italy yesterday, that gives American readers an idea of the sort of regime the noble Benito Mussolini has instituted in his country to be praised by all the capitalist journalists in the world. The cancellation stamp contains a direct hint to the people that the Government wanted them to vote for the black shirt hero at the fixed elections April 6. The post office stamp urges the people "VOTATE—La Liste Nationale" ("Vote—The National List"), which is the party name that the Fascisti went under. The figure is of the old Roman fasces, used by the Fascisti as their emblem, and from which they took their name. This is the sort of thing that the Munsey papers, together with practically all the rest of the American press, praised so highly when they said that anything other than a Fascisti victory would have been a calamity.

Wonder what the Munsey papers would have said if Postmaster-General Burleson had had his post office cancel stamps with the words, "Vote for Woodrow Wilson"?

POST MASTER GENERAL NEW OPPOSES WAGE INCREASE

Washington.—Postmaster General New opposes proposed salary increases to post office employees. He said it will cost too much. He favors a \$200 yearly increase in first-class post offices having an annual revenue of \$600,000 and over, and a \$100 yearly increase in first-class offices having an income of less than \$600,000.

Under this system Newark and Jersey City postal workers would be the only ones in that state who would receive a \$200 increase. In New York State there would be but nine cities affected.

The Government has been so generous with Messrs. Doheney and Sinclair, with the railroads, in reducing business men's income taxes, in "relieving" big business, that there just naturally isn't any philanthropy left for the pampered postal clerks.

THE CONTESTS THAT BLOOM IN THE SPRING

By W. M. FEIGENBAUM

This is a primary lesson in proletarian statesmanship. Or possibly it is a drama—either comedy or tragedy, depending upon your mood.

The background is that noble document, the Constitution of the United States, which provides that the President is to be elected by states; that if no candidate in (let us say) the 1924 elections secures a clear majority of the electoral votes, the election is thrown into the House of Representatives (elected 1922, before the oil scandals, you will remember), each State having one vote. The delegation of each State will be polled, and the majority vote decides the delegation and how the one vote from that State goes.

Out of the forty-three members from New York there happen to be twenty-two of one party and twenty-one of the other, which means that when New York casts one vote it disfranchises twenty-one congressmen—elected two years before the stalemate election; and that Nevada will poll its entire delegation, namely one member, and that one member will have just as much to say as the forty-three from New York in choosing the President. And if the forty-three happened to be of one party and the one of Nevada of another, the 77,000 people in one state have exactly as much to say as the 10,300,000 of the other.

Still more background. The two old parties have a sneaking suspicion that their deeds during the past few years have not been greeted by an overwhelming feeling of joy and gratitude, and they therefore fear a "third candidate," specifically Senator La Follette; and they further fear that the people will be so confused as between the grafters of one party and the crooks of the other that there will be so little to choose between the incompetents of the one and the stupid fools of the other that the election is likely to be so closely divided that the Northwestern states they are sure La Follette will carry will tie it in a knot and throw it into the House for the first time since John Quincy Adams.

Now, the House that will decide the election of 1924 was elected in 1922. But here is a difficulty.

There was a contested seat in the New York delegation.

Walter M. Chandler, representing a certain Harlem district, was defeated in 1922 by a Tammany man named Marx. Marx died soon after, and there was another election in January, 1923, when Chandler fought the Hon. Sol Bloom, well-known victrola salesman. Bloom secured an apparent victory by a margin of 191 votes and he now honors his country by sitting in Congress.

But a committee investigated the election and found that Mr. Chandler—who happens to tower mountains high in every way over the thoroughly mediocre Bloom—had been the victim of frauds similar to those regularly perpetrated upon the Socialists, and in the same districts. They found just what was found in a number of Claessens cases, that votes were stolen wholesale, and that bal-

lots by the hundreds were mutilated.

And further, being hard boiled Republicans, and knowing all that has been hereinbefore set forth, and being cognizant of the fact that if Bloom sat in Congress at the time of the expected deadlock election he would throw New York's one vote to the hard boiled Democratic candidate, while if Chandler graced Congress by his presence he would make it 22 Republicans and 21 Democrats, and would thus throw New York's much needed vote to Cal Coolidge—these things being so, the hard boiled Republican committee found that their hearts bled for the sanctity of elections and the purity of the ballot, and voted to unseat Bloom and to give Coolidge one more vote in 1924.

The matter came before the House the other day. And the issue was, Shall the purity of the ballot be sullied? And all who want New York's one vote to go to the party of Daugherty and Fall and J. P. Morgan and Nicholas Murray Butler and Edwin Denby wipe the tears from their honest eyes and shout, No! While those who don't want New York's one vote to go for Cautious Cal say with conviction, You're another!

And there the matter rested, except for one thing.

There is a "progressive bloc" that yearns to smite the two old parties; the gentlemen whose election in 1922 was hailed with such joy by the Labor elements who were not yet ready for an independent party.

And this "bloc" announced that it would fight to the last ditch to keep Mr. Bloom in his seat—and by their votes Bloom was kept in his seat, to which he was elected by Harlem Tammany methods.

Why? Because Bloom is so good? No; he is a pigmy alongside of Mr. Chandler. Because of the merits of the case? No; Tammany Hall is so notorious in stealing Harlem elections that Bloom's tiny majority certainly does not ring true.

The "progressives" backed Bloom solely because they would rather have New York's one vote for the Democratic party than for Coolidge.

In other words, for a miserable, tiny, almost imperceptible advantage, they threw their strength and prestige of the Labor and progressive movement in the scales in the interest of stolen elections and Tammany Harlem methods.

And Victor Berger, seeing through the shams and frauds of both sides, voted "present."

And so the query arises: What is more decent and honorable and respect worthy, doing this sort of thing, being "practical," playing the lowest and the pettiest kind of politics?

Or devoting all energies in the direction of building up the forward looking, the labor and farmer, the progressive strength, in a great, uncompromising party of its own?

This insignificant Harlem incident dramatizes the two elements that are contending for expression in the insurgency that is now sweeping the county.

Danish Socialists Rule Country

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agitation began in 1871, when Louis Pio, inspired by the Paris Commune, issued a Socialist leaflet and founded the Social Demokraten, a daily that is still published, one of the most successful papers in the country. In the fall of 1871 the Party was organized, in close cooperation with the unions.

The Social-Democratic Party
Denmark has an almost perfect Socialist movement, closely allied with the powerful unions and the very effective cooperatives. Industrial conditions are good, and the steady and relentless growth of the movement has been due, not to impoverishment of the workers and their despair, but to their high degree of intelligence and the sanity and devotion of the Socialist Party leaders.

There are 950 Socialist branches, with 128,000 dues-paying members, growing all the time. The party has been troubled very little by the dissensions that have disturbed and disrupted Socialism in other countries. There is a small Communist "movement" with two factions that have united for the purpose of representing a "united front" of the workers. They are mostly professional men. After the "unity," they claim 1,200 members. They poll about 3,000 votes.

Growth of Socialism
The following table shows the growth of Socialism in Denmark:

Year.	Votes.	Seats.
1878	767	0
1881	1,689	0
1884	6,806	2
1887	8,406	1
1890	17,232	3
1892	20,094	2
1895	24,510	8
1898	31,870	12
1901	43,015	14
1903	55,989	16
1906	76,612	24
1909	93,079	24
1910	98,718	24
1913	107,365	32

In 1920 the Socialists elected forty-

Labor Gov't Has Housing Plans

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floor feet. This will give, at the minimum, two floors, with full conveniences, and should cost, the committee states, no more than \$450. Houses of 950 square floor feet, with more accommodation, should not exceed in cost \$515.

The present high cost of building materials, the committee says, is due to a large extent to the high railway rates for building material and for coal, which, it is pointed out, plays such an important part in the manufacture of materials. On this point the committee suggests that efforts should be made to secure reductions in the freight rates of these commodities.

Stabilization Hopes

In addition, the committee suggests that by an adjustment of "on-costs" prices can be brought more under control.

The committee also urges that a definite guarantee that the Government's scheme will extend over a period of fifteen years will tend to stabilize conditions in the industry and to create a greater volume of work. This will reduce the present overhead charges and result in an all-round reduction in the cost of building.

The next step which Wheatley will take is to call a conference of the local authorities to discuss the proportions in which deficits are to be met respectively out of national funds and local rates. It is probable that this conference will take place next week.

When the financial issue is settled the way will be clear for the introduction of the Housing Bill.

two members to the lower House and twenty-two to the upper House. In 1922 there were forty-eight Socialists in the lower House, who polled 389,000 votes, which increased to 460,845 at the last election. Women have voted on the same terms as men since 1918. There is a population of a trifle under 3,000,000 in the kingdom.

FREE AND EQUAL

Two items in a newspaper on the same day:

1. Collector of Internal Revenue announces payment of income tax of one citizen amounting to \$7,000,000 for one year.
2. Mrs. Anna Shafer, 243 East 2d street, received callers who came to her room in response to an advertisement offering to give away her two-year-old baby boy. The mother, who is a waitress, says she is unable on her wages to support the boy.

WALDMAN-SUMNER DEBATE AROUSES KEEN INTEREST

Considerable interest is being manifested throughout the city in the debate on the so-called "Clean Book" measure that is to be held April 20 at Cooper Union, under the auspices of the East Side Educational Forum.

John S. Sumner, chief advocate of literary censorship, and successor to the late Anthony Comstock as head of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, will urge the passage of a law such as the one that was before the last Legislature; while Louis Waldman, former Socialist assemblyman, and attorney for several publishers whose works were attacked by Mr. Sumner, will oppose the idea.

William A. Brady, theatrical producer and foe of censorship, will preside.

The debate is to take place in Cooper Union, Sunday afternoon, April 20, at 2 o'clock. Reservations for tickets may be made through Room 505, 7 East 15th street, or at any of the following stations:

Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 217-219 Sackman street; Jewish Daily Forward, 175 East Broadway; Interstate Shoe Co., 86 Second avenue; Harlem Educational Center, 62 East 106th street; Rand School, 7 East 15th street; Civic Club, 14 East 12th street; Stern's Jewelry Store, 1337 Wilkins avenue, Bronx, and 73 St. Mark's place.

Socialists Gain in Sheboygan Council

Sheboygan, Wis.—In the city election, Tuesday, the city council gained one Socialist member, H. S. Humke, defeating John Pettet, incumbent, in the fourth ward, 422 to 363.

The council is now equally divided with eight Non-Partisans and eight Socialists. Mayor Herman Schuelke is a Non-Partisan.

Congressmen Sell Influence

(Continued from Page 1.)

ing before Departments in favor of clients, when they receive a fee therefor; in others the violation is not as clear. But the practice in either event is dangerous, corrupting, and contributes to the undermining and demoralization of governmental agencies.

Gossip and Rumor

The seriousness of the evil is more fully appreciated when it is known that gossip goes the rounds in Washington about this or that member of Congress, of this or that Government official. Some rumors relate to indiscretions of which the man may be guilty; others to indiscretions of which members of his family may have been guilty. Scandals, some of which are difficult to believe, are attributed to someone of influence, and it is frequently stated that a Senator will not dare to do this or that because it will antagonize someone who may reveal that particular fact.

It is difficult to determine just how much of what is said is true. But enough of the stories relating to the political life and weaknesses of particular members is true to operate as deterrents upon them, should they ever think of becoming too actively opposed to one who has power.

Daugherty's Answer

Evidence of the extent to which a vicious public official will rely on this method was furnished by Daugherty when he replied to the speech of Senator Pepper. Mr. Daugherty declined to become the scapegoat, and in his statement he called attention to some little incident which passed between him and Pepper a few years ago, which incident seemed to furnish a motive for Pepper's antagonism to Daugherty.

But Daugherty went further: He intimated that he knew much more, and that he will not hesitate to disclose some of the things he knows if the attempt to shove upon him all the shortcomings of the present Administration is persisted in.

This evil is much more real than would appear upon the surface. Its greatest danger is that the full extent of it cannot be known until someone is aggrieved who is in a position to bring it out and who will resort to such methods. That is one of the ramifications with which any house-cleaning in government will have to deal.

Lectures and Forums

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SUNDAY

8 P. M.—DR. WILL DURANT
"NIETZSCHE: The Case of Wagner"

7:15 P. M.—American Int'l Church
REV. EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
"IMMORTALITY: Fact or Fancy?"

8:15 P. P.—PROF. H. F. WARD
"SUPER POWER: The Technical Revolution"

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FRIDAY, APRIL 18

NO LECTURE

SUNDAY, APRIL 20

NO MEETING

TUESDAY, APRIL 22

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Apr. 20—Dr. HENRY NEUMANN

"The Inner Life Re-discovered"

Apr. 27—Dr. NORMAN THOMAS

Ramsay MacDonald, the Man of the Hour in Great Britain"

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ZAGHLUL FAVORS MOREL FOR NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

Cairo.—Zaghlul Pasha, Prime Minister of Egypt, has sent the following letter to the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, supporting the recommendation of E. D. Morel, M. P., as recipient of the prize this year:

"From amongst those who distinguished themselves in the work interestedly carried out for the realization of Egypt's right to self-determination and the establishment of peace and amity between Egypt and Great Britain, I would signal out one in particular. This loyal, courageous and true lover of freedom and peace in all lands is none other than E. D. Morel, M. P.

"I have for long been following his wonderful achievements to this end, and I take special pleasure in recommending him for the Nobel Peace Prize.

"I really feel justified in saying, on behalf of the Egyptian people, that his endeavors have already borne fruit in establishing a better understanding between the two peoples of Egypt and Great Britain, and that ultimately he will, in this direction, meet with the same success he was able to achieve in other lands which were, before his intervention, victims of injustice and beds of discontent."

Naturalization Aid League Conference

Meyer London will be one of the speakers at the fifteenth annual Conference of the Naturalization Aid League, Sunday, at 2 p. m., in the large hall of the Forward Building. Comrade London will discuss the question of American citizenship in relation to immigration.

All Labor unions and fraternal bodies interested in the subject of naturalization of the foreign-born workers are invited to send delegates to this conference. The manager of the league, Comrade Henry Fruchter, will submit a report of the league's activity during 1923 and a general summary of the work done in the league's fifteen years' existence. Among the new features of the league's work which Fruchter will discuss will be the classes in citizenship now being conducted under its auspices. Plans for future activity will be discussed and acted upon by the delegates.

CALIFORNIA LABOR UNITY

San Francisco.—A call has been issued to California liberals and Labor men for a convention here, under the auspices of the Farmer-Labor party, June 1, to appoint delegates to the July 4 convention in Cleveland. It has the cooperation of the Socialist Party, which has agreed to put no candidates of its own in the State field, and will not be opposed by the A. F. of L. and the railroad brotherhoods.

Finn Socialists Make Big Gains

(Continued From Page 1.)

upon them by the Communists as "betrayers" and "agents of the bourgeoisie"—in good Communist style—fought against the outlawing of the Communists in the interest of fair play and free speech. That position was made the more difficult because while the Socialists were defending the Communists' right to be heard and to hold their seats in the Chamber, the Communists were "unmasking" the Socialists and doing all in their power to destroy the party, and at the same time, evidence that the Communists were planning a civil war was being made public. The Socialists, however, did not flinch from their duty of fighting for the right of free expression and other hated "bourgeois prejudices," and thereby undoubtedly lost many seats.

In their agitation for a civil war and in the expectation of setting up a Communist dictatorship, the Communist press repeatedly reported an impending war between Russia and Finland. Such "news" also appeared in the American Finnish Communist press.

CAPITAL'S GREAT DARING

Lo! the poor capitalist! He takes all the risks.

Professors of economics, editors and statesmen who apologize for things as they are never tire of telling us how the business man "risks" his money in whatever enterprise he is in and that his profits are the "rewards of his risks," or something like that. And that the business man must be "protected" in his business lest he be "discouraged," take his "enterprise" elsewhere and leave us flat.

The working people risk nothing, in the minds of these birds—except their necks on tall buildings, their lives in coal mines, their health in sweat shops, their limbs on railroads, and their jobs all the time. And their jobs are their lives.

That is why our noble Government protects, or wants to protect, the daring business man when he recklessly "risks" his money by tariffs, by guarantees of huge sums to railroads, by ship subsidies, by the exemption of dividends on stocks from the income tax, by the repeal of taxes on excess profits, and in numerous other ways. Not to mention protection to business men against their workers when the workers want a little more decent treatment.

The reward of the worker for his soft, safe job is low wages, overcrowding, vile transportation, insecurity of employment, high rents and burglarious prices; and a kick in the face when they ask for something better, either from their bosses, or protection from the Government.

Fearful Risks

Here are some of the fearful "risks" that the protected business men take:

Union Pacific 1923 profits, \$39,922,206. Earnings equal \$16.16 a share on common stock as compared to \$12.75 in the previous year. The total income was \$211,318,465, and the expenses were \$152,249,080. There were interest charges of \$17,251,606, which is in effect a profit—although under our system of railroad bookkeeping it is considered a fixed charge and therefore an "expense." That makes an actual reward profit for the year of \$57,173,812. How much of the \$152,249,080 reported as "expenses" are cleverly camouflaged addition profits, swollen salaries to insiders, fixed charges, rents that are in effect profits, only a careful analysis of the company's books would show. Most railroads have been adept in throwing what are really profits into "expenses," and then pleading "poverty" and asking for increased rates and huge guarantees. And getting them. Capital must have taken some fearful risks to have "earned" that much—nearly as

much, for example, as a track-walker who gets just a trifle less than \$57,173,812 a year for risking his neck.

Awful Daring

Chicago Yellow Cab net profits of \$2,880,783, 1923 earnings are equivalent to \$5.20 a share. Gosh, the gentlemen who made that must have risked a lot; maybe they even rode in one of their own cabs, or stood in the way of their drivers. That would be worth a reward of more than two million, will tell the cockeyed world.

Ninety-five concerns sell \$13,840,000 of oil. They must have risked being hauled up before Senator Walsh to earn all that.

Albany Southern Railroad Co. (an interurban line running south from Albany, N. Y.), showed a net operating income of \$99,557, as compared to \$95,158 a year ago. They took an awful risk; any day they might have had Senator Lusk as a passenger.

The Pittsburgh Utilities Corporation shows a net income of \$344,000 for three months. Serves them right for living in that city.

Park & Tilford show a net reward for their daring of \$520,892 for five months.

Commercial Investment Trust Corp. showed a net reward for taking chances in this uncertain world of \$1,858,259, after expenses, Federal taxes, etc.

Allied Chemical & Dye Corp. shows a net income of \$19,448,471, after expenses and depreciation charges. Last year, \$15,114,954. Attaboy! That's risking!

Wonderful Bravery

Central Light & Power Company of St. Louis must be in daily fear of an earthquake or a volcanic eruption or something, because they drew a prize for their great bravery of \$3,390,101 for a year.

The International Harvester Company risks an 'ell of a lot. It has a Senator in Washington and runs two "great" newspapers—the Chicago Tribune and the New York picture sheet. That's why it was rewarded by \$5,540,767 in 1922.

Western Union earned \$3,767,568 a year. This year they hope to earn less.

These are only a few, gleaned from the financial pages of the newspapers for a single day.

If you want to see desperate daring, don't go to a wild west show, or to a rodeo. Nos-s-sir. Capital takes the risks, and the income is the reward of taking the risks—and look at the reward!

What worker will now ask for a living wage and decent living conditions, just for risking his neck, and for being compelled to bring up his family deprived of many necessities?

Snowden Sees Big Improvement

(Continued from Page 1.)

undertakings to make a profit on the present fares the wages increases cannot be granted without ruin to some of them. The only way out of the difficulty, the report continues, is for the Government immediately to introduce legislation for the coordination of the means of transport, by which the excessive waste of competition may be lessened.

At the moment it is impossible to say whether the introduction of this Bill will bring the dispute to a temporary settlement, but it is hoped that this will be the case.

[Since Comrade Snowden wrote the above, the strike was settled by the Labor Government, the men winning all they asked for. This makes three remarkable labor victories won because of the existence of a Labor Government.—EDITOR, N. L.]

The trouble in the Mining Industry to which I referred last week is still unsettled, but under the able guidance of Comrade Shinwell, the Minister of Mines, the negotiations are still going on, and hopes of a settlement have not been abandoned.

The Westminster Election

A by-election for the House of Commons which has aroused extraordinary interest has just taken place. A vacancy was created in the representation of the City of Westminster by the death of the sitting member. This constituency embraces that part of London around the Houses of Parliament, and it is one of the great strongholds of Conservatism. No constituency in the country could be regarded as less favorable for a Labor candidate.

The notorious Winston Churchill came forward as an independent anti-socialist candidate. The Conservatives nominated an official candidate, and the Liberals did the same. As Mr. Churchill had announced his intention to fight the election on the issue of Socialism, it was felt that the challenge ought to be taken up by the Labor party for the purpose of propaganda. It was not expected that in such a constituency a Labor and Socialist candidate would poll many votes. Comrade Fenner Brockway, General Secretary of the Independent Labor party, was selected as candidate. In view of Mr. Churchill's war upon Socialism and the Labor party, Comrade Brockway met the challenge by an uncompromising Socialist campaign.

Comrade Brockway is a very able young man who belongs to the idealistic section of the Labor movement. He was for some years the editor of the Labor Leader, the official journal of the I. L. P., and he served for some years in prison during the war as a conscientious objector to military service. When that fact

on every question that arises. This insures the maintenance of a rank and file movement.

Both a thorough and efficient organization and a rank and file movement are indispensable in the Socialist Party.

We do not want members to be like the man who pasted a copy of the Lord's Prayer on the wall of his bedroom and every night when he was ready to jump into bed jerked his thumb at it and said, "Oh, Lord, them's my sentiments!"

We do not want any half hearted devotion.

We want every member to be earnest, sincere, aggressive, persistent, and indomitable.

We want him to pass a resolution in his own mind that he will do all in his power to make his locality an outpost, a recruiting station, a base of supplies, an intellectual and financial fortress if you please in the political war for the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth.

What it requires to accomplish these results is thorough organization, coordinate effort, persistent aggressiveness, wise foresight, and indomitable courage.

The time for scattering shot is gone.

The time for rainbow chasing is gone.

We must be practical.

We must use common sense.

We must advance upon the enemy in perfect order and in battle array. By so doing we shall win this political battle and emancipate ourselves from the galling chains of capitalism.

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is taken into consideration the poll he secured in one of the greatest strongholds of reaction in England is all the more remarkable. The result of the poll was as follows:

Nicholson (official Conservative)	8187
Churchill	8144
Brockway (Labor)	6156
Scott Duckers (Liberal)	291

This is the third time that Churchill has been defeated in fifteen months. No doubt a good many people voted for him on his personality. He is a great Parliamentary debater, and many people who do not share his views and who have little confidence in his political integrity would like to see him in the House of Commons, where he would certainly add to the liveliness of the proceedings.

Great Socialist Vote

Comrade Brockway's poll is a wonderful achievement in such a constituency. It is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that there are no less than 27,000 voters on the register who do not live in the constituency. They are people who have business premises in the constituency but reside outside. These voters would poll wholly for either Churchill or Nicholson, but Brockway's poll would be entirely residential. When a Labor candidate can poll over 6,000 votes for Socialism in the ancient City of Westminster, and especially a Labor candidate with such a definite anti-militarist record, we may safely assume that there is no constituency in the country which is hopeless for Labor.

The miserable poll of the official Liberal candidate is as remarkable as the large vote of the Labor candidate. It proves that the electors have now made up their minds that the issue is between Labor and reaction, and that there is no room in British politics for a third party. Brockway's poll is a great testimony to the impression which the Labor Government has made upon the country. This by-election has afforded a most interesting and illuminating indication of the present trend of political opinion in Great Britain.

NEWARK BANQUET BIG SUCCESS

The Socialists of Newark last Sunday evening enjoyed one of the most successful banquets ever held in that city, the banquet hall being filled to capacity.

Frau Adele Schreiber and Morris Hillquit were the speakers, George M. Goebel being Toast-Master, and incidentally taking up a collection of over five hundred dollars for the Presidential campaign fund that the Newark Socialists are already at work building up.

Frau Schreiber was given a remarkable reception at the close of her speech, the audience rising and waving handkerchiefs and applauding this, her last speech previous to sailing the next day for Germany. Morris Hillquit, speaking on "The Coming Labor Party," in opening his talk gave a very complete analysis of existing conditions in America and abroad, closing with a plea for a revived and active Socialist Party as more necessary than ever in the event of the formation of a real Labor Party at Cleveland, and appealing to all present to join with the Socialist Party in its work. Many of those present said it was the best speech Hillquit ever delivered, expressing the wish it might be printed for general circulation.

tor Adler, Vandervelde, Liebknecht, Jaures, Longuet, Keir Hardie, Mrs. Philip Snowden, and Ramsay MacDonald, to audiences numbering tens of thousands. Her opening dates are the eighteenth and nineteenth in Reading, and then to Mt. Carmel and vicinity for ten days.

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DULUTH FARMER-LABOR

Duluth, Minn.—In response to a call by the Duluth Trades Assembly, 166 delegates, including about a dozen women representing sixty-one organizations, met here March 30 to consider Farmer-Labor candidates. The call was issued to Labor unions, ladies' auxiliaries, farmers' clubs, cooperative and progressive organizations. Each congressional aspirant was instructed to support the party winner in the general election.

Before adjournment the conference heartily commended "the splendid records being made in Congress by United States Senators Hendrick, Shipstead, and Magnus Johnson," and went on record in favor of the re-election of Magnus Johnson in November.

LENA MORROW LEWIS IN PENNSYLVANIA

Lena Morrow Lewis of California, one of the most experienced and gifted National Organizers and speakers the Party has ever had, began yesterday an organization tour of Pennsylvania under the direction of State Secretary Darlington Hoopes of Norristown.

New Leader readers living in Pennsylvania should see that Mrs. Lewis comes to their town for at least one meeting. Comrade Lewis was the first woman elected as a member of the Socialist Party National Executive Committee, was Delegate to the International Congress at Copenhagen, was for two years editor of a daily paper in Alaska, has spoken for the Party in every state in this country, and in all the important European Capitals on the same platforms as Vice-

Do You Really Want Socialism?

By John M. Work

It has been said that Socialism will not be introduced on Wednesday afternoon at half past two. In other words, it will not be a sudden process so that we can point to any specific date as the time when the new order was born.

I agree with that statement. But, it is also true that there will come a time when we will win a general election and capture the powers of the national government.

That day will be the beginning of the end of the great struggle for Socialism. That day will be the end of exploitation, poverty, and all the social ills that blight the lives of the great host whose hearts are weary "longing for the strife to cease."

When will that day come? It will come whenever the Socialists want it to come. We can have Socialism whenever the Socialists really want Socialism.

A minority of the Socialists are exceedingly active. Their work for the cause is all that could be desired or expected.

But there are thousands upon thousands of people who vote the Socialist ticket, and yet who never turn a hand over to get Socialism except by the one act. That act is very commendable in itself, but instead of being the sole act performed for the cause, it should be the culmination of many activities. Maybe those people want Socialism, but they certainly do not act like it.

In order to get Socialism, it is necessary to convince a majority of the people that we ought to have it—so that they too will vote the ticket.

There is no way to do this except through close, compact, thorough, efficient organization.

We must fight systematically not chaotically.

We must fire broadsides, not pop-guns. We must meet the powerful organization of the enemy with an organization still more powerful.

Ten million unorganized Socialists would have no terrors for the capitalist class.

But, half a million organized Socialists, carrying on a systematic, persistent, courageous, methodical propaganda, can turn the United States, not upside down, but right

SOCIALIST PRISONERS OF RUSSIA

A delegation of Young Socialist Revolutionaries of Russia in Paris is sending an appeal to the young Socialist youth organizations of the world. The appeal is a protest against the brutal treatment of Socialists in the Soviet prisons of Russia. The following translation of this appeal has been made by Albert Weisbord, National Director of the Young People's Department of the Socialist Party.

"TO ALL ORGANIZATIONS OF YOUNG SOCIALISTS."

"Comrades: On December 21, 1923, in the prison of the political police of Moscow, there committed suicide Serguei Morosov, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Russia, and one of the twelve most eminent Russian-Socialists condemned to death in the trial which took place in Moscow, 1922.

(Translator's Note: Readers are no doubt familiar with this famous trial through newspaper reports, and especially through the pamphlet, "The Twelve Who Are To Die").

"For a year and a half the twelve leaders of the Russian Socialist movement were under daily threat of execution. This torture lasted a year and a half, and the suicide of one of the doomed was necessary to induce the Communist dictators to commute the sentence of capital punishment to five years' confinement.

"There is no other country in Europe where the Socialist movement is obliged to hide itself. In Russia, the Socialist movement not only is secret, not only is it furiously persecuted by the police, but it is sought to suppress its adherents by violence. In Russia the imprisoned Socialists find themselves under such conditions that there is left for them no other method than suicide. Some months ago, Comrade Aronovitch, member of the Young Socialist-Democratic Union, was killed on a trip to the Isle of Solovetskie where are deported and confined hundreds of Russian Socialists.

"Almost at the same time the icy rocks of the White Sea, which for eight consecutive months are isolated from the entire world, saw the suicide of our young comrade Sandor, Socialist-Revolutionary.

"The administration of these terrible islands is composed in great part of deported criminals of the Common Law who are charged with keeping watch over the Socialist prisoners, and provoking these champions of the workers' cause to suicide, to madness. News reaching us always mentions new cases of insanity, and within but the last few days we were informed that the guards had opened fire on comrades who had protested against an intensification of the régime. Some were killed, numerous others wounded.

"This has happened in the extreme north of the country. And in Moscow, Serguei Morosov, Socialist and Revolutionary of long standing, who had endured many years of hard labor under the Czarist régime, opened his veins in order to cry out with his death against the horrors committed in Russia.

"This is not the first time that a cry of distress coming from this country has reached Europe. In several replies one heard the voice of the Workers' International protest against the dictatorship of the Russian Communists. But time passed, and the Socialist world forgot little by little that the activity of the Russian Government was not limited entirely to the programs announced abroad by commercial agencies of the Soviets; the Socialist world was forgetting that in Russia the reign of terror continued and that barbarous methods throttled the Socialist movement.

"The Moscow potentates well know the wave of indignation now rising will one day be appeased; that only preoccupation of an internal character turn the attention of Socialist organizations from Russia. This hope leads the Government of Moscow on in continuing its crimes.

"Thus has it been up until now; shall it be the same in the future? Let not the Socialist Youth be misled by the hypocritical amnesty accorded the eleven comrades condemned to death, for they still remain in Communist prisons, and the Government which yesterday abrogated the capital sentence may order execution tomorrow.

"Young Socialists! DEMAND THE LIBERATION of the leaders of Russian Socialism and of all detained politicals. The 'Commissions of Inquiry' named by the Government will not stop the horrors of the Islands of Solovetskie because the commissions are composed of members of the same Party which desires the annihilation of the Russian Socialists.

"Young Socialists! COMPEL THE END OF THE POLITICAL TERROR IN RUSSIA. We fight against despotism, we struggle without considering that we are engaging in an unequal battle. Against the powerful police organization, the executions, slow death in the deportation camps, we oppose only our Socialist idea, our profound conviction that we Socialists of two generations represent the hopes of the Russian workers.

"Let the Socialist youth of all countries remember our cause is theirs!

"Let the working class youth remember that the Russian Socialist movement each day is losing its best blood!

"THE DELEGATION ABROAD OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARIES OF RUSSIA."

RAND SCHOOL DINNER

Invitations have been issued to the annual Rand School Dinner to be held on Friday evening, April 25, at 6:30 p. m., in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street.

The program is "The Prospects of a Labor Party in the United States." Unless he is detained by important legislation at Washington, Senator Shipstead of Minnesota has agreed to come. Knud Wefald, of Minnesota, the only Farmer-Labor member of Congress elected in 1922, has also promised to be present; likewise Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, the only Socialist member of our National governing body. Wm. H. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, and Arthur E. Holder of the association of machinists, at one time president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and associate editor of the International Association of Machinists' Journal, now secretary of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, will also discuss the question. Bertha H. Mailly, executive secretary of the Rand School, who has just returned from an extended trip abroad will discuss the contribution of our English comrades to the Labor party movement.

Morris Hillquit, international secretary of the Socialist Party, will act as chairman.

As the capacity of the auditorium is limited, and as a large number of reservations have already been made, it is advisable for all those who are planning to come to make their reservations at once.

BRITISH EMPIRE LABOR CONFERENCE

London.—The British Commonwealth Labor Conference—the first of its kind—will be held in London in the week beginning Monday, August 18, 1924. J. Ramsay MacDonald will preside at the opening session. It is expected that the conference will be attended by representatives from the following countries:

Australia.—Labor party and trade unions.
Canada.—Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the Canadian Labor party.
India.—Trade unions.
Ireland.—Irish Labor party and Trade Union Congress.
Newfoundland.—Fishermen's Protective Union.
New Zealand.—Labor party and Alliance of Labor.
Rhodesia.—Labor party.
British Guiana.—Labor Union.
South Africa.—Labor party, Cape Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, and the Associated Trade Unions in the Transvaal.

The provisional agenda of the subjects for discussion include: The relations of the parties and trade unions within the British Commonwealth to one another; inter-Commonwealth relations, political and economic; the maintenance of world peace; migration; racial questions; and industrial conditions and legislation.

The International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International will each be invited to send fraternal delegates.

Comrade!

By EMIL SEIDEL

Comrade! Just one word with you.

One word with you, whose whole life has been one of pioneering—one of sacrifice in the cause of Socialism. Oh, I know from your past that the holy fire of zeal is not dead. Your whole past has been too true, too genuine for that.

But let me ask you just one question: When did you last attend your branch meeting?

Your weatherbeaten mien does not permit of the suspicion that you have lost interest. I know that you are as staunch as ever—nay, more so.

But when did you last attend your branch meeting?

There was a time when the path to your meeting hall was well trodden. You were at your post—happened what might.

Storm could not daunt you, nor tranquility lull you.

But have you not allowed the grass and rank weeds to grow over your path? Why?

Comrade: Do you know that you are missed? Do you know that you are needed? Do you know that your wise counsel is wanted?

Again—do you know that your branch is to your party what the cell is to the body? Do you know that when the cell is ailing the body is ill?

Oh, I know—there were times when the younger made you feel that you were not wanted—perhaps made you feel that you were in the way.

That was wrong. You are not in the way. You are needed.

I know that you do not allow your dues to lapse—your subscription to expire—your donation to be missed.

But we have not seen your face at the meeting for ever so long a time. We need you and need you badly.

You always had a word of cheer, an elucidating viewpoint to present, an interesting reminiscence that carried its lesson and sometimes a wise word of warning.

It seems all so long ago—almost as if it all were dead—and sometimes it seems sad.

We must have you back. We need you. We need that cheer. We need that lesson.

Comrade: Will you not come to the branch meeting again?

BILLIONS FOR CORRUPTION

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

When the late Congressman Kitchin brought in the first War taxation bill, he mentioned that, after all deductions were made, there would be many billions of dollars left in the swollen pockets of the plutocrats. It was some fat pocketbook!

Since then the purse has not been thinned. On the contrary, it has likely burst its seams. Certainly a much larger wallet is now being used.

For America came out of the war and its attending commercial opportunities with the bulk of the gold of the world on our side of the water. Credit has been extended to France, Austria, and other countries by our bankers. Now comes the Dawes report which offers to bond all Germany to the American dollar.

Of course, that is the capitalist manner of doing business. Charity is very well in its place—and it has had a good-sized place in most every country in Europe excepting England. But business is business.

Buying Them Up

And when the industrial chiefs of any country are down and out is the very easiest chance to buy them up at a percentage of par. So, instead of funding the debts, credit is to be extended. Instead of lifting the weight from European labor, a heavier one is to be added.

Should the outcome be the logical one, it will be dark indeed. Sooner or later Europe would revolt against the yoke of American exploitation. Europe could not or would not pay perpetual tribute. War would be the necessary result.

Whether the thing will work out logically is another matter. Not all American plunderers are unmindful of the lessons of the Russian Revolution. Another method would be sought to insure American control and gain without jeopardizing the whole economic structure.

The other method is by corruption. The electorate would have to be bought up. German, French, Czechoslovakians, Italians, Russians, Poles and the rest would learn to sing "The Star Spangled Banner" and to offer homage to American capitalist saints. Children who were kept out of our blessed land because they were beyond the immigration quota would be permitted to pray that they go to America when they die. All would be well in this best possible of worlds.

American Corruption Excels

For when it comes down to a fine point, American plutocrats excel at corruption. Look how they started out to spend a million to gather in the hundred million or more from

the Federal oil reserves! Look how they dispensed fees of a quarter of a million at a time to prominent politicians! Look how they showered bounteous subsidies upon pliable newspapers!

And they have billions to spend! After playing the losing game of trying to beat Mexico by arms, they are now engaged in killing that country with kindness. It is a more dexterous as well as a more sinister move.

After having their nefariously corrupt practices exposed, so that their members of the Cabinet and the President's private secretary are discredited, they employ their Federal assistant attorney generals to besmirch the unsullied character of their enemies.

They have whole secret services at their command. They run the underworld of every community. They are in cohorts with the most dastardly political machines throughout the country. That is how they function.

Sacred Cows

Most of the larger daily papers hearken to them. Whatever independence they manifest as to their own "sacred cows," when it comes to a showdown all but a very few are their votaries and apologists. The poison gas they discharge almost chokes whatever freedom of thought seeks expression.

Those who are out to purge politics of their destructive influence might as well realize that they are engaged in no child's play. Those who aim to restore to the people their vast heritage of resources and means of livelihood had better be sure they have gauged the extent of the job they have set themselves to do. For billions of dollars of existing and possible wealth are involved. And the plutocrats are ready to spend billions to continue their hold.

They may hate to part with their money, but they would hate still more to lose it all. So part with they will—as much as need be.

Both old parties are equally their property. This is an old story, but it is now more than ever. Recent publicity has shown it, so every reader of the papers knows it.

No Capitalist Politics Clean

Considering the enormous billions used to corrupt all who have a price, it remains for every one who seeks public office to reveal what property he holds, and how he came by it. Campaigns should bring the very deepest searching into every candidate's possessions.

Not that there cannot be found those who would accept political office and do the bidding of the capitalist class without special price. There are plenty around who stand for capitalism as a matter of principle. They would not have to be bribed. But the itch to bribe them would be there just the same.

For the enormous fortunes taken out of industry by those who render no useful service blights the very suggestion that old party politics can be clean. Where selfishness is the motive, each capitalist connives for his own pocket and corrupts whoever he can for his own gain. Capitalism can mean only a perpetual saturation of corruption.

For it is the nature of that which has been spawned by evil to beget evil. So the billions which are squeezed out of the labor, discomfort and anguish of humanity are bound to spread rottenness and decay to the end of capitalism.

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IS CIVILIZATION WORTH WHILE?

By James Oneal

Out of the slime of a period so remote that we cannot place it crawled the first forms of life on our planet. Ages passed and the lowest forms of man, our shaggy ancestors of the forest and cave, appeared on the scene. They discovered the uses of fire, perhaps the mother of inventions. Early man's shadow cast by the sun, his face reflected in a crystal pool, his echo returning his own voice across the hills, and the appearance of the departed in his dreams evoked his wonder and he founded his primitive religions.

Time passed and man moved out of his cave into rudely built huts. He associated into tribes and the tribes merged into nations. He became master of all creeping things. He made them minister to his wants. He went to war and ate his captives. Later he spared his captives and made them his slaves when he discovered that a slave would make many meals instead of one when roasted over a fire. Animal, savage, barbarian, and then civilized man. The latter founded villages and cities, nations, governments. Civilization had arrived.

Population increased, nations expanded, industry developed, and finally the uses of steam and machinery became known. The great cities grew around the factory. Railroads wound their way by the courses of rivers or followed the trail blazed by the buffalo. Oceans swarmed with freighters and passenger ships. Scientists weighed the stars and determined their chemical compositions. The rocks of geologic time surrendered their secrets to science, telling the wondrous story of the birth and growth of our mother earth. Philosophy attempted to penetrate the mystery of things and still pursues its quest.

Yes, civilization had arrived. It carried its achievements to remote peoples of the earth and reorganized their institutions after its own image. Electricity challenged the dominion of steam and brought the age of technical efficiency, the wireless, the radio, and a new era in transportation. Enormous fortunes flowed to a few and slums ate into the heart of the great cities. Nations armed and masses were drilled for human slaughter. The gunboat was succeeded by the battleship and the latter by the dreadnaught. The submarine, the bomb-

ing plane, poison gas, disease germs and the tank were planned for human destruction. Statesmen waxed indignant over proposed appropriations for schools to enrich human life and became eloquent in behalf of ten times the sum for murder machines.

Civilization had arrived. War. The leading powers of the civilized world are gripped in a death struggle. Industry is transformed, mobilized, to produce explosives, guns and material to destroy human life, to ravage villages, cities and the countryside. Ditches are dug across great areas and men crawl in. In rain and sleet and snow and vermin and bloody muck, throwing hand grenades across rotting bodies at the "enemy." Back of the lines grief broods over millions of homes. Nations gone mad. Millions, haunted by grotesque obsessions, mob their neighbors. Old men and women and babes wither and die of famine or a plague. Cities become ash heaps, monuments lie in ruins. Buzzards soar above battlefields looking for carrion. The material costs mount into the millions, the billions and the hundreds of billions.

War ends. Battered, bleeding, exhausted mankind returns to its old habits of life. A cry is heard. Prepare for war! To prevent war prepare to maintain peace! To maintain peace prepare for war! The population is surveyed and indexed for future military service. Industries are surveyed, their productive capacities are estimated, duly noted on maps, and filed for use at a moment's notice. Poison gas is produced and stored. The bombing plane is improved. The X-ray is summoned to wreak more terrible destruction than anything hitherto conceived by man.

Yes, civilization has arrived. What matters it that our early relatives of the higher apes slew dogs in their ignorance when we slay our millions? Is capitalist civilization worth while? If it did not contain the elements of a nobler civilization it were better, to repeat Huxley's wish, that some kindly comet should strike our planet and blot it out. To reorganize its great powers for good, now perverted for base and savage ends, is the aim and hope of the Socialist movement. Join it and leave your savage survivals behind.

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R. R. BREAKS RECORD

New York.—Last year was the most prosperous in the history of the Erie Railroad. Despite propaganda that the Government is handicapping railroads by alleged interference, Erie's net profits totaled \$8,435,272. This is after taxes and other charges have been paid.

FAMILY ESTATE GROWS

\$100,000,000 A YEAR

Washington.—The estate of one family in this country is increasing at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year, according to Congressman Green, chairman of the house ways and means committee. He did not say what estate he had in mind, but there is no doubt, others stated, that it was the manufacturer of a silver auto.

Mr. Green's statement was in connection with Secretary of the Treasury Mellon's opposition to increased taxes on estates. The secretary fears it will "destroy initiative."

MOTOR PROFITS JUMP

New York.—Last year's profits of the Durant Motors Company totaled \$2,715,228, after taxes and other charges were met. This compares with net profits of \$1,943,604 the previous year.

Pittsburg.—The steel trust has had its best year. Earnings for the first quarter of 1924 will total \$50,000,000.

STEEL EARNINGS INCREASE UNDER 8-HOUR DAY

New York.—Steel records continue to confound alleged wise men in this industry who prophesied disaster if the eleven and twelve-hour day were abandoned.

The long workday was seared into the public conscience by the nation-wide steel strike. The agitation against excessive hours continued after the strike. This caused Judge Gary to utter the profound statement that a reduction of hours would wreck the steel industry, "and we do not favor this," the wise man averred.

Iron Age, spokesman for the steel trust and leading opponent of the shorter workday, now states that official figures will probably show that the steel trust's March output equaled that of last year when the peak for 1923 was reached with an annual rate of 49,000,000 tons. Last year's record was made under the long workday, and now Iron Age acknowledges that this record has been duplicated under the shorter workday. It is estimated that the trust's earnings for the first quarter of 1924 will exceed any since the first quarter of 1918 (war period). The latter earnings were over \$50,000,000.

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.

THE NEW EDUCATION POLICY

By CHARLES TREVELYAN, M.P.,
President of the Board of Education.

The following statement of the aims of the Labor Government in the matter of education may be contrasted with the neglect of education by capitalist office-holders in this country.

I welcome this opportunity of giving a clear statement of the first efforts of the Labor Government in education. I will begin by explaining the underlying intention of the measures which I have already initiated.

There are two leading ideas which have been present in my mind and have been the main motives of my action. My first object has been to bring to an end the campaign of economy pursued by the late Conservative Government. My second object has been to take the first small steps in a great new advance in education.

There appears to be little doubt that the advocates of economy carried their enthusiasm too far in the domain of education, and that a very general reaction has set in against the narrow and soulless economies of the Geddes campaign. All lovers of education watched with dismay the Board of Education being utilized as a mere agent of Treasury economists. Before the war the board had always been ready to encourage enterprise in local authorities, to welcome educational experiment, and to praise schools where any sort of educational advance was being attempted. For some years, however, the officials of the board were required to spend their chief energy in repressing the very activities which they had before encouraged. The country is spending over \$40,000,000 out of the national taxation on education, but there is no service which depends more for its efficiency and value on the last few hundreds of thousands spent upon it. When, therefore, by hard saving the classes in elementary schools are kept so big that the teacher cannot teach but can only keep order, and when scores of defective children hamper the teaching of the normal child because the Government refuses leave to build defective schools, these and such like economies are wasting the value of the millions which we continue to spend.

The Main Object

I am sure I have rightly interpreted the feeling, not only of the Labor party but of the country at large, in holding that economy had gone too far and was likely if continued to injure irreparably the whole system.

I have, therefore, reversed the engines. The other main object which the Labor party has before it is to make another immediate and vigorous advance in the general scope of our education system. We have before our minds as our objective advanced education for all our people. We refuse to think only about the clever boys and girls. Who, indeed, can tell which the clever ones are at 12

years old? All normal children of the working and lower middle class ought to have precisely the same chance of full education as the normal child of the wealthy has today. We don't ask whether the son of a country gentleman is clever before we give him the chance of being educated in a public school, nor ought that question to be asked of other children.

But any great progress in the direction of advanced education for all children cannot be made at one bound. It must be done by the encouragement of those local authorities that are wishing to move; it must be done by encouraging the provision of schools for advanced education where they do not now exist, and by creating a public opinion which will cause the nation to spend freely where it is necessary.

I think it will be useful for me to state categorically the administrative changes which I have actually made up to date.

Changes Effectuated

1. A determined effort is being made to reduce the size of classes in public elementary schools. It is to be hoped before long that the class of sixty and over will be a thing of the past; that local authorities will begin to regard classes of over fifty as abnormal, and, as London did before the war, begin to make as their objective classes of nearer forty.

2. Steps are being taken to prevent the appointment of any new supplementary teachers of any kind, and a steady effort will be made to diminish the use of uncertificated teachers. This policy is imperatively called for at the present time, owing to the fact that there are many young teachers unemployed who have just left the training colleges. It is very wrong that any number of these trained teachers should be out of employment when they might replace unqualified substitutes.

3. An attempt has recently been made to force all head teachers to take class work. It is extremely desirable that the head teacher should be frequently teaching in the school, and a moderate-sized class at the top of the school, which could be left to do a certain amount of work by itself, may often be suitably taken by a head teacher. But for the proper supervision of the whole school work a considerable amount of leisure is necessary for a head teacher, if the capacities of the assistants are to be properly watched, if the parents are to be kept in proper touch with the school authorities, and if a chance is to be given for enterprises outside the ordinary school work to be encouraged. Head teachers will not, therefore, in future be pressed to take large classes.

4. For the last few years very little has been done to deal with the worst school buildings, many of which have been condemned as unsuitable and even insanitary years ago. The local authorities will be pressed to take in hand the worst cases of bad school accommodation.

Reversing Old Policies

5. Under the 1921 Act local authorities were given the opportunity

of raising the school age to fifteen with the approval of the Board of Education. This approval during the last few years has been consistently withheld. The new policy will encourage and not discourage local authorities that wish to raise the school age.

6. In view of the intention to prevent the extension of the use of unqualified teachers there is no need any longer to increase the restriction on the entries to training colleges, and this year there will be no increased reduction of the entries.

7. An unfortunate attempt was made in the last year or two to limit the free places in secondary schools. The limit of 25 per cent will be abolished, and schools will be able to admit 40 per cent of free places. The board will be willing to consider the abolition of fees where schools and local authorities are ready to take a step in the direction of free secondary education.

8. Every encouragement will be given to the building of new secondary schools. In the years that succeeded the war thousands of children were prevented from obtaining advanced education, simply because the buildings were not there to receive them. That desire for education still exists, and we have to provide the opportunities.

9. In the interests of economy the magnificent Victoria and Albert Museum has been recently made inaccessible to a large part of the population by being always closed before the evening. Steps have been taken for it to be opened twice in the week in the evening.

10. For three years after the war 10 State scholarships from State-aided schools to universities were provided by the State at the rate of £80 and fees for every boy or girl who obtained them. The use made of these scholarships was unquestionably valuable. But in the interests of economy the late Government ceased to give them for the last two years. The scholarships are now being restored, and their success will be closely watched with a view to developing this great opportunity if it is successful.

Future of Education

The future of Labor policy in education, as in other things, depends on Ministers, whom you may be sure will be willing enough to organize progress, as on the backing which they get in the country. The party in the country must prepare to support the party in Parliament. Two things are needed. Progress can only be made if the local education authorities will help the Board of Education. Therefore the Labor party must be active in the country. It must enlist all educationists to urge the Education committees to build schools, to employ trained teachers, to diminish classes, and to offer scholarships. The Labor party must call on the teachers to support the new spirit in the Board of Education, and above all must enlist public opinion, both among the working class and the lower middle class, to support a policy which benefits them all alike. The Labor party also

VICTORIES WON IN WORKERS' STRUGGLE

MINERS MAKE GAINS

Charleston, W. Va.—International and state representatives of the United Mine Workers have reached an agreement with northern West Virginia coal owners. For three years peace will reign in this section, as compared with anarchy that prevails in Logan county and other anti-union localities.

WIRE MEN RAISE WAGES

Memphis, Tenn.—A wage increase of 12½ cents an hour has been negotiated by the Electrical Workers' union. The new rate is \$1 an hour.

CARPENTERS GET RAISE

Charleston, W. Va.—Carpenters have secured a new wage agreement. Former rates of \$1 an hour are increased to \$1.12½ for the first year and \$1.25 for the second year.

METAL WORKERS GAIN

St. Louis, Mo.—Sheet metal workers have raised wages 12½ cents an hour, or \$1.50 for foremen and \$1.37½ for journeymen. The agreement is for one year.

PAINTERS WIN STRIKE

Dayton, Ohio.—A two-year agreement has ended the strike of local painters. Wages will be raised 5 cents an hour the first year and an additional 7½ cents an hour the second year.

ANTI-FASCIST SPEAKER TOURING THE COUNTRY

Leonardo Frisina, national organizer for the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America, and one of the best known Italian Labor leaders, has started an extensive speaking tour toward the Western States in behalf of the Alliance. Due to the recent general election in Italy, the Alliance has renewed its activities among the Italian workers in the United States and will keep up the agitation against the introduction or the formation of black shirt groups here.

Frisina is scheduled to speak in several important cities among which are Rochester and Buffalo, N. Y., Erie, Penna., Cleveland, Ohio, Detroit, Mich., Milwaukee, Wis., and Chicago. He will then proceed West through the States of Indiana, Missouri, Kansas and Colorado.

should realize that the success of an education policy in the long run depends upon the readiness of the nation to spend money upon this most productive of all expenditures.

Today I have enough money to begin the policy which the Labor party has commissioned me to carry out. The problem will be twelve months hence, and still more two and three years hence. Will the party then have given their representatives in Parliament a decided commission to spend many more millions on education, without which there can be no great advance and without which we cannot conquer any new educational territory?

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The New Leader Forum

THE WORKERS' PARTY

Editor of The New Leader:

I have read with much interest the various articles which appeared for or against the Workers' party. Now I am not a member of either the Workers' party or the Socialist Party, and being above the battle, as it were, and removed from the heat of the conflict I think I am in a position to be impartial. It is my purpose in this article to sum up the reasons why I think that the Workers' party may fail and also why it may succeed. If this letter is published I shall probably be in the position of the man who interfered between a husband and wife who were fighting, with the result that the wife gave him a black eye and the husband knocked out one of his front teeth.

The reasons why I think the Workers' party may fail are that its leaders do not seem to understand the gulf that divides the Russian people from the people of the United States. Ninety per cent of the people of Russia are peasants. They can neither read or write.

They have always been at the bottom and have no hope or rising to the top. They are used to being ruled by a minority. Moreover, the Soviet Government is built up from the village commune or Mir. It is a form which they understand. Now when we come to the United States we have quite a different situation. The majority of the American people belong to the lower middle classes. They still have some hope of rising to the capitalist class. They are accustomed to the Anglo-Saxon method of political representation. I spent six years as a suffrage speaker and organizer. I have walked from one farm to another and from one shop to another and talked to them about suffrage and I know how difficult it is to get any new ideas into their heads.

Besides this there is the opposition of other radical groups. I

heard an I. W. W. speaker at the Labor Temple and I asked him what his group thought about the Workers' party, and he replied: "We are absolutely indifferent to it. The Republican party is the reflex of the big corporations; the Democratic party is the reflex of those who are trying to break the trusts, but the Workers' party is a reflex of nothing."

In spite of all these obstacles however I believe that the Workers' party has some chance of succeeding because I realize that when William Lloyd Garrison published the first number of the Liberator, in which he demanded the immediate abolition of slavery, he met with exactly the same reception that the Workers' party has received today. The old-fashioned abolitionists said that they had never heard of such a wild, ridiculous, crazy scheme. They said that slavery would have to be abolished gradually.

Garrison had to fight the slaveholding autocracy of the South and the reactionary and ignorant masses of the North. In those days, of course, people were much more ignorant than they are today because newspapers were few and means of communication were inadequate. He also had to fight the wild spirits in the abolitionist movement, men who wanted to stir up a slave rebellion. He knew that such attempts were doomed to failure. Garrison approved of John Brown's heroic spirit but he did not approve of what he did at Harpers Ferry. Garrison went on demanding the immediate abolition of slavery, but by peaceful means, and finally his labors were crowned with success when Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation abolishing Negro slavery in the United States.

LUCY P. EASTMAN.

New York City.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

NEWS FROM OTHER LANDS

ENGLAND

I. L. P. Easter Conference at York
The Independent Labor party, the militant Socialist propaganda wing of the Labor party, will hold its 31st annual conference Easter Sunday at York, a few miles from Bradford, where the party was founded in 1893 by Keir Hardie. Fred Jowett, now a member of the Cabinet, was a delegate to that conference, as were a number of the present Labor members of Parliament. Premier MacDonald, who joined the I. L. P. in 1894 will attend the conference and address a great mass meeting. MacDonald is a member of the national council of the party, as is John Wheatley, Minister of Health. But the Premier finds it impossible for him to accept reelection on account of his double duties as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

The party will celebrate its biggest year. There are 125 members of the I. L. P. in Parliament, including the Premier, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip Snowden, the Clydesmen who have furnished the newspaper men with the color they wanted in reporting Parliament, Bob Smillie, Margaret Bondfield and the two other Labor women, and about 25 members of the Ministry.

Since the election in December, over 100 new branches have been formed, while 16 have been given charters within ten days. The older branches are gathering in new members daily. The agenda promises a most interesting discussion. The fact that the Labor Government is in effect an I. L. P. Government gives the Conference its great importance.

GERMANY

Party Membership Rising
That the Social Democratic Party is going to make a better showing in the Reichstag elections of May 4 than was believed when the Reichstag was dissolved last month seems indicated, not only by the results of the Bavarian Diet election, but by a report of the National Executive Committee on the party's organized strength. Following a slump in the dues-paying membership during the economic crisis and the period of factional fights, there has been a strong come-back for several months past. On January 1, the membership numbered 1,259,304, of whom 233,664 were women, and since then reports from all over Germany have told of rapid gains. On April 1, 1922, the Social Democratic party had 1,174,105 members, to which were added 206,065 from the Independent Socialists when the amalgamation was effected some months later. Then came the decline which preceded the present recovery. During the first three months of this year the party papers gained more than 300,000 readers. The party controls 169 newspapers, 100 of which are printed in their own plants.

Party Convention Postponed
In order to avoid the loss of valuable time during the campaign and also to keep the soft pedal on factional differences during the campaign, the Executive Committee has postponed the National convention until after the May elections. It is announced that after the elections it

will be easier to go ahead, in the light of the results, with the task of perfecting the party organization for the ultimate work of wresting control of the nation from the capitalist parties. Gustav Noske, whose candidacy for the Reichstag was barred by the National Executive, appears rather peeved at its action, as he has written a letter taking exception to its reference to his being too busy as President of Hanover Province to attend to possible Reichstag duties. Noske avers that he is quite able to fight the attempts of the Guelphs to carry the plebiscite of May 18 in favor of setting up a separate State of Hanover, inside the German commonwealth but independent of Prussia, and to carry on a Reichstag campaign as well.

Unions Issue Election Appeal
An election appeal issued by the General Federation of Trade Unions lays great stress upon the necessity of electing a Reichstag committed to the maintenance of the republic, the defense of social legislation and the carrying out a sensible reparation policy. Although the leaders of the Federation are nearly all Social Democrats the appeal doesn't mention any party by name.

Monarchist Spoils in Thuringia
Since the triumph of the bourgeois "law and order block" over the Socialists in the recent Diet election in Thuringia, the victorious parties have been busy throwing out Socialist and Republican members of the various ministries and public services, according to an article in the Berlin Vorwärts. It is declared that practically all the vacancies thus created are being filled with monarchists.

FRANCE

Le Mans Far to the Left

With the election on March 23 of seventeen candidates of the Left Bloc, composed of Socialists, Independent Socialists and Radicals, the city council of the City of Le Mans is made up of thirty Socialists and Radicals and six representatives of the Right. The list backed by the Left Bloc received 7,000 votes, against 3,500 for the Poincaré list, labeled moderate Republican, and 300 for the Communists.

Trade Unions Present Program
In view of the coming general election of May 11 the General Council of the French Federation of Labor recently met and laid down a program of minimum political demands which must be met by candidates wishing the votes of organized workers. The leading points of this program, which is being put before the workers by means of leaflets, the Labor press and district conferences, include general amnesty and re-instatement of the railroad men discharged after the last big strike; general recognition of trade union rights, not only in France proper, but in the colonies and mandated territories; workers' insurance; recognition of the eight-hour day and ratification of the convention on that subject adopted by the Washington Conference of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations; the building of cheap dwellings; abolition of indirect taxes; a capital levy; transfer to the State of

oil refineries, the sugar industry and general insurance; workers' right to joint control of industries, and the formation of a National labor council.

SWITZERLAND

Gains in St. Gall Canton

Three seats were gained by the Social Democratic party in the Grand Council of St. Gall in the recent elections, bringing the Socialist members up to twenty-six, against seventy-seven Conservatives, fifty-seven Liberals, and thirteen Democrats. The Communists lost their only seat.

Party Notes

The New Leader, in requesting all Party officials to send in the news of their branches and locals, again urges that all items intended for insertion in any issue be in this office not later than Tuesday. Party activities are usually planned long enough in advance to make it possible to have the notes here on time. Exceptions must be made, of course, for exceptional cases, but The New Leader cannot guarantee that any item that comes later than Tuesday will appear.

CALIFORNIA

May Day in Frisco

International Labor Day will be celebrated by the Socialists of San Francisco at the Golden Gate Commandery Hall, 2137 Sutter avenue. There will be speaking, dancing and good fellowship.

"Patriotic" Murderers

The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of California wired Senator B. K. Wheeler of Montana upon the release of the amazing press statement by the G. O. P. press bureau in their attack upon him, in which it was stated that "patriotic" citizens of Butte lynched Frank Little, as follows: "Hon. Burton K. Wheeler, Washington, D. C. Since the Republican National Committee bureau professes to know who kidnapped, mutilated and murdered Frank Little in Butte in 1917, and has not revealed the names of the criminals to the proper magistrates, but has concealed and protected them, we urge that you secure the indictment of the bureau officials as accessories to the crime. It is infamous that the responsible agents of the party in control of the Federal Government should justify lynch law and glorify the murder of a workingman in the name of patriotism."

"Socialist Party of California, 'By CAMERON H. KING, 'Chairman.'"

MISSOURI

Kansas City Free Speech Case
The first of the two cases against Esther Friedman—that of disturbing the peace at an open-air meeting in Kansas City, Mo., on August 30, 1923—was tried March 31st and resulted in conviction and a fine of \$400 and costs. It was necessary to furnish \$1,000 bond to keep Mrs. Friedman from being sent to jail immediately. After a conference of the local members, it was decided to file a plea for a new trial, and this was done April 5. This will very likely be denied, in which event it will be taken to the Court of Appeals where the case may be thrown out, dismissed, returned for new trial, or judgment confirmed. In the event the fine is upheld, the local must be in a position to pay it with accrued costs.

The most intense prejudice was shown against Comrade Friedman in the trial, and her conviction was predetermined. The second case, in which Mrs. Friedman is charged with obstructing the highway in the meeting last August, was set for April 14.

A more decent attitude was shown the eight local members of the Socialist Party who were jointly charged with Mrs. Friedman. All were discharged with the exception of the local secretary, and his fines were finally reduced to one dollar and costs in each case. The fact that Mrs. Friedman was a national representative of the Socialist Party seems to have aroused a bitter antagonism in the court which was shown toward her throughout the trial in the most amazing manner. The members of Local Kansas City call upon the State and National offices of the Socialist Party to assist them in carrying this case to the higher court. Already a large sum has been expended. The resources of the members have been taxed to the utmost to raise the necessary cash bond. They must have help. Contribute to this cause at once. Send your money to the National Office of the Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill., and it will be forwarded immediately to those who are conducting the defense in Kansas City. There is a heavy expense in legal fees and court costs which must be met at once.

ILLINOIS

May Day in Chicago

The Socialists of Chicago will celebrate May Day with a meeting and concert at the Workmen's Circle auditorium, Ogden and Kedzie. George R. Kirkpatrick will be the principal speaker.

At the primaries April 8, a full State ticket of the Socialist Party was nominated. Congressmen were also nominated in 22 districts in the State, and a full county ticket nominated in Cook County.

At the recent general membership meeting of Local Cook County,

plans were taken up for the coming campaign and candidates nominated for delegates to the National Convention which meets in Cleveland on July 6. Eleven delegates will be selected from Illinois by referendum vote of the membership. Two delegates to attend the Conference for Progressive Political Action will be elected by the incoming State Central Committee.

State Secretary W. R. Snow made a trip recently down State, and reports a fair attendance at his meetings at Canton, Farmington, Galva and other places. Preparations are being made for the routing of a number of speakers through the State as soon as weather conditions will permit of street meetings.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Socialists held a vast mass meeting in the Auditorium, April 15, to celebrate the triumphant reelection of Mayor Dan Hoan. The great hall was jammed, and Hoan read to his fellow Socialists the inaugural address that he had read earlier in the day to the City Council in the City Hall, thus taking the entire city into his confidence.

The previous evening, Hoan was the guest of honor at a banquet tendered by the Jewish Comrades to the men who had made a fight on the city ticket.

KENTUCKY

Word comes that in Western Kentucky, one time a stronghold of the Socialist Party but of late years in a disorganized condition, the war hysteria has abated and the Ku Kluxers are on the wane. John L. Wrather, an old time hustler, has agreed to go into the field for the next six months and get that part of the State again in line.

WEST VIRGINIA

A State convention has been called in West Virginia on May 4, and plans are under way for having an active campaign in the State this year.

OHIO

In a recent State election, Oscar K. Edelman was reelected State Secretary without opposition. Joseph W. Sharts was elected as delegate to the National Convention. The Ohio comrades are preparing for a vigorous campaign and will tour their candidate for Governor, Comrade Sharts, over the State in a "Red Special" automobile. The work of getting signatures to their petition in order to get on the ballot this year will be pushed as rapidly as possible.

CONNECTICUT

State Secretary Martin F. Plunkett sends out a splendid report of party activities in his State during the month of March. New locals have been organized in Hartford, Waterbury and Derby, and these organizations are already busy with party work and in taking subscriptions for The New Leader.

A new Finnish local was organized in New Haven with 25 members.

May Day in Bridgeport

The Socialists of New Haven will celebrate International Labor Day with a mass meeting. Jasper M. Levy, State organizer of the Party, will be the principal speaker.

Local Bridgeport is active and is holding successful meetings each Saturday evening with August Claessens as lecturer. These meetings are well attended and are financially successful. The big event of the season was the meeting held April 4 with Frau Adele Schreiber as the speaker. Local New London has also been conducting an Open Forum. At a recent one, the speaker was Dr. John W. Miller, of the Connecticut College for Women. The sale of voluntary assessment stamps is being pushed and good reports are sent to the National Office. Comrade William James Morgan, who has served so successfully as secretary, has temporarily resigned his office in order to take a trip to England and learn how the workers put it over, over there. Comrade G. H. George is in charge of local affairs. Arrangements have been made for Comrade Claessens to tour the State during May, and the annual State picnic is to be held at New Haven in June.

DEATH NOTICE

MARY MCGUIRE, 415 West 37th street, New York, an active member of Local New York, 34, 5th and 10th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party, died Wednesday, April 16. Funeral services on Saturday from the Undertaker's Establishment of Coughlin & Poole, 881 Tenth avenue, between 57th and 58th streets.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

Alfred Baker Lewis and Albert Weisbord have been secured as organizers for the New England District from May until election. The General District Committee of the New England Organization District has elected an executive literature committee to see that proper literature is secured for the campaign. George E. Roewer, Jr., is chairman.

MONTANA

Esther Friedman Dates

Billings, April 12; Red Lodge, April 13; Bear Creek, April 15; Roundup and vicinity, April 17 to 19, inclusive; Great Falls and vicinity, including Belt, Stockett, Sand Coulee and Fort Shaw, April 20 to 25, inclusive; Whitefish, April 26; Kalispell and vicinity, April 27 to 29.

James D. Graham, State secretary of Montana, writes:

"Have received an application for charter from Florence, Montana, twenty-six members, including duals and members-at-large. Florence is a farming community in the Bitter Root Valley in the Western part of the State. No Farmer-Labor Party for them—straight Socialist. The organizing of a local at Florence is the result of Emil Herman's work, so he will have to stand the blame for it. Emil is a good worker. Have good prospect for a few more locals—expect to reorganize Roundup. Great Falls will arrange two meetings for Esther Friedman, one in the afternoon for women and then a regular night meeting. Expect Kalispell and Whitefish to arrange afternoon meetings also, as well as evening meetings. Things are looking brighter for the Party in the State and will file our petitions for our Presidential electors soon."

PENNSYLVANIA

Lena Morrow Lewis of California, will speak at Reading, Friday April 18, at the Labor Lyceum, the first meeting of her tour of the State for the State office and The New Leader. John B. Schlessman, a guard on the Pennsylvania Railroad, was killed at Steelton last week, in a heroic rescue of a young girl, Helen Bajole, four years old. The award of a Carnegie medal for heroism, posthumously, is being discussed. Schlessman was 49 years old, and for over 20 years he was an active and tireless worker in the Socialist Party. He is survived by his widow and three daughters.

NEW JERSEY

A class in economics and public speaking has been organized in Newark, by Branch No. 1, with Comrade Henry Jager as teacher. The class meets every Wednesday evening. All wishing to join this class should communicate with Mrs. Alexander, 29 Tichenor street, Newark, N. J., or phone Mulberry 2715.

An interesting meeting of the North End Branch of Newark, was held Thursday, April 10. Due stamps amounting to \$15 were sold and \$7 paid for National assessment stamps. It was decided to purchase a thousand of Congressman Berger's speech for distribution. The three delegates to the March State Convention were again elected to the July convention.

NEW YORK

Official State Committee
The official State Committee of the Socialist Party, elected at the primaries April 1, met Saturday at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, and reelected S. John Block as State chairman, and Herbert M. Merrill as secretary of the official State committee.

The following official State executive was elected: Herman Kobbe, Henry O. Williams, Theresa B. Wiley, Charles W. Noonan, William M. Feigenbaum, Julius Gerber, Fred Arland, Louis Waldman, and Fred Sander.

Several minor changes were made in the rules of the committee, and other routine matters taken care of. The meeting was well attended, delegates appearing from all New York City counties and a number of up-State counties.

The State executive committee met Saturday night in the office of The New Leader, and transacted a

large amount of routine business. Considerable progress was reported in the Party organization in every part of the State. A charter was granted to Local Oneida County. It is planned to issue a call shortly for motions for the agenda of the State convention, which is to be held in New York in July.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Recently a meeting of the legal County Committee of the Socialist Party of Erie County was held and the following officers were elected: Chairman, Irving M. Weiss; Secretary, Robert A. Hoffman; Treasurer, Charles H. Roth; Executive Committee, Bessie I. Yokom, Ralph E. Horne, Irvine Schnabel, Edward H. Stumpf, I. B. Taylor and Charles A. Myers. This meeting was unusually well attended and several applications for membership in the dues-paying organization were received.

MANHATTAN

Mary McGuire Dies

The Comrades will be grieved to hear of the death of Mary McGuire, of 415 West 37 street. Comrade McGuire was 63 years old and died suddenly at her home Wednesday night. She had been a member of the old West Side Branch and of the 3rd, 5th and 10th for over 20 years, and before that she had been a member of the Party in Philadelphia for over ten years. She made her home with her brother, who survives her.

New Socialist Alderkid

Announcement is made of the arrival of Miss Beckerman, daughter of Anna Beckerman and former Alderman Beckerman, Mrs. Beckerman, prior to her marriage to the then supposed incurable bachelor, was Anna Berman, one of the most active members of the 6th A. D. of Local New York. The child's vocal powers, undoubtedly inherited from her father, are in excellent conditions. Comrades will be delighted to hear the news, and The New Leader joins the entire movement in wishing the new child and her mother well. The father doesn't need any such wishes.

EAST SIDE CENTER BAZAAR

The annual bazaar of the East Side Socialist Center will be held at Forward Hall, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, April 25, 26 and 27. The proceeds will be for the benefit of the work of the Center.

Rand School of Social Science

7 EAST 15th STREET

Saturday, April 19, 1:30 P. M.

SCOTT NEARING

"Can Dawes Save Europe?"

3:15 P. M.

HEYWOOD BROWN

"Confessions of a Dramatic Critic"

Saturday, May 10, 3:30 P. M.

BERTRAND RUSSELL

"How to Secure World Peace"

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DEBATE

IS THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY REVOLUTIONARY?

No! BERTRAND RUSSELL | Yes! MORRIS HILLQUIT

— CARNEGIE HALL —

MONDAY, MAY 5, 8:00 P. M.

Tickets now on sale at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street: \$2, \$1.50, \$1, 75c, 50c.



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? "Is the Socialist Party Jeopardizing Its Revolutionary Aims and Principles?" ?
By Participating in the Conference for Progressive Political Action?" ?

SCOTT

NEARING

Says YES!

NORMAN THOMAS,

Chairman

CHARLES

SOLOMON

Says NO!

TUESDAY EVENING
APRIL 29

Rand School Auditorium,
7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

Tickets—Limited Amount Available—for sale at Rand School Office, and Room 604, 7 East 15th Street; The Forward Building, 175 E. Broadway; 1167 Boston Road, N. Y. C., and 187 Tompkins Avenue, Brooklyn.

AUSPICES, FREE YOUTH

THE FORUM
CALENDAR

FRIDAY, APRIL 18

The Bronx

JEROME T. DE HUNT, "Labor's Next Step," 4218 Third Avenue. Auspices, 7th A. D. Socialist Party.

Reading, Pa.

LENA MORROW LEWIS, Labor Lyceum. Auspices, Local Reading and State Office, Socialist Party.

SATURDAY, APRIL 19

Meriden, Conn.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Is the Condition of the Masses Growing Better or Worse?" I. C. Lewis Community Building. Auspices, Socialist Party.

Bridgeport, Conn.

David P. BEKENBERG, "Socialism and Barbarism," 560 Fairfield Avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party.

SUNDAY

Manhattan

LOUIS WALDMAN and JOHN S. SUMNER, Debate on "Clean Books"; WILLIAM A. BRADY, Chairman. Cooper Union, 8th Street and Third Avenue. Auspices, East Side Educational Forum. 2 p. m.

S. P. KRAMER, "Current Events," 204 East Broadway. Auspices, East Side Socialist Center.

LOUIS WALDMAN, "The Importance of Political Action in the Labor Movement," 73 St. Marks Place. Auspices, 8th A. D. Socialist Party.

New Haven, Conn.

JAMES B. FURBER, "Experiences of a Socialist Mayor," Trades Council Hall, 215 Meadow Street. Auspices, Socialist Party Forum.

MONDAY

Monticello, N. Y.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Oil, Graft and Corruption," Workmen's Circle Hall. Auspices, Workmen's Circle.

TUESDAY

Brooklyn

JAMES ONEAL, "Some Forgotten Chapters in American History," Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P. Auspices, Socialist Party, Second A. D. Branch 2.

JOSEPH A. WHITEHORN, "The Third Party," 1336 Lincoln Place. Auspices, 17th and 18th A. D. Socialist Party.

WEDNESDAY

Manhattan

JAMES ONEAL, "The Labor Party," 204 East Broadway. Auspices, East Side Socialist Center.

Brooklyn

MORRIS PARIS, Lecture on Psychology, 1709 Pitkin Avenue. Auspices, 23rd A. D. Socialist Party.

Trenton, N. J.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, "Can Wealth Be Distributed More Equitably?" 139 Mercer Street. Auspices, Socialist Party.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Italian Branch

Giralomo Valenti, Speaker.

Saturday

Bleeker and McDougall Street.

Monday

12th Street and First Avenue.

Wednesday

39th Street and 9th Avenue.

FRIDAY, APRIL 25

62nd Street and Second Avenue.

SATURDAY, APRIL 26

Stone and Pacific Avenues, Brooklyn.

BROOKLYN

Flatbush Branch

James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, will speak for Branch 2, Second A. D., on Tuesday, on "Some Forgotten Chapters of American History." The meeting will be held at the Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P.

17th and 18th A. D.

Comrades and sympathizers living in the 17th and 18th Assembly Districts of Brooklyn, should immediately get in touch with the branch which is now being developed there. Meetings are held every Tuesday night at the new headquarters, 1336 Lincoln Place, near Utica Avenue, 8 p. m. The branch is off, with a flying start, having a fine group of comrades (now 26 in number) in good standing. Just watch them grow. An interesting lecture or discussion follows each meeting.

On March 22, Comrade Whitehorn will address the branch on "The Third Party." All who are interested are cordially invited to attend, without obligation. For further information, address Organizer A. H. Shulman, 1336 Lincoln Place or Secretary L. Zicht, 2020 Dean Street, Brooklyn.

REVIVAL IN JAMAICA

Barnet Wolff will speak at a revival meeting of Branch Jamaica, Friday, April 25, on "Oil Scandals and the Socialist Remedy." The lecture will be held at Fraternity Hall, 22 Herriman Avenue, just off Fulton Street, Jamaica.

WEISBORD AND THE YIPSELS

Albert Weisbord, national director of the Y. P. S. L., will meet the local officials of the Yipseles at the annual Easter gathering at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, Room 609, Saturday, April 19. The meeting is called for 5 p. m.

Under Socialism there would be freedom, and man would be master of himself. At present he is at best the paid hireling of another, or at worst begging for God and pity's sake to be made another's hireling.—Keir Hardie.

The rich will do anything for the poor, except get off their backs.—Count Tolstoy.

PORTO RICAN SOCIALISM

By ANTONIO JULIO COLORADO

The following interesting article indicates a division in the Socialist movement of Porto Rico with which we have been acquainted for some time. A majority of the comrades oppose independence, because they fear the return of the old Spanish ruling class and they point to the fact that politicians of this class have sent missions to Washington urging independence. Comrade Colorado's article presents the other side of the question.

In the issue of The New Leader for March 15, there is an article by Comrade William A. Toole concerning the Porto Rican Socialist movement. The article in question gives an accurate summary of the movement in the island. Senator Iglesias has succeeded by his energetic campaign in giving the laborers a class consciousness and has raised them, as far as circumstances allow, above the level of human machines. The Socialist Party in Porto Rico is today one of the determining political forces of that country. The statistical data given by the comrade is fairly accurate, but the problem which Porto Rico faces, I believe, treated from a wrong viewpoint. It is my duty, as a native of the island, and as a Socialist, to raise my voice in behalf of the truth. I appeal to the sense of justice of my continental comrades for a fair hearing.

The Porto Rican problem is not essentially economic, as Senator Iglesias assures us. The present condition of the political status of the island urges a prompt settlement. Power to deal with the economic situation can only emanate from one source: Power to deal with the political situation. Porto Rico is practically a colony of the United States. It occupies essentially the same position in relation to the United States, as did the thirteen American colonies to England before the Revolution. The war for independence in this country was a struggle for political freedom of power to deal with economic situations. There cannot be economic freedom side by side with political slavery. This is as true now as it was then and Porto Rico realizes this fact now as the thirteen colonies realize it then.

No Definite Aim

The Socialist Party of Porto Rico seems to assume a position which in fact belongs to non-political entities such as the American Federation of Labor. Its program contains no political issue. There is no supreme aspiration; there is no definite aim. The overthrow of the present capitalistic system, a condition essential to the establishment of Socialism, finds no place in the Socialist Party of Porto Rico. They fight capitalists, not capitalism. They struggle for betterment of condition, not for removal of the causes. In a sovereign nation this position may be justifiable, but certainly not in Porto Rico. If Mexico were not a sovereign nation, the land would not have been turned back to the Indians and President Obregon would not have been in a position to face the economic situation and adopt measures against the invasion of American capitalism.

But the comrades in Porto Rico seem to forget the obvious truth; that unrestricted political action is necessary to bring about economic changes and that this unrestricted political power cannot be had under a colonial regime nor under an autonomic charter.

They impeach the "petite bourgeoisie," forgetting the imperial eagle of American capitalism, which really controls the Porto Rican market and indirectly determines the earning limits of Porto Rican workers. Capitalism has no nationality. It is a universal evil.

Porto Rico's Past

Porto Rico has been for a quarter of a century under a most restrictive political slavery. The result of this political slavery is economic misery. The aim of any political party under these circumstances should be to solve, first, the political situation and then the economic one. In the meantime a struggle for the betterment of the long-enslaved workers is perfectly justified, but to regard the latter as excluding the first is most illogical and yet this is the position assumed by the Porto Rican Socialist Party.

The problem to be solved in the United States and all through the world is essentially economic, I admit, but the world is an aggregation of nations, each functioning independently and handling its own national affairs as a separate political entity. A country such as Porto Rico, not being a separate political unit, with no sovereignty of its own, can only function and legislate within the narrow limits of the political charter granted by the ruling nation. Within these limits there is little hope of solving anything. What can Comrade Iglesias and all the electoral power of Porto Rico do against the supreme veto and authority of the representative of the industrial empire of capitalistic America? If in this country, an independent nation, the ruling capitalistic class has a chance

to exercise its tricky art of stealing our votes, in violation of constitutional laws, what can they not do in Porto Rico, where the shameful organic charter, which makes the governor an imperial dictator, is the only thing necessary to violate?

Honesty of Leaders

An obvious question arises here. Why does not the Porto Rican Socialist Party assume a position in accordance with the situation? The sole explanation we might give must be discarded if we acknowledge, as we do, the sincerity and honesty of the leaders of the movement, some of them friends of mine.

But let us venture to assume that the Socialist Party of Porto Rico decides to adopt a political issue. Statehood? Colony? Autonomy? Independence? The first, statehood, besides being impracticable for economic reasons, is incompatible with Socialism. An American state is a political body subordinated to the Federal authority of a capitalistic empire. Of the second, colonial status, we have had sufficient taste. It is worse than the subordination of the first. The third, autonomy, we need not consider here for it is only an indefinite, transitory status.

The fourth? Yes. That is the only one which comes within the true spirit of Socialism as I understand it. A Porto Rican republic, incorporated in the second international, or a Soviet republic, or a workers' republic, or whatever you want to call it, but a free country, living its own life, practicing its own creed.

Internationalism? Yes, indeed, internationalism, the brotherhood of man, the supreme aspiration of humanity. But slaves are bad brothers. They are bound by the links of a dreadful chain and not by true understanding and toleration of common needs and mutual aspirations. Internationalism does not mean identity, but harmony between different entities and the development and conservation of different emotional and ethical characteristics of peoples does not exclude the ideal of internationalism, but rather includes it by definition.

Socialism More Than Bread

I am not an intransigent and orthodox nationalist per se. I love and respect the colors of my yet-to-be flag, not because they are colors more or less beautifully arranged, but because they stand for what I deem true liberty. Not my own private petty liberty, but of every Porto Rican, the welfare and the freedom of all the long-suffering slaves of modern industrialism in Porto Rico.

Socialism, as I understand it, is more than a mere bread and butter question. Slaves may eat a lot; yet they are slaves.

Socialism is both bread and lib-

THE CONGRESS AND
THE SUPREME COURT

Long before he ever thought of becoming President, the late Woodrow Wilson severely criticized the idea that Congress cannot curb and restrict the powers of the Supreme Court of the United States. Forty years ago in his book, "Congressional Government," he dealt a blow to some political superstitions. It is opportune to recall what he wrote. The following significant passages are worth remembering:

"Congress may forestall an adverse decision by summarily depriving the court of jurisdiction over the case in which such a decision was threatened, and that even while the case is pending; for only a very small part of the jurisdiction of even the Supreme Court is derived directly from the Constitution. Most of it is founded upon the judiciary act of 1789, which, being a mere act of Congress, may be repealed at any time that Congress chooses to repeal it. Upon this judiciary act, too, depend not only the powers but also the very existence of the inferior courts of the United States, the circuit and district courts; and their possible fate, in case of a conflict with Congress, is significantly foreshadowed in that act of 1802 by which a Democratic Congress swept away, root and branch, the system of circuit courts which had been created in the previous year, but which was hateful to the newly-successful Democrats because it had been officered with Federalists in the last hours of John Adams' administration."

"This balance of judiciary against legislature and executive would seem, therefore, to be another of those ideal balances which are to be found in the books rather than in the rough realities of actual practice; for manifestly the power of the courts is safe only during seasons of political peace when parties are not aroused to passion or tempted by the command of irresistible majorities." (pp. 39-40).

erty; bread for the body and bread for man's inner emotional self which craves for freedom. My Porto Rican comrades seem to forget this. Let us have food and clothing and shelter for those who give their energies in behalf of humanity but let us grant them freedom, too. The first without the second could not exist; but granted that it could, the bread would taste bitter, the clothing would be ragged, the shelter miserable.

If both can be had under Porto Rican Socialism, I am with my comrades; if not, I will see that my comrades are with me.

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.

THE STATE AND THE WORKING CLASS

By FREDERICK ENGELS

In "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific"

WHILE the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. While it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialized, into State property, it shows itself the way to accomplishing this revolution. The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property.

But, in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the State. That is, of an organization of the particular class which was pro tempore the exploiting class, an organization for the purpose of preventing any interference from without with the existing conditions of production, and therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage-labor). The State was the official representative of society as a whole; the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only in so far as it was the State of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole; in ancient times, the State of slave-owning citizens; in the Middle Ages, the feudal lords; in our own time, the bourgeoisie.

When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains necessary. The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production.

The State is not "abolished." It dies out. This gives the measure of value of the phrase "a free State," both as to its justifiable use at times by agitators, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency, and also of the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the State out of hand.

TALKS TO PARTY MEMBERS

By AN OLD TIMER

1. Socialist Party and Labor Party

It seems fairly probable that the convention which is to meet at Cleveland on the Fourth of July will establish on a national scale in this country a Labor party comparable with that which was launched in Great Britain eighteen years ago. Very likely the party thus brought into existence will not be an altogether perfect expression of working-class interests and ideals. There will be room for growth and improvement. But the essential thing will be the acceptance of the principle of independent political action by and for the working people. A party distinct from the two old parties of capitalism, and composed in the main of international trade unions and other Labor organizations will have within itself the power to cure its own defects and to become an ever more effective instrument for the remodeling of society on the lines of industrial democracy.

Three years ago at Detroit the Socialist Party definitely expressed the hope which may now be realized at Cleveland, and declared its own readiness, not to abdicate in favor of such a party, but to cooperate in creating it and carrying on its work. That decision was in thorough accord with the fundamental principles of the Socialist movement and with its best practice ever since 1848.

We have kept the pledge we gave at Detroit. Within the Conference for Progressive Political Action we have worked patiently and in good faith. We have never tried to capture the movement, to force its hand, or to get it committed to anything it could not wholeheartedly accept. Whatever gains we have made are therefore real gains. And the chief gain is that in large measure we have overcome the distrust with which Socialists have hitherto been regarded by a great part of the organized working people of this country.

The one regrettable feature of the situation is that some Socialists seem to have a mistaken idea as to what the coming of a Labor party will mean and should mean to the Socialist Party. They think of the Labor party as taking our place, relieving us from responsibility, and giving us an opportunity to rest on our laurels.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The sooner this misunderstanding is got rid of, the better for all concerned.

If the Labor party is formed, it will include the Socialist Party as one of its component parts—not a very large one numerically, but highly important from every other point of view. Instead of taking a burden off our shoulders, it will call upon us to do more and better work than ever before. It will give us immense opportunities—not for the glory of leadership, but for steady and fruitful service to our class and our ideal. It will enable us to func-

tion, no longer as a sect offering social salvation to those who may deign to listen to us, but as an integral part of the great body of American Labor, awakened and mobilized for action.

Whether the Labor party, being once launched, shall rapidly grow in numbers and effectiveness or shall fall short of the hopes it has aroused and add one more to the tragedies of American political history, will not indeed depend upon us alone. But our power to help is so great that, should we fail to do our part, we cannot escape moral responsibility for any shortcomings.

If a Labor party is not formed, the Socialist Party still has the same imperative reasons for existence that it has had in the past. If one is formed, then the Socialist Party has yet a great added reason to exist. And we should not wait till July before we get ready to work.

Hillquit and Russell
to Debate Labor Party

Members of the Socialist Party and the Trade Union and Labor movements will be interested in the debate between Bertrand Russell, well-known scientist and philosopher, who is now touring in the West of this country, and Morris Hillquit, on the question, "Is the British Labor Party Revolutionary?"

Hillquit will maintain that it is, while Russell will take the position that it is not.

The debate will be held in Carnegie Hall, on Monday evening, May 5, under the auspices of the Rand School. Tickets are now on sale at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street; at The New Leader, Room 507, 7 East 15th Street, and at the Forward Building, 175 East Broadway.

Rand School Notes

On Saturday afternoon, April 19, at 3:15 p. m., Heywood Brown, dramatic editor of the New York World, is lecturing at the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, on the topic, "The Confessions of a Dramatic Critic."

At 1:30 p. m., on April 19, Scott Nearing will discuss the question, "Can Dawes Save Europe?" in his Current Events class at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

On Thursday evening, April 24, at 8 p. m., August Claessens will give his last lecture in his course on "Sex and Society." He will discuss "Mental Differences of Men and Women."

Owing to the fact that the house has been sold out for Bertrand Russell's lecture on May 3, Mr. Russell has been secured for an extra lecture on May 10 on the topic, "How to Secure World Peace." Tickets for this lecture are now on sale.

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TWENTY YEARS OF LABOR

A Review by James Oneal

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, 1840-60. By Norman Ware, Professor of Sociology, University of Louisville. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. \$2.50.

Owing to the increasing intensity of the struggle over slavery in the two decades considered in this volume, it has been assumed by historians that this period marked a decline of the labor struggle and labor organization. The author of this book, which is one of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx Prize Essays in Economics, shows that the period is of considerable interest in the rise of the modern working class and the changes brought by the industrial revolution.

Into this period was crowded the defensive movements of the workers engaged in small shop production to prevent their reduction to a servile status as commodities ground up in the factory system. This struggle they lost. The machine and factory system crushed the handicrafts, swept them aside, and drew the workers into the plants of the mill owners. The forties witnessed the end of the struggle to retain the old status. The fifties brought the aggressive movements "seeking positive gains of a material sort for special groups of workers more favorably situated than the common run." The first was a denial of the inevitable tendencies of the industrial revolution; the second accepted these tendencies as facts.

Throughout the whole period the workers often gave evidence of their understanding of the class antagonism which the new industrial era was bringing. For example, the National Typographical Convention in 1850 declared: "It is useless for us to disguise from ourselves the fact that, under the present arrangement of things, there exists a perpetual antagonism between Labor and Capital . . . one side striving to sell their labor for as much, and the other striving to buy it for as little, as they can." Over and over again, as the significance of the new capitalism dawned upon the organized workers, we come across similar statements. It would be well for those who contend that class consciousness is an evil "importation" to give some explanation of this native origin of the idea of class solidarity against the capitalist owners of industry.

With the dawn of class consciousness at this early period we might expect the labor movement to be more powerful than it is today, but two factors intervened. These were the influence of the frontier and the Civil War. Of the frontier the author writes:

"One of the most significant general ideas in American history has been the place of the frontier in the making of the national mind. But the frontier had a bigger place than is discoverable from a study of the frontiersman. A considerable part of the significance of the frontier lies behind the frontier. In one sense, the westward expansion of the American people was a flight from the new industrialism. This flight was the salvation of the individual worker, but it meant the destruction of his plans and organization. The constant breaking-up of the labor and reform movements was due primarily to the extreme instability of the industrial population, an instability created, on the one hand, by the

frontier outlet and, on the other, by the inflow of the immigrant."

The new capitalism brought with it the paternalism of the mill owners of New England and economic mastery gave them a sense of political dominion which they exercised even to ordering the workers how they should vote. The Massachusetts Legislature swarmed with the tools of the new industrial rulers and even clergymen translated the economics of the new era into religious cant. Meantime the degradation of the working class proceeded. For a part of this period the workers lost in real wages and their standard of living was depressed while the incomes of the capitalist class rapidly increased. The evidence is overwhelming that the degradation of the British workers that accompanied the rise of the factory system in England, and which is now regarded as one of the blackest pages in modern English history, was experienced in about the same degree by the working class of New England. In this respect two chapters in this book equal the tale of British factory horrors.

This period was also the era of the reformers of all types, with the Utopian Socialists playing a prominent part in the labor and reform movements. Fourierism in its American guise "was itself a highly respectable doctrine, not at all revolutionary, but rather a back-fire for revolution." Brisbane, Greeley and others, in view of the author, saw in the new capitalism the economic forces that led to revolution and they sought reconciliation between the classes that would bring peace and order into the new system. The uncertain and crude theories of the reformers of the period corresponded to the uncertain character of the changing capitalism of the time. Yet here and there appear flashes of insight that are remarkable. The following declaration of a committee of the Mechanics' and Laborers' Association of Boston in 1845 is an example of Socialist reasoning several years before the writing of the Communist Manifesto:

"The direction and profits of industry must be kept in the hands of the producers. Laborers must own their own shops and factories, work their own stock, sell their own merchandise, and enjoy the fruits of their own toil. Our Lowells must be owned by the artisans who build them and the operatives who run the machinery and do all the work. And the dividend, instead of being given to the idle parasites of a distant city, should be shared among those who perform the labor . . ."

Such declarations are evidence of the fact that Socialist ideas are born of the capitalist system independent of any alien propaganda. The above is a crude forecast of the modern Socialist program of the mastery of industry by the workers. The evolution of the labor movement in the twenty years before the Civil War and the social revolts that accompanied it have an excellent historian in Professor Ware. We can only wish that this work will find its way into the hands of thousands interested in the economic and social history of the United States. The book considers a neglected period, a period that is important if we are to understand the industrial revolution that laid the basis for the monstrous capitalism of the twentieth century.

Whitman to Sandburg

FROM WHITMAN TO SANDBURG IN AMERICAN POETRY. By Bruce Weirick. New York: Macmillan. \$2.00.

Attempts to sum up the achievement of a period are never-ending. The human mind seems everlastingly to try to set limits to things, and the temptation to sit down and to discuss what has been accomplished is almost irresistible. Not always is a critical summary so happy as this volume by Mr. Weirick. He has put into his effort years of patient reading, and it is evident that he has read with his mind and his sympathies, as well as with his eyes. At times the reader finds himself at variance with his judgments, the blame must be put, not on the author's failure to understand the poet in question, but on that happy perversity in nature that makes us see things differently.

So, for example, I find myself at variance with Mr. Weirick's judgment of Walt Whitman. To Mr. Weirick, Walt Whitman was a great mystic, a prophet, and in himself the type of America. To me, as the years go on, Whitman begins to smack of the commonplace, and, though I hate to say it, he even begins to taste of Main Street. From Whitman the author traces the meanderings of American verse through the balladists of the fifties, the work of Sydney Lanier, whom he treats with great tenderness, and the rather thin poetry of Joaquin Miller to the vigorous, thundering rhythms of Carl Sandburg, whom he respects and admires. He is a little too insistent on a phrase in his dispraise of the Albuminous Victorians, although his strictures of them and their poetry are well deserved.

It would take too much space to record here all that Mr. Weirick thinks and feels about the poets of our time and of the century that has passed. The book gives one a greater respect for the accomplishments of American poetry. It is a valuable handbook, and not only for those who prefer to get their impressions of poetry at second hand. It is profusely illuminated with quotations, and none of the poets quoted can complain of the selection that Mr. Weirick has made.

D. P. BERENBERG.

BOMBARDMENT

SALVOS. By Waldo Frank. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.50. Although Mr. Frank calls this "an informal book about books and plays," the reading of any of the essays brings to mind Anatole France's observation that criticism is conversation about oneself. Indeed, such is his sense of the value of Waldo Frank's dicta that the author makes no emendations or other changes in these reviews of the last six years, preferring to "make more accessible, not to amend, their informal and contemporary note." These casual jottings, "a personal palpitation of a pregnancy in American letters," he equips with a detailed index from Abelard to Zola, for the benefit of those who wish to study the health record of the fetus and the excited parent. Those whose interest is more casual will find the high blood pressure of a high-spirited colt careening through a meadow in late August, looking for good pasture and finding mainly dried grass—unless it can be that Waldo Frank is seeking dry grass to burn.

In the essays there are few flashes

AMONG THE MAGAZINES

CURRENT HISTORY

The April number of Current History carries a variety of articles of interest to Socialists and progressive trade unionists. James Oneal contributes an article on the "Changing Fortunes of American Socialism" which is a brief history of the Socialist movement in the United States since the meeting of the Emergency Convention of 1917. J. J. Smeratenco has an informative article on "The Claim of 'Nordic' Superiority" in which little is left of the pseudo-science of the Nordic chauvinists. Harold Lord Varney writes of "An American Labor Party in the Making" and a life-long intimate of Ramsay MacDonald traces the meteoric rise of the new Premier and gives an intimate study of his character. There is an intimate biographical study of Rykoff, Lenin's successor, the first published in America, and the rival claims of Moslems and Arabs following the expulsion of the Caliphate in Constantinople are treated. The Consul General of Brazil explains Brazil's military program; there is a clarifying article on the new attitude of the United States toward Latin-American revolutions; Soviet Russia's first steps toward democracy form an important chapter; the former United States Consul in Persia tells how Americans are reconstructing Persia; a professor in China relates the results of the first year of Chinese rule of Shantung. There is an interesting account of France's project of a railroad through the Sahara Desert and an article on how Japan is reducing her naval armament. The Twelve Scientific Leaders of Canada, the month's outstanding events in Science, a Survey of World Finance by Francis H. Sisson, a prominent American financier, the month's history of Fifty Nations by twelve eminent historians, are other features of this interesting number.

FIRST STORY WINS PRIZE

"Prelude," the story which was recently awarded the O. Henry Memorial Prize of the Society of Arts and Sciences, is the first story that its author has ever had published in a large periodical. The tale which heads the contents list of the O. Henry Memorial Prize volume for this year was published first in Harper's Magazine. Until then, its author, Edgar Valentine Smith, was unknown as a writer. Until he reached middle age, Smith was a lumber manufacturer whose literary efforts, he says, were limited to writing letters to lumber dealers, trying to convince them that Southern pine was an excellent building material. For the last two years, he has been a newspaperman and is now assistant editor of the Birmingham News, Birmingham, Alabama. He is a member of the "Literary Loafers," an association of congenial spirits who meet once a week at the home of Roy Octavus Cohen to discuss characters, themes and plots. It was while Mr. Smith lived in the sawmill and turpentine camps of Alabama that he came to know the "po' white trash" of which he writes in "Prelude."

The volume of "O. Henry Memorial Award Prize Stories of 1923" containing this prize story and the fifteen others chosen by the committee is now published by Doubleday, Page & Company.

of imaginative portraiture, for Mr. Frank plunges at once to the fundamental principles that seem so firmly established as the bases of his discussions. He sets them forth in the introductory paper, clearly arranged and numbered to fourteen points. After warning the reader that "quite literally, the form of our life is decomposing. And that means death," Mr. Frank indicates the avenue of resurrection. Some of the planks on his boardwalk seem weak: "Intellect has, by a juncture with the supra-conscious forces of life, erected an instrument for the apprehension of life in its full dimensions." What are the supra-conscious forces? Who has measured life to its full dimensions, that Mr. Frank can delimit them? Yet, even granting that we may leap the doubtful planks, what if the boardwalk lead to Coney Island? or even to Long Beach? Mr. Frank recognizes no way for those who would venture in other directions.

In his application of the principles he proclaims, Mr. Frank is trenchant and categorical, yet he often tempts us to coincide in his verdicts. The pithy postscripts, that explain in the mind of 1924 the utterances of earlier years, are an interesting sidelight on Mr. Frank's own differentiation.

WM. LEA.

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ATLANTIC MONTHLY

Hilaire Belloc's "The Social Contrast—Continental Americans and Insular English," is the feature article in the April Atlantic. His analysis of the attitude of the American and that of the English toward the rich is of interest as is his summing up of our culture as shown in the reception of such books as "The Outlines of History" and others of that type of which he says: "Such ephemeral books as these . . . have about them, in the eyes of cultured Europe, something comic and absurd. The musty, belated, elementary 'science' and history of their authors, half of it already proved wrong and the other half guess-work, is a joke—especially with the French, who are keenly alive to the fun of such figures. But in America I found that trumped-up stuff taken quite seriously."

Hans Coudenhove, who for the last twenty years has not approached the outskirts of civilization, tells of the Mongoloids of Africa. H. H. Powers makes a study of "The Receding Tide of Democracy"—with special reference to Lenin and Mussolini. Mary Webb has an excellent story entitled "The Prize." Gamaliel Bradford has a rather long study of Samuel Pepps and his God.

"At the Central Primary," by Earnest Elmo Calkins, is something that every school teacher and those interested in teaching should read. Olive Tilford Dargan continues her "Highland Annals." Stories of the mountaineers of that part of America which "Hell Bent for Heaven," depicts so well. "Artist and Historian," by Kirsopp Lake, "Realities of the Far East," by William Howard Gardner, "The Proletariat in Power," by Charles F. G. Masterman, an English Liberal, gives a long study of the present Labor Government in England to the discredit of the MacDonald rule—are among a few of the many articles that make the April Atlantic an unusual issue.

McBride & Co. announce a fourth printing of James Branch Cabell's latest novel "The High Place." Other books by Mr. Cabell whose continued popularity is evidenced by new editions are "Jurgens," now in its fifteenth printing, "Beyond Life" in its fifth printing and "The Cream of the Jest" and "The Rivet in Grandfather's Neck" which have just gone to press for the sixth time.

DEATHLESS DANTE

A Review by Joseph Shipley

DISCOURSES ON DANTE. By Charles H. Grandgent. Harvard University Press. \$2.25.

"For sheer beauty, for grandiose imagination, for sweetness of concept and phrase, Dante has in all time no rival but Shakespeare." Professor Grandgent speaks his preference clearly forth; indeed, he is seldom so restrained. Much in the poetry of the greatest Italian justifies the larger claim. The Vita Nuova (New Life) is as delicately beautiful a record of a developing spirit as we possess. It traces Dante's meeting with Beatrice, and the progress of his wonder about her, beyond her death. As Beatrice is the poet's guide in Paradise, the New Life is evident preparation for the Divine Comedy.

The Divine Comedy of Dante is accepted by thousands who have never read it as one of the world's greatest poems. It owes its survival to those qualities Professor Grandgent has listed, to the time-defying appeal of beauty. It exerts an especial spell upon the religious spirit. Yet there are valid reasons for the general decline of the poet's popularity, reasons that would indicate an increasing lapse into the oblivion of the schoolroom. "Despite these universal qualities, he remains a man of his own era, the interpreter, the sage, the prophet of the Middle Ages."

Homer, Dante, Shakespeare are the trilogy whose names are most frequent on the lips as the three greatest writers. Add Goethe, if you wish—still there remains a wide distinction between all the others and Dante. Homer caught the spirit of the dawn of civilization; the freshness of a people wakening into life thrills his pages; his tales appeal to the eternal child in all of us, to the youth of emotion. Shakespeare came, after life had died, on the wings of the resurrection, of the renaissance; he brings again the spirit of youth, not the heedless pagan youth of Homer, but a wiser, sadder, yet essentially eager, venturing youth, a youth of the will. Goethe bears to us an even more disillusioned awakening: "The Sorrows of Werther" is youth dismayed, despairing; yet out of the mature Goethe emerges anew the great wonder and the quest, the youth of the intellect forging the weapon of science. To all of these Dante opposes completion and age. Interpreter, sage, he may be; prophet he surely is not, for in him

the renaissance stirs unconsciously (his contributions to his successors are negligible); but in him the Dark Ages are perfectly expressed. The seven-ringed hell of Dante, all the machinery of his theology and of his science, look backward, turn upon a world that is fixed, reflect an order eternally ordained and established. Dante projects across the flush of dawning ages the shadow of the night that has drawn to its end.

In his enthusiasm for his favorite poet, Professor Grandgent occasionally trips. He declares "in prosody, then, Dante had no teacher." If by this Dr. Grandgent means that no schoolmaster dunned into the poet's ears the beat of lines and the count of syllables and the matching of rhymes, the statement is unnecessary for what great poets had such tutoring. Yet Dr. Grandgent cannot mean that Dante studied no models, had no masters whom he followed until he learned to venture alone, for the poems are full of tributes to earlier poets whom Dante studied—and Dr. Grandgent himself quotes a passage "as a tribute, offered by the disciple to the master from whose writings the pupil had acquired knowledge both of their language and of their technique." Such slips are the price of adulation, and harm the poet whom judicious praise still places high among all writers.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI. By Gilbert Chesterton. New York: George H. Doran Co., \$1.25.

Doran's Modern Readers Bookshelf promises to be a rare storehouse of good things. It is the purpose of the publishers to issue from time to time volumes of biography, history, literature and science. Gilbert Chesterton heads the new series with "St. Francis of Assisi." His appreciation of the Saint is done in Chesterton's happiest style. There are many who do not care to read of Saints; for those who do not, this little book will appeal for the beauty of its story. Other volumes announced in this series are: "Victorian Poetry," by John Drinkwater; "Everyday Biography," by J. Arthur Thomson; "The Poetry of Architecture," by Rank Rutter; "The Story of the Renaissance," by Sidney Dark; "Atoms and Elections," by J. W. N. Sullivan.

DO YOU KNOW THAT THE MODERN QUARTERLY

is the one magazine in America, consistently Marxian in character, that is devoted to the extension of Socialist theory into every field of literature and science. Already it has carried the materialist conception of history into an examination of modern psychology, criminology, literature and art. The praise that this work has received has come from newspapers and magazines as far removed as the Hakodate Shinbun in Japan and the New Age in England.

"The Modern Quarterly is different from any Socialist periodical on this side, or any that we have seen, and is extremely stimulating."—The New Age, England.

"The Modern Quarterly adds an important contribution to the list of serious magazines, and it has been remarkably well received in England as well as in this country."—The Baltimore News.

"The Modern Quarterly is a very interesting publication."—H. G. Wells.

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"It is refreshing to find in America a critical policy so thorough and consistent as yours."—The Criterion, England.

"The Modern Quarterly enters its bid for the attention of the intellectual radicals of the country."—The Evening Sun, Baltimore.

"America is waking up. The Modern Quarterly is one of the signs."—Upton Sinclair.

THE SPRING ISSUE

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF NEO-COMMUNISM

by HIAM KANTOROVITCH

Author of "The History of the American Labor Movement" and an analysis of the Russian Revolution from a strictly Marxian point of view. The article shows in what particulars the Bolsheviks were romanticists and not scientists, and in what points their value and strength lay. The critical approach is characterized by a calm and scientific dispassionateness.

MORALS AND DETERMINISM

by V. F. CALVERTON

Author of "The Great Mass Illusion" and "An Economic Approach to the Yellow Problem" which appeared in the April 12th issue of The New Leader. This is a careful examination of the nature and evolution of ethics in the light of the materialist conception of history. Psychological as well as economic determinism is shown to be a necessary part of a thorough Socialist philosophy.

MATERIALISM AND ART

by GEORGE FLECHANOFF

is an essay by the famous Marxist, who in addition to being one of the main founders of the Social Democratic Party in Russia contributed more to philosophical Socialism than any other sociologist since the death of Marx. This essay begins with a discussion of the biological interpretation of art, Darwinian aesthetics, treats Tard's theory of imitation, and later the theories of Hume and Taine, and concludes with a materialist explanation of the developments of aesthetic preferences and conceptions. Aside from his "Anarchism and Socialism" this is the first translation of any of Flechanoff's work into English.

NIGHT FIRES

by V. G. KOROLENKO

is a sketch, a poem in prose, by one of Russia's greatest literary artists. Besides these, in the ninety-four pages making up this issue, there are three chapters of "Adolf Moor," a novel, articles on "Havelock Ellis," "The Career of American Poetry," "The Trend of Modern Psychology," and "The Problem of the Neurotic."

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LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

Date for Anti-War Protest Stands

Objections by the Socialist and Labor International to the date fixed last November by the Management Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions for world-wide anti-war demonstrations this year in connection with the tenth anniversary of the beginning of the World War seem to have been of no avail, as the Bureau of the Federation at a meeting held in Amsterdam, March 19, decided that it would stick to the third Sunday in September. The Socialist International had contended that this date was not near enough to the real anniversary day, but as the Young People's Socialist International and the International Cooperative Alliance had already agreed to work together with the Amsterdam Bureau, it was thought inadvisable to change now. It is expected that the Socialist International will cooperate in the demonstrations just the same. Other business transacted at the March 19 meeting included passing on to the Management Committee, with approval, an application for admission by the trade unions of the Memel district. At the suggestion of the British unions it was decided to hold the second international conference on workers' education at Oxford next Autumn. A British trade unionist, with a consulting voice, will sit in at future meetings of the Bureau in place of J. H. Thomas, until the June Congress in Vienna.

Transport Workers Lining Up

With the adoption of Secretary Edo Fimmen's semi-annual report by the General Council of the International Transport Workers' Federation at a meeting held in Amsterdam, March 23 and 24, the admission of the following organizations was noted: Rumanian Union of Port Workers and Carters, Transport Workers' Union of Iceland, Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, Argentine Railwaymen's Confederation and the Palestine Railway and Postal Workers' Union. The Norwegian Steward's Union was suspended for non-payment of dues. It was decided to hold the next congress of the Federation in Hamburg, beginning August 7.

Plan to Aid German Seamen

At the first meeting of the Advisory Committee appointed by the Seamen's Conference of October 1, last, held in Amsterdam, March 21 and 22, it was resolved by delegates from Germany, Great Britain, France, Belgium and Holland that something must be done to raise the wages of German seamen and to support any fight they might make along the line. It was pointed out that the low wages paid in German ships not only lowered the living standards of the German workers, but also constituted a menace to the sailors of other countries.

German Dockers Not Beaten

The hard fight of the German dockers against attempts to abolish the eight-hour day has been successful and the three-shift system stands, according to late reports from Hamburg and the other North Sea ports. The men also won a slight wage increase, from \$1.10 to \$1.15 a day. The workers' principal concession was an agreement that on two of the shifts the men have to be on the job a quarter of an hour before work starts without extra pay. This is the first recorded out-and-out victory for the eight-hour day in recent German labor fights, as in most cases, while the principle is said to have been saved, there are all sorts of exceptions under which overtime may be worked. Such was the case in the agreement recently effected by the German Building Trades Union and the Munster textile workers. Wage increases were won by the building workers and the mill men.

Communists Quit "Boring"

With the dropping by the Communist agitators inside the German trade unions, of boring from within tactics on orders from Moscow, an open drive from the outside against the standard organizations seems at hand. At a meeting held in Berlin a few weeks ago at which insurgent groups of printers, clothing workers, railroaders, building workers and fur workers were represented, together with the open Communist union organization in the Rhineland called the Union of Hand and Head Workers, it was decided to form a cartel and to present a united front against the General Federation of Trade Unions. That this will lead to a general house cleaning by the big unions is hardly doubted.

Belgian Miners Gain Members

A gain of 10,000 members during the last year and a half was reported to the March convention of the Belgian Miners' Union and the treasury was reported in good shape. The Congress again passed resolutions for the nationalization of the mines and voted 50,000 francs (about \$2,750) for the beginning of a drive for such legislation.

French Railroaders for Unity

At the national congress of the French Railwaymen's Federation, held in Paris March 12, 13 and 14, a resolution was adopted favoring unity with the Communist Federation, provided that the latter would cease its unfriendly attacks, that complete independence of trade unions from political parties be recognized and that there shall be no forming of "cells" for inside Communist propaganda. Demands upon the Government for the reinstatement of the some 25,000 railroaders dismissed after the strike of May, 1920, were repeated, and the Government was also asked to keep control of the Alsace-Lorraine railroads instead of turning them over to the Compagnie de l'Est. Le Guen was elected general secretary, Jarrington and Toulouse assistant secretaries and Bidegaray propaganda secretary.

Neckwear Workers Celebrate 20th Birthday

The Neckwear Makers' Union, Local 11016, American Federation of Labor, is making preparation to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Union with a banquet which will be held on April 30 at Westminster Hall, 75 Lenox avenue.

Among the speakers will be General Organizer of the A. F. of L., Hugh Frayne, Max Pine and Morris Feinstein of the United Hebrew Trades, Judge Jacob Panken, Louis Waldman, present attorney of the Union, and Rose Schneiderman of the Women's Trade Union League.

The Arrangements Committee consists of Louis Feldman, Aaron Fleisher, J. Rosenberg and Philip Zole. There are a limited number of seats according to Ed. Gottesman, secretary of the Union.

House Wreckers

The House Wreckers' Union, Local 95 of the Hod Carriers' International Union, has won a significant victory from their employers after a one day strike. The employers granted all of the demands of the Union, an increase in wages affecting over 1,000 workers. Barmen who were getting eighty-five cents an hour to one dollar, and laborers from seventy-five cents an hour to ninety cents.

At the conference with the employers the workers were represented by their following officers: N. Marmuloff, president; Vladimir Kozloff, business agent and S. Polischuk, secretary.

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--- D R A M A ---

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"LEAH KLESCHNA," by C. M. S. McLELLAN, will be revived at the LYRIC Theatre Monday. The producer, WILLIAM A. BRADY, has selected a personnel that is "all-star" in the true sense of the word, as it numbers among its members William Faversham, Lowell Sherman, Arnold Daly, Jose Ruben, Arnold Korff, Helen Gahagan, Hubert Wilke, Katherine Alexander, Edith Barker, Mary Hone. The play has been staged by Jessie Bonstelle.

"FLAME OF LOVE," a new play by MAURICE V. SAMUELS and MALCOLM LA PRADE, will be presented by G. W. MCGREGOR at the MOROSCO, Monday night. The play is described as a romantic play of the Orient. Frank Reicher is responsible for the direction.

TUESDAY

"COBRA," a new drama by MARTIN BROWN, will open at the HUDSON Theatre, Tuesday evening, under the direction of L. LAWRENCE WEBER. The cast includes Ralph Morgan, Judith Anderson, Louis Calhern, Clara Moores, William B. Mack and others.

Martin Brown, the author, this season has to his credit "The Lady," in which Mary Nash is appearing.

"TIME IS A DREAM," translated from the French of H. R. LENORMAND, by Winifred Katzin, will open at the NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE, Tuesday night, for a run of only six performances. The drama has to do with the Einstein Theory, the film of that scientist's philosophy also will be shown as a companion piece to the play.

WEDNESDAY

"THE BRIDEGROOM" will be on hand next WEDNESDAY night at the LENOX HILL Theatre. The play is from the pen of WILLIAM HURLBURT and is announced by JOSEPH E. SHEA, the producer, as a farce.

THURSDAY

"THE DUST HEAP," a new play by BERNARD J. McOWEN and PAUL DICKEY, will open at the VANDERBILT Theatre on THURSDAY. The play is in three acts, the scenes of which are in the Canadian Yukon, and the characters are members of that far-fung community and composed chiefly of those human derelicts who have sought refuge from justice there. The company includes Inez Plummer, Louis Bannison, Adda Gleason, Albert Tavernier, William Hanley, Robert Strange, Harry R. Allen, E. J. Blunkall, George Farren, George W. Barnum, Miriam Lipps Crawford, Herbert Farjeon, John Sharkey and others. The play is staged by Mr. Dickey and produced under the management of Lyle D. Andrews in association with James Shesgreen.

"THE ADMIRAL" is announced by EQUITY PLAYERS, for six special matinees, beginning Thursday, April 24, at the 48th STREET THEATRE.

"The Admiral" is a Christopher Columbus play by CHARLES RANN KENNEDY, setting forth in five acts, by the aid of three players, Edith Wynn Matthison, Margaret Gage and Charles Rann Kennedy, the price and profit of discovering new worlds.

"The Admiral" is a comedy of purpose, written in strict form, and conveying through the picturesque and stirring happenings of the year 1492, the essential significance of our own day. Queen Isabella of Spain, Beatrice Enriquez, Christopher Columbus; these are obvious persons of the story.

In Search of Art

Provincetown Players present "The Ancient Mariner" and Moliere's "George Dandin."

The Provincetown Playhouse is indeed true to its plans: it seeks far and wide for themes and plays that test the resources of the theatre. These will be of value principally if, out of the researches and the revivals, new fresher forms arise.

So far, the restorations have been the most interesting (though probably, so far as theatrical progress is concerned, the least valuable) of the Provincetown offerings. It is hard to see just what further ideas can be gleaned from the present performances of the old, well-known "Fashion," or from the slight comedy of Moliere. Yet "Fashion" has brought "fame" to its producers, and "George Dandin" is the refreshing element of their new bill. Charles Ellis plays the part of the wealthy peasant with intelligent stupidity; under the conventions of Moliere's time, curious to us, though needlessly revived—a fully lighted stage, for example, with characters groping about, supposedly in blackest night—we see the eternal comedy of the ambitious bourgeois who has married into the aristocracy. Constantly put in his place by his parents-in-law, decided under his nose by his chit of a wife, he finds no way of remedying the situation that his ambition made.

"The Ancient Mariner" is a colorful, mystic poem in which Coleridge plays upon our imagination; the growth of his theme and the power of his music weave a strange spell on the reader. To me it seems that an attempt to make the mood visible must, destroying its mystery, vitiate its power; unseen ghosts are more frightful than real sheets or shadows; a spirit made manifest becomes a manifest fraud. O'Neill's effort is worth seeing as an attempt at dramatic recitation with the story illustrated by a background of groaning tars, but I was unpleasantly reminded of recitative artists rendering "The Face on the Barroom Floor" or "The Cremation of Gunga Din" upon the ten-twenty-third stage. E. J. Ballantine writes all over the limited space allotted him; the Wedding Guest rolls about on his trial. In the poem, the Wedding Guest serves the purpose of expressing the emotions the reader might be expected to undergo; no one I have ever met admits a desire to roll on the floor, induced by Coleridge's poem. Nor is the value apparent of the overstressed rhythmic beat: "And never a saint took pity on—long pause to indicate the end of the line—'My soul in agony'..." This over-emphasis perhaps characterizes a producer who could offer the "play" to any audience save one frankly willing to be the butt of experimentation.

J. T. S.

WILDE'S "IDEAL HUSBAND" FOR INEZ MILHOLLAND FUND

Norman Trevor of "The Goose Hangs High," will present Oscar Wilde's "An Ideal Husband," at the Hudson Theatre, Sunday evening, May 4, for the benefit of the Inez Milholland Memorial Fund. Mr. Trevor will appear in his original role of Lord Goring.

Mock Moderns

MRS. FISKE IN "HELENA'S BOYS," AT THE HENRY MILLER

Wanted a "radical" who is both intelligent and honest (or either), as character in a Broadway success. Do not apply to any Broadway playwright.

The pages of Bernard Shaw, conceivably of other contemporary writers who by a peculiar conjunction of the stars are both dramatists and honest artists, may afford some characters whose possession of ideas dubbed "modern" does not invalidate them at once from the successful consummation of the ordinary affairs of life, rendering them at once caricatures, either idiots or knaves. But the playwright whose horizon is limited by Babbitt Audiences, uses a new idea or a progressive thinker only as the butt of his humor, the target of his satire. Apparently the assumption is that thought is sufficiently remote from the audience for that body to rejoice in its belittling; one likes to see one's enemies vilified on the stage. (I do not intend to imply that the boundaries I indicate are deliberately selected by all these playwrights; many have gone through their days in an environment that allowed no idea of farther extent). Plays of this season, however, whether by distinguished visitors from abroad or by less famous though equally vociferous home talent, have especially delighted in the portrayal of the "modern" who is shown to be a fraud, of the young advanced thinkers who learn the error of their ways and comfortably return to the old conservative doctrine comfortably, of course, for the old conservatives.

With these reservations made, it can be stated that "Helena's Boys" is the best vehicle Mrs. Fiske has found in some time, and that the audience gave appreciable signs of delight in the play and in her performance. Devices used among the ancient Greeks are evidently still favorites; the chat of the two servants that opened the play wins considerable laughter; Mrs. Fiske's trick of exposing the young ones by pretending to adopt and live up to their free theories scores heavily. And at the end, when the boys, the "golden boys of Helena," go properly back upon their more restrained, well-tutored courses, the audience applauds, content in the contemplation of a well-ordered, comfortable world.

J. T. S.



MARIE SAXON

in "Mr. Battling Butler," which moves to the Times Square, Monday night. A new Spring version of the musical comedy will be on display on this occasion.

Well Expressed

"EXPRESSING WILLIE," BY RACHAEL CROTHERS EQUITY PLAYERS, AT THE 48TH STREET THEATRE

By a judicious mingling of several tried and trusty themes, and a generous spicing of wit, Rachel Crothers has built up a play that stands out in contrast to the tawdry material, cheaply handled, that so much of the season has presented. Her characters are deft, subtle beings, or at least subtler in their methods than the usual hero and villain. And the man and the girl are of comedy's most appealing types. . . . In addition to which, there is Louise Closser Hale, a mother who concentrates in herself the wit and wisdom and spunk and domineering desire of a dozen wealthy Willies.

The story is easily told: a man of wealth, nouveau riche and over-balanced by his money, desires the society that should attend on wealth—and gets it in the form of a shrewd group of sharpers and wasters. The mother sees through the self-seeking parasites, invites the sweet young girl who once had charmed her son, before ambition burned his soul. That weekend she wins him to his true self and, incidentally, to her.

While money draws schemers as naturally as honey draws flies (or bears), the group Willie gathers is well-drawn. The woman who wants him comes to his room at night in obvious fashion; of course, too, the sweet heroine manages to be there, oh, quite innocently. But the married couple is just a perfect blend: one gadabout and one silly ass. Taliaferro the artist, is a harder problem, for Wakened Willie proclaims him bunk, yet his encouragement has seemed sincere, and has served to rouse the latent spirit of Minnie Whitcomb (Crystal Herne). He is, like much genius, two-fifths inspiration and three-fifths pure fudge. Minnie is perhaps too simple a creature, but she is balanced by the sophistication Willie's mother compresses into her little body. Mrs. Smith remarks that "if we released all our suppressions we might just as well get back our tails;" and bites off the comment that she is suppressing at the moment more than many people feel in all their lives, as her son would realize to his sorrow if she let it out. Another great act of suppression occurs when the vampire visits Willie's bedroom: Minnie announces that he could not express himself because he knew she was hiding in the closet. Willie himself is so dazzled at the admiration his money wins, that he thinks himself a god, at other moments, suspecting, imagines himself nearer a tadpole. At the proper moment he discovers himself, expresses himself, and embraces the astonished Minnie—to the great delight of an audience that had long been pleasantly awaiting the moment. By poking a shrewd finger of fun, without malice, at every one of the characters, Rachel Crothers has made them more human, and her play very much worth while.

J. T. S.



JOHN BARRYMORE

comes to the Broadway Theatre next week, in a screen version of Clyde Fitch's "Beau Brummel."

"THE SWAN" FOR BENEFIT OF BUDAPEST CHILDREN

As the result of a letter from Ferenc Molnar, author of "The Swan," to Gilbert Miller, its producer, a special performance of that play will be given as a benefit for the children's hospitals of Budapest that are sorely in need of funds.

Eva Le Gallienne, Halliwell Hobbes, Philip Merivale, Basil Rathbone, Hilda Spong, Allison Skipworth, Richie Ling, Alice Johns, Henry Warwick, Alan Willey and the rest of the "Swan" cast, have announced their intention of contributing their services gratis in order that the Hungarian Minister of Health, Dr. Oscar Fodor, who is now in New York, may carry back to Hungary with him the entire proceeds of contributing their services gratis.

In the Molnar letter to "The Swan" management, the noted Hungarian dramatist comments: "You will have the blessings of many Hungarian mothers and perhaps we shall save a talented child who may prove to be a gain for the American stage."

HARRIETTE GIMBEL, one of the principal dancers of the Winter Garden revue, "Artists and Models," has won the prize of \$500 offered by the Society of Illustrators for the best drawing by a member of the company of a backstage subject in connection with the revue. Miss Gimbel's drawing shows several typical backstage groupings under the caption "We Are All Artists."

--- 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 7th Ave.

Eleanor Painter
In the High Note of Musical Comedies
THE CHIFFON GIRL

Sweetheart Night, Wed., Apr. 23
MISS PAINTER WILL PRESENT A COMPLETE AUTOGRAPHED COPY OF HER NEW SONG HIT, "WE'RE SWEETHEARTS," TO EVERY PURCHASER OF TWO ORCHESTRA SEATS FOR THAT NIGHT

SHUBERT 44th, W. of B'way, Eves. 8:30, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

"Bright With Comedy,"—Times.
"THE PERFECT REVUE"

VOGUES
with ODETTE MYRTIL
J. HAROLD MURRAY
A GREAT CAST
and ROGER WOLFES'
SYMPHONY JAZZ BAND

"BRISK HUMOR, LIVELY DANCES, SPECTACULAR SCENES,"—Telegram-Mail

WINTER GARDEN ALWAYS THE BEST SUNDAY
SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT

WINTER GARDEN Evenings at 8:15 Sharp

MATINEES TUES., THURS. & SAT. 2:15

9th MONTH
OF THE SENSATIONAL REVUE
Second Edition
ARTISTS AND MODELS
OF 1923—INCLUDING
THE NOTED RUSSIAN SOPRANO
VERA LAVROVA (Baroness Michael Royce Garrett)

ENTERTAINMENT IN NEW YORK

RICHARD HERNDON'S 39th ST. THEATRE (E. of B'way)
FRANCINE LARRIMORE
IN THE NEW HARVARD PRIZE COMEDY
"NANCY ANN"
By Dorothy Heyward
EVES. 8:30—MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:15

SAMUEL SHIPMAN'S
"CHEAPER TO MARRY"
(A Vital and Arresting Drama)
(on a Big Domestic Theme)
WITH A STUNNINGLY CAST INCLUDING
ROBERT WARWICK—ALLAN DINEHART
BERTON CHURCHILL—CLAIBORNE FOSTER
FLORENCE ELDRIDGE—RUTH DONNELLY
49th St. THEA. W. of B'WAY EVES. 8:30
MATS. WED. AND SAT. 2:30

THE PLAY WITH 1002 LAUGHS!
THE POTTERS
By J. R. McEvoy
AN INDISPENSABLE PLAY
Haywood Brown, World
EXTRA MAT. EASTER MON. APR. 21
THEA. 45th St. W. of B'WAY EVES. 8:30—MATS. THURS. AND SAT. 2:30

2d Year in New York!

JOHN GOLDEN

PRESENTS

7th HEAVEN

Comedy Drama by Austin Strong

78th Week, 657th to 664th Time

BOOTH W. 45th St. Eves. at 8:30
Reg. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

The Play that is Making History
Anne NICHOLS
RECORD-BREAKING COMEDY
2d YEAR REPUBLIC
"ABIE'S IRISH ROSE"

7TH MONTH

MORE THAN 250,000 PEOPLE HAVE SEEN

"THE SHAME WOMAN"

By LULA VOLLMER, Author of "Sun-Up"

COMEDY THEATRE

THE PLAY FOR THE MILLIONS!

41st St., East of B'way. Evenings, 8:30
Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2:30

D. W. GRIFFITH'S

"Something to be remembered,"—Times

AMERICA

By Robert W. Chambers

44th STREET THEATRE

Twice Daily, 2:30, 8:30

Prices: 50c, \$1, \$1.50

This picture will not be shown at any other theatre here this season

Elsie Ferguson in "The Moon Flower" at the Bronx Opera House

Zoe Akins made the adaptation of "The Moon Flower," the play which opens at the Bronx Opera House, Monday, with ELSIE FERGUSON and Sidney Blackmer.

"The Moon Flower," which is from a play called "The Last Kiss," written by Lajos Biro, (the author of "The Czarina") and of "The Highwayman" in which Joseph Schildkraut is now playing in Chicago.

"BLOSSOM TIME" will be the following attraction.

"Blossom Time" at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre

"Blossom Time," the love story of Franz Schubert, set to Schubert's own music, will be the attraction at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre for the week beginning Monday evening, with the original Broadway cast including Bertram Peacock, William Danforth, Zoe Barnett and Edith Thayer.

NEW SPRING EDITION SEL WYN

CHARLOT'S REVUE of 1924 West 42d St. Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

With BEATRICE LILLIE, GERTRUDE LAWRENCE and London's Favorite Comedian, NELSON KEYS

GOOD BALCONY SEATS AT \$1 AND \$1.50

AT BOX OFFICE ONLY

SEATS ON SALE EIGHT WEEKS IN ADVANCE

FREDERICK LONSDALE'S COMEDY ELTINGE

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

A REAL SPRING EDITION OF GEO. CHOOS'

MR. BATTLING BUTTLER

With CHAS. RUGGLES

FUNNIER THAN BEFORE

OPENING AT THE TIMES SQUARE THEATRE TOMORROW NIGHT

ONLY ONE BALCONY—400 SEATS at \$1.00—\$1.50

"OUTWARD BOUND" RITZ THEATRE
LIONEL ATWILL "THE OUTSIDER" AMBASSADOR

NATIONAL Thea. 41st, West of B'way

Evenings at 8

Mats. Thursday and Saturday at 2

HAMPDEN

167th TO 174th

PERFORMANCES

MAIL ORDERS WEEKS AHEAD.

Cyrano

IS THE NEW STAR IN

MOONLIGHT

A MUSICAL COMEDY GEN

LONGACRE

THEATRE: 48th ST. WEST OF B'WAY

EVES. 8:30—MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30

SEATS 8 WEEKS AHEAD

BELMONT THEATRE, 48TH STREET, EAST OF BROADWAY

EVENINGS, 8:30—MAT. THURSDAY & SATURDAY, 2:30

TARNISH

239TH TO 247TH PERFORMANCE

Notes

George Choos, producer of "Mr. Battling Butler," has accepted for immediate production a new comedy in three acts by DORRANCE DAVIS entitled, "EARLY TO BED." Ada Lewis will head the cast.

WALTER HAMPDEN is being imported by two of the leading motion picture producers to appear as "Cyrano de Bergerac" on the screen. Splendid financial inducements have been offered the actor-manager, but so far he has refused the lure. Not that Mr. Hampden has anything against the movies, but his plans for a Shakespearean season in New York next season will require all his time.

Alfred Newman, conductor of the orchestra of the Shubert Theatre, where "Vogues," the revue featuring Odette Myrtil is the attraction, will alternate with Arthur Lange, director of the Roger Wolfe Jazz Symphony Orchestra, which is a special feature of the revue, and will exchange places at the Saturday matinee performance conducting each other's orchestra.

ELSIE FERGUSON

in "The Moon Flower," at the Bronx Opera House next week.

MUSIC

Last "Opera Concert" Sunday at the Metropolitan

At Sunday night's "Opera Concert," the last of the season, JOSEPH BORIS-SOFF, violinist, will play a group of solos by Scriabine, Paganini, Kreisler and one of his compositions; LEONIDAS LEONARDI, pianist, will play Bach's Toccata e fuga e Liszt's Ballade No. 2; Mme. Roseler will sing an aria from "Aida"; Mme. Robertson, an aria from "Cavaleria Rusticana"; Mme. Anthony, an aria from "Manon Lescaut"; Mme. Wells, "Voi che sapete," from "The Marriage of Figaro"; Mme. Ryan, "Pace, pace, mio Dio," from "La Forza del Destino"; Mme. Delaunay, the Seguidilla from "Carmen"; Mme. Sparkes, Micaela's aria from "Carmen"; Mmes. Ryan and Perini and Messrs. Diaz and Gabor will sing the Quartet from "Rigoletto"; Mmes. Robertson and Egener and Messrs. Harold, Diaz, Gabor and Gustafson, the Sextet from "Lucia"; Mr. Gustafson, an aria from "The Magic Flute"; Mr. Harold, an aria from "Elisir d'amore"; Mr. Gabor, the Toreador Song from "Carmen"; Mr. Diaz, an aria from "Romeo et Juliette." The accompanists will be Messrs. Eisler and Riedel.

Paulowa at Metropolitan

The newness of the repertoire ANNA PAVLOWA is to present is increased by the addition of one new ballet and seven new diversissements for her coming two weeks at the Metropolitan Opera House.

Five new ballets and several revivals were given in her fortnight engagement in New York last October, along with some of the old favorites. The new ballet to be introduced now is called "Visions," a one-act excerpt from the larger ballet, "The Sleeping Beauty" by Tchaikowsky. The new diversissements to be introduced in the coming two weeks are the Russian peasant dances of the acrobatic type, called "Gopak," with music by Seroff; "Rondino," with Beethoven-Kreisler music; "Firtation" to Bizet's music, "Valse Caprice," by Rubinstein; "Serenade," by Drigo; "Chinese Dance," by Tchaikowsky; "Les Ondines," a short ballet from the opera "Loreley," by Catalani.

The diversissements will include also such favorites as "The Swan," "The Bacchanale," "California Poppy," "Gavotte Paviowa," the Rubinstein-Tchaikowsky "Russian Dances," "The Dragonfly," the "Dance of the Hours" and others.

The ballets for the first week are "Amarilla," "Oriental Impressions," Monday night; "Chopiniana" and "Old Russian Folk Lore," Tuesday night; "Snowflakes" and "Autumn Leaves," Wednesday night; "Visions" and "The Fairy Doll," Thursday afternoon; "A Polish Wedding" and "Amarilla," Thursday night; "Visions" and "The Fairy Doll," Friday night; "The Magic Flute" and "Snowflakes," Saturday afternoon; "Chopiniana" and "Oriental Impressions," Saturday night.

SUNDAY SYMPHONIC SOCIETY MOVES TO COHAN THEATRE

Owing to the fact that many hundreds were turned away at each of the four concerts of the Sunday Symphonic Society at the Criterion, the Society will hold its performances hereafter at the George M. Cohan Theatre, according to an announcement by Josiah Zuro, founder and conductor of the organization. Hereafter, the concerts will be held bi-weekly.

The Easter Sunday Concert will take place at the Cohan at 12:30 p. m. The program follows: Handel's "Largo"; Massenet's "Angelus"; "In the Garden," from Goldmark's "Rustic Wedding Symphony"; the "Athalie" overture by Mendelssohn; and Jansen's "Festival March." Marcel Salinger, soloist, will sing the "It is Enough" aria from Mendelssohn's "Elijah."

The admission to the public is free.

Music Notes

FEODOR CHALIAPIN, will have his farewell concert at the Metropolitan, Sunday afternoon. With him again will be Rudolph Polk, violinist, and Feodor Koenemann, pianist. As usual, Mr. Chaliapin does not announce a program in advance, but announces his songs by number, with song books distributed in the audience. Mr. Polk will play two groups, the first including Smetana's "Aus der Heimat," the Chaminade-Kreisler "Serenade Espagnole" and Sarasate's "Caprice Basque," and the second Kreisler's arrangement of the "Hymn to the Sun," from Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Coq d'Or," and Wieniawski's "Souvenir de Moscou."

Mr. Koenemann will play two pieces by Medtner, "Fairy Tale" and "Dithyrambus."

JACQUES GOUTMANOVITCH, the Russian violinist, will give another violin recital Sunday evening, April 27, when he will play Gabriel Faure's Sonata, opus 13, Mozart's Concerto in E flat major, Wieniawski's Carnival Russe and shorter pieces by Antonio Lotti, Beethoven, Hauser, Pergolesi and Kreisler.

The New Pictures

ASTOR—"Secrets," with Norma Talmadge.

BROADWAY—John Barrymore in "Beau Brummel," screened from Clyde Fitch's play.

CAMEO—"The World Struggle for Oil."

CAPITOL—"The White Sister," with Lillian Gish, from F. Marion Crawford's novel.

COHAN—"The Ten Commandments." Directed by Cecil B. De Mille.

Symphony Conductors Form Organization

Walter Damrosch, conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra, has organized the Society of American Symphonic Conductors, in which any of the regular resident conductors of an American symphony orchestra shall be eligible. The principal objects of the society are to further cordial relations between its members, to stimulate the advancement of music in America, and to work toward fair relations between the members of the orchestras and their employers.

One conductor from each symphony orchestra will represent his respective organization and the following are already enrolled as members: Leopold Stokowski, Philadelphia Orchestra; Ossip Gabrilowitsch, Detroit Symphony Orchestra; Fritz Reiner, Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra; Alfred Hertz, San Francisco Symphony Orchestra; Frederick Stock, Chicago Orchestra; Walter Henry Rothwell, Los Angeles Orchestra; Rudolph Ganz, St. Louis Symphony Orchestra; Henri Verbrughe, Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra; Nikolai Sokoloff, Cleveland Orchestra; Artur Bodanzky, Friends of Music; Willem van Hoogstraaten, New York Philharmonic, and Walter Damrosch, New York Symphony Orchestra, who was selected as chairman.

Contest for Boys' Bands

A novel feature of the series of 60 concerts to be given by the Goldman Band this summer on the Mall, Central Park, will be a tournament for Boys' Bands.

All Boys' Bands within a radius of fifty miles of New York City will be eligible to enter the contest, provided they abide by the rules and regulations prescribed. Seventeen years will be the age limit for the boys, and no band of less than thirty players will be registered, all of whom must be bona fide members of the band for at least three months prior to the contest. Registration blanks have been prepared and are now available.

A test piece is being specially arranged—one that is simple, effective and suitable for Boys' Bands to perform. At the conclusion of the contest, while the judges are making their report, the Massed Boys' Bands will register some march composition, together with the Goldman Band. The massed bands will be conducted by Edwin Franko Goldman. Five of New York's prominent musicians will act as judges. The test piece will be announced on April 15. There will be a first, second and third prize and also a gold medal for the conductor of the band winning the first prize.

Music at the Cinemas

CAPITOL S. L. Rothapel has arranged a musical prelude to Lillian Gish's production, "The White Sister," at the Capitol Theatre Sunday, which strikes an appropriate note for Easter Week. Gounod's "Ave Marie" is the theme of the presentation. It is sung by Madame Elsa Stralla, who has just returned to the Capitol after a series of appearances with the leading symphony orchestras of the country. The theme will also be interpreted by the Ballet Corps under Mlle. Gambarelli, accompanied by Orchestra, David Mendoza, conducting.

RIVOLI

The music program at the Rivoli will take full cognizance of Easter. The Ritz Male Quartette will sing "The Palms," by Faure, and Miriam Lax will sing "Ave Maria," by Bach-Gounod. There will be an Ampico solo of Grieg's A Minor Concerto as recorded by Marguerite Vollay. The orchestra will be conducted by Irvin Talbot and Emanuel Baer.

RIALTO

Raymond S. Baird, "the Little Sousa," will again conduct the Rialto orchestra. The eight-year-old musician will hold the baton while the orchestra plays von Suppe's "Morning, Noon and Night in Vienna" as the overture. Charles Hart, tenor, will sing Granier's "Hosannah."

Music Notes

A spring concert debut of unusual interest will be that of FLORENCE MCGUINNESS, a young Irish coloratura soprano who will make her first New York appearance at the National Theatre on Sunday evening, April 27, assisted by Ellery Williams, flutist, and Beatrice Weller, harpist. Miss McGuinness, who is a native of Worcester, Mass., and has been principal singer at St. Bernard's Catholic Church in that city, is a pupil of Arthur Hubbard of Boston, teacher of Charles Hackett and Arthur Hackett, tenors, and of Roland Hayes, the sensational negro tenor.

RHYS MORGAN, Welsh tenor, has gone under the management of Roger de Bruyn, and will be presented at Aeolian Hall in New York in May. Next season he will appear in the leading cities east of the Rocky Mountains. He will feature on his program group of Welsh folk-songs never before heard in this country.

DRAMA



EDITH WYNN MATTHISON will be seen at special matinees in "The Admiral," a play of Christopher Columbus, by Charles Rann Kennedy, at the 48th Street, Thursday afternoon.

Vaudeville Theatres

HIPPODROME

Cleveland Bronner's "Indian Fantasy" Ballet, Rae Samuels; Singer's Midgits; a special "Easter Fantasy" with Margaret Taylor; Maria Fara, Italian strong woman; A. Robbins, French clown; Gardel and Pryor Revue; Stan Kavanaugh, comed; juggler; the Hippodrome dancers and ballet corps.

RIVERSIDE

Nora Bayes; Toney and Norman; Harriet Rempel and Co., Clayton and Edwards; Jack Osterman; Frances Kennedy; Pert Kelton and Co., Cooper and Seamon.

PALACE

Nora Bayes, Julian Eltinge, Wells, Virginia and West, Julius Tannen, Ruth Budd, William and Joe Mandel and other features with surprise stars and headlines augmenting the bill at every performance in honor of National Vaudeville Artists' Week.

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

Beginning Monday, at the Broadway Theatre, Mr. Moss has arranged a holiday program, that includes several features on both stage and screen. On the screen, JOHN BARRYMORE in his newest photoplay, "BEAU BRUMMEL," a picturization of Clyde Fitch's play, and the Keith vaudeville acts will include RUTH ROYE, WILLIAM S. KENT, late of "Battling Butler," assisted by Elsie Shaw; Eddie Nelson; Lorraine and Ritz; the Diaz Sisters and other Keith acts. S. W. Lawton, musical director, has arranged a special musical score for "Beau Brummel."

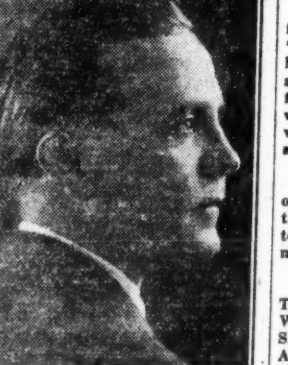
LOEW'S PALACE

"THE UNINVITED GUEST" will be shown at Loew's Palace Theatre Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the coming week. It combines natural color photography, under the Technicolor patents and undersea photography made by J. E. Williamson. Ralph Ince produced it for Metro, based on an adventure story set in New York, San Francisco and the South Seas. The company is headed by Louis Wolheim, Mary McLaren, Maurice (Lefty) Flynn and Jean Tolley, and all scenes were shot down at the Bahamas and Bermuda.

Barry and Lancaster, Wallace and Irwin and Carlo's Circus, will be among the vaudeville attractions.

"THE GREAT WHITE WAY" will be shown the last half of the week. Tex Rickard, Joe Humphries, Anita Stewart, Oscar Shaw, Arthur Brisbane, Flo Ziegfeld and the entire Ziegfeld Follies' chorus are among the high lights.

Bent and Claire, featuring "Blues" songs, and Welch, Mealy and Montrose, will be among the numbers beginning Thursday.



RALPH MORGAN in "Cobra," a new drama by Mar-Hudson Tuesday night.

Music Notes

BRUNO WALTER, the guest conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra, has concluded his American season and will return to Europe. Mr. Walter has been called to Covent Garden as chief conductor during London's season in May when he will direct the first German opera season there since the war. His London repertoire will include the operas of Wagner, Mozart and Strauss.

Before taking up his duties in London, Mr. Walter will conclude his Berlin orchestral concerts.

The Symphony Society of New York has invited Mr. Walter to return next season. His New York concerts will commence the last of February, 1925.

THEATRES

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY AT 41 ST.

"Where the Crowd's All Go" ALL NEXT WEEK GALA HOLIDAY PROGRAM John Barrymore

In his Newest Photoplay "Beau Brummel"

WILLIAM S. KENT (the Broadway comedian) and ELSIE SHAW, EDDIE NELSON, RUTH ROYE, LORRAINE AND RITZ.

AND OTHER B. F. KEITH ACTS

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

NOW TWICE DAILY AT 2 & 8

Twice Daily—Doors Open Hour Earlier Ringling Bros. & Barnum & Bailey COMBINED

CIRCUS

More Than Ever Emphasizing Its Glorious Title to THE

The GORILLA JOHN DANIEL 2d

800 World-Famous Acrobats, Gymnasts, Equestrians and Aerialists—5 Herds of Performing Elephants—New Trained Wild Animal Acts—Gigantic Zoo—Carnival of Freaks. Admission to everything, including seats, 50c to \$3, according to location (war tax included). Children under 12 at reduced prices to all matinees except Saturday to \$1.10 seats and over.

Branch ticket offices (no advance in prices) Gimbel Bros., R. H. Macy & Co.

B. F. KEITH'S NEW YORK HIPPODROME

UNLIKE ANY OTHER THEATRE OF MUSIC HALL ANYWHERE!

B. F. Keith's Super Vaudeville DANCING, CIRCUS, NOVELTY, REVUE, COMEDY, MODERN MUSIC, BALLET, etc.

MATS. DAILY Inc. Sun, 2:10 1000 GOOD 50c EVERY NIGHT 8:10 (incl. Sun.) 1000 GOOD \$1 SEATS

Introducing the WORLD LEADERS IN EVERY CLASS OF AMUSEMENT! Everything on a BIG SCALE EXCEPT THE SCALE OF PRICES

CAPITOL BROADWAY AT 61 ST.

World's Largest and Foremost Motion Picture Palace—Edw. Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

FIRST TIME AT POPULAR PRICES

LILLIAN GISH

IN 'The White Sister'

FROM F. MARION CRAWFORD'S NOVEL SPECIAL PRESENTATION BY RUTHAPEL with CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA, David Mendoza, Conductor CAPITOL BALLET CORPS



HELEN GAHAGAN will play Leah Kleschna in the all "star" revival of C. M. S. McLellan's play of the same name at the Lyric on Monday night.

Notes

W. C. FIELDS, the comedian who is featured in the musical comedy, "Poppy" at the Apollo Theatre, has been engaged by Cosmopolitan for a comedy role in "Janice Meredith," a film of the American Revolution in which Marion Davies will star. This will mark Mr. Fields' debut on the screen.

GEORGE REINHERR, leading man of "The Chiffon Girl," is training for the Olympic games in which he hopes to represent this country in the fencing matches.

JULIUS ADLER, of The Independent Theatre, Inc., producers of "The Shame Woman," sailed for Europe on the S. S. Washington. While abroad, Mr. Adler will represent the Independent Theatre, in the disposal of the foreign rights to "The Shame Woman."

The Moss theatres are completing arrangements for N. V. A. Entertainment and Ball to be held on Saturday evening, May 3, at the 22nd Regiment Armory, 168th street and Broadway. The entire proceeds will go to the Sick and Benefit Fund of the National Vaudeville Artists' Club.

In New Haven, next Monday, the Messrs. Shubert will present FAY BAINTER in "THE DREAM GIRL," a new play with music by Rida Johnson Young and with score by Victor Herbert.

Baroness Michael Royce Garrett, the Russian Coloratura of the Winter Garden revue, "Artists and Models," is to have a number in the third, or Democratic Convention edition of the revue, now being rehearsed, in which she impersonates some of the famous singers of the past such as Jenny Lind and Patti.

New York's Leading Theatres and Successes.

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

FATA MORGANA

A Comedy by ERNST VAJDA

LYCEUM THEATRE

45th St., E. of B'way. Evs. 8:30 Mats. Thurs. and Sat., 2:30

MOLINAR'S ROYAL SPRING TONIC

The SWAN

With EVA LE GALLIENNE

Basel Rathbone, Philip Merrivale, Hilda Spong, Alton Skipworth, Halliwell Hoopes, Richie Ling

CORT West 46th St. Evs. 8:30 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

48th Street THEATRE. Evs. 8:30 Mats. Tues. & Sat. 2:30

EXPRESSING WILLIE EXPRESSES SUCCESS

COMEDY BY RACHEL CROTHERS SEATS 8 WEEKS AHEAD

CRITERION BROADWAY AT 44th ST.

FAREWELL—LAST WEEK

JESSE L. LASKY Presents

THE COVERED WAGON

Directed by James Cruze

Novel by Emerson Hough

A Paramount Production (Famous Players)

Twice Daily, 2:30, 8:30. Sun. Mats. at 3 Mats. Except Sat., Sun. & Holidays, \$6.00. Evenings \$1.00 to \$1.50.

Brooklyn Amusements

LOEW'S PALACE

EAST N.Y. AVE. AND DOUGLAS ST. (BROOKLYN)

Mon., Tues., Wed., Th., Fri., Sat., Sun.

Metro presents

"THE UNINVITED GUEST"

Combining NATURAL COLORS and Undersea Photography, with Louis Wolheim, Mary McLaren

Barry & Lancaster and others.

'The Great White Way' with Anita Stewart and 25 other stars

BENT & CLAIRE Welch, Mealy & Montrose, others.

Notes

An imposing array of talent will mark this Sunday evening's program at the Winter Garden. Roger Wolfe's Symphony Jazz Orchestra, now a special feature of "Vogues," will head a "Radio Concert Extraordinary" which will include the following features: Harry Richman and Lew Gold's Orchestra, Will Morrissey and J. Irving Fisher, Don Roberts, Sir Joseph Gino-Brown, Mammy Jinn, Julia Kelety and Bartlett Simmons of "Artists and Models."

Two shows change (or swap) theatres Monday night. "Charlot's Revue" moves to the Selwyn, and "Mr. Battling Butler" takes up the quarters of the other—the Times Square. Now don't get mixed, when you run up Forty-second street.

"MOONLIGHT," the musical comedy in which JULIA SANDERSON is starring at the Longacre, has passed its one hundredth performance.



MARY MACLAREN

in "The Uninvited Guest," a new feature picture in Natural Colors, which will be on view at Loew's Palace, the first part of next week.

CO-OPERATIVES IN RUSSIA

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA. By Elsie Terry Blanc. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

A Review by Joseph E. Cohen

Russia is still swinging in the hammock between romance and reality. The interpretations run the race from the sympathetic rhapsodies of the emotionalist, vitiating their judgment, to those, like Ossendowski, whose fear projects itself into fantastic fables. But the saving sense of the historian has appeared in Professor Ross' trilogy on the Revolution. Likewise Hindus has given a full-sized painting of the peasant. And now we have Mrs. Blanc who sets forth the all-important economic substance of the cooperative movement.

It is an elaborate study, done with care, more the effort of the investigator than the propagandist. That is highly commendable, for surely the accumulation of data is more impressive than didactic say-so.

Beginnings in cooperation are traced to the Zemstvos, however far they were from associations of the poor. Nearer to the actual origin are the industrial artels, the groups of peasants who worked in team, contributing as nearly equally as possible and sharing alike in the product. So also were the artels the embryo of the future trades unions, at first non-political, but soon the refuge of radicals.

Under the surveillance of the Tsarist Government, the cooperatives were compelled to depart from the Rochdale idea of one vote for each shareholder. Likewise the Government interfered financially, adopting the German agricultural credit policies. Finally, the Russian cooperatives were prevented from consolidating into larger bodies.

During the war period, the cooperatives shot ahead. They were given the privilege of furnishing foodstuffs at the front, the credit unions coming to the help of the distributing societies, forming new associations in the rural districts, supplying machinery, promulgating enterprises and instructing in the administration of business.

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Saturday, April 19, 1924

THE WAR LOOTERS

THE dirty mess at Washington would occasion no surprise if we were better acquainted with what followed every war in the United States. Washington was provoked to vigorous oaths because of the profiteers who enjoyed good fishing in the troubled waters of the revolution. Washington himself, as President, approved Hamilton's financial measures which made fortunes for the holders of public securities. The rich graft and profits of contractors and others in the War of 1812 are now forgotten. The patriot with itching palms found satisfaction in the war with Mexico. The plunder during the Civil War was so enormous that this period might well be known as the Golden Age of Thieves. The Spanish-American War did not last long enough to give the professional "patriots" their chance, but we know that more American soldiers died of "embalmed beef" than fell before Spanish bullets.

However, the plunder of all past wars is mere beggar's pence compared with the lootings of the capitalist class and the swarms of grafters who, in this country, helped to make the world safe for petroleum. Many a scoundrel decorated his office with American flags, hunted down opponents of the war, strutted at "patriotic" demonstrations, yawned with the 100 percenters and kept the "home fires burning." Meantime the population was gagged and conscripted while the skimmers looted us like generals occupying a conquered province. Had the German conscripts taken the United States in the war the cost of the occupation could not have cost us more than what the skinning by our native Junkers has cost us.

The thieves have fallen out, their political brokers are looking forward to the rich pickings of public office, with the result that they are pointing to each other's dirty palms. The issue now, if we are to believe them, is which political firm should be given the contract of skinning for four more years. A working class that can accept the drive of the agents of either firm in the coming elections deserves what it will get—more skinning. Even the sense of being used as fools to enrich a brood of fakers should roll up a tremendous vote for a working class party in November. The question is, Will it?

THE PASSING OF STINNES

THE passing of Hugo Stinnes is the end of one of the most monstrous products of the capitalist system. He had gathered into his hands newspapers, coal mines, ore furnaces, railroads, shipping, electric plants, and many other industries in Germany. His enormous industrial power carried with it political power that made him an uncrowned king.

That Stinnes has founded a dynasty within the heart of the German Republic which will survive until his industries become the common property of the German nation is evident from a striking dispatch to The World by its Berlin correspondent. While on his death-bed, the dispatch reads, "Stinnes announced his cabinet—Voegel for coal, Fehrman for oil, Dehtars for ships and Calverhan in Russia and the Orient."

This corporate estate is thus provided with officials whose designations suggest a government within a government. This despotic offshoot can only survive by reducing the German working class to servitude. It reminds us of our own oligarchies of steel, coal, oil and railroads. It is more menacing to the German workers than the old Hohenzollern dynasty was, for the latter was

only a mask for the old capitalism and Junkerism.

It is giant organizations like that of Stinnes, Gary, Rockefeller and others that constitute the real labor question of our time. If they survive, any changes in government forms mean little. The masters of the industrial life of any nation will be its real rulers. When the workers of each nation master their industries they will be its rulers and it is their job to plan for such mastery.

THE ALBANY CASH REGISTER

WHAT a legislature controlled by the two parties of the capitalist class means was given a striking demonstration in the last hours of the legislative session at Albany. Similar scenes are witnessed in other states and often in Congress. In the last hours of the session hundreds of bills were passed without any consideration. The dummies no doubt had their orders from the brokers at the beginning of the final session. They required no discussion. They only needed orders. When the final grind came, each group of dummies voted mechanically, many of them half asleep.

It is in these closing hours when bills have been accumulating for months that some of the richest steals are put through and some of the worst blows are dealt to the workers. It is important to remember that this is not typical of New York State alone. It occurs in most of the states.

The average legislature in its rules of procedure is organized on the basis of a cash register. The mechanism is oiled and prepared for big business at the end of the session. Then the keys are touched by the leading brokers and the rubber stamps register decisions about which they are not consulted and regarding which they do not care.

A working class party with a heavy representation would make short work of this legislative apparatus. It would substitute human beings for rubber stamps. It would supply intelligence instead of indifference, servility and ignorance. Above all it would insure a big voice to the workers in the legislatures where they are now disfranchised.

THAW AND AN INSANE SYSTEM

IN dragging the nasty Thaw mess into Court again an interesting phase of the modern industrial system is again exposed to the public gaze. Thaw has been committed to an insane asylum for many years. Even if the man were a genius instead of a libertine and parasite, the most faithful of capitalist economists would not hazard his reputation by contending that Thaw has contributed anything useful to modern society during his years of incarceration.

Yet here is a man declared insane seventeen years ago whose fortune has increased five times during this period. His estate largely consists of coal lands. During these years the miners have waged many battles to win for themselves and families a bare existence. They have warned the firesides of the nation and provided the fuel to run the industries of the United States.

An insane man by virtue of his share of ownership in coal lands has his investments quintupled in seven years. Did he earn it by any useful services? Not a cent. He is a parasite. If he lived a thousand years and the capitalist system survived that long he would continue to live off the labor of thousands of workers.

If inmates of insane asylums are thus able to live at the expense of others it is certain that many others outside live without being any more useful to society than Harry Thaw. The typical owners of great industries are no more necessary to human society than is Thaw. Millions of other workers are supporting other idlers. All necessary and useful work today is done by hired labor. When these workers understand that the masters of modern industry are no more necessary than the masters of chattel slaves this will be the end of the modern capitalist system. The system itself is just as insane as this inmate of the Pennsylvania Hospital for Mental and Nervous Diseases.

INDICTING SENATOR WHEELER

THE indictment of Senator Wheeler in Montana admittedly is the work of William J. Burns of the American Cheka. We have reached a stage in capitalist government when Representatives at Washington are shadowed and their offices are rifled by the "dicks" of the Department of Justice. Burns already has a record of planting provocative agents in Communist organizations in order that the "red menace" might be kept in the forefront as an aid for reaction.

We have little doubt that the indictment brought against the Montana Senator is a "frame-up" of Burns and his malodorous crew. It is intended to blacken the character of Wheeler in the hope of halting further investigation of the oil scoundrelism that has dragged its slimy trail through the news for many months. It is a warning that the servile tools of capitalism will hesitate at nothing to destroy all who venture to question the rule of oil, steel, coal, railroads and the great banks.

The old Russia was once a synonym of graft, corruption and ordinary scoundrelism in public administration. Our vulgar ruling class appears determined to snatch the palm of infamy from the old Russian officials. Were it not for the hope of wiping out Capitalism in this country many would become cynics when they reflect that Burns and his type still draw salaries at Washington.

POLICE!

WE regret to report the New York Times to the authorities with the request that action be taken to insure that it will never again "incite to violence and revolution." An editorial in the issue of April 12 regarding Central Park concludes with this "dangerous doctrine." It is opposed to certain plans of the Board of Estimate regarding the park and it expresses its opposition after this fashion:

In the present temper of the City authorities there is no way to prevent them from proceeding to fill Central Park with every form of excrement that appeals to their imagination or their malice, except to meet them at the Park entrances and to fight their taking a single step inside.

The Times shocks us. It should have more respect for "law 'n order." Its advice is practically the building of barricades at the park entrances and preventing by "force and violence" the due course of law. It is painful to see the respectable Times drifting into the embrace of the Bolsheviks. Police!

SUGGESTION TO A PHILANTHROPIC GOVERNMENT

WHILE the United States Government is so philanthropic to oil magnates, railroads, big business interests and other favored friends, it might not be amiss to remind it that the post office employees are shamefully underpaid and overworked. The post office clerks and mailmen work all hours of the day, they are not guaranteed their time off, and their wages are scandalously low. Indeed, they are far below the level of decent subsistence.

Letter carriers have to carry huge packages of mail through all sorts of weather, and endure conditions that are well-nigh intolerable.

Uncle Sam exempts the dividends on stock from the income tax. Congress graciously gave oil reserves to Messrs. Sinclair and Doheny. Statesmen are considering how to relieve the poor bankers and capitalists from the income tax. Hundreds of millions have been given to the railroads.

These things being so, this is just about the psychological moment for Uncle Sam to be generous to his hardest workers. The mailmen should get their raises at once. To withhold them a day longer is to do a grave injustice to hardworking and faithful men.

FOR DICTATORSHIP

Every last bosehevistically minded person in this land under a Fascisti regime would be notified that his days of agitating were ended and that henceforth business men, manufacturers, bankers and transportation systems would have the privilege of functioning without interference from agitators and those who think that our present economic order must be upset to make the world happy. . . . The gabsquirts and pipsqueaks generally would be given castor oil and relegated to the regions of obscurity where they rightfully belong.—New York Commercial.

This is addressed to all political dissenters in the United States, especially those who would change "our economic order." It is from an editorial glorifying the castor oil moron, Mussolini. On the same page Fred R. Marvin markets his daily ignorance of the labor movement but is especially vehement against those who have urged "proletarian dictatorship."

It is evident that the Commercial really does not object to dictatorship at all. What it wants is a capitalist dictatorship where the "days of agitating" by radicals are no more while "business men, bankers and manufacturers" would function "without interference." As an aid in establishing this capitalist dictatorship and convincing us that we would all be happy under it the Commercial points out the persuasive powers of castor oil.

We shall not get indignant about this. Our higher plutocracy is as reactionary as any strutting East Prussian Junker. We cannot have enormous economic power without it gestating extreme forms of reactionary class rule philosophy. That Mussolini, the agent of capitalist reaction in Italy,

should become the darling of our financial plutocracy is taken for granted. Its "democracy" carries with it castor oil as well as prison cells, censorship and the "strong man."

Thanks, Commercial. We pass your opinions on to a wider audience. They are educational. Many would not believe you hold to these opinions if we said so. Now we will let you tell them. We are sure that your frankness will help to make a few more Socialists. We shall be thankful if you will favor us again.

Some people like their morals prescribed for them as a physician prescribes for a patient. John S. Sumner of the Society for the Suppression of Vice represents this class. Louis Waldman is opposed. Both will debate their respective views on Sunday, April 20, at 2 p. m., in Cooper Union. Subject: "Resolved, that a clean book law is necessary to protect the morals of the city." Cooper Union should be jammed by those who live in the past and those who live in the present.

THE Chatter-Box

SPRING POEMS FOR CHILDREN

The Baker

Some days I watch a Baker shape
White loaves upon the sky;
At night I see him mould and make
A creamy sugar pie.
Sometimes I see him mixing dough
To bake on afternoons;
Some nights I see him slice the pie
In half and quarter moons.

The Poet

On a meadow I would lie
Printing poems on the sky,
While a robin joyously
Reads my verses back to me.
Page by page to write a book
On a pleasant pasture brook,
While an old wind-broken tree
Tells his romances to me.

The mantilla of spring song seems to have fallen solely upon the shoulders of the sweeter sex. Helen Keller, most loveable Comrade and most courageous, inspired one of her proteges with the following delicious music. Thanks, Helen; thanks, Theodocia.

Memories

Out from the weary waiting
Of Winter—
Joyous
And bright
As a child
Spring has come to sit by my side.
The sun is sweet.
On my hands—
Little breezes
Stir and frolic
In the grass—
How warm the earth is
And how fragrant
With the lavender drifting
Of Memories.
That other Spring—
When I had you
Happy
And as lovely as a child
Sitting
Shy and dreaming beside me.
In the sun
On my hands
Is the touch of your hand
Never forgotten;
And in the little winds
I can hear your voice
Speaking to me
From the unbroken Silence.
And in the warmth of the earth
Is your being
Pulsing again
And forever alive
To my Love.
Spring—
Ah, it is nothing more—or less—
Than this—
That eternal blossoming
Of Memories
Within me.

THEODOCIA PEARCE.

And Blanche Watson, good soul, sponsors the following from the day dreams of a young shop girl lately come from Russia. We admire its originality. Don't you?

God's Radio

Every May, with the coming of day
I hear God's radio play.
The lover tells his cheer,
The mother, her fear;
Pain, pleasure, love, sorrow,
Each heart beat, I hear.

RAY G.

We would like to publish all the spring songs we have received but most of them are long enough to fill all our twelve pages and a supplement besides. Please, dear contributors, remember that poetry, like wit, finds greater virtue in brevity. And then, besides, if we print your epics, there won't be any room left for our own, and as you well know self-publication is the first law of editors.

We knew that among the fat money lenders and swollen plutocrats that subscribe to this paper, or pick up their copies out of subway waste cans, a fierce storm of protest would break because of our levity over the heart-rending ballad of Mr. Edwards, published last week. Out of seventy-eight hot defenders and their retorts, we will be fair enough to print the following. (Most of the others are too vindictive and profane. The language used in their letters is not fit to read aloud, even in the subway.)

Editor of the Chatter-Box:

Your slurring comments on the lyric loveliness of "The Missing Atom" by Louis F. Edwards are not at all worthy of you. Did I not know you better, I would attribute your sniggers to jealousy. It is a weakness only too common among brother poets.

To those who do not know a poetic overtone from a scrambled egg, or an emotional nuance from a cactus, this poem, "The Missing Atom," will be only so much white paper cluttered up with hieroglyphs. Yet to the initiate, to those who have trafficked in the straggly art and have known the dark beauty of Druid rituals—I repeat, to the initiate, this poem will be an oriflamme around which they will rally, to face with courage this mad un-beautiful age. It is about time the business man had his Kipling. Why not Mr. Louis F. Edwards?

Respectfully yours,

SIDNEY VAN COUVER.
Politically speaking, we are ready to offer our resignation to King James, for having suffered so humiliating a defeat in the Parliament of Ivory Domes.
S. A. DE WITT.