

## FRENCH SOCIALISTS MAY ENTER CABINET; BERGER URGES CONGRESS TO REVISE TREATY

### VERSAILLES PACT CALLED PEACE BARRIER

Socialist Congressman De-  
clares Settlement Based  
on Myth—Demands In-  
vestigation.

By MARX LEWIS

Washington.—Last Monday official Washington awoke from its long dream of peace, during which it pictured itself holding permanent sway over the prostrate body of Europe, to find that American diplomacy had again been dealt a staggering blow.

The news that France was no longer to hold the sword over Europe and that the Socialists of France, the bitterest foes of France's military—and by virtue thereof—of J. Pierpont Morgan's financial clique, had come to stay and to hasten the restoration of peace in Europe, caught the State Department unawares.

The silence with which the news was greeted left no doubt of the impression it had made upon Secretary Hughes and his officialdom. Those who are ordinarily the administration's spokesmen could not be found to give the explanations by which this administration and the one preceding it were able to explain why the policies of the United States have been and are suffering one defeat after another.

One message congratulated the Socialists of France on their victory. Victor L. Berger, Socialist member of Congress and a member of the executive committee of the Socialist and Labor International, with which the French Socialists are affiliated, cabled to Jean Longuet, leader of the French Socialist Party. Berger said:

"Heartiest congratulations. French Socialist Party which, with single exception of the American party, has been hit most by the war and the war patriot, has redeemed itself. The French working class is following the example set by the proletariat of Great Britain. Socialism is marching again. Long live international solidarity."

In a statement which he made to the press, Berger called attention to the fact that the return of the Socialist Party of France was a vindication of the position taken by the Socialists after the armistice when they demanded a settlement of the war on the basis of principles that will insure a lasting peace.

On the day the newspapers were reporting the triumph of the Left elements in France, they contained also the report of the introduction by Berger of a resolution calling upon the President of the United States to invite the representatives of nations which are signatories to the Treaty of Versailles to meet in Washington for the purpose of revising the terms of the Treaty. This is a demand made by the American Socialist Party in the last national platform.

In a statement which he issued to the press in connection with his resolution, Berger said:

"The Treaty of Versailles is based upon a myth which has long since been exploded, even by those who helped create it. That myth placed the war guilt exclusively on Germany. Secret documents that have been made public—and some that are known to exist but the terms of which are still being kept secret—destroy that myth completely. If any nation can be held more responsible than others, Russia and France—and to a certain extent Great Britain—are to be regarded as by far the guiltier.

"Russia rejected in advance  
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### Labor Party Urged By Marie MacDonald at Firemen's Session

Newark, N. J.—One of the best-attended conventions in the history of the Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, Engineers and Oilers warmly received the plea for an American Labor party by Marie B. MacDonald when she spoke here Wednesday. The Labor party organizer stressed the urgency for Labor party participation in the coming national election and urged that the convention send delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action with the view of assisting in the formation of a National Labor party.

### THROUGH SOCIALISM TO PEACE

THE rise of the French Socialist Party to the position of the second party in France and the distinct shift to the Left which the election reveals is glorious news. French imperialism has been a monstrous thing hovering over Europe. No peace was possible so long as the Poincare clique remained in power. The decline of the franc was about to pull Poincare down with it when the House of Morgan came to the rescue. Now the French voters have pushed Poincare into oblivion. For the first time since the end of the war great masses in Europe can breathe more freely.

More significant even than this release of Europe from the nightmare of the French robber clique is the evidence that the working classes abroad are slowly rising to power. In Great Britain, Denmark, Austria, Germany and now France we have the unmistakable signs of a dying social order. It is failing in the minds of millions of human beings, workers and peasants and others. Had these remarkable advances by the working class been made before the war they would have startled the whole world. Now they are occurring so rapidly in succession that each rise of the workers is accepted as a part of the daily news.

The French election will have a good effect in Germany and Europe in general. In Germany the monarchist groups will no

longer be able to point to Poincare and his strangling policy and urge a hopeless revolt in favor of a monarchist and Junker restoration. The little vassal states of an imperialist France, which had been brought into a French alliance, will have to reconsider their prospective role as conscripts for the French usurers. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Poland were to serve as imperialist police for the French banks.

On the other hand, the British Labor Government will now have an opportunity to confer with a French Government more reasonable to the restoration of a sick Germany. The infamous peace of the victors will no doubt be modified. The German working class will acquire hope. The prospect of French conscripts running amuck in Europe will pass. Many barriers to reconciliation have fallen, thanks to the intelligent action of the French voters.

It is a situation that should inspire American workers as well. Here we are the last outpost of a sodden reaction. Here the working-class hesitates to rise to its opportunity. The only message we can send to our European comrades is that oil grafters rule. There must be a change. There will be a change. Socialism and Labor fraternize and act together all over the world. They will yet fraternize here.

## 700,000 Workers Declare for Labor Party; Needle Unions Move to End Factional Strife

### PENN. WORKERS HISS DAVIS

Federation Delegates Also  
Attend Labor Party  
Gathering—

Allentown, Pennsylvania.—An enthusiastic endorsement of the movement for the organization of an American Labor party out of the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action July 4, and of other progressive Labor policies is awaited from the convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, which opened here Tuesday.

The attitude of the delegates toward the movement for a Labor party is reflected in the participation by most of the active delegates in another convention in session here, of the Pennsylvania Farmer-Labor party.

The convention indicated its temper on the opening day when Secretary of Labor Davis in a prepared address extolled the record of President Coolidge on Labor issues and advocated registration of aliens and other reactionary measures. The delegates were openly resentful of the Cabinet member's remarks and hissed loudly at several points in the speech. It was with considerable difficulty that the chairman procured the delegates' tolerance for the Davis speech. Davis was given a formal vote of thanks after a number of delegates had openly voiced criticism of the Federation officers for having sent an invitation to the Labor secretary.

The delegates were informed that Davis was invited because of the high position he occupies in the Government rather than as a tribute to his views on Labor issues.

President James P. Maurer was given a tremendous ovation as he ascended the platform in the Lyric Theatre to open the session. The credentials committee reported that the largest delegation in the history of the body was present. Nearly half a million workers, it is declared, are represented.

No opposition is anticipated to the re-election of Maurer as president or to the adoption of resolutions favorable to the Labor party movement and other progressive Labor policies. Maurer has been president of the Pennsylvania Federation since 1912 and is nationally prominent as a Socialist, having served in the Pennsylvania Legislature as a Socialist from 1910 to 1924. The Pennsylvania Federation has been friendly to the Labor party movement since the election of Maurer in 1912.

In discussing the Cleveland conference the "grand old man of Pennsylvania" as Maurer is usually referred to, appealed to the delegates to leave their pet hobbies outside and forget them for a while and all join together in building a real Labor party. There was no session on Tuesday.

The delegates were given a chance to attend the sessions of the Federation. Wednesday's session was exclusively occupied with a discussion on the report of the Resolutions Committee.

There were two different resolutions before the House. One called  
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### HILLMAN IN PLEA FOR UNITY

Convention Likely to Re-  
fuse to Attend June 17th  
Conference in St. Paul.

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

Philadelphia.—To the inspiring notes of the International and the Marseillaise sung by over three hundred delegates, the sixth biennial convention of the



Sidney Hillman

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America got underway at Wither- spoon Hall last Monday, when President Sidney Hillman—just re-elected for his sixth two-year term by a referendum of the membership—addressed the men and women present, recounting the two years' work just completed and outlining the tasks of the convention and the union just ahead.

The convention met to complete the first decade of the existence of the union that was born out of a general strike of the men's clothing workers, and a revolt against the old style A. F. of L. leadership. It met to record its approval of the work of its officers and to plan for more and greater work in the future. It met in a period of great unemployment, and the main task of the convention, as outlined by Hillman, is to extend the Chicago

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### FUR UNION PLANS COOPERATIVE

Executive Board Denounces  
Communists for Obstruc-  
tion—

Chicago.—The Sixth convention of the International Fur Workers' Union was opened here Monday in the main hall of the Morrison Hotel.

All Chicago fur workers turned out to greet the convention in front of the hotel, a holiday having been declared for the Chicago trade.

Following a n opening address by President Morris Kaufman, welcome speeches were delivered by Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee Daniel W. Hoan on behalf of the Socialist Party,

and John Fitzpatrick on behalf of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The convention will be featured by action on the proposals of the General Executive Board for the active participation of the International Fur Workers' Union in the Conference for Progressive Political Action in the interest of the Labor party movement, the establishment of a cooperative factory in the fur dressing branch of the industry, the extension of the union's educational department, the amendment of the constitution so as to broaden the powers of the General Executive Board in dealing with internal disrupters, and a nation-wide organization campaign for the purpose of enforcing New York work

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### INTERNATIONAL UNSEATS LEFTS

Delegates Greet French and  
British Socialists on Elec-  
tion Triumph.

Boston.—Drastic disciplining of followers of the Trade Union Educational League for alleged disruptive tactics, definite commitment to the advocacy of the formation of a national Labor party at the Conference for Progressive Political Action, July 4, and aggressive organization efforts in every branch of the ladies' garment

the ladies' garment industry were ordered by overwhelming vote of the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union here.

Deciding that Local 9 of New York had fallen into the hands of enemies of the union who operate through the Trade Union Educational League, the convention decided by a vote of 214 to 43 to revoke the charter of the local and place the membership under the supervision of the General Executive Board for a period of one year. The action was taken on the ground that the majority of the local's executive board were members of the Trade Union Educational League, which has been declared to be a rival or dual organization dedicated to the "capture" of unions by "militant minorities."

The convention also voted overwhelmingly against seating four alleged adherents of the Trade Union Educational League from Local 5 of Chicago, four delegates from Local 1 of New York and one delegate from Local 25 of New York. In every instance the excluded delegates pleaded that they had resigned from the Trade Union Educational League before the convention, but other delegates insisted that those resignations were not made in good faith.

Amid general applause the convention ordered congratulatory messages sent to the British Labor Government, the French Socialist Party and the Danish Socialist Government.

Morris Hillquit stirred the convention to repeated demonstrations of applause in a speech in which he urged the union to participate actively in the movement for an American Labor party.

Friendly receptions were also accorded James O'Neal, who spoke to the convention as editor of the New Leader; Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Judge Jacob Panken; President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor; Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward; and William H. Johnston, chairman of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

About 130 delegates represented locals from New York City. A large  
(Continued on Page 3)

### SWEEPING GAINS MADE BY PARTY

One Hundred and Two  
Seats, Greatest Number  
Ever Held, Won in Spec-  
tacular Come-back.

Paris.—Party executives have issued a call for a special national convention of the Socialist Party to meet June 1 to act on the question of Party participation in the prospective Cabinet and Government of the Left Bloc.

Paris.—The Socialist Party of France has come back. Fought desperately by Premier Poincare's Bloc National on the one hand and by the Communist party on the other, the French Section of the Socialist and Labor International won at least 102 seats in the Chamber of Deputies in last Sunday's election and is the second strongest party in the Left Bloc, which is pledged to revise the fallen Premier's domestic and foreign policies in a way calculated to make France, and the rest of Europe, safer for real democracy.

There is talk in political circles of Leon Blum, one of the best qualified leaders of the Socialist Party, accepting the post of Minister of Justice in the new Government, which is expected to be headed by Edouard Herriot, the Socialistic Radical chief, but Socialist authorities say that there can be no collaboration in the Government unless very definite pledges of Labor reforms are given by the bourgeois groups making up the rest of the Left Bloc.

The Socialist Party triumph seems all the greater when it is realized that the highest number of seats it ever held before in the Chamber was 101, won in the elections of 1914, just before the World War began, when the Socialists were united under the inspiring leadership of Jean Jaures. In 1919, while the popular Socialist vote rose to about 1,700,000, against 1,396,770 in 1914, 1,110,561 in 1910 and 877,999 in 1906, the outrageously unfair electoral system reduced the number of Socialist Deputies to sixty-eight. Then came the split engineered by the Communists at the Congress of Tours in 1920, which cut the number of Socialist Deputies to fifty and resulted in the capture of most of the Party machinery, including L'Humanité, the Paris daily, by the Communists.

But the old militants of the Party were not downhearted. Led by Jean Longuet, Leon Blum, Comperre-Morel and other old-timers, they got to work rebuilding the Party, with the magnificent results registered at the polls last Sunday. Ignored by the "grande presse" of Paris and by the foreign correspondents, the Socialist Party has been winning victories in local elections for many months, so the outcome of the big fight, while more cheering than was expected, was by no means a surprise to the readers of the Paris and provincial Socialist press.

It will be some time before the exact popular vote cast for the Socialist candidates is available, but that it was more than 2,000,000 seems sure. Under the revised electoral system, which is somewhat of an improvement over the system which won for the Bloc National in 1919, votes are cast for the individual candidates on the district party lists, and if a candidate gets more than half of the total votes polled in his district he is elected at once, while the other seats are apportioned according to the average vote cast for the Party lists and the standing of the candidates on these lists. Consequently, with Socialists, Socialistic Radicals and other members of the Left Bloc running on the same ticket in many districts, figuring out the national Party vote takes some time.

The increase scored by the Communist party, which won twenty-nine seats against fourteen in the old Chamber, was not as large as had been expected by pessimists in the Socialist ranks who feared the effects of the Communist campaign of mud-slinging. A frequently repeated Communist charge was to the effect that the Socialists had refused to cooperate with the Communists in making nominations and, furthermore, that the Socialist Party was not carrying on an anti-capitalist campaign.

The facts were otherwise. The Socialists had merely refused, at their Marseilles Congress, to accept the  
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## COMING NEXT WEEK

The Socialist movement is challenging the world. Whether it is the Labor party, the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic party, these political organizations rising to power in many countries mean the same thing—the challenge of Socialism to the old world order. What is this challenge? William Morris Feigenbaum in his series on "The Challenge of Socialism," beginning next week, will tell readers of The New Leader.

What are the organized women of the world thinking of the problems of this post-war period? The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom recently held its fourth congress in Washington. Meta Lilienthal, who attended this congress, writes of its actions. It is one of the most hopeful and inspiring contributions The New Leader has received. Do not miss her article, "Women and World Peace." Next week!

Other contributions in future issues consider prostrate agriculture in the West; Labor party prospects in this country; problems of the Socialist Party, etc. A page devoted to important books, news of the labor struggles, the scrap book, the movement abroad and problems at home. You cannot do without The New Leader.

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## PULLMAN LABOR STRIKE STRONG

**Betrayal of Company Union Stirs Unorganized Workers to Revolt.**

Pullman, Illinois.—An unorganized strike involving 1,500 car-builders in the Pullman shops, Pullman, Ill., has entered upon its fifth week. Speeding up systems, unfair representation through a boss-owned company union and a forty per cent cut in wages are issues which forced the workers to take matters into their own hands and refuse to work.

Although the Pullman workers had no union when they walked out, they are fast becoming members of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, through the organizing efforts of John O. Holmgren, general vice-president. The Pullman plant is said to be tied up and, despite efforts to import scabs, production is at a minimum.

Restlessness among the workers has been increasing ever since the company hired an efficiency expert named Francis Gunn, who instituted the Taylor system of speeding up production. By means of this system each operation is timed by stop watches and the price of pay for the whole is gauged on the speed of the fastest worker. Gunn was finally fired because of the trouble he stirred up, but his efficiency innovations continued.

Then the company instituted what it termed the "Pullman Plan for Employee Representation." Employee committees were formed, on each of which sat officials of the company. On the company committee, however, there was no representation from the employees. Ignoring this much flaunted medium of democracy, however, the company proceeded to cut the wages of its employees from ten to forty per cent without so much as a day's notice. Numerous attempts were made by the employees to securing a hearing, but without success. To further tie the hands of their workers, the company planned its wage cut progressively, so that no two departments were hit at the same time. Some departments are still awaiting announcement of their cuts.

Angered at the treatment they had received, 1,500 men walked out April 14, and many more are joining their ranks daily. A picket line is maintained and, despite the fact that armed guards and plain clothes men hired by the Pullman Company are constantly on the watch, work-

## Locomotive Engineers Deny They Support McAdoo for President

Cleveland.—The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in a statement issued from its offices here, declares that reports it has endorsed the candidacy of William Gibbs McAdoo for the Presidency are "absolutely untrue."



Warren Stone

"All kinds of rumors are afloat and all kinds of statements are being given out by the different syndicates to the effect that the organization has endorsed this, that, and the other candidates for the presidency," declares Grand Chief Warren S. Stone, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. "In fact it has been broadcasted on several occasions that the B. of L. E. as an organization has endorsed Mr. McAdoo, the Democratic candidate for the presidency. This statement is absolutely untrue."

"The B. of L. E. has consistently refused to endorse anyone, and our reply has been to all such inquiries that we would await the action of the two party conventions and see whom they nominate and what platforms they adopt, before even indicating any preference. We also want to await the action of the conference for progressive political action, which meets in the B. of L. E. Auditorium on July 4."

ers who would not otherwise learn of the strike action are being informed and are refusing to go into the shops.

To add to the general hardship endured by these wage slaves of the Pullman Company, Florence Pullman, daughter of the late George M. Pullman and wife of ex-Governor Lowden, raised the rents on her hundreds of company houses, May 1. Employees charge that excessive rents and low wages are the methods by which Florence Pullman Lowden finances her husband's political ventures.

Although the company has advertised for scabs in other cities, representing that there is no labor trouble in Pullman, the newly organized union men have been able to stop them from coming in. Pensioners, many too old to do heavy work in the shops, have been forced back to work on the threat that their pensions will be forfeited.

## LABOR IN SAFETY CAMPAIGN

**National Conference of Workers' Health Bureau Opens Today.**

A nation-wide drive for "safety in industry," for the purpose of combating "industrial diseases and poisons which kill off thousands of workers yearly" will be started Saturday, May 17, by representatives of over fifty Labor organizations throughout the United States, it was announced by the Workers' Health Bureau today.

The campaign will be started at the second national conference of the Bureau which will be held in New York City, May 17 and 18.

Means for reducing the number of lives "lost and injured each year as a result of industrial accident" will be formulated by scientific experts who will participate in the conference, according to the announcement. Special attention will be paid to poisoning by lead, benzol and mercury, and to silicosis, described in the announcement as "a dangerous lung disease affecting thousands of workers in many trades."

Motion pictures showing the devastating effects of industrial diseases will be shown, and a program covering health negotiations with employers, securing compensation for occupational diseases, and financing cooperative trade union health departments will be worked out at the conference.

Among the experts who will participate in the convention are Dr. Joseph Aub of Harvard University; Prof. Emory R. Hayhurst of Ohio State University; Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, former U. S. Department of Labor expert; Dr. James P. Warshaw, President of the Cooperative League of America; Joseph Chamberlain of the Legislative Drafting Service of Columbia University and Dr. Bradley Kirschberg, Consulting Chemist of the Workers' Health Bureau.

Delegates to the conference have already been appointed by Labor unions in Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut.

## STREET CAR MEN ADVANCE

Memphis, Tenn.—An Arbitration board has raised street car men's wages 3 cents an hour. The new rate is 45 cents an hour for first-year men, 50 cents for the second year, and 55 cents thereafter.

## RESTORE OLD WAGE RATE

Newark, N. J.—Garment Workers' Union No. 276 has restored former wage rates as the result of a strike.

## Comrades' Inventive Genius Boosts The New Leader

The American Socialist Party is determined to introduce Socialism in the United States by a process which involves winning over the minds of many millions of apparently indifferent individuals.

The Socialist Party, furthermore, feels confident that it will accomplish this colossal task because it has made steady progress and because similar aims have been accomplished in other countries in the face of similar obstacles.

Socialism, both here and abroad, owes a great part of its progress to the Socialist press. Before the Socialist Party can accomplish its task, therefore, the Socialist press must reach millions of prospective converts.

Crusaders for Socialism thus become crusaders for the growth of The New Leader into a mighty weapon for social progress.

The persistency which has been employed by the Finnish Socialists in building up their splendid organizations and cooperatives now serves The New Leader in its campaign to obtain a huge national circulation.

The Finnish Socialist organization of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, not only bought and distributed 250 copies of the May Day edition, but decided to carry out a very effective method of introducing The New Leader to the newspaper reading public of their city. The Fitchburg comrades pay for 10 copies of The New Leader which are distributed among its news stands. The arrangement is to continue for four weeks and it is hoped, will bring a new subscriber for every copy of the paper thus distributed. How many other cities will do this?

Eloquent testimony to the value of The New Leader is offered by the Comrades of Buffalo. When The New Leader arranged to take over the entire mailing list of the Buffalo Age, Thomas Flynn was retained as Subscription Agent for the Buffalo district. So favorable is the impression made by The New Leader on its new Buffalo readers that Comrade Flynn has been able to forward 20 new subscriptions for his district, as well as renewals for every Buffalo Age subscription which expired during the week. Comrade Flynn is

## Labor Cabinet to Propose Mine Nationalization

London.—A bill to nationalize the profits of coal mine owners is being prepared by Emmanuel Shinwell, Minister of Mines in the Socialist cabinet. Shinwell, one of the ablest Socialists in the country, will make the findings of the Sankey commission the basis of his bill.

"If there is coal in the land and nation wanted coal no person ought to be allowed to stand in the way. For that reason I am now examining the question of mining royalties, and am preparing a Bill to deal with the nationalization of mining royalties," said Shinwell, speaking to his constituents.

"I am bound to give a note of warning, that it is extremely unlikely that this Parliament will allow me to deal with such a measure," he added. "I am fortified to some extent by the report of the Sankey Commission, which was unanimous on the question of mining royalties, but political exigencies may intervene. I could go so far however, as to say that we are preparing a Bill for the stocks."

## Engineers Strike In Refrigerating Plants Is Called

A strike of 2,500 stationery engineers and other workers employed in refrigerating plants began Wednesday night and threatens to tie up completely the food supply for New York and Brooklyn. The strike ties up nearly all breweries, ice houses, slaughter plants, cold storage, ice cream and candy manufacturers and food storage houses.

The strikers are demanding an increase of \$1.00 per day. They have been receiving \$8.00 per day. They also demand an agreement which will establish the 48-hour work week and give the union complete recognition and collective bargaining. The workers are organized in Locals 20, 66, and 270 of the International Union of Stationery Engineers and Firemen. Fred Rauscher has been selected chairman of the General Strike Committee and is making the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum his headquarters. Mass meetings are to be held daily at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum.

A number of employers are reported to have applied for settlement.

The union charges that the employers have been making huge profits. The workmen are highly skilled.

## PRINTERS RAISE WAGES

Eugene, Ore.—Newspaper printers have secured a three-year contract that calls for a wage increase of 25 cents a day for the first half of the period and an additional 25 cents the last half.

## LABOR GAINS ON BUDGET

**MacDonald Hints He May Call Disarmament Conference.**

London.—Score another for the Labor government. It has not only parried the new thrust made at it by the Tories, but, with great credit to itself, made the Tories look foolish once again. And the Labor government's stock has correspondingly risen throughout the nation.

The Tories, as they and the Liberals have not ceased to do ever since the Labor party took office, scanned the field anxiously for a possible handle with which to swing the club onto the government's head. They thought they had one in the shape of the Socialist Chancellor Snowden's decision to lift the McKenna import duties on automobiles, foreign films, musical instruments, blocks and watches, etc., so former Tory Premier Baldwin introduced a motion declaring this decision to be inexpedient.

But, following a debate in which Snowden made the Tories squirm under a shower of sarcasm, the House squashed the motion by a vote of 317 to 252, the Tories looking more than usually sheepish as they trooped out into the lobby to vote. The Liberals, although every bit as hearty as the Tories in their detestation of the Labor government, had been placed by the latter in the position of being bound to vote against the Tories. This was because the issue was largely one of free trade versus protection, and they are committed to free trade.

Solid satisfaction is felt throughout Britain in general and the Labor movement in particular over the outcome of the French elections, and observers regard the defeat of Raymond Poincaré as a sort of vote of confidence in Prime Minister MacDonald's policies in European affairs. Never since MacDonald took over the Foreign Office have Socialists here blinded themselves to the fact that in Poincaré the Labor government had a thorny obstacle to get past, and now that the Bloc National's majority has been wiped away and the Socialist Party has elected over a hundred members, and the Socialistic Radicals have become the strongest party, the resulting moderate policy of the French Parliament is sure to be a great help in the Labor government's historic attempt to salvage the wreck of Europe.

Indeed, speaking at a great Labor women's rally in Albert Hall Tuesday night, MacDonald hinted that the government is now only waiting for the favorable moment to issue the call for an international conference on disarmament.

"Our foreign policy," said the Premier, "appeals particularly to the smaller nations of Europe."

Some domestic critics, continued MacDonald, wanted to know why they did at once call this international conference; but the obvious reply was that it were futile to call an international conference at a time when it could not succeed. Meanwhile they were preparing the way—smoothing out the wrinkles. As the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, secretary of the Labor party and Home Secretary in the government, declared later at the rally, the outcome of the French elections, an outcome that is a magnificent move forward, had been influenced in no small degree by the statesmanship of Ramsay MacDonald, the Socialist.

Generous praise of the Socialist Premier of Great Britain, the Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, was accorded by Judge John Barton Payne, Chairman of the American Red Cross, upon his recent return from England. Mr. MacDonald has a real hold on the country, the Judge declared, and the success of the Labor party means nothing less than the doom of the Liberal party. Judge Payne while in Europe presided at the annual meeting of the League of Red Cross Societies in Paris.

## Labor Educators to Meet at Oxford

The increasingly vital subject of workers' education is to receive exhaustive consideration at the hands of delegates from all parts of the world in the second international conference at Ruskin College, Oxford, England, opening August 15 and lasting until the 17th. The call to the organizations of all countries interested in workers' education has been sent out by the International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam. It has been timed to take place during the three days preceding the opening of the British Labor Conference, to which will go delegates from the Labor parties and trade union congresses of all the dominions, colonies and protectorates of the British Empire, and most of these delegates will participate in the education conference.

**Lectures and Forums**  
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**JOHN BALL ARRIVES**  
Socialists will be glad to hear of the birth of John Ball, oldest son and heir of Charles J. Ball, Jr., and Gertrude Krantz Ball. John first saw the light of the Bronx Wednesday morning. Comrade Ball married Gertrude Krantz only eight years ago. In spite of his recent parenthood, Comrade Ball was strong enough to preside at a meeting of The New Leader Publishing Association Wednesday night.

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## PLASTERERS IN NEW TRIAL

Union's Right to be Successful is at Stake in Untermyer Prosecution.

By PHILIP HOCKSTEIN

The right of Labor unions to be successful in attaining the commonly avowed aims of organized labor will be again tested in the Supreme Court of the State of New York when the case of the 36 New York plasterers indicted for conspiracy is tried for the second time before Justice Jeremiah Mahoney next week. The trial is expected to open Monday.

Samuel Untermyer, multi-millionaire lawyer who has made repeated, though unsuccessful, efforts to curb the rights of labor unions by law, is directing of the prosecution of the union men. Untermyer is enabled to act as public prosecutor through an appointment he received from the late reactionary Republican state administration as Deputy Attorney General, but the Smith administration has failed to cancel that appointment. Deputy Attorney General Abraham Freedman is assisting Untermyer.

Louis Waldman, Elias Lieberman and members of the law firm of Goldstein & Goldstein will defend the indicted unionists, who include Michael J. Collieran, President of Plasterers' Local 60 and of the New York Building Trades Council of the American Federation of Labor, and executive board members of Plasterers' Local 60.

Untermyer failed to secure a conviction in the first trial one year ago, when the jury disagreed on a verdict. The trial judge then was Charles Brown of Buffalo.

The indictment against the unionists, which includes only one count, is based on the contention that the Plasterers' Union constitutes a conspiracy against the businesses of their employers, because the alleged 100 per cent organization of the union makes its decision binding on employers. Untermyer, of course, alleges that certain decisions of the union, unfair to the employers, have been enforced despite the objections of the employers.

The unionists will point out that none of those indicted committed any of the alleged offenses for their personal profit, or without the sanction of the union's membership. The defendants will also be aided by the testimony of leading employers during the last trial, that their businesses prospered throughout the period during which the unionists are said to have conspired.

A ruling of the court on a motion preliminary to the opening of the trial gives the prosecution a decided advantage. Instead of the usual method of picking a jury, the court granted the prosecution the privilege of choosing a special panel.

An examination of the special panel picked for the trial discloses that nearly all the prospective jurors are either bankers, brokers, or business men. Not a single member of organized labor appears to be on the panel. While the defense is allowed five peremptory challenges, as is the prosecution, it is nevertheless certain that the jury will be composed exclusively of men whose interests diverge from those of the defendants.

One of the defendants, Joseph Clair, has died since the last trial and his bail has been released.

The plasterers' trial last year continued through five weeks. This trial may last as long. It will be regularly reported in The New Leader.

## Penn Federation In Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

for the endorsement of the Cleveland conference, one endorsing the St. Paul convention.

The discussion was quite interesting and almost every delegate participated. The fight for the St. Paul convention was led by Fred Merriek organizer of the Workers' party of the Pittsburgh District. The Cleveland conference was upheld by John Brophy, and James Mack, president and vice-president respectively of District Two, United Mine Workers.

The anger of the Communist faction was aroused when William Welsh of the Mine Workers tried to prove that the St. Paul convention was nothing more than another camouflaged Communist attempt to capture themselves. He quoted from the Daily Worker to prove his argument.

At this point the Communist delegates objected to the quotation denying that the Worker was their official organ. When it became evident that the majority of the convention was in favor of the C. P. A. the Communists tried in every way to prevent a vote on the question by calling points of order, roll calls and attempting to stampede the convention.

In spite of it all the majority report to send delegates to the C. P. A. convention was carried by a vote of two to one.

Charles Kuntz was re-elected State Chairman, defeating McNamara, and Fuller was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

## Hatters' Union Launches Campaign For Label in Summer Straw Hats

The arrival of warm weather is being greeted with a well organized campaign of education and agitation for the union label in straw hats by the United Hatters of North America.

As part of the union label campaign, the United Hatters' union has sent an appeal to thousands of labor officials. This appeal points out how the millions of union workmen can assist their brothers employed in the making of straw hats and defeat the anti-union interests in that industry by the simple expedient of giving preference to union made

straw hats.

A union made straw hat, it is pointed out, bears the union label inside the sweat band. Purchasers of straw hats are warned against merchants who represent that their hats are union made but do not carry the label by accident. The union is prepared to furnish a list of stores selling union-made straw hats to inquirers. The label campaign is directly in charge of Martin Lawlor, General Secretary-Treasurer of the United Hatters of North America, whose offices are at 72-73 Bible House, New York City.

## Socialists Gain In French Poll

(Continued from Page 1.)

Communist proposal of a "Workers' and Peasants' Bloc" for the whole country, as the Socialists realized that, under the electoral system, such action would no doubt result in a sweeping victory for Poincaré and his reactionaries. They did offer to combine with the Communists locally, where such action was feasible, but such offers were turned down. During the campaign the Socialist nominees, even where they were running on the same list with bourgeois candidates, laid stress upon their Party's 100 per cent Socialist program, as well as upon their immediate demands for reconciliation with Germany, a capital levy, enforcement of the eight-hour day, etc.

With ten seats in the colonies still to be heard from, one seat in doubt and rebalancing necessary in four cases, the make-up of the new Chamber of Deputies of 584 members, compared to the old one, with 629, is as follows:

	New Chamber	Old
Socialists	102	50
Communists	29	14
Radicals and Socialists		
Radicals	139	83
Socialist Republicans	35	31
Left Democrats	75	83
Left Republicans	52	54
National Bloc Republicans and Democrats	117	162
Royalist Conservatives	20	46

In the old Chamber there were forty-six Deputies classified as inde-

pendents, but under the new election law independent nominations are not allowed. There were also many vacancies in the Chamber that was dissolved on April 13 due to deaths, resignations and election to the Senate.

The Left Bloc will take charge of the French Government on June 1 and it is expected to work hand in hand with Prime Minister MacDonald of Great Britain in putting the Dawes reparation plan into operation in a way calculated to be acceptable to all German parties, except the Communists and the extreme Nationalists. The victory of the Left Bloc also strengthens the position of MacDonald in his support of a powerful, all-embracing League of Nations that will reduce the possibility of wars between nations to the minimum.

Among the prominent Socialists elected last Sunday are Jean Longuet, Leon Blum and Paul Renaudel. The Communists elected, among others, Marcel Cachin, their Parliamentary leader; André Marty, the ex-petty officer of the navy who served time in prison for having led a number of his comrades in a refusal to fire upon Odessa when French warships were off that port while the Bolsheviks were driving out the White forces, and Jacques Doriot, who was sent to jail last year for agitating among the French troops of occupation in the Ruhr.

In the Department of the North, containing Lille, Roubaix and other big industrial towns, the Socialists ran their candidates on their own lists, and elected ten men, against ten for the Bloc National and three for the Communists.

## RUSSELL IN BUFFALO

Carpenters' Strike Won By Men—Other News of the Lake City.

By P. L. Quinlan

The major event next week will be the address by Bertrand Russell of England at the Elmwood Music Hall on "How To Secure World Peace." As this is the first time, and we may add, it will be the last that Mr. Russell will lecture in Buffalo, readers of The New Leader are urged to get their tickets at once. They should not risk having all seats taken but go to Brody's store, 332 William street; Leonard's Book Store, 296 Michigan avenue; Aries' Book Shop, 116 Delaware avenue; the Donner-More Book Store, 79 Allen street, and from the writer at 505 Erie County Savings Bank Building.

In view of the war propaganda and the constant procession of imperialist lecturers from the London Foreign Office to this country, Buffalo is fortunate in having a man who will reply to the war-whoops of the Cecil and the Wellies, Monday night, May 19, at Elmwood Music Hall. This date should be kept in mind by readers of The New Leader.

This has been a dull week for news. The carpenters' strike was settled, the men getting a dollar a day advance in their pay. The other crafts in the building trades are not inclined to stir as they have the New York rate. The laborers alone are behind their brothers of other cities.

The Amalgamated drive toward a hundred per cent organization in the clothing trades continues with encouraging results. Several organizers are in the field and soon the Buffalo market will be on the high plane set by Baltimore and other cities.

City Hall doings were far from lively during the past week. Many felt the Governor did a good job when he vetoed the Jenk's Bill.

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Citizens here feel that the bill would have harmed Buffalo since it failed to have a referendum clause. The City Council voted its thanks to Al Smith for vetoing the measure.

Our local Chamber of Commerce continues to advertise Buffalo as an open-shop town and as far as constructive progressive unionism goes it is a desert. The A. F. of L. is threatening to organize or reorganize the local Central Trades and Labor Council. The excuse is given that the Reds are in control. That is a fallacy. What is wrong is that the men have lost all interest in the doings and sayings of labor union officialdom.

Much discussion developed as a result of the confession of Senator Lacy to perjury and there is considerable speculation as to the effect it will have on the trial of the others indicted. Conroy, the business agent and Parker, the president of the car men's union with others are to be tried for the dynamite affair. Some uphold Lacy's course, others emphatically condemn it. So far there has been no move to cancel the citizenship of the Senator.

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## THE INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

proportion of the delegates are women and girls.

Resolutions adopted by the convention coincide with the Socialist Party position on the national political situation, and reiterate the previous declarations of the union for progressive policies in trade matters.

Decision was made to pursue the fight of the striking dressmakers in Chicago to a victorious conclusion. The situation in the New York market was considered at length and a number of resolutions on the subject await consideration.

Another resolution adopted places additional resources in the hands of the General Executive Board for the organization of poorly organized branches of the industry.

No opposition to the reelection of the administration appears to have developed. The elections will take place before the adjournment of the convention this Saturday.

## Garment Workers Greet Eugene Debs

Boston.—The convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has sent the following message to Eugene Victor Debs:

"The Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union assembled in Boston has heard with sincere grief from your brother, Theodore, of your illness, which makes it impossible for you to visit us in Boston. Permit us to extend to you our sincere wishes for speedy recovery so that you might be able again to take your place as leader of the revolutionary Labor movement in America."

General Executive Board as made public at the first session of the convention, is a record of achievements in the face of trying industrial conditions. Organization drives have been carried on in New York, Springfield, Boston, Worcester, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville, Los Angeles, San Francisco, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Rochester, Toronto, Montreal and many other cities. Chicago has worked out its unemployment insurance plan that is to be adopted by the entire union.

There have been no conspicuous strikes, but there have been wage increases in many localities.

## Injunctions Fail

The report also announces that all attempts to dissolve the Amalgamated by bosses' injunctions have signally failed. The organization bore the brunt of this species of attack upon the entire Labor movement, and won out, thus winning a victory for the entire working class.

In the report of the Executive, the findings of a special committee last September, denouncing outside bodies for interfering with the work of the Amalgamated, are reprinted. The reference is to the Communist organization, and is so understood by the members.

Hillman's address was a shout of triumph over the achievements of the great organization over which he presides: "Ten years ago," he said, "we were faced by an almost hopeless situation. The task that our pioneers set for themselves was to make of slaves citizens. All they had was idealism, a spirit of sacrifice."

"Now the clothing industry is organized and it will remain organized." (Tremendous cheering.)

## Will Support Labor Party

Speaking of the political situation, Hillman said, "The Amalgamated never believed that the duty of workers ended in the union. The workers belong in politics. Unfortunately, the workers are divided politically, but there appears on the horizon the hope that before the next presidential election Labor will unite in its own party. If that possibility be-

who had been sent by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, of which he is a vice-president, to bring the greetings of the Boston convention of his union. It was a long time before Hillman was able to quiet the noise, and then Feinberg was given an enthusiastic welcome by the delegates. Feinberg has been identified for several years with the fight to rid his union of the Communist disrupters, and it was charged that a Communist clique had been planned to make it impossible for him to make his speech of comradeship.

Local 2, composed of some 6,000 workers, had elected a delegation of nine to the convention. The Left Wing cooperating with the Trade Union Educational League, called a public mass meeting at Clinton Hall, at which a contesting delegation was elected. Their claims were referred to the Credentials Committee, and by a vote of six to two, the seating of the regular delegation recommended. Hillman turned the matter over to the convention Tuesday night, and after three hours of heated debate, in which the Leftists charged that the union's election had been dishonestly conducted, the committee's report was concurred in by 171 to 89 and the informally "elected" left delegates sent home.

Wednesday, when Feinberg was interrupted, Hillman grasped his gavel, looked straight at the disrupters, and shouted, "I do not charge that these people came here just to hurt the Labor movement, but—" He was unable to go on for the noise that was made by the disrupters. In his address, Feinberg made a plea for tolerance in the Labor movement.

At Tuesday's sessions, Arthur E. Holder of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, made a plea for political action by the workers. A message from Theodore Debs on behalf of Eugene V. Debs was greeted with tumultuous cheering. Debs wrote, in part:

"... I beg to send hearty greetings in behalf of my brother, as well as myself, to the delegates assembled in Convention at Philadelphia, and to express the hope that their deliberations may be harmonious throughout and tend in all essential regards to build up and strengthen and equip the Amalgamated for the still greater work that awaits it and for the still greater triumphs it is to achieve, not for itself only, but for the workers of America and all the world."

Wednesday's session was a continuous celebration. Delegation after delegation from the organized shops in and around New York marched to the stage with red banners presenting flowers, while bands played the International and the audience sang and cheered, until the stage was banked high with countless baskets and wreaths and the hall looked like a high school commencement—only vital and alive. The luminous report of the

## THE AMALAGAMATED

(Continued From Page 1.)

plan for unemployment insurance to the entire industry.

Here are the achievements of the union, as enumerated by Hillman in his presidential address:

1. The industry has been organized and will remain organized.
  2. The Amalgamated has passed beyond the stage of being a union for strike purposes only; it has developed more civilized methods of industrial warfare.
  3. The Amalgamated is a pioneer in Labor banking.
  4. It has aided Russia with practical idealism.
- The tasks of the union, which will be taken up during the week's convention, will be:
1. To extend Labor banking and to go into the general field of cooperation.
  2. To devise a system of general unemployment insurance.
  3. To aid in the organization of a Labor party.
  4. To drive out all internal dissensions.

## For a Labor Party

The Amalgamated is affiliated with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and will naturally send delegates to the Cleveland conference July 4, Hillman told The New Leader. As to the St. Paul Conference of June 17, which is ardently supported by Communist elements, Hillman said that it had not met, it had done nothing and that the Amalgamated could naturally say nothing about its stand toward something not yet in existence.

It is not known whether any resolutions calling upon the Amalgamated to send delegates to St. Paul will be introduced. If any is brought before the convention, it is the general belief that it will have short shrift.

As to the dissensions that have been systematically promoted by the Communists through their so-called Trade Union Educational League, both the report of the General Executive Board and the President in his address made it clear to the delegates that those who promote them are to be considered the bitterest enemies of the workers.

The convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, meeting in Philadelphia and (for Wednesday's session) at Carnegie Hall, New York, took an emphatic stand against the elements identified with the so-called Left wing, both in excluding a contesting delegation from Local 2, and when President Hillman made an attack upon a bloc that tried to drown out an address by Israel Feinberg with hissing and booing.

The vote on Local 2's delegates was considered a test of the strength of the vocal and aggressive Left, which has been working with the Communist Trade Union Educational League. They were beaten by a two to one vote.

The Communists hissed Feinberg.



# Britain's Revolutionary Government

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

An address delivered by Comrade Hillquit in his debate with Bertrand Russell.

THE subject of our debate is whether the Labor Government of England is revolutionary. Mr. Russell maintains it is not.

Mr. Russell is an Englishman and a member of the British Labor party. The British Government is, therefore, his Government in a double sense, and by right he should be allowed to sell it in the American market under any label he chooses. If he prefers to advertise it as a perfectly innocuous, respectable body, that would seem to be his privilege. Why, then, should I, a rank outsider, have the temerity to take issue with him?

My excuse for doing so is that there is, in my opinion, a real difference of viewpoint between Mr. Rus-

## Hillquit Sees British Party as Model for U. S.

If the United States has a new political party in the field this November, what kind of a party will it be? Will it be a "one-man" party as the short-lived Progressive Party was; or will it be a permanent Labor party?

Morris Hillquit believes it will take the latter form. On this subject, he says:

"We in America expect a political Labor party in a short time. In all likelihood our Labor party will largely follow the example of the British party in structure, program and methods. We are, therefore, very much concerned with the character of that party."

mouthpiece of the British Labor party. When Mr. MacDonald was called upon to form the Cabinet, it was not as an individual but as the acknowledged parliamentary leader of the Labor party. The Government is responsible primarily to the Labor party, and is composed of the most prominent and influential spokesmen of the party. The four outsiders in the Cabinet do not outweigh the eighteen Socialists and Labor men who hold the most responsible positions in it. The Labor Government of England is, therefore, as revolutionary as the Labor party, and our discussion resolves itself into the question, Is the British Labor party revolutionary?

Now the British Labor party is at this time as revolutionary in program and methods as any party within the Socialist and Labor International, as I shall attempt to show presently, and our subject thus necessarily leads us into the broader inquiry: Is the International Socialist-Democratic and Labor movement revolutionary?



Philip Snowden



Arthur Henderson

sell's conception and mine on the subject under discussion, that the difference is of practical importance to the Socialist and Labor movement, and that we, American Socialists, are as vitally concerned in the question as our British comrades.

TO begin with, I consider the present Government of the British Empire as the representative and

AND here is where our practical interest comes in. For we in America also have a Socialist Party and we expect a political Labor party in a short time. In all likelihood our Labor party will largely follow the example of the British party in structure, program and methods. We are, therefore, very much concerned with the character of that party.

Moreover, I do not believe that the difference between Mr. Russell and myself merely revolves around the meaning of the word "revolutionary." For I assume that my distinguished opponent rejects the crude police-court definition of the term as involving bloody civil war or spectacular street fights as emphatically as I do.

Revolution, as understood by enlightened people at this time, means a complete and fundamental change of established political or social conditions.

VIOLENCE is not a characteristic of revolution. If it were, our heroic Ku Klux Klan would be an ultra-revolutionary organization and sheets and pillow cases the emblems of revolution. The recent political revolutions which have changed Germany and Austria from semi-absolute monarchies into constitutional republics were accomplished without violence, and even the two Russian revolutions of 1917 were practically bloodless.

Lawlessness is not a necessary feature of revolution. If it were, the New York Assembly of 1920, which excluded all Socialist members in utter defiance of the Constitution, would go down in history as America's most revolutionary



Tom Shaw



J. R. Clynes

Parliament and the lawless raids of Messrs. Palmer and Daugherty would invest their authors with an imperishable halo of revolutionary glory.

NOR does revolution necessarily mean a sudden or cataclysmic change. The great industrial revolution of England was accomplished through many generations and almost imperceptible stages.

A political revolution is a radical reorganization of the form of government; a social revolution involves a basic economic change, the substitution of one system of wealth production and distribution for another.

From this point of view the British Labor Government is clearly revolutionary in character and aims.

The mere fact that the Government of the powerful British Empire, which through countless ages has been the indisputable domain of the ruling classes, has been wrenched from their hands by common workmen; that Labor rules in the historic House of Commons, where only a short time ago the appearance of one worker created consternation, is in itself a revolutionary fact of the highest order.

MR. RUSSELL may be too near to the actors to appreciate the drama, but the capitalist press all over the world is fully alive to it. Here is the observation of one of the shrewdest contemporary journalists, Sir Philip Gibbs, who writes in *World's Work*:

"It is idle to pretend that among the people of the old régime there is not a sense of the world having slipped beneath their feet when the Government of Great Britain and its offices of State have been taken over by six coal miners, three mill workers, one iron molder, one engine cleaner, two engineers, one telegraph operator, one hairdresser and three elementary school teachers—although Ramsay MacDonald has added to his Cabinet two or three peers, a former Viceroy of India, and a sprinkling of 'highbrows.'"

Of course, I know that the power and opportunities of the present Labor Government of England are very limited. The Labor members in the House still constitute a minority and as soon as the Government attempts to put through a radical Labor program the Tories and Liberals in the House may combine to overthrow it. But this does not prove that the Labor Government is not radical or revolutionary. It only proves that the Tories and Liberals are not.

THE Labor party is revolutionary in composition as well as in aim. The bulk of its membership and following is made up of two classes—trade unionists and Socialists, and both are essentially revolutionary, the trade unionists practically

## Labor Tackling World's Greatest Governing Job

The British Labor party, the political expression of English organized and unorganized workers, has held office for more than 13 weeks. Following the triumph, Chancellor Philip Snowden scored in presenting the first Labor budget, it was estimated Labor will continue to govern the Empire for at least another year.

The British Empire, over which the Labor Government holds sway, has a population of 441,595,965. Its territories total an area of 13,406,103 square miles.

As an administrative job, the Government of the British Empire is undoubtedly the hardest in the world. After years of study and training the British workers have taken over this job. Not for the extension of British imperialist rule but in preparation for the day when the workers in the Dominions and "possessions" may abolish British capitalism and its overseas allies.

as much as the Socialists. Even our own American Federation of Labor is inherently revolutionary, much as its leadership would deny it.

Just ten years ago I had occasion to appear with Mr. Gompers before the Commission on Industrial Relations created by President Wilson. We were both asked to enlighten the Commission on the respective aims of the movements represented by us, and by way of diversion it was arranged that Mr. Gompers and I would cross-examine each other.

Mr. Gompers was on the stand. "What is the aim of organized workers in this country?" I inquired. "The organized workers make constantly growing demands upon society for increased reward for their services," was the answer.

"And in these demands," I queried again, "will they ever stop until they get the full social product of their labor?"

"They will never stop in their efforts to obtain a better life for themselves, and for their wives and for their children and for humanity," he added, and turning to me with a malicious smile, he added: "In other words, we go farther than you."

THERE is the whole situation in a nutshell. The daily struggles of the trade union workers are for an ever greater share of the produced wealth and of life's joys and happiness; the fight leads ultimately and inevitably to the abolition of the whole profit system, the socialization of the industries and their operation by and for the people.

This is, of course, also the aim of the Socialist movement, and this aim is thoroughly revolutionary. The only difference between the Socialists and the old-line trade unionists is that we know it and they don't.

The British Labor party, however, is fully conscious of its true purpose. The main object of the party as officially expressed in its Constitution is: "To secure for the producers by hand and brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service."

THIS is one of the best statements of the Socialist program I know of.

The British Labor party does not attempt to conceal its Socialist or revolutionary aims. On the contrary, it went out of its way to proclaim them to the whole world by the famous Snowden motion. This motion, which was offered in the House of Commons on March 20, 1923, read: "That in view of the failure of the capitalist system to adequately utilize and organize natural resources and productive power, or to provide the necessary standard of life for vast numbers of the population, and believing that the cause of this failure lies in the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, this House declares that legislative efforts should be directed to the gradual suppression of the capitalist system by an industrial and social order based upon the public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution."

The principle embodied in the resolution is a fine sample of what Ramsay MacDonald aptly termed "revolutionary evolution."

IF my recollection is not greatly at fault, all Socialist and Labor members of the present Government voted for the motion and many of them spoke in its support, which seems to me much more to the point than their personal dispositions or family histories.

I have thus far confined myself to the aims of the British Labor party. I shall now say a few words about its practical tactics.

If the phrase "revolutionary methods" is used in opposition to "constitutional methods," in the Labor party is not revolutionary in

its tactics and procedure. No social democratic Labor movement is. The practice of all such movements is to spread their ideas by education and to consolidate their gains by organization; their effort is to secure a clear majority of the people in support of their movement, and their hope is that when they come into power as a majority Government the minority will submit to their lawful rule. They do not desire a violent conflict for power. No sane human being does. Their whole activity is directed to the preparation of society for a peaceful, constitutional transformation. But they are not non-resistant pacifists, and the prospects are that if their lawful majority rules, when attained, should meet a lawless minority resistance, they will employ as much force as may be required to put it down.

THIS position has been reiterated time and time again by the authorized spokesmen of the British Labor party, including Ramsay Mac-



Margaret Bondfield



MacDonald

Donald. It has also the high authority of one of its most profound and original thinkers. If my distinguished opponent will turn to Bertrand Russell's latest and most interesting book on "The Prospects of Industrial Civilization," he will find the following reflection at pages 136 and 137: "Force will be needed, at the last, to take the capital from the capitalists; but it will be only a very little force if all who will really profit by Socialism have become persuaded of the fact"—and again: "It is necessary to make it clear that the appeal is to reason rather than force, and that force will not be used until capitalists become a small band of turbulent rebels against democratically enacted laws." Ramsay MacDonald has coined the phrase "evolutionary revolution." Bertrand Russell has described a type that may be styled "polite revolution"; may I be permitted to add another term, and say that the Labor party is thoroughly revolutionary in aim and potentially revolutionary methods?

I AM not a worshipper of the phrase. To me "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet." When I insist on the revolutionary character of the Socialist and Labor movement it is because I fear that the negation of it tends to belittle the social significance and mission of the movement. If the MacDonald Government of England is not fundamentally different from the Governments of Baldwin and Lloyd George, if it does not mark a new and revolutionary turn in world politics, then what is the justification for the hope and inspiration with which the Socialists of all lands have hailed its advent, and what is the vital importance of our whole movement?

For the ultimate success of the great emancipatory movement of the world's workers we should never lose sight of the cold facts and stern realities with which we must deal, but we must also preserve our faith in the magnitude of our cause. Through advances and retreats, through victories and defeats, throughout our daily work and significance.

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## The French Election

By Jean Longuet

(The following article, by the leader of the French Socialist Party, was written before the elections which resulted in a great triumph for the Party which Longuet represents.)

The great difficulty of the opponents of the National Bloc is that, while with our complicated and dishonest electoral law, a coalition of the progressives is absolutely necessary to defeat reaction, this coalition is frequently achieved only through very hard and painful efforts.

It is rather difficult for an American—also for an Englishman—to understand the complication of French political life, created by its strong individualism, its lack of great concentrated political parties as you have in the States or in England. The weaker the parties are, the stronger are the individuals with their ambitions and appetites. Because of the weakness of the parties, it is easy for the individual who has not succeeded inside a great party, to try to attain outside a party his selfish aims; for instance in creating some "dissident" list if only he has the money.

### Expenses of Candidates

For an electoral campaign in a French constituency made up for instance, like the great Paris suburbs—where I am now standing—of 1,700,000 inhabitants and 400,000 electors, is of course terribly expensive. With the one-member constituency system, it is possible to stand in an election, if only you are backed by devoted partisans, with a very modest budget. This was especially the case with the Socialist Party, whose candidates could depend on the marvellous devotion of the common workman inside its ranks. I was personally returned to the French Parliament in the Sceaux-Villejuif district of the Paris suburbs in 1914 by 10,000 votes to 8,000 for my Conservative opponent after a fine campaign that had cost us altogether only 4,000 francs, while my capitalist opponent had certainly spent at least 60,000 to 80,000 francs.

But with the present list system the situation is absolutely different. It is impossible even for a very modest campaign to be waged without at least from 200,000 to 300,000 francs.

### M. Billiet's Millions

This, of course, should prevent the formation of dissidents' lists. But here comes in the mighty M. Billiet, the Senator of the Seine, who is the general secretary and cashier of the notorious "Economic Interests League," which has collected millions of francs from all the big plutocratic and reactionary forces and who want to maintain in power, by all means, the infamous National Bloc. Our electoral law favors the list that comes at the top of the poll. If you can take a few thousand votes away from your opponent at the top of the poll, your party, which otherwise would be second, will be tremendously and unfairly favored.

Whenever M. Billiet can set up



Jean Longuet

some "dissidents" list that will draw off some thousand votes from the "Bloc des Gauches" list, he will spare no expense to do it.

For instance, in our Paris suburbs district, after long and difficult conferences and negotiations a list of 19 candidates of the "Cartel des Gauches" has been constituted, where I am standing with four other members of the Socialist Party, while the "Socialist Communist Union" (the unorthodox Communists which have left Moscow) have five seats, among them, Frossard; the Liberals have five and various other small democratic and Socialistic parties the four remaining seats.

### Queer Communist Action

Now some former communistic elements, which a month ago left the Communist party, not for principles, but only because they had not been nominated as candidates, are trying to build up a so-called "Independent Revolutionary Socialist" list that everybody suspects of being subsidized by the great corrupter, Billiet. The astute Senator expects such a "dissident" party to take away some thousands of votes from the Bloc des Gauches list and prevent us from being at the top of the poll, and so losing the "premium" of two or three more seats that a list which is at the top of the poll usually gets.

The same sort of thing happens in various other Paris and provincial districts, where suddenly quite unexpected "Independent Socialists" or "Free Radicals" appear in the field with a great amount of money, covering the place with thousands of bills and placards, incurring tremendous expenses, which nobody would expect mere political adventurers to be able to pay by their own means. But all the money that Mr. Billiet and his clique of corrupters may spend is of very poor service to the National Bloc compared to the help that they expect gratuitously from the orthodox Communist.

### Help Poincare and Company

At the present time there are at least from ten to fifteen departments where the appearance of a Communist list has the only result of helping Poincare and his crowd! The Communists have not the least

chance of getting even a single quota. They can only prevent the anti-bloc national coalition from getting the advantage.

Some of them among the more fanatic sectarian and unintelligent pretend not to care. Some of them will even say that they prefer the "National Bloc" to the Bloc des Gauches!

This very National Bloc is leading us directly to a new world war, to some sort of Fascisti regime—if it is not utterly destroyed on the 11th of May.

However, there are rumors that Moscow, facing the problem from the more practical view of Russia's immediate interests, is alarmed by this foolish attitude of its French disciples. It is easy to understand this when you remember that the National Bloc and M. Poincare are among the more bitter, perfidious and cruel enemies of the Russian republic. Imagine the National Bloc maintained in power by the Communists!

However, I do not think that even the Communist's ugly work of division can achieve such a result. The current in favor of the overthrow of the Bloc National is so powerful, so deep in the mass of the French nation, that I think it will overcome every obstacle.

### Two Party Bottles

An eminent journalist remarked to me in 1908 that the two great parties were like two bottles: each bore a label denoting the kind of liquor it contained, but each was empty. This, at any rate, may be said, that the parties may seem to have erred rather by having clung too long to outworn issues, and by neglecting to discover and work out new principles capable of solving the problems which now perplex the country.—James Bryce in "The American Commonwealth."

## MUSSOLINI PERMITS A VOTE

By GIRALAMO VALENTI

Incomplete returns of the general elections in Italy show that Dictator Mussolini was actually beaten in northern Italy, in spite of the terror of the Black Shirts, and that he built up a fictitious majority in southern and central Italy and generally in all rural districts. The figures are as follows:

Northern Italy:  
Fascisti votes .....1,358,333  
Anti-Fascisti votes....1,430,220  
Central Italy:  
Fascisti votes .....1,351,310  
Anti-Fascisti votes .... 478,237  
Southern Italy:  
Fascisti votes .....1,980,370  
Anti-Fascisti votes.... 604,716  
Il Mondo, a non-Socialist daily of Rome, has published accounts of hundreds of cases of frauds, terroristic methods, beatings, killings, and other violations of the committee by the Black Shirts at the polls. From these and similar accounts given by the Socialist papers it can easily be seen that the Fascisti exercised their terror with a freer hand in country towns where they could mark the voters individually and compel them to vote their ticket.

The larger the city, the more diffi-

### Unchecked Violence Ruled Italy Elections

The Socialist city of Milan dared to oppose Dictator Mussolini and defeated him. This is what followed:

The Black-Shirted Fascisti instituted a reign of terror, wrecking nearly all the opposition newspaper offices and more than 50 workmen's cooperatives.

In a Naples polling booth, an anti-Fascisti voter had his skull crushed. In the Socialist city of Molinella, a known Socialist voter was killed on the street as he left the polling place.

These incidents are indicative of what took place all over the nation.

cult became the task of intimidating the voters. In all the big cities, with the exception of Rome and Naples and other minor cities of the central and southern sections, the Fascisti vote resulted in a minority. The Socialist city of Milan once more reaffirmed its devotion to Socialism and Labor, more complete returns showed that the Socialist vote in that city increased from 71,000, in 1921, to 74,000. Of this, 46,579 were Unitarian Socialist votes; 21,785 Maximalist, 7,069 Communist. (The Unitarian Socialist Party is the one that belongs to the same International as the American Socialist Party, while the Maximalists are not affiliated with any International but are bitterly opposed to Communist tactics.) To these votes should be added the Catholic vote of 10,860 and 10,000 more anti-Fascisti votes of smaller parties. Against all these Socialist and anti-Fascisti votes, the Fascisti polled 61,831 votes.

On election day, Dictator Benito was in Milan; the results of the election in that city must have angered him so much that he immediately left and returned to Rome to celebrate his wonderful world-broadcast victory. As a result of the Socialist Milan repudiation of Fascism, the Black Shirts began an orgy of terror, devastating nearly all the opposition newspaper offices and destroying more than 50 workmen cooperatives. Among the newspapers which suffered from the Fascisti ire was the "Corriere della Sera," the oldest conservative newspaper, which dared to oppose Fascism. Fascisti reprisals were extended all over the country to those sections where the mass of citizens showed enough courage to vote against the Fascisti dictatorship. Many Catholic institutions also were destroyed, and when the Vatican intervened by donating 500,000 lire to rebuild them, the Fascisti organs resented it as an overt act coming from the Holy See.

As for violations of the Election Laws, the opposition parties are collecting data and documentary proofs to be presented to the proper courts, but God alone knows what it will avail. The law provides that a booth shall be established in the polling place for the voters so as to respect the sanctity of secret voting, but in thousands of polling places the booths were wide open and Fascisti gunmen were in them to see that all the voters voted the Black Shirt ticket. In many places, opposition party watchers were beaten and thrown out of the polling places; while generally, in all the small towns, voters were given marked ballots so that the Fascisti could determine how individuals voted.

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# THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

## Through the States

### NATIONAL

#### Call to National Convention To All the Members of the Socialist Party

Dear Comrades:  
Under the authority conferred by Section 2 of Article 7 of the National Constitution, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party calls the National Convention for 1924 to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, at the Hotel Winton, Sunday, 10 a. m., July 6.

The National Convention shall be composed of 200 delegates apportioned among the States—one from each State, and the remainder in proportion to the average national dues paid by the organizations of such States during the preceding year. They shall be elected by referendum vote of the members.

The National Convention shall have power to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, to adopt a National Platform and to transact such other business as the convention may see fit.

State Secretaries are notified to proceed with the election of delegates in accordance with the apportionment made. The election of delegates to the National Convention shall, wherever possible, be completed not later than thirty days preceding the convention, and the respective State Secretaries shall furnish the Executive Secretary with a list of accredited delegates immediately after said election.

Fraternally submitted,

Bertha Hale White,  
Executive Secretary.

#### Delegates to Cleveland

The National Executive Committee has elected Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger and Bertha Hale White as its delegates to the July 4th convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. Seymour Steadman and George R. Kirkpatrick are designated alternates.

#### Local National Committees

On May first, the National Office issued a call for the formation of local national campaign committees. Every local and branch that expects to participate in the national and State campaign work must respond, and every member of the Party is urged to see that his local acts at the first meeting held after the call is issued.

### MONTANA

#### New Local Organizers

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 we will have to stand the blame for it. Emil is a good worker. Have good prospects 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 Kallispell and Whitefish to arrange afternoon meetings also, as well as evening meetings. Things are looking brighter for the Party in the State and file our petitions for our Presidential elections soon."

### COLORADO

#### 15 Locals Functioning

In reorganized Colorado we have fifteen locals and a list of members at large. District Secretary Kennedy reports that the Debs meetings at Pueblo and Denver did great work in strengthening the morale of the members. Late in January, Denver held a mass meeting, the principal purpose of which was to organize for the campaign. The general response from the State is good. Comrade Kennedy is confident we will have national and State tickets in Colorado on the official ballot and also a large number of county tickets.

Recently we received application for charter from Durango, Colorado, with Allen Peeler as Secretary.

Comrade Peeler and Comrade Gilbert are working to establish a county organization.

### NEW MEXICO

#### Will Go On Ballot

New Mexico will be on the official ticket in 1924. Thomas B. Smith is State organizer. Almost unaided, in 1922 he called a State convention and secured nomination of a State ticket. He is still directing the Party work from his home in Estancia and will be able to enlist considerable support from labor unions in preparation for the campaign.

### WYOMING AND UTAH

Secretary Kennedy reports he will have State and national tickets in Utah and Wyoming. The Socialist Party has legal standing in both States. The Debs meeting there, as in all other Western States, gave new life to Party activities. The liveliest spot on the Socialist map in the West during the campaign will be Wyoming—"home of the Tea Pot Dome."

In Carbon County, Utah, D. C. Grundvig reports a letter campaign is under way. The members in different towns are active in supplying lists of voters as fast as they can be made up. Several thousand letters will be sent out together with the Party Platform and other literature.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Registration Increased

That the Socialist sentiment is on the increase in Los Angeles County and city is shown by early returns from the county registrar of voters. The registration in the county of persons signifying Socialist Party preference has already reached 6,476. This is as many as the total of Socialist registrations on the last great register, with several months to go before the principal elections. The city total at present is 3,946, also practically equalling the total registration of two years ago. Registrations of all parties have been accounted slow in Southern California, and a call recently sent out over signatures of all party officials, including the Socialist Party, urged Los Angeles county people not to fail of their political duties.

### WASHINGTON

#### Emil Herman Lectures

Thursday, May 15, Puyallup; Friday 16, Tacoma; Saturday, 2 p. m., Olympia; Sunday, 7:30 p. m., Centralia; Monday 19, Montesano; Tuesday 20, Aberdeen; Wednesday 21, Raymond; Thursday 22, Pe Ell; Friday 23, Chehalis; Saturday 24, Kelso; Sunday 2 p. m., Vancouver; Sunday 8:30 p. m., Portland; Monday 26, Medford; Tuesday 27, Grants Pass; Wednesday 28, Roseburg; Thursday 29, Eugene; Friday 30, Salem; Saturday p. m., and evening, Silverton.

## On The International Front

"Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

### FINLAND

#### Dozen Socialist Women Deputies

Details of the April election in Finland show that there are twelve women among the sixty Socialists who won seats in Parliament. There are four Fusion Conservative women Deputies and one woman Deputy belongs to the Swedish party. It is not expected that there will be any immediate change in the stop-gap Cabinet headed by Premier Cajander, appointed last January by the President when Parliament was dissolved and the Kallio Cabinet quit. Cajander will probably hold his job until the fall session of the Diet. Then there may be worked out some sort of bourgeois combination which will enable the Government to function more or less smoothly.

Writing in the Berlin Vorwärts of April 26, Karl H. Wiik, a member of the Finnish Diet, explains how the Government's scheme to smash the Labor opposition parties so as to be able to put through anti-Labor legislation in the future without much hindrance, fell by the wayside. In the old Diet there were fifty-three Socialists and twenty-seven Communists (labeled Laborites, as the Communist party is outlawed in Finland) always ready to do battle with the uncertain combinations

formed by the Government from the various more or less discordant groups embracing the other 120 members. The Government hoped by raising a great Communist scare last Fall and arresting some 200 alleged agents of Moscow, including the Communist deputies, to frighten the voters into electing a Diet made up almost entirely of bourgeois groups.

But it waited too long before dissolving the old Diet. The great Communist scare turned out to be a humbug, the evidence consisting of old stuff, and by the time election day came along nearly all the arrested persons had been released. The Social Democrats waged a hot fight and the Communists, despite their handicap of illegality, did considerable campaigning. The net result of the Government's drive was a loss by the Communists of nine deputies and a gain by the Socialists of seven, leaving the Labor groups only two Deputies weaker than before. The Finnish workers' fighting spirit came back strong during the campaign and Socialist leaders are sure of the future.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Reports of the Eastern convention of the Social Democratic party of Czechoslovakia, held in Mährisch-Osttrau, show that this first national gathering since 1920 was permeated with an increasingly revolutionary spirit and that many of the delegates, especially those from the industrial districts, felt that the party's fifty members of the Chamber of Deputies had reached the limit of toleration toward some of the Government's reactionary measures, such as the much-debated press law, which has been put through the Chamber and awaits action by the Senate.

While there was no serious objection by the presence of Social Democrats in the Cabinet headed by Premier Svehla, it was emphasized that Ministers Haberman, Bechyne and Srba must not forget that they, as well as the Socialist deputies, were representatives of the proletariat and that their desire to help keep the new republic going smoothly must not prevent them from defending the interests of the workers at all times.

This standpoint brought out in the party's new declaration of principles and in a speech by Joseph Stivin, editor of Pravo Lidu, the party's leading daily, Stivin laid great stress upon the necessity of getting

## New York Activities

### NEW YORK

#### New State Committee

The following elections to the 1924 unofficial State committee have thus far been announced: Herman Kobbe, Nassau; Samuel Orr, New York; H. D. Wilcox, Elmira; Irving M. Weiss, Buffalo; B. J. Riley, Brooklyn; Wm. Shapiro, Brooklyn; Frank Favoloro, Rochester; Algernon Lee, New York; William Karlin, New York; Julius Gerber, New York; A. Hoch, Niagara Falls; Fred Sander, Syracuse; Waldeemar Dover, Port Jervis; Barnett Wolff, Jamaica; W. H. Dearing, Staten Island; James Folan, Schenectady.

There will be a meeting of the State Executive Committee Sunday morning at State headquarters in Albany.

#### Buffalo

Socialist open-air meetings will start this week-end. The speakers at the first meetings will be Patrick L. Quinlan and Robert A. Hoffman.

Last year Commissioner Frank C. Perkins, Socialist, secured money from the City Council to sink a gas well on city property. Experts in the employ of the gas interests had declared that the plan was not practical. Perkins, who is himself a prominent engineer, declared that gas was obtainable in large quantities. The wells were sunk and gas was obtained. The gas secured has been used in the Municipal Hospital and other city buildings. Recently Perkins requested additional funds to sink more wells. The City Council was inclined to refuse this request so Perkins arranged an evening demonstration to test the present wells. Only one other Commissioner attended this test but he reported that the well was a success, and the Council voted \$25,000 to sink another well.

Buffalo readers of The New Leader who formerly subscribed to the New Age are urged to remember that they may renew their subscriptions through Thomas Flynn, 732 Brisbane building, the Buffalo representative of The New Leader.

### BRONX

The Executive Committee has agreed to hold the spring festival, dance and entertainment on Saturday, June 7, in the large hall at the local headquarters, Crescent Theatre Building, 1167 Boston road.

Comrade Paulitsch submitted a financial statement from The New Leader and showed very gratifying progress and was unanimously commended, and all delegates were urged to do all possible to increase the circulation.

The report of the Executive Secretary showed a steady increase in dues-paying members. One-third more dues stamps were purchased in the first four months of 1924 than for the first six months of 1923. Comrade Paulitsch reported on the general conditions of the branches and the same showed a decided in-

crease in the attendance of members at branch meetings.

Canvassers on the membership drive reported good progress, several new members making application for membership and being present when application was being considered. The Executive Secretary was instructed to call a general party meeting for May 23, at 8:30 p. m., to be held in the Local Headquarters. The agenda to be Instructions to Delegates to the National Convention. Election of three representatives to the Unofficial State Convention, and receive report from the delegates to the recent City Convention. Important communications from the National Office will also be submitted for consideration.

The various branches as reported by their respective delegates showed a decided interest in Party work. Among the most notable being the two branches of the Jewish Socialist Verband who have more than doubled their membership within the last three months.

Branch 7 reported that at the next meeting, on Thursday, May 22, 1924, Comrade Bertha H. Mailly will speak on "The Revival of the Labor Movement in Europe." Branch 7 acting through its efficient Executive Committee will circulate its members and sympathizers and expect a packed house to greet Comrade Mailly. The meeting will be

## Talks to Party Members

### 4. Why Socialists Pay Dues

The old parties never ask their rank and file to finance their campaigns. The mass of the Republican or Democratic voters would be amazed and amused if it were suggested that they ought to chip in to pay their party's expenses. "Why should we," they would ask. "We are not getting anything out of politics. As for the professional politicians, of course, it is reasonable that they should spend money on campaigns, because they expect to get it back ten-fold in jobs and contracts and so forth. But we are just plain voters, not looking for office or political favors, and there would be no sense in asking us to contribute."

They are right, from their point of view. They get nothing from their parties, so they give nothing to them—except their votes, which they seem to regard as having little or no value.

We Socialists go at it the other way around. We feel that our votes are precious, because we own our Party. And we own our Party because we pay for it.

Of course, there are Socialists (of a sort) who don't pay dues, just as there are men who accept smokes and drinks and eats when they are

offered, but themselves don't stand treat. In the one case, as in the other, this all-taking-and-no-giving practice is sometimes due to mere thoughtlessness, not to wilful meanness. The thoughtless ones should wake up—or be waked up.

The Republicans and Democrats often think the Socialist Party is plumb crazy—not only making its rank and file pay monthly dues, but on top of that passing subscription lists, taking up collections, and even charging admission to public meetings held under its auspices.

Well, it would be folly for the old parties to adopt such methods—and equally, it would be folly for us not to.

The old parties uphold the capitalist system. They serve the class that lives on rent, profit, and interest. They cannot at the same time serve the great mass of the producers—the wage workers and working farmers. No man and no party can serve two masters whose interests are diametrically opposite.

It is logical that Republican and Democratic campaigns should be financed by bankers, railway kings, coal barons, mill owners, franchise magnates, and landlords, with some help from office-seekers and protected lawbreakers. It would be impudent for these gentry to charge the ordinary voter for the privilege of supporting them.

And just because the Socialist Party aims to put an end to the exploitation of Labor, just because its triumph would be injurious to capitalists and profiteers, it cannot and should not look to them for financial or other support.

Those who get service from a political movement should foot its bills. "Who pays the piper may call the tune." Those who provide the funds for an organization have both the right and the power to dictate its policy.

That is why Socialists pay dues, and in other ways finance the Party's work at the expense of its whole rank and file. By this method we make sure that the Party shall serve the working class. Should we ever abandon this democratic financial basis, our movement would be in grave danger of death or corruption.

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# THE RACE BETWEEN LABOR AND BARBARISM

## Senator Pepper's Fears

By Joseph Schwartz

It was not so long ago that George Wharton Pepper was selected to complete the unexpired term of a Senator from Pennsylvania. Ex-Governor Sproul appointed Mr. Pepper to fill the vacancy. In the newspapers, on that day, photographs were shown, of Vice-President Atterbury, of the Pennsylvania Railroad and the foremost exponent of the open-shop, and Senator Pepper shaking hands, while in the background, Governor Sproul was looking on. Events since that time indicate that the photograph was a true picture of the real boss and his legal representative.

Mr. Baker, chairman of the Pennsylvania State Republican Committee, states that "the present campaign in Pennsylvania is the most lethargic in years." Keen political observers testify that the coming presidential campaign of the Republican and Democratic parties will be the biggest piece of humbuggery ever staged.

For proof of the latter statement we have the keynote speech by Senator Pepper at the Republican Convention of the State of Maine on April 3. There were speeches of a similar type by other members of Congress, but Pepper's speech was the "keynote" speech.

### Planned Before Victory

Among other things, Senator Pepper said that the appointments of Forbes and Fall "have proved to be terrible mistakes, while the selection of Mr. Daugherty . . . seems . . . to have been a grave error in judgment."

The Senatorial "Teapot" and "Veteran's Bureau" committees have secured sufficient evidence that the appointments of the various men were not "mistakes" or an "error in judgment" as Pepper would have us believe. The selections of the Cabinet officers were planned by the Republican "machine" before Harding was ever elected!

Senator Borah, speaking at a meeting of the Calvary Baptist Church, tells of "individuals having business, or expecting to have business with the Government, giving large sums of money to the political party which is in control, or is seeking control." Nevertheless, Senator Pepper would have us believe that the appointments were accidental.

"In attempting to inflict injury exclusively upon the Republican party," says Pepper, "they (the Democrats) have in fact succeeded in discrediting both the great parties." For the meaning of the above I will again quote Senator Borah: "The danger arises not out of criticism and exposure, but out of tacit truce between the great parties that they will not criticize or expose the evil practice."

**Fears of a Labor Party**  
Senator Pepper's great objection is that the Democrats broke the "tacit truce." That alone would not be sufficient; there is something else. Senator Pepper fears that "in discrediting both the great parties an irresponsible and highly dangerous third party is actually suggesting itself."

We have now the crux of the problem. As one of the leading Republicans in the country, Senator Pepper fears a third party. The Senator would rather have the Republicans and Democrats, as he says, "contend with one another in an effort to win and keep public confidence."

More enlightenment! Pepper desires that the Repubs and Demos stop exposing evil practices and resume the "tacit truce." In that way the possibility of easy money will continue, and the danger of a third party "may be eliminated."

If we analyze correctly, the nation is divided into two groups. The first division consists of those that work in the "interests of the people" by relieving the people of the "oil dome," "fight pictures," "money for veterans" and many other such things that burden the people. This first group is sub-divided into the Republican and Democratic parties, who "contended with one another" in an effort to receive the most that can be gotten. The second division must therefore consist of those that are not included in the first division, and whose interests are affected. The latter division consists of the people who do not benefit by the grafts of the Repubs and Demos.

### Fleecers Want No Labor Party

Senator Pepper fears that it is the second division—the people that lose when politicians and oil investors profit; the people that pay back in taxes that which the Treasury Department returns to the wealthy in tax refunds—that it is this second division that is suggesting a "highly dangerous" third party.

Do you, who vote the Republicans and Democrats in and out of power, benefit by the recent grabs or any other grabs that were made? Naturally not!

Do you, the large campaign subscribers to the Democratic and Republican parties, benefit by Government donations, such as oil, injunctions, secret service men at your

## To the Workers of the World:

We are drawing near the tenth anniversary of the day which saw the outbreak of the World War—that fatal August day which let loose Armageddon upon the world, and opened the way to a slaughter and havoc which has been unexampled in the annals of the world.

For four long years the world suffered untold agonies; for four long years the peoples fought each other like wild beasts; for four long years the flower of the world's youth was sacrificed on the battlefields; for four long years civilization was forgotten and its most elementary lessons were thrown to the winds.

During these four terrible years, thousands of young men went forth to battle in the confident hope that they were fighting to end war, and to make the world safe for democracy.

They did not know that they were merely the dupes of the lies and insinuations of small groups of capitalists, who were seeking to strengthen and extend their domination of the world.

Then came the sham peace that shattered the illusion of so many and destroyed the dream that this was the war to end war.

And now the countries of the world are again making ready for fresh war.

Science is busy seeking new and ever more terrible methods of dealing death and destruction. We all know that the next war will bring with it wholesale slaughter to a degree undreamed of before. The very air will be laden with death and will bring pestilence and destruction to

## An Appeal by the International Federation of Trade Unions to the 19,000,000 Organized Workers of the World to Celebrate International No-More-War Day, September 21st.

countless multitudes far remote from the actual centres of war. The next war will be the final triumph of barbarism; it will sweep from the face of the earth the last traces of civilization.

In the next war there will be no place for personal heroism. The days when man could show prowess on the battle-field are for ever gone by. Henceforth, he will be killed by a system of mass destruction, which will work as unerringly as the machinery which he now uses for mass production. The sole use of the mechanical perfection to which he will have attained will be to doom millions to horrible and inevitable death.

There is one way of escape from this terrible fate, and only one. There is one power which can stand war, and only one. That power is organized Labor.

When men stood aghast in the midst of the ruins wrought by the last war, it was the working-class which was the first to raise the flag of the International. It was the internationally organized working-class which first raised the cry, "Down with War!" It is the workers, who, organized in their trade unions and in their political groups, will put an end to all war. If they so desire—then the onward march of the great peace army will put an

end for ever to the evil deeds of those who, with incredible cold-bloodedness, are now calmly recommencing the ominous activities which, unchecked, will plunge the world into the unimaginable horrors of the next war.

On the third Sunday in September of this year, the International Federation of Trade Unions is organizing an Anti-War Day in all the affiliated countries. It is supported by the Socialist and Labor International, the International Cooperative Alliance, and the International of Socialist Youth. Let this day be the first day of the mobilization of the International Peace Army! Let this great demonstration, in which you will be shoulder to shoulder with your comrades of other lands, be your challenge to the powers that make for war. Make yourselves one with those who, in this first World Anti-War Day, are defying the powers of hate and greed and are teaching the new might of world brotherhood and solidarity. Let the forces of Life and Progress unite to do the will of Peace and Labor.

Come then, Comrades, in your thousands, to demonstrate on our International Anti-War Day.

War against War! Long live Universal Peace!

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

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## New Leader Forum

### THE HARVARD "SAGE"

Editor of The New Leader: Your editorial reference to Charles W. Eliot's criticism of the workers' extravagance reminds me of the time some twenty years ago, when Dr. Eliot uttered a violent protest against a proposed law giving small pensions to aged wage-workers. Such action, he declared, would pauperize and degrade the working people, and the very mention of it was an outrage on the dignity of American Labor. A few months later Dr. Eliot retired from the presidency of Harvard University, and accepted a pension of several thousand dollars from the Carnegie fund.

L.  
New York City.

### GANDHI'S PROGRAM

Editor of The New Leader: Will you give me space to correct several unfortunate misstatements in regard to Mahatma Gandhi's program of non-violent non-cooperation as set forth in a recent issue of The Leader; and to protest against the misleading word, used by Mr. Chaudery Lall Khan, "passivity" as expressive of the Gandhi idea? Rather let Syud Hossain's characterization of it be accepted as a truer expression, i. e., "the most determined resistance that the British Government has met in its 160 years in India." Let it not be forgotten that passive resistance is no more negative than it is cowardly. These two long accepted, but quite erroneous, conceptions of the so-called "passive resistance" must be cast aside at a time when the world is waking up to the constructiveness and effectiveness, and the positive character, of such resistance. Gandhi, by the way, says he dislikes the term "passive resistance" because it does not express the full beauty and purposefulness of the idea. The Indian word ahimsa, which means non-violence in thought, word, and deed, should be taken as the true interpretation.

Now, as to the misstatements to which I refer. Article 1 in Mr. Khan's table, "India must boycott anything and everything that bears the name of England," is not correct. Cloth has been "boycotted" (to use a term familiar to us, though it is not an exact characterization) as a corollary to the positive idea that India shall make her own cloth and keep many millions of dollars in the country, besides creating, by so doing, a desire for national independence. Articles 5 and 6, to the effect that on meeting Englishmen the natives should, in a hateful spirit, turn their faces and should "cast off" as worse than an Englishman Indian "renegades," is as fantastic as it is untrue. This thought is utterly at variance with Gandhi's parting words when he went to prison: "Set the minds of Englishmen at ease." It is quite as much at variance with Gandhi's whole conception of non-cooperation and with his own words and actions, as far as we have any knowledge of them. A man who preaches his whole program on the idea of love to any and all men, who could write to an Indian here, "It (non-cooperation) is a new experiment and we shall have to be extremely patient if we would make headway," and who wrote, in another place, "Impatience is also a form of violence . . ." such a man could not possibly fit into the picture that Mr. Chaudery Lall Khan has given of him to the readers of The New Leader, although this writer has, in other respects, well outlined the movement that Gandhi is leading. It is, however, too much to say that this great man "laid the foundation of (Indian) nationalism"; and it is unjust to constructively patriotic men like Ram Mohun Roy, Tilak and Gokhale, to whose teachings and influence Gandhi has many times given credit, publicly. Gandhi is like the mountain peak which could not reach to the heights without the less high plateaus below it.

BLANCHE WATSON.  
New York City.

### THE WHIP CRACKS

Pressure of the administration will be brought to bear to put the Mellon tax plan through without amendment. Party regularity will be the whip used. Any Republican who fails to fall in line may beware of the lash. He won't have enough influence to stick in your eye when it comes to the division of spoils in his district.

The surtax is where the pinch comes. The rich want an enormous cut in their own taxes—and they want the little fellows to have but a slight cut. A good many congressmen would readily agree with this program, no doubt, if they did not know they would hear from the folks back home. They are between the devil and the deep blue sea.—Milwaukee Leader.

to America. He left America in 1858 for Mexico. What became of him there is not known.

Thus vanished Pujol, the "wine-lover and woman-lover."

## Glengarry's Review

Written for The New Leader

### THE HOUSE OF DEBS

AROUND THE HOUSE OF DEBS.

The House of Debs:  
BUILD it where you please,  
THAT CHERISHED SPOT  
SHALL ALWAYS be  
THE MIDDLE  
OF THE EARTH,  
THE SUMMIT  
OF THE GLOBE—  
Because THERE stands  
The House of Debs.

Build it on a HILL  
Or dig it in a VALLEY;  
Make its walls of MARBLE  
Or of common CLAY,  
Its GLEAM will LIGHT  
THE BLACKEST alley  
And change the GLOOMIEST night  
TO BRIGHTEST day—  
Because IT IS  
The House of Debs

The House of Debs  
Is not a MONUMENT;  
THE monument IMPERISHABLE  
IS just HIS NAME  
THE WORLD-LOVED name—  
Eugene Victor Debs.

NOR can it be a SHRINE  
Where those would WORSHIP  
Who conceived the VISION  
For which his soul TRAVELED—  
Deep in each heart ENSHRINED  
ABIDES his golden MISSION—  
That justice SHOULD prevail,  
And THEY WILL GATHER  
From AFAR and NEAR  
To BUILD  
The House of Debs.

The House of Debs  
Is just a FOND EXPRESSION  
OF THE LOVE  
A MILLION HEARTS  
BEAR to HIS NAME  
BECAUSE  
His LIFE-LONG task—  
His ALL-CONSUMING passion—  
Was a STRUGGLE  
FOR THE FREEDOM  
OF THE TOILING SLAVES—  
FOR THIS,  
With hearts AGLOW,  
We CONSECRATE  
The House of Debs.

If ANY ask:  
"WHERE IS  
THE HOUSE OF DEBS?"  
Say, "IT STANDS  
RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE  
OF this GREAT ROUND EARTH,  
And THERE it will REMAIN  
TILL but ONE MOUNTAIN stands  
And the LAST OCEAN  
FLOWS and EBBS—  
BECAUSE  
THE WORLD WAS BUILT

disposal, etc.? You are the only ones that do benefit!

Then, who are the ones that would benefit, if as, Pepper fears, a "highly dangerous" third party is formed? The ones that would benefit from a third party, AN AMERICAN LABOR PARTY, are the farmers who are robbed by the big trust; the workers who are starved into accepting lower wages and who are the recipients of injunctions and brutal outlawry by State police and secret service agents; the consumers who are skinned and short rationed by our American business men. These are the ones who will benefit by a third party.

It is your duty as citizen to get in line and help hasten the forming of an AMERICAN LABOR PARTY.

## Early French Socialists

By WILLIAM BLOOM

The Chief of Police and the Paris Commune, Th. Ferre  
Charles Theophile Ferre was an

exceptionally daring character—a martyr to his principles. At the age of twenty-five he began to be active in the revolutionary movement as an orator. During the war of 1872, Ferre fought in the ranks of the National Guard and helped to organize the police service to suppress plots against the Commune. He was one of the last men who fought with the Communards, defying the Versailles who invaded Paris. He was arraigned before the Third Court-Martial. Of all the surviving Communards that faced the Court, Ferre stood practically alone, courageous and loyal to his principles; he displayed the courage which only martyrs possess. He said before the Court: "I am a member of the Commune and in the hands of its conquerors. They may want my life. Let them take it. I will not save my life by cowardice. I have lived free and I will die free." Ferre was sentenced to death. When he was taken out to be executed, he refused to have his eyes bound. He died with the same courage with which he had fought!

### Louis Blanc and Louis Pujol

J. Louis Blanc was born in October, 1811. His education was that of a middle-class boy. He was the first alert mind to perceive the meaning of the growing industrialism of France. He went about workshops collecting facts. By studying economic statistics he saw the conflict between the worker and capitalists. He was particularly impressed by the suffering of the workers. In 1839 he outlined in a book a system of cooperative workshops, supported by the State, which would finally bring about the Social Republic. He advocated a democratic and republican Government which should organize production by setting up and subsidizing social factories that would gradually displace small competitors. These factories should be controlled by the State for a period of one year and then handed over to the workers.

In February, 1848, when France was proclaimed a republic, Blanc was a member of the Provisional Government. His economic plan was accepted uncritically by the workers; but Blanc's ideas did not receive the support of the Assembly. After a futile revolution of the workers he fled to England, but returned to France twenty years later after the fall of Napoleon III. He was no more active in the radical movement. He lived an easy, comfortable life until his death at the age of nearly seventy.

Louis Pujol is described as a typical Frenchman, one who knew nothing of social theory or of the class war or the proletariat. His only qualifications for leadership were courage and the dramatic instinct of an orator. In the Assembly he was defiant. When the Minister of Public Works remarked in the Assembly, after a speech by Pujol, that if the workers refused to obey the Assembly they would be forced to do so, Pujol stirred up the people to such an extent that a battle with the Paris garrison resulted, which ended in a proletarian defeat.

Pujol fought bravely in the rank and file. He was imprisoned in Toulon. Shortly after his imprisonment he was freed, but had to flee to Spain where he took part in the abortive Spanish Revolution. Later he escaped to London, where he earned a poor living by teaching. He soon married a "pretty and silly English girl," with whom he went

## THE LUDLOW MASSACRE

BY EDWARD L. DOYLE

Quoted from Hunter's "Labor in Politics."

Ten years ago occurred one of the most brutal massacres of workers that has occurred in all the annals of the class struggle. The following description by Edward L. Doyle of what occurred can never be forgotten:

**THIS is not a labor war. It is a slave revolt. Ten Siberian years have worked 12,000 miners to a pitch where they prefer the death of free men in the open to serfdom underground. Because our masters know that we will not surrender as long as life lasts, they have resolved upon a campaign of extermination.**

Shortly after John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s testimony was given to the Congressional Committee at Washington, the forces of mine guards and militia became more active. As quickly as men and machine guns could be massed, the 1,400 men, women and children in the Ludlow tent colony were surrounded and at a given word the slaughter commenced.

We knew that it was only a question of time till such a massacre would come. First, it was the Baldwin-Felts thugs that tried to justify our utter destruction by murder, insult and ruffianism. For weeks before the strike they came pouring in from West Virginia and North Carolina, and as if the eight machine guns they brought were not enough, Felts had the Rockefeller steel plant in Pueblo make him an armored automobile called the "death special." In open defiance of law, the sheriffs of Las Animas and Huerfano appointed these non-resident desperadoes as deputies.

But this method was slow, dangerous and expensive. Governor Ammons ordered out the militia, and straightway the operators transferred their mine guards and machine guns to the service of the State. Of the 1,716 so-called soldiers on duty in November we proved that more than half were gunmen, ex-convicts, and the refuse of the city slums, and that their leaders, if necessary, remained on the company payrolls.

The civil courts were open and unobstructed, yet Chase, the vanity-mad doctor in command, created the Military District of Colorado, gathered a tribunal of corporation lawyers, real estate men and shabby nondescripts, and announced that he would arrest, try and execute without regard to the civil authorities. . . .

They arrested them in great batches and held them without charge and without bail for weeks and months, denying the right to see counsel, friends or family. They chained the sick to hospital beds; brought death to prisoners by making them sleep on damp concrete; tried to extort confessions by keeping men awake night after night with bayonets or cold water; tortured poor Colnar by making him think he was digging his own grave, and stood seventeen others in front of loaded guns for an hour, then beat them because they would not beg.

"Mother" Jones, eighty-two years old, was held incommunicado from January to April because she would not agree to leave the State, and the writ of habeas corpus, for which our fathers died, was laughed out of court.

Day after day, night after night, these uniformed bums danced with their harlots in our streets, fired through our houses and tents, insulted our wives and daughters, prodded us with their bayonets and beat us with their pistols, pillaged our homes and stole our savings, drove through our funeral processions and hounded the undertakers that had the courage to bury our dead. Because a crowd laughed when an officer fell from his horse, he kicked little Sarah Slater in the breast and had his mounted men ride down and saber women and children.



## Science as God

A Review by B. C. G.

**SCIENCE REMAKING THE WORLD.** Edited by Otis W. Caldwell, Director of Lincoln School of Teachers College, and Edwin E. Slosson, Editor of Science Service. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$2.50.

This is no plea for a transfer of worship from the many gods of old to a new deity; it is merely a collection of snapshots showing that the world in which we live is by no means a finished entity, but something in process of making, and that Science is responsible, at least in considerable measure, for this continuous remaking. There are, of course, many people who are not aware that the world is undergoing change; and there must be many others who, while recognizing that things do move, are unaware that Science has anything to do with the transformation.

The present volume is made up of material used in a series of addresses given by various specialists at Columbia University two years ago, somewhat edited to fit the general plan of the work, and supplemented with numerous illustrations and a large folded chart containing a vast amount of information on the history of science and invention through four thousand years, in a very compact form. The relation of scientific knowledge and of the scientist's specialism to the rest of us is apparently a serious concern of the editors; and it should be a serious concern of the scientists as well as of the rest of us as well. For as Dr. Caldwell points out, increase in knowledge means increase in power, and most of us may not yet be worthy of using power safely, not to say wisely. Most people did not discover science before the war; the war put science where it could not be overlooked even by the statesmen, who are of all people most skillful in ignoring the fact that the world does move—more skillful even than the churchmen. But now that the world has discovered science, what are we going to do with it, or about it?

The common man, that is to say, the person who is not particularly informed or skillful in any special field, rather accepts railroads and radio, electric lights and motion pictures, canned food and gasoline bugles, just as he accepts the seasons and sickness and sunshine and suffering, and asks no questions. It is important, however, that ordinary folks, all folks, should ask questions, because only so can they both make the best use of what science has already achieved, and encourage the further growth of science. Where people ask no questions, whether because questioning is discouraged and discredited, or because they see no questions to ask, ignorance and stagnation and superstition prevail. It were well for people to ask questions not merely about the seasons and sickness, but about government and war, about gasoline and aniline dyes, about unemployment and the cost of living, about taxes and profits. That is to say, we should all be better off if the habit of asking questions were cultivated as part of our attitude toward life, instead of taking for granted everything as we find it. Not that all questions would find their answer. Some questions, as we have learned, are indeed without answer, at least in the form in which they are frequently put.

We need from science, aside from the many remarkable and useful applications to our material comforts,

our health and our recreation, a certain tolerance, a certain freedom from mutual suspicion and hostility, a certain liberation from fear and superstition. These needs science can supply not by inventing new machinery for killing our enemies with greater despatch, or newer and faster means of communication and transportation, or new and more powerful engines for tunneling the mountains or sounding the depths of the sea. These needs science can supply only by becoming a part of our daily mode of thinking. This is not to say that we should train every person to be a scientist. From what we know of science and of persons, that were an impossible task; and not a desirable one. For one thing we can learn from science is the inner meaning and remote implications of division of labor. We have found a way of making use of specialists. The specialist may be merely a person who is inordinately fond of his hobby and manages to induce the rest of us to supply him a living of sorts while he pursues his flights of fancy astride his Pegasus, or Rosinante, or whatever he calls it. Now, if we all had the same specialty, the game wouldn't go. We can carry on because there are so many different specialties; and we carry on only as the different specialties somehow dovetail into each other (to change the figure) into a pattern that approximates human life closely enough to be liveable. We can get from science certain attitudes toward investigation into the unknown without all of us being scientists. We can get from science an acceptance of the fact that we are different—no two of us alike in ability, in needs, in religion, in political views, in tastes—without considering difference a justification for hatred, or for exploitation, or for whatever else we generally make out of our differences. We can get from science a realization of the mutual interdependence that is implied in our differences and in our specializations—interdependence of specialists, interdependence of population classes, interdependence of peoples. We can get from science a realization of the fact that things are changing, and an appreciation of the need for making adjustments accordingly. We can apply this product of scientific thinking to our institutions, to our conventions, to our formulas.

I forgot the book. The book contains some fifteen essays by specialists, some dealing with comparatively recent discoveries or applications of science (Gasoline as a World Power; Electrons and How We Use Them; Our Daily Bread and Vitamins); some dealing with broader educational or philosophical aspects of science (Botanical Gardens; International Public Health; The Meaning of Evolution); and some with the larger implications of practical problems (Our Fight Against Insects; The Modern Potato Problem; Chemistry and Economy of Food.) These essays are of just the kind that the layman needs as a guide to what science is doing, and that the scientist needs to tell him what other specialists are doing and thinking. There are several references to further reading after each essay, and a useful index. The book is both informing and inspiring. There is room for a new survey like this every year; and while it is not quite dilute enough for "everybody" to read, it would be well if everybody who can did read it.

## NOT THE SAME

BY SIEGFRIED SASSOON

The Bishop tells us: "When the boys come back They will not be the same; for they have fought In a just cause; they lead the last attack On Antichrist; their comrades' blood has bought New right to breed an honored race. They challenged Death; and dared him face to face."

"We're none of us the same," the boys reply. "For George lost both his legs; and Bill's stone blind; Poor Jim's shot through the lungs and like to die; And Bert's gone syphilitic; you'll not find A chap who's served that hasn't found some change." And the Bishop said: "The ways of God are strange."

## On Lawrence

D. H. LAWRENCE. By Herbert J. Seligman. New York. Seltzer: 1924. \$7.50.

In this volume the work of Lawrence is effusively praised, and catalogued rather than analyzed. Its divisions—Poems: Prose: Wandering: Philosophy and Criticism—show that various types of his work are successively presented. Unfortunately, there are so many superlatives as to awaken a smile, on a subject that is deserving of more serious consideration—Lawrence is an important figure, despite his admirers; furthermore, memories of other studies of living writers should make us tolerant of adulation.

One analytical observation Mr. Seligman emphasizes: that Lawrence's books "embody the pilgrimage of a human soul in the modern world." With an understanding born largely of his own experience, the author is able to portray the hidden psychological depths of character, in his efforts to adjust itself to the chaos we call civilization. "Wandering" might have been more aptly named "Search," for in the books discussed in that section we find Lawrence seeking through Europe (Aaron's Rod) and Australia (Kangaroo) for an environment with which he will be in accord. At the end of Kangaroo, you remember, the hero (and the author) left for America. As poets—not mobs—make civilization, Mr. Seligman feels that Lawrence's journey is a test of society, that his poems and articles on America are a "challenge and an evocation." . . . The only science Lawrence recognizes is life itself; he will not have it that the sun is a ball of gas. So, too, American literature since 1851 (Moby Dick) is post-mortem. Yet Studies in American Literature "alone, is a foundation for a new American critical literature." Through D. H. Lawrence we shall rise again. This glorification of Lawrence, his implicit identification with "the Saviour," betrays more of Seligman than it portrays of Lawrence.

And in the verbs of the last sentence lies the difference between the author whose insight startles us (the Thackeray, the Lawrence) and the author who is forgotten as we live with his characters (the Fielding, the Joyce). In whatever mode the scientific knowledge of the time permits, physically, psychologically, psychoanalytically—the former portrays his characters, the latter allows his characters to betray themselves.

WM. LEA.

## A Nature Tale

HEAVEN FOLK, by Waldemar Bonsels (Author of "Maya, the Bee"), translated from the German by Adele Szold Seltzer. New York: Thomas Seltzer. \$2.00.

This is a story for nature lovers and children. It is about a flower sprite who has been banished from the kingdom of sprites because he has dared to look at the sunshine. He wanders about the woods making friends with the flowers, the birds, and the four-footed animals, talking and philosophizing with them and bringing happiness to those that are troubled. The wood-folk tell him their tales, mostly about their fellow creatures in the forest; but some of them know stories of the lives of the humans who dwell out in the great world. The flower sprite learns that among human beings there is an emotion known as love. He hears of the love of man for woman, of a mother's love for her child, and it is the linden who tells him the story of Christ who loved all humanity.

The sprite has mingled freely with the wood-creatures, it has danced in the wind, it has felt the warmth of the glorious sunshine, and it has heard beautiful tales of the happenings on this earth of mortals. He does not regret his banishment and when it is time for him to die he is ready because his life has been so full.

A pretty tale, told lightly enough for children and yet very much a book for grown-ups in its moral and philosophical implications.

There are a number of simple poems, more than adequately rendered in English by Arthur Guiterman.

M. B. F.

## Untrammelled Youth

A Review by MARGARET B. FEIGENBAUM

HEIRS APPARENT. A new novel by Philip Gibbs. New York: George A. Doran. \$2.00.

This is a tale of the "New Youth" untrammelled, carefree, irresponsible, yet with a strong code of honor, that acts as a sheet anchor in time of need.

Julian Perryam decides to "send himself down" from Oxford to save the authorities the trouble of doing it themselves. He has taken part in a midnight escapade which included pulling a chandelier out by the roots from its rightful anchorage. His friend, Audrey Nye, has been expelled from her school for having been in the same riotous revel. They start home together cheerfully disregarding the fact that it will be necessary for them to put up at an inn overnight. On arriving at the inn Audrey runs into some highly proper ladies who are neighbors of hers at home. They immediately and inevitably misinterpret the situation and spare no time in bringing the sad tale home to Audrey's parents. The story does not devolve around this situation. It is cleared up rapidly by Audrey's complete insouciance when she is confronted by the details of her wickedness.

Audrey's real problem is settling down to support her whole family, her father, a clergyman, having become convinced that his lifelong devotion to the faith of his fathers had been a mistake and that the Roman Catholic religion is the only true one. This necessitated giving up his country "living" and settling in a London slum until work of some kind can be found for him. In the meantime Audrey, whose blitheness in stepping over disagreeable situations was a by-word among her friends, is the only one who can possibly tide the family over its misfortune.

Julian, on the other hand, comes home to luxury. His ability lies in the direction of literature. He dabbles desultorily with poetry and play-writing.

His father wants him to become a journalist, but he despises his father for stultifying himself from an editorial chair for a large salary. His peculiar logic permits him to spend money so earned but he cannot bring himself to accept the posi-

tion that is offered him on the same paper.

It is only when he becomes involved in a hopeless love tangle and wishes to forget that he allows himself to be taken on as a reporter.

The paper he serves, *The Week* (Horatio Bottomley's *John Bull* in thin disguise), has a tremendous circulation and its owner is a man of great power feared by his employees and lauded by all who read his editorial page. Among Julian's acquaintances in London is a writer of radical tendencies, Henry Calflyn, who writes a series of articles exposing the editor of *The Week*. He shows that while Buckland, the editor, was posing as a patriot and philanthropist, he was defrauding a gullible public by means of money prizes and methods "that have been fraudulent in effect." Buckland is brought to trial as a result of these charges and is found guilty. This means the collapse of the Perryam riches. It is now Julian's turn to buckle under and bear the burden of family support.

At the end Julian and Audrey come to the conclusion that after all this much-maligned younger generation that can so successfully blind itself to the ugly facts of life, can face the music when necessary. They also discover that their attraction for each other is more than mere friendship. One feels that they will make good in their particular share of the battle of life and hopes that the marriage they are putting off for some future date will not be too long deferred.

A significant figure in the book is Victor Buckland, the deposed editor of *The Week*. His recipe for running a successful paper is very simple. "Feed 'em the elemental emotions," he says. "Give them Love . . . divorce, scandals. When I can't get a good divorce case I send out young men to discover private scandals. . . . Then there's Hate—I encourage Patriotism by making them hate the enemies of their country. During the war I kept the home fires burning with hatred against the Hun. Now I'm showing them the hostility that lurks in the American mind against Great Britain."

The book is delightful reading and adds another success to the lengthening list of achievements of this great journalist and novelist.

## Lassalle's Love Letters

The correspondence of Ferdinand Lassalle with Countess Sophie von Hatzfeld is being brought out by a Berlin publisher. Gabriele Reuter writes from Berlin to the Times Book Review of these letters. The following excerpts are interesting:

The founder of the German Social-Democratic movement, Ferdinand Lassalle, is a significant figure in world history. Gifted with genius, profoundly cultured, a philosopher admired by scientific authorities, a fascinating orator, and a fanatic agitator, he was yet a lover of the good things of life, extravagant, aristocratic in his bearing, with an untamably domineering spirit and an equally untamable will power. By the combination of all these contradictory qualities nature made of him the prototype of a dictator rather than a leader of the proletariat. In spite of the revolutionary movements of his time, it was by far not sufficiently mature for his ideals. After his early death German Labor turned toward Marxian internationalism instead of his patriotically tinged communism. In every worker's home, in every proletarian hall, his picture hangs today beside that of Marx, his antithesis. His many posthumous works are being magnificently edited by Gustav Mayer; the correspondence with Countess Hatzfeld, which has just been published, forms the fourth volume.

"We cannot help feeling a thoroughly cordial human interest for this correspondence, even though we may not share Lassalle's Socialistic

ideals, nor cherish any especial liking for his many-colored character. It gives us an odd sensation to read such a collection of letters that were never written or planned for publication—to see suddenly appearing before us, in the brightly vivid colors of life, people who died half a century ago—to watch the depths of their being, unveiled only now—to penetrate into the proud, reserved hearts that, during their public careers, they sought to hide.

Ferdinand Lassalle met Countess Hatzfeld, who was to become his life's companion in the highest sense, when she was 41 and he an unusually mature Jewish student of 21.

"In this one woman the impassioned youth saw the symbol of all who are oppressed; for him the fight for her freedom became the revolution against the tremendous power of feudalism, and even against the Throne. A thrilling drama in itself is the history of these suits, interrupted by months of prison sentences. Lassalle succeeded, furthermore, in freeing the Countess from the spiritually narrow point of view of her class, in making of her a perfect disciple and a spiritual companion on the daring and hazardous paths of his ideas. Her own world had cast her out; only with him, the despised Red, the Jew, did she find protection, aid, elevation and a profound, knightly, reverential affection."

D. Appelton announce "You Can Change (Though You Want)" by Chas. Lawson. The author shows how human nature can be changed and how a world of human beings can be developed which is opposed to war, strife, greed and avarice.

All Books Reviewed on this page, and every other book, obtainable at the

RAND BOOK STORE  
7 EAST 15TH STREET  
New York City

## Notes on Books and Authors

Messrs. Longman's Green & Company have just published "The Freedom of the Seas in History, Law and Politics," by Pitman B. Potter, associate professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin. The author calls his subject one of the two or three most vital and profound questions of international, political and legal principle, being rivaled in interest and importance only by the question of the balance of power, with one aspect of which it is closely related. The United States has gone to war four times with the object of establishing on firmer foundations the freedom of the sea, yet the subject has not until now been treated in the light of all these great conflicts.

Professor George H. Green, author of "Psychoanalysis in the Classroom,"

and an authority on the new psychology, has written a new book dealing in a popular way with the workings of the mind. It is called "The Mind in Action," and is published by Putnam's.

Wallace Smith, who did the illustration for Ben Hecht's "Fantasies Mollare," is the author of a book called "On the Trail in Yellowstone," for which he himself has made the decorations. It is to be published shortly by Putnam's.

George H. Green, B.Sc., who wrote "Psychoanalysis in the Classroom," is the author of "The Mind in Action" which the Putnam's are issuing immediately. Professor Green's new book deals in a clear and popular fashion with the workings of the

mind and should hold an interest not only for students but for laymen as well.

Ben Ray Redman, critic, essayist, and translator of Jean Giraudoux's "Suzanne of the Pacific," has become associated with the editorial department of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Alfred A. Knopf publishes "The Diaries and Letters of Otto Braun" edited by Julie Volgelstein, with an introduction by Havelock Ellis. Otto Braun was the son of the well known Socialist and Feminist Lily Braun.

Putnam will soon publish "The World of Today, the Marvels of Nature and the Creations of Man," edited by Sir Harry Johnston.

## Soviet Relations

**THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF SOVIET RUSSIA.** By Alfred L. P. Dennis, Professor of History of Clark University. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$5.00.

The author of this book served with the Military Intelligence Department of the General Staff, U. S. A., during the war, and later on was an attaché of the London Embassy reporting to the Peace Conference in 1919. All intercepted Bolshevik correspondence he read. The book is filled with quotations from notes, speeches and articles by Soviet leaders, and the official Bolshevik press. It is illustrated with eight new maps, and as a whole is a valuable addition to the vast amount of literature on Soviet Russia.

**EVE'S LOVER.** By Mrs. W. K. Clifford. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.00.

A series of short stories that have appeared from time to time in Scribner's Magazine. Well written, but slightly old fashioned, they are extremely entertaining. "Eve's Lover," "Heart of the Wood," "Thief and Joyce," are especially good. There is one ghost story, entitled "Lost," which, according to the late William James, was one of the best ghost stories he had ever read. In this we largely agree with him. The book is worth the reading.

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## The Magazines

### ATLANTIC MONTHLY

The May issue of the Atlantic Monthly opens with another one of Cornelia's observations under the title, "Cornelia and Her Convictions." It is by Stuart P. Sherman, professor of English at the University of Illinois. Cornelia's opinions may not amount to much, but the readers of the Atlantic like them. From "A Cook's Point of View," by Anna Alderton, is worth reading as it gives an entirely new light on kitchen work in the places of the mighty as well as in the big hotels and restaurants. Captain Arthur Mason, who is becoming famous for his sea stories, gives an excellent bit called "The Fog." Bruce Bliven writes of the "Frightened Farmer" and predicts that the farmer will drop radicalism like a hot potato when he gets what he wants and affirms that the farmer is a blood relation of the conservative Main Streeter. There is a powerful story by L. Adams Beck dealing with India of many years ago. It is entitled "The Bride of God." "The Extraneous Adventures of a Whaler," by the late Charles Boardman Hawes, gives a glimpse of John Boyle O'Reilly, the Irish patriot, when, as a young convict, he escaped from the English penal colony where he had been sent. These articles and a number of others of equal merit combine to make the May issue of the Atlantic one of decided interest.

### HUMANITY

The April issue of Dr. William J. Robinson's new magazine is an interesting and suggestive addition to our increasing group of periodicals for "people who think"—with paragraphs and editorials by Dr.

Robinson, who is capable of a hearty indignation. He points out, among other matters, that the French fondness for Russia was long due to the fact that most of the French editors and many of the politicians were on the payroll of the Czar as recently revealed documents have proven. Particularly interesting is the historical survey of Llewellyn Hughes, "In Defence of the Ku Klux Klan." The professor's analysis would do any Klansman credit. He shows how the aims of the Klan: (1) Assimilation of immigrants, (2) maintenance of white supremacy, (3) condemnation of all radical (non-conformist) activity, political, economic, or social, (4) eradication of prostitution; all these are directly traceable to the patriotic Fathers of our country, and are carried throughout the lives of its leaders since. Furthermore, that the nature of the Klan's activity in attaining its ends has always been the method approved by the leaders in American Government and by the great patriots. "The Klan is a true hundred-percent American organization, deriving its principles, its methods, its spirit, from the Fathers. It represents the only great coherent effort now being made to achieve the ideals of American history. Criticism of the Klan involves criticism of those ideals." This presentation bids pause those of us who have dared believe we were truly American in wishing to see such things as the Klan impossible in these United States. Perhaps a careful perusal of the penetrating "Conduct as a Science," by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, will enable the anxious reader to discover a proper course in this complex world.



## EDUCATE LOGGERS TO TAKE WAGE CUT

Portland, Ore.—The Four L Bulletin, issued by the loyal legion of loggers and lumbermen, is educating these workers to accept wage cuts.

The legion is the lumber barons' company "union." The Bulletin, an alleged spokesman for workingmen, says:

"My own opinion is that most of the mills look on wage reductions as a last resort and will not apply it unless forced to do so, but with conditions as they are, they may be so forced."

"There are enough exceptions to this, however, to make it possible that some mills will cut wages and force the others to do likewise."

One-half of the Bulletin's first page is devoted to these hints that wage cuts are unavoidable. The position of this publication answers the question: "Why do anti-unionists love the company 'union'?"

## BOSTON RAILMEN WIN PAY INCREASE

A wage agreement providing for an increase of about 5 per cent for the engineers, firemen and hostlers employed by the Boston & Maine Railroad, was announced today. The new wage scale went into effect on May 9 and affects about 2,000 employees.

## New Haven Rail Clerks Demand Pay Increase

Following the decision of a recent convention of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks in Dallas, Texas, that concerted efforts be made throughout the nation to regain cuts in wages ordered by the Railroad Labor Board, the clerks employed on the New York, New Haven and Hartford have demanded an increase of six cents per hour.

The Union has given General Manager C. L. Bardo of the road the required thirty days' notice that the wage increase must go into effect on July 1. The demanded raise would restore the wage scale which obtained before the Railroad Labor Board ordered a series of cuts.

## I. A. OF M. CONVENTION AT DETROIT, SEPT. 15

A general convention of the International Association of Machinists will be held the third Monday in September at Detroit.

The constitution of the I. A. of M. provides that every four years a referendum vote shall be taken on whether or not a convention shall be held that year. A recent vote decided in favor of a convention this year.

The general executive board, at a meeting held in the headquarters office building at Washington this week, selected the place and date, as provided by the laws of the association.

Four years ago the last general convention of the machinists was held at Rochester, N. Y.

## GARMENT WORKERS WILL FIGHT TO A FINISH

Chicago.—The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who have been on strike for the past eight weeks for the right of collective bargaining have made plans to carry on their strike until victory is complete.

In spite of the fact that over one hundred have been convicted in Judge Sullivan's Court, for disobeying his honor's injunctions on behalf of the bosses against picketing, and fined a total of nearly \$50,000 and from 45 to 50 strikers sentenced to jail from ten to fifty days, the struggle for better conditions for those who toil in the garment industry goes on.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has taken up the fight to raise a war chest for the strikers.

## CLAY WORKERS WIN

Chicago, Ill.—Clay manufacturers who boasted they would install the anti-union shop have failed according to Editor Tracy of the Union Clay Worker.

In Ohio and Illinois every agreement to date has been renewed. "Our union is in better shape at present than at any time in its existence and with less strikes on hand," said the Labor Editor.

# UNION DIRECTORY

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

## Waiters' Union

Local 219, H. & R.E.L.A. & B.L.L. of A.  
Office & Headquarters 170 E. 80 St., N.Y.  
LENEX 1874  
Regular meetings every Tuesday, 3 P. M.  
Meyer Schechter, Chas. S. Lowy  
President, Sec'y & Sec.

## Ladies' Waistmakers' Union

Local 25 I. L. G. W. U.  
16 W. 21st St. Watkins 7057  
Pauline Morgenstern, Manager  
Ada Rosenfeld, Secretary-Treasurer  
Pauline Getiman, Chairman Ex. Bd.

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

Local 584, I. B. of T.  
Office: 563 Hudson St., City.  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ANTORIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.  
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East Broadway, Room 3.  
F. J. STERNINSEY, Pres. & Bus. Agent.  
NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

## AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715  
Telephone: Stuyvesant 4500-1-2-3-4-5  
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

## New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."  
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5586.  
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.  
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

## CLOAK and SKIRT MAKERS' UNION

Local 11, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office and Headquarters, 219 Sackman St., B'klyn. Dickens 0882  
Local meets every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.  
WILLIAM COHEN, Chairman. HARRY CHANCER, Secretary.

## CLOAK and SUIT OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 1, I. L. G. W. U.  
Local 1 Building, 128 East 85th St. Madison Sq. 5590  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office.  
LOUIS HOROWITZ, Chairman. LOUIS LEVY, Manager-Secretary.

## Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4540  
Office, 231 E. 14th Street.  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
SECTION MEETINGS  
Downtown—211 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 6 P. M.  
Bronx—E. 187th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.  
B'klyn—106 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomery St.  
SALVATORE NINFO, Manager-Secretary.

## CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
709 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4350, 9510, 9511  
JOE GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7600-1-2-3-4  
DAVID WOLF, General Manager ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

## CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION

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

## DRESSMAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 25, I. L. G. W. U. Watkins 7050  
Office, 16 West 21st St.  
The Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office. Branch meetings are held every 1st and 3rd Thursday of the month.  
MAX BLUSTEIN, Chairman I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

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

## Italian Dressmakers' UNION

Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.  
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 21st Street. Telephone 7748—Watkins.  
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

## JEWELRY WORKERS

UNION, LOCAL 1, I. J. W. U. Phone: 4934  
Office: 63 Park Row Beekman 4934  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday in the office at 6 P. M. Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday, Room 536, 43 Park Row, New York City.  
S. E. BEARDSLEY, LEON WILLIAMS, Organizer Sec'y-Treas.

## CAP MAKERS

N. Y. Joint Council  
of the U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A.  
Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 9800-1-2  
Council meets every 1st & 3rd Wednesday  
Jacob Roberts B. Eisenstein, L. Bach  
Manager, Rec. Secretary, Fin. Sec.

## HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.  
175 E. 17th St. Orchard 5259  
Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday  
AL. GRABAL, President  
L. KORN, Manager. S. JACOBI, Sec'y.

## United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board, Every Saturday, 12 Noon.  
B. GUSKIN, Chairman. MAX PINE, Secretary.  
H. ABRAMSON, M. FEINSTEIN, Vice-Chairman Asst. Secretary

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LOOK  
FOR  
THIS  
LABEL



DEMAND  
THIS  
LABEL

UNION MADE BREAD DOES  
NOT COST YOU MORE AND  
IS MADE IN SANITARY SHOPS

Bakery & Confectionery Workers' Int. Union of America  
Organization Committee of Locals 87, 100, 163, 169 and 305

## The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

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

## JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION

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

## FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 5:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
A. SOIFER, Chairman.  
S. LANGER, Vice-Chairman.  
H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

## FUR NAILERS' UNION

LOCAL 10  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 5:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
I. RUBINSTEIN, Chairman.  
C. ZORENBERG, Vice-Chairman.  
N. LUTZKY, Secretary.

## FUR CUTTERS UNION

LOCAL 1  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 5:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
WILLIAM CHERNIAK, Chairman.  
L. GOLDWORG, Vice-Chairman.  
N. FISHEROFF, Secretary.

## FUR OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 5  
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 5:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
H. BEGOON, Chairman.  
V. GOLDFELD, Vice-Chairman.  
N. LUTZKY, Secretary.

## The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

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

## Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76

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

## U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

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

## PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.  
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1287  
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.  
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOY, Sec'y-Treasurer.

## Children's Jacket Makers

of Gr. N. Y. Loc 10, Sec. A. A. C. W. A.  
Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387  
Executive Board meets every Friday at 5 P. M.  
MAX B. ROYALSKY, Chairman;  
A. LEVINE, Rec. Sec'y;  
SAM COHEN, Fin. Sec'y.

## Lapel Makers & Pairers'

Local 161, A. C. W. A.  
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3809  
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
IKE SCHNEIDER, Chairman;  
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary;  
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

## Journeyman Plumbers

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

## NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
2 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7878  
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.  
G. LEVINE, Rec. Sec'y.  
A. Schwartzwald, Chas. Razono, Vice-Pres. Bus. Agent, Treas.

## United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.  
1 East 15th St. Phone Stuyvesant 7082  
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock in the office.  
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President  
ED. GOTTMAN, Sec'y-Treas.  
L. D. BERGER, Manager  
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

## BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION LOCAL 68, I. L. G. W. U.  
7 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3687  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union  
Z. L. FREEDMAN, Pres.  
M. M. ESSENFIELD, NATHAN RIEBEL, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

## SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORTFOLIO MAKERS' UNION

62 University Place Stuyvesant 6558  
The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 151 Clinton St., N. Y. Chas. Gardnkel, Org'n. H. Kaplan, Sec.

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

130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 1984  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
M. POLINSKY, A. WEINGART, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

## SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.  
130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 147.  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 8 P. M.  
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

## Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple  
11-27 Arlon Pl., Bkn., N. Y.  
LOIS CANTOR, Chair. N. I.  
H. TAYLOR, LEON BECK, Rec. Sec'y Fin. Sec'y

## COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 83, I. H. C. & C. L. of A.  
Office, 227 E. 84th St. 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday, closed all day. Lenox 7623.  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.  
JOHN McQUINN, PETER FINKLER, JOHN McARTLAN, MAT. J. HANNON, Vice-Pres. Rec. Sec'y Fin. Secretary Bus. Agent

## PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

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

## PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: Telephone: 62 East 106th Street University 2528  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.  
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.  
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNENFIELD, Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

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

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 166 East 56th Street.  
Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St.  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST ST. Telephone Melrose 5474.  
THOMAS DALTON, President. CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent.  
HARRY P. KILERT, Fin. Sec'y. JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y.

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL 285  
Office and Headquarters, 12 St. Mark's Place. Dry Dock—4566  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month.  
V. J. CASTELLI, President.  
MICHAEL CURTIN, Vice-Pres. WILLIAM GARDNER, Rec. Secretary  
N. VILLACCI, Bus. Agent. CHARLES FIESELER, Fin. Secretary

## Carpenters & Joiners of America

United Brotherhood of  
Local Union 366  
4215 3rd Ave., corner Tremont Ave.  
Regular meetings every Monday evening  
Walter Anderson, President Bert Post, Rec. Secretary James Dugman, Fin. Sec'y  
Victor Saul, Vice President Joseph Vanderpool, Treas. Chas Nobis, Business Agent  
Board of Trustees—Jos. Hess, Louis Schmidt, E. Giew

## DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1456, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA.  
Office: 12 St. Mark's Place. Orchard 6804  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday.  
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President.  
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OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10.  
A. C. W. A. Section "B"  
Office 335 Bushwick Av., Bkn. Stage 10180  
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.  
J. Berowitz, L. Feltelson, Chairman Rec. Sec'y.  
J. Portner, A. Kaufman, Bus. Agent Fin. Sec'y.

## I. U. S. and O. Engineers' Local 56

Meets every Friday at 8 P. M. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stage 2544.  
Office hours, 8 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 8 P. M., Room 34.  
F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.





# --- -- DRAMA --- --

## THE NEW PLAYS

### MONDAY

"I'LL SAY SHE IS," a musical comedy, at the Casino, Monday night, by James P. Beury. Book and lyrics by Will B. Johnstone, with music by his brother, Tom Johnstone. The Marx Brothers are featured.

### TUESDAY

"INNOCENT EYES," will serve to introduce Mistinguett (from the Casino De Paris), and featuring Cecil Lean and Cleo Mayfield, will be presented by the Messrs. Shuberts at the Winter Garden on Tuesday evening. The book is by Harold Atteridge; music by Sigmund Romberg and Jean Schwartz; lyrics by Harold Atteridge and Tot Seymour.

Others in the cast include Vera Lavrova (Baroness Michael Royce Garrett), Edythe Baker, Vannessi, Lew Hearn, Earl Leslie, Frances Williams, Ted Doner, Marjory Leach, Charles Howard and Frank Dobson.

"THE GRAND STREET FOLLIES," at the Neighborhood Playhouse Tuesday night. This is the last production of the season. In the company heading the cast are Lily Lubell, Albert Carroll, Blanche Talmud, John F. Roche, Dan Walker, Aline MacMahon. The music is by Lily Hyland, the book by Agnes Morgan. Aline Bernstein designed the setting and the costumes and Albert Carroll arranged the dances.

### WEDNESDAY

"ROUND THE TOWN," a new intimate revue, at the Century Roof Wednesday evening. A notable point of the production is the debut of Heywood Brown as an actor. Featured in the cast is Harry Fox, and includes Gloria Foy, Jay and Jane Velie, Charles Crafts, Jack Haley, Rose Rolando, Charles Hill, Elise Bonwit, Roberto Medrano.

"KEEP KOOL," a musical revue by Paul Gerard Smith, with melodies by Jack Frost, to be presented by E. K. Nadel at the Morosco Wednesday night. Hazel Dawn, Charles King and Johnny Dooley are the featured players.



HELEN MENKEN

in Austin Strong's drama "Seventh Heaven," now in its last weeks at the Booth.

## Mellow Comedy

LEW FIELDS IN "THE MELODY MAN," AT THE RITZ

The elements of the good old sentimental comedy are properly seasoned with pert remarks and lively humor, filtered through a net of sweet devotion, and produce an unexciting but enjoyable play. The first act, in the office of a music publishing company, is by far the breeziest; although it oozes its fair share of the sentimentality, it also gives Sam White an opportunity to put over some excellent vaudeville. Lew Fields commands the attention every moment he is on the stage; his moments of silence are as valuable as those in which he talks, for the bend of his shoulders, the turn of his wrists, the angry quivering of his body and arms, are eloquent. Jules Jordan does another excellent piece of character work as a shy lawyer, finding ways of taking credit for everything that comes out successful. Betty Weston pulls an ordinary part out of the rut by the hauteur of her final appearance, after the beneficent six months' honeymoon in Europe. The rest of the cast is sufficiently sprightly to maintain the standard. Of the play itself not so much can be said. "The Music Master" may come to mind, but why trouble to compare one play of this kind with another? They attempt merely to wipe pleasantly away hours that might otherwise be dullly spent; they usually succeed fairly well. So we have the usual tale, with new trimmings: of the poor girl who marries money to give her dear parent a happy old age—then finds that she loves her husband after all.

The amount of truth to life in such a play might give a cynic subject matter for railing at the theatre, and at the world; but a cynic should not go to such a play. Probably, any way, a drama of this sort will deceive only those who are already blind. "The Melody Man" suggests a new wrinkle, however, in the development after the honeymoon: the daughter returns from abroad entirely changed; she has clothed herself in expensive gowns and in a polish of speech and disdain of manner that startle the simple old father. Psychologically the transformation might have been true, as a guard, a cloak against this stranger she had married for her father's sake; but this is contradicted by the fact that he seems, after all, to be fairly decent, and by her really coming to love him. The truth is that the author troubled about psychological veracity no more than the audience, which likes the play well enough as it is.

J. T. S.

## Vaudeville Theatres

**PALACE**  
Ted Lewis and Band, Fritz Scheff, Avon Comedy Four, Williams and Wolfus, Beatrice Herford, Lockett and Page, Willie Rolls and Paul Nolan & Company.

**HIPPOTROME**  
"International Week"—S. & Leviathan Orchestra; with Morton Downey; "Fifty Miles from Broadway," Colonel Fred Lindsay, Mme. Calliope Chariass and her ten dancing children, Will Mahoney, Chieftain Caulpican, Claude and Marion, Joe Rome and Lou Galt, the Arnaut Brothers, the Hagenbeck Performing Lions, the Hippodrome dancers, Pathe News and Aesop's Fables.

**RIVERSIDE**  
Gus Edwards' Protege Week—Gus Edwards' Annual Song Revue, Seed and Austin, Olga Cook and Eric Zardo, Willie Solar, Hazel Johnson and Doris Walker, the Three Arnauts, Special visiting Gus Edwards' stars at every performance.

**B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY**  
B. S. Moss' Broadway, beginning Monday, will show the farce comedy "Listen Lester," a picturization of the play. The cast includes Harry Myers, Louise Fazenda and Eva Novak. The official fight pictures of the Bartley Madden vs. Harry Wills bout, will be shown. The Keith Vaudeville programs will include Ben Meroff and his orchestra, Frank and Miltie Britton, Jack McLallen and Sarah, Stan Stanley, Lew Cooper, Austen and Lewis, and other acts.

**LOEW'S PALACE**  
"Leah Kleschna" will be the screen feature at Loew's Palace Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, under the title of "The Moral Sinner."  
Rudolph, Winchill and Briscoe, Ed. Stanislavoff and Co., and Dunn and Scott are among the vaudeville offerings.  
Elinor Glen's "Three Weeks," with Aileen Pringle and Conrad Nagel, is scheduled the last part of the week.  
"Creations," Billy Rhone and Ed. Squire, Valda and Company, and Hazel Crosby and Company will be the vaudeville features.



OLGA PETROVA

in her own play "The Hurricane" at the Bronx Opera House.

## Bridling the Bride

"THE BRIDE," MYSTERY-COMEDY WITH PEGGY WOOD, AT THE 39TH STREET THEATRE

The great mystery plays of previous seasons touched the pinnacle of their particular peak in the dramatic range; all later attempts run the risk of falling flat as plateaus. Infinity of possible combinations has prevented a similar exhaustion in comedy; it is likely that the comic Mount Everest will remain forever unascended. Stuart Olivier has not sought to reach the inaccessible in either climb; but by joining together two lesser peaks he has piled Pelion on Ossa and created a sunshiny new mountain of his own. A favorite dish of my childhood was "blind pie"; on the happy days when it was served we beheld a deep round dish, covered high with a chocolate-coated meringue, tart-sweet, delicious—but what was beneath that covering was never the same, and never revealed in advance. Peggy Wood brings the sweetness, Isabel Irving's tongue is appealingly tart, the dear innocence of the two rich bachelors (of

Ferdinand Gottschalk especially) was delicious; the comedy was genuinely sparkling, and the mystery—never revealed in advance.

Yet here is Peggy Wood, a deserting bride-to-be, coming through the roof-door into the household of two rich brothers, and soon commanding the inexperienced men and establishing herself for the night. News of a nearby robbery does not rouse their suspicions, despite the \$100,000 in rubies the younger bachelor has. The main problem is rather, how to get rid of the bride? Put her out? Marry her themselves? Perhaps too soon the audience, always suspicious, catches her signalling from the window; such a pretty creature so stepped in crime! How will she repent? Is there to be a sermon? Yet she does not repent; she succeeds in every detail of her midnight plot; and incidentally shows two wakening bachelors (and a delighted audience) that not all women talk too much, yet that it may not be as easy as one (the man) hopes to bridle the bride.

J. T. S.

## Forever Burning

"THE FLAME OF LOVE," AT THE EMPIRE

With the mouth of three thousand years the goddess Si-Ling tells her ancient story, her tale of the weaver maiden who loved and waited in vain, until the fire of her passion burned into the cloth, and the "Flame" cloth consumed the maiden-goddess, itself consumed and lost—until one in devotion to Si-Ling might win her favor and the secret of the cloth of flame. Cheney Brothers having invented a new silk cloth, overlaid with 22 carat gold, the old legend can be revived, and the story of the devoted weaver unfolded.

With the mouth of three thousand years the goddess Aphrodite tells her ancient story, her tale of the holy man wooed from his chaste love of the gods by a mortal maiden's desire. For he would devote himself in purity and ascension to sanctity and pious work, but she in her mortal jealousy beguiled the goddess the flesh and the fleshly powers of the man, and with the soft seduction of her maiden flesh she worked upon the desires of the youth, weakened by his close and arduous toll, and she won him from the spiritual love of the goddess to a love that was born of a flaming kiss.

Almost as old is the twist, Messrs. Samuels and LaPrade put in their plot; the maiden, hired to betray the man, falls in love with him. Less usual is the final turn: she is angry when he has given her but his body, loving the goddess with his soul; but Wu-Chen comes to love Zara wholly, he cries his abandonment of the goddess—and lo! the goddess rewards them my granting the secret of the cloth of flame. The old story of a man's temptation and fall, and subsequent resurrection, through the love of the temptress is graciously colored and made repatable by the oriental setting; familiar things in far-off places seem strangely new. "The Flame of Love" is always strange, always familiar, always delicious and desired—always flaming and always dying out.

WILLIAM LEA.

## Olga Petrova in "Hurricane" at the Bronx Opera House.

"Hurricane" comes to the Bronx Opera House beginning Monday, after a run at the Frolic Theatre on Broadway. Madame Olga Petrova holds the triple distinction of being author, director and star.

"Hell Bent For Heaven"—The Pulitzer Prize Play of the season, will be the following attraction.

"Mr. Battling Butler," George Choo's musical comedy at the Times Square, will score its 300th consecutive performance on Saturday night.

"Round the Town," the new revue which comes to the Century Roof on Wednesday evening, will give two mid-night performances on Thursdays and Saturdays instead of usual afternoon performances.

# --- -- THEATRES --- --

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

## "THE PERFECT REVUE" VOGUES

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SHUBERT Theatre 44th St., West of E'way.

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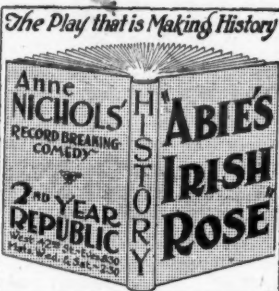
SEATS NOW ON SALE FOR CONVENTION WEEK AND 4TH OF JULY.



LIONEL ATWILL

in "THE OUTSIDER" AMBASSADOR WEST 49th ST.

HEAR JULIA SANDERSON SING OLD MAN in the MOON MOONLIGHT A MUSICAL COMEDY GEM LONGACRE THEATRE W. 46th St. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30



JOHN GOLDEN Is forced to announce the LAST WEEKS of 7th HEAVEN

Comedy Drama by Austin Strong 82d Week. 689th to 696th Times BOOTH W. 45th St. Eves. at 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

D. W. GRIFFITH'S "Greatest play ever staged." AMERICA By Robert W. Chambers 44th STREET THEATRE Twice Daily, 2:20, 8:30 Prices 30c. \$1. \$1.50 Will not be shown in any other N. Y. theatre this year.



ROBERT WARWICK

as the husband in one of the features of Samuel Shipman's "Cheaper to Marry." The play will house at the Belmont, Monday night.

## NOTES

The New York debut of Mistinguett, in "Innocent Eyes" at the Winter Garden, Monday, will be signalled by the appearance in the musicians' pit of the two composers of "Innocent Eyes," Sigmund Romberg and Jean Schwartz. Mr. Romberg will play a violin and Mr. Schwartz the piano.

The MESSRS. SHUBERT Announce the NEW YORK PREMIERE of Their Newest WINTER GARDEN

"INNOCENT EYES" Introducing MISTINGUETT (FROM THE CASINO DE PARIS) Cecil LEAN AND A SUPER CAST

WINTER GARDEN LAST GALA SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT OF THE SEASON (Resume in September)

NEW SPRING EDITION SELWYN CHARLOT'S REVUE W. 42d St. Eves. 8:30 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

with BEATRICE LILLIE, GERTRUDE LAWRENCE and NELSON KINGS

Good Balcony Seats at \$1 and \$1.50, at Box Office only. SEATS ON SALE EIGHT WEEKS IN ADVANCE.

FREDERICK LONSDALE'S COMEDY ELTINGE SPRING CLEANING W. 42d St. Eves. 8:30 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

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.

LEW FIELDS in a New 3-Act Comedy "THE MELODY MAN" with SAM WHITE and EVA PUCK

RITZ Theatre, 18th St., W. of E'way. Eves. 8:30. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30.

RICHARD HERNDON presents MOVES HERE MONDAY NIGHT! IMPERIAL THEA., 45th St., W. of E'way. Eves. 8:30. MATINEES WED. and SAT., 2:30.

'PEG O' MY DREAMS' MUSICAL VERSION of "PEG O' MY HEART"

Book by J. Hartley Manners Lyrics by Anne Caldwell Music by Hugo Felix Staged by Hassard Short

CHEAPER TO MARRY MOVES MONDAY NIGHT to BELMONT THEA., 18th St., E. of E'way Eves. 8:30—MATS. 2:30

NATIONAL THEA., 41st W. of E'way. Eves. 8:15. MATS THURS & SAT 2

HAMPDEN AS CYRANO 200TH TIME MONDAY EDMOND ROSTAND MEMORIAL NIGHT

Now that the dramatic season practically has ended, the so-called lively arts again spring into prominence, and although Luna Park never has been classified as a lively art by its garrulous exponents, it will no doubt afford hundreds much pleasure; and this after all is the test of a lively art. With a whoop and a yell, it starts its twenty-second season Saturday. All the old stands with their ballyhoo men, pink lemonade and growling franks will be there again, and in addition, Luna's P. A. assures this column, the "world's greatest thriller" in the shape of a new roller coaster, dubbed "The Mile High Chaser" will await first nighters to send shivers down their spines and make their stomachs act queerly.

"PEG O' MY DREAMS," the musical version of J. Hartley Manners' "Peg O' My Heart," will move Monday night from Jolson's 59th Street Theatre to the Imperial Theatre.

Among the more serious events of the week were the announcements by Gilbert Miller that he would present Ferenc Molnar's, "Roman Feast," and Ernest Vajda's, "High C" next season. Mr. Miller also said he would present a new Schnitzler play next season.

The second event of importance was the news that Jane Cowl had begun rehearsals of "Die Flamme," (The Flame) a play by Dr. Hans Mueller, of Vienna, which she will add to her repertory and present for the first time in this country in Boston on June 3.



HELEN SHIPMAN

in "Paradise Alley," Carl Carlton's music show which moves to Jolson's 59th Street Theatre, Monday night.

The proceeds of the 200th performance of Rostand's, "Cyrano de Bergerac," in which Walter Hampden is starred, will go to the construction of a monument to the French author in his native city of Marseilles. The benefit performance will take place Monday.



## D R A M A

## Hampden on Shakespeare

WALTER HAMPDEN DISCUSSES THE DRAMATIC AND LITERARY QUALITIES OF THE BARD'S GREAT PLAYS

"That romantic and classic drama have regained much of their former popularity is one of the most encouraging developments in the American theatre during the past few years," asserted Walter Hampden at the National Theatre. Considering Mr. Hampden's standing as a Shakespearean actor, and the success of his current revival of Edmond Rostand's heroic comedy, "Cyrano de Bergerac," his remarks on such a matter are timely and authoritative.

"There was a period of more than a quarter of a century when the people of America were quite apathetic toward the plays of Shakespeare, so much so that there was a saying current in the theatre that producing Shakespeare 'spelled ruin.' Happily that period is passed. During the last few years more of Shakespeare's plays have been presented in New York and on the road than ever before in a similar length of time, and the majority of the productions are splendidly patronized. That the reawakening of interest was not sporadic is shown by the number and variety of the bard's plays that have been uniformly well received and by the number of actors and actresses who have achieved success in them. Not only the great tragedies, 'Othello,' 'Hamlet,' 'Macbeth' and 'Romeo and Juliet,' have enthralled public attention all over the country, but many of the lighter plays, 'The Merchant of Venice,' 'The Taming of the Shrew,' 'Twelfth Night' and 'As You Like It,' have exercised the spell of their charm and humor.

"Cyrano de Bergerac's success is but another phase of this renaissance of interest in the best in drama. While we speak of Shakespeare's play as tragedies, or comedies, or histories, they are all in a broad sense what 'Cyrano' is—romantic drama. In them all are poetry, imagination and illusion, presenting great truths of life and human nature in terms of the theatre, in a way that appeals to the mind, the heart and the emotions.

"For a good many years, beginning about the mid nineties, the stage was inundated by a wave of so-called realism, nearly all the plays produced during that period dealing with contemporary life and current problems, social, political and domestic, with great stress laid upon the sordid side of humanity. Romance, poetry and imagination practically disappeared from our theatre. That wave now has somewhat receded, for romantic drama has a foothold once more and the public seems heartily glad of the change.

"That the plays of Shakespeare have endured is by no means due entirely to their literary quality. They are great literature but, more important to the theatre, they are great plays, that is, the majority of them. It is those that are great plays which enjoy the greatest popularity, not only in the theatre, but also in the school and the library. Which are Shakespeare's greatest plays? Undoubtedly, 'Othello,' 'Hamlet,' 'Macbeth,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'The Merchant of Venice,' 'Julius Caesar' and 'King Lear.' And they are the ones which are most widely read and studied, and, with the exception of 'King Lear,' the most frequently played.

"It is true that the Shakespeare loving public has always been a minority public, and this condition doubtless will continue for a long time, but the minority is growing smaller year by year. This public has increased to such an extent as to make it possible to stage Shakespeare's plays in a worthy manner without a subsidy or the certainty of a loss."

Mr. Hampden expects to carry out his long harbored intention of presenting half a dozen of Shakespeare's plays in New York next season, as well as reviving Philip Massinger's "A New Way to Pay Old Debts." It is his present intention to begin his next season with "Othello" early in November.



MISTINGUETT

will make her New York debut in "Innocent Eyes," the new revue coming to the Winter Garden, Tuesday night.

Party members, is held in honor and appreciation of work rendered by Joshua Lieberman as secretary of Local New York.

The toast masters for the evening will include Algernon Lee, Samuel P. Kramer and Norman Thomas. A small fee will be charged and a good time is assured to all.

## Yipsel Notes

An important meeting will be held this Friday evening, May 16, of Circle Six Seniors. The juniors of our Circle will hold a sociable in the same building at the same hour. After a short business meeting we will join them. Visitors invited.

## YIPSEL DISTRICT CONVENTION

The fourth annual convention of the New England District, Y. P. S. L., was held in Fitchburg April 5 and 6. The convention was called by Comrade T. Tikala, district secretary, after which the "Internationale" was sung. There were 31 delegates representing the 10 circles of the district.

The Saturday session of the Convention was taken up by the election of officers, committees and other routine matters. The keynote address was made by Comrade S. Syrjala, of Boston, former district secretary. He especially stressed the necessity of giving more time and financial resources to the educational side of the league and not devoting all the time to social and athletic work. Comrade Albert Webber, National Director of the Y. P. S. L., was the principal speaker of the day. The subject of his speech was "What the Y. P. S. L. means to me." One of the most important matters before the convention was the acceptance of the report of the Educational Committee elected by the convention. The plan as laid down by the committee, which was accepted by the convention, consisted in the spreading of The New Leader among the Y. P. S. L. circles of the district using it for articles and current event discussions, the touring of the Y. P. C. L. and party speakers throughout the district, having Yipsel members prepare speeches on specially assigned subjects during the summer in preparation for touring the circles next fall and winter, the selling of pamphlets and free distribution to members in good standing, the arrangement of debates and declamation contests among the circles, and the formation of libraries. The report also as accepted included the election of a special educational director for the district circles. The Convention decided to finance one Yipsel representative to the Socialist Party convention which is to be held at Cleveland, Ohio, next July.

The Convention decided that each circle form Junior Y. P. S. L. circles and form special classes in American history, parliamentary procedure, music and athletics. The Convention also accepted some athletic rules applying to athletic meets which the district circles carry on between the circles. The most important rules are that six months' membership in the Y. P. S. L. shall be required to participate in Y. P. S. L. athletic meets and that no professionals shall be allowed to participate. Changes in the district constitution were passed upon. The Convention passed resolutions against wars, asking for the moral and financial support of the Finnish Socialist Federation in helping the Y. P. S. L. to form circles in cities or towns where the Federation has locals and helping the Y. P. S. L. to carry on educational work, pledging the support of the New England District circles to help the Socialist Party in the 1924 presidential campaign, resolution for The New Leader and Free Youth.

The following officers were elected: Comrade Parker of Fitchburg was unanimously elected district secretary. The following district committee was elected: T. Tikala, of Fitchburg; S. Suomala, of Springfield; R. Suomeniemi, of Gardner; E. Björklund, of Worcester and S. Syrjala, of Boston. Auditors for 1924, comrades H. Puhakka and T. A. Partan. Athletic director, comrade, Finlaid, Gardner.

The approaching summer is driving concert singers either into retirement or cooler climates. Mme. Schuman-Heink, after a strenuous tour will journey to Coronado for a rest, while Ina Bouraskaya, the Russian mezzo-soprano, will sing at Ravinia Park during the summer, a resort on the north shore of Massachusetts Bay. Efrim Zimbalist will pass the heated months, as is his wont, at his seaside home on Fisher's Island, Long Island Sound, studying for next season.

## Party Notes

(Continued From Page 6)

formed by the Central office. A campaign committee is being formed composed of one member of each branch and it is hoped that in this manner a uniform educational campaign will be conducted throughout the county under the supervision of the Central Committee.

Open air meetings now being conducted weekly are:

MONDAY—St. Mark's and Saratoga avenues.

TUESDAY—Sumner and Floyd avenues.

THURSDAY—Graham avenue and Varet street. The speaker at each meeting is August Claessens.

## TO DINE LIEBERMAN

A gathering of friends of Joshua Lieberman, ex-secretary of Local New York, will be held on Friday evening, May 16, at seven o'clock, in the Rand School Cafeteria, 7 East 15th street.

This gathering, which has been arranged by a committee of active



HARRY FOX

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## T H E A T R E S

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48TH THEATRE, EVES. at 8:30. 48th St. TUE. & SAT. at 2:30

SPECIAL MAT. MONDAY, 2:30. FRI., MAY 23, & MON., MAY 26

HEDDA GABLER

By HENRIK IBSEN With the Following Cast: DUDLEY DIGGES FRITZ LEIBER CLARE EAMES ROLAND YOUNG MARGALO GILMORE AUGUSTA HAVLAND

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SPRING TONIC

The SWAN

With EVA Le GALLIENNE

Basil Rathbone, Philip Merrivale, Hilda Spang, Allan Shipworth, Hailwell Hooper, Richie Ling

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## THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, May 17, 1924

### THREE CONVENTIONS

AS THIS issue of The New Leader reaches its readers, three important conventions of workers are coming to a close. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in Philadelphia, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Boston and the International Fur Workers' Union in Chicago have been receiving reports from their officials upon the past two years' work, and planning two more years of activity.

All three unions have been faced with similar problems, and all three have met them with courage and success. They have beaten off attacks of the union smashers, they have maintained their organizations, they have maintained the best possible conditions for their members, and they have carried on educational and political work of such character and success that they are in the very vanguard of the Labor movement. All three organizations are represented in the successful union banks of New York. They have been in the forefront of that section of the Labor movement that has stressed the need of independent political action, and they have taken an intelligent interest in the affairs of their fellow workers abroad.

All three unions have been torn by dissensions brought into their ranks by outside agencies, and all three have courageously taken their stand against such disrupters. The New Leader, as the spokesman for the Socialist movement, greets the hundreds of thousands of workers in these three unions; it urges all its readers who are in one or another of the trades represented to do all in their power to make their work increasingly effective, and it welcomes their decision to join with the Socialists and the whole advanced section of Labor in a great Labor party that will soon place America in a position that will compare favorably with that occupied by Great Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, and other countries in which the workers use their political power as they use their industrial power.

### A REMARKABLE SURVEY

A SURVEY of the voters of the United States made by Mr. Simon Michelet for the Republican National Committee has produced such remarkable results that it is worth a lengthy consideration in these columns. His survey, although not intended as such, is the most damning indictment of the two capitalist parties that has ever been drawn. His figures show that of the total number of qualified voters in the United States, almost one-half declined to vote in 1920. The following paragraph contains the gist of his investigation:

Nearly one-half of the voters of the United States fail to perform their civic duty as electors. The largest vote ever cast for President was in 1920. The total vote for all Presidential candidates was 26,713,632. This was 8,000,000 more votes than were cast in 1916, and 11,000,000 more than in 1912. Yet for every 100 votes cast for President in 1920 there were ninety-six stay-at-homes or absentees—the total stay-at-home vote reaching the vast aggregate of 25,705,063.

If we make allowance for those who were unable to vote because of sickness and other reasons, which would account for a few million of absentees at the most, the total number of absentees is still staggering. Millions of copies of old party organs reach these voters daily and weekly. They are followed up by swarms of political orators in the campaigns. Tons of free literature are sent out by the party agencies to these voters. Brass bands and other forms of entertainment are employed to win the interest of the voters. Automobiles are supplied to haul the aged, the crippled, and the indifferent to the polls. Hundreds of thousands of party workers are

employed on election day to "round up the vote." Many millions of dollars are spent for these purposes.

Despite all this activity nearly one-half of the voters in this country cannot be induced to support the parties of capitalism! What a tremendous indictment of the two-party machine of capitalist politics!

Yet another aspect must be considered before we understand the full import of this situation. Professor Merriam, in his study of "The American Party System," has thrown considerable light on the mental attitude of large numbers of those who do support the old parties. In one chapter he considers what he calls the "hereditary voters." These voters are those who inherit their political opinions from their ancestors, those who vote a ticket because of habit and veneration for their fathers and not because of any sincere attempt to make an intelligent use of their voting power.

Practically all these voters divide their votes between the Republican and Democratic parties. Of these voters Professor Merriam writes: "Statistical data on this point (the number of such voters) are not available, but from numerous tests I have made over a period of twenty years, the percentage of hereditary voters runs from sixty-five per cent to eighty-five per cent, averaging seventy-five per cent. These figures are confirmed by the observation and judgment of others, and may be considered reliable."

Here is one of the foremost authorities on the American party system stating that of the voters who do support the two capitalist parties an average of seventy-five per cent are honest but uninformed and who act as they do because of habit, not because of intelligent convictions. Add this seventy-five per cent of uninformed voters to the 25,000,000 who do not vote at all and we get a startling conclusion: It is evident that only a tiny minority of the voters of the nation offer any conscious and informed support to the two capitalist parties! The capitalist system survives in politics not because of any informed support it receives but because the great majority of voters consist of those who are disgusted and refuse to vote and of "hereditary voters" who know not why they vote.

Politically, the whole capitalist system of society is much weaker than Socialists think it is in the United States. It is evident that it rests on indifference and ignorance. Only a small minority support its two parties intelligently and this intelligent class is chiefly those who profit handsomely from the system and those who serve its parties as agents and officials.

Our job is to win the disgusted and to educate the "hereditary voters." This accomplished, the two parties of capitalism fall. Both have failed already in the minds of a great majority of the voters. Unwittingly, this Republican survey reveals a great breach in the fortress of capitalist politics. It should encourage Socialists to redouble their efforts in the work of education and organization which will lead to emancipation.

### EXIT MR. BURNS

AMONG the shady characters installed at Washington was William J. Burns as head of the Bureau of Investigation. His chief recommendation was that he kept a house that supplied rats to despoilers of labor, spies and agents provocateur whose dirty services could be purchased from Burns for a price. Judicious publicity in the Sunday supplements gave this creature notoriety as a "detective." Naturally, the gang that marched into Washington in 1921 could not ignore Burns. He was essential to round out the fine collection of con men and "best minds."

Now Burns slinks out of Washington to follow his chief, Daugherty. Burns left despite the fact that he was asking an appropriation from Congress of \$2,250,000 for the work of his bureau and its swarm of yeggs. He wanted it to combat "radicalism." One of his rat-mind could not conceive of human beings opposing a system which seeks preservation through spies, provocative agents and crooks.

It is known that Burns' bureau had even engaged in spying on members of Congress, opening their mail, searching their desks and shadowing them. Meantime evidence has shown that the Department of Justice itself was headquarters for bootleggers, dope fiends and men with pasts. It was Burns' bureau that sent out the annual May Day scares of impending bloody revolts, that planted agents in Communist organizations who urged illegal acts. Burns himself never explained the mystery of his relations with "Windy Linde" or of the latter's "10,000 word confession" which Burns claimed to have knowledge of.

Burns is a synonym of how low capital-

ist control of government can sink. Every man and woman in the United States who is on the card index which he left behind in Washington may consider themselves honored in having been singled out for this distinction. Burns is a sign of a decaying social order, an order that will eventually disappear as he did from Washington last week.

### THE "GOOD" IN TAMMANY

HOW unreliable the mere label "progressive" may be is illustrated by an interview in the Times with Senator Wheeler. Discussing the prospects of Governor Smith before the Democratic national convention, Wheeler observed that one difficulty is that "many people in the West know nothing of the good that has been done" by Tammany in New York.

Wheeler is certainly aware of the Tammany-Republican alliance in throwing the Socialists out of the Assembly a few years ago. He must be aware of that compound of graft, election thievery and service to capitalism which go to make up what we call Tammany in New York politics. He knows all this because he complains that only the bad in Tammany is known in the West.

If "progressivism" can show some affection for this foul thing it is a vague and abstract thing that is unreliable and that can only serve to decoy the workers to their own undoing. A working class that trusts to it for political leadership confesses itself as unable to take care of its own interests. It still has years of schooling before it and considerable training to fit it to rely on its own numbers, power, initiative and leadership. If it relies on any "progressives" that can see something "good" in Tammany it may as well prepare itself to be auctioned as merchandise because of its folly.

### THE SUPER-PATRIOT

IN entering the penitentiary to serve a term of ten years Governor McCray of Indiana adds force to the statement that "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." Even while McCray was using the mails to swindle thousands of people out of their earnings, he was conspicuous in trying to have the American Legion mob Eugene V. Debs a few years ago. McCray has proven to be one of the dirty spawn now become notorious in capitalist politics.

There have been so many of these super-patriots that have fallen in recent years that we suspect there is a law which makes it certain that super-patriots are fundamentally crooks. Ole Hanson, Silverware Lusk, Albert B. Fall, Harry M. Daugherty and others are of this type. It will be recalled that Daugherty on one occasion had Debs visit him in Washington and that he urged Debs to give up his agitation and "obey the law!"

The man who is afflicted with an excess of patriotism will bear watching. It is generally a flag hoisted to conceal some worthless merchandise or even deliberate swindle.

### WADSWORTH AND CHILD LABOR

THE youth of the modern system of capitalist production was celebrated by the crucifixion of childhood in the early factory hells. Spattered with the tears of children, the early fortunes of our capitalists have been later fertilized by the blood of children down to the present hour.

Two crimes survive against the children of the working class, one their continued destruction in industry and the other election of poodles of the owners of industry to legislative bodies. In this latter crime the workers of the nation share the greater responsibility.

Last week Senator Wadsworth stamped upon the frail bodies of our children by objecting to the Senate giving consideration to the constitutional amendment for the abolition of child labor in the United States. Words fail us to express our contempt for this "representative" of New York.

We hope that he sleeps well while his retainers continue to sap the vitality of our children. We also hope that the action of this pompous aristocrat will spur the working class to the need of independent political representation at Washington. The price we pay for these servants of capitalism is too great for an informed working class to endure.

In one of our high schools an examination in physiology ostensibly devoted to teaching ideals of health is really devoted to the manufacture of cannon fodder. The suggestion is continually made that the student who does not care for his health would not be fit for military service. Dying for Oil Investors would be an appropriate title for this exam.

The Communist Daily Worker, in its issue of May 7, says editorially, "The Sigman-Hillquit-Forward-Socialist administration that rules by dictatorship in the International [Ladies' Garment Workers' Union] has always had longing eyes on Tammany Hall, in New York City and State." The editor apparently believes that to tell the truth is a bourgeois virtue, and he will have none of it.

Literature of Oscar W. Underwood which seeks to market him as a candidate for President states that "his conservatism will command confidence" and that his "broad and liberal mind" will also bring him support. We presume his fundamentalism will also command the confidence and his modernism the support of the churches. Understand Underwood?

Considering that thrift, hard work, honor, initiative, and similar virtues constitute the secret of success, we congratulate Harry K. Thaw, Harry M. Daugherty, and other Harrys.

The Republican and Democratic conventions should adopt a rule prohibiting lighted matches by the delegates. So much oil will be exuded by the delegates that there will be danger of a fire.

## THE Chatter-Box

### THE SAW MILL

Here in a hill of dusty gold  
The sliding mill where death is tolled  
For pine and spruce and evergreen.  
Here is the forest plunder seen  
Caught in the thunder of a blade  
That plunges purple forest shade  
And flattens sunlight to a board  
To build fine houses for the lord  
Who comes each day with high-boot tread  
To look upon the newly dead.

He counts them, and divides by four—  
So many hillsides to the floor.

CHARLES WAGNER.

And now Abe Tuvim, troubadour and business getter, impounds the following to a dark lady of his quatrains. . . .

### Oh, Lady With Bewitching Smiles!

Oh, lady! with your lady's smile  
In me a sonnet you inspire;  
And I would yield to your desire,  
To win your most bewitching smile.

But the muse is an elusive vamp,  
Who leads me half-way to a rhyme  
And then suspends me for a time,  
So playful is the little scamp.

So, lady with beguiling smile,  
Although I much would win your praise,  
I fear you needs must wait a while,  
And pray the muse to change her ways.

And, lady dear, I would suggest  
The muse another way to stir:  
If you would have me rhyme my best,  
Try your bewitching smile on her.

A. T.

And Abe expects a new pair of shoes, for himself, out of these rhymes. We will investigate this case, and if found deserving will ask our committee of award to consider his request.

We listened in on this lecture about American music, broadcasted from Station IZZY, given by Professor Gwumpson, of Gwumbia University, before the Irene Castle Chapter of the American Lesion, last night. "Ladies and Gentlemen:

"We have no tolerance or respect for the opinions of foreign born so-called music lovers. For what nation besides our glorious United States has created a music so universal in its appeal, so rhythmic to the heart beats of a progressive world, so cosmic in its harmony with life itself? Hats off to 100 per cent American Jazztime. The Olympian gods, the centaurs, the Naiads, the fauns, and all the ilk of Elfeland are shivering shoulders, quivering limbs, and bobbing bobbed heads to the tantalizing melodies of our genius.

"Wagner cannot make the weight, Puccini hasn't anything but his mitt, Beethoven couldn't hit the side of a barn alongside of our Champion Babe Berlins. It is sickening to hear some of the intelligentsia grow oozy over a Tannhauser Overture, a Rudolph's Narrative, or Beethoven's Appassionata. Shucks! You can't shimmy a hip to that sort of rignarole.

"But give us the 'Alabama Blues,' or 'She Didn't Say Yes and She Didn't Say No,' a dizzy drummer and a dreamy saxophone, and then can heaven be far behind? We are finding ourselves through Jazz. Jazz is pep, go-gettem, put it across, bring home the bacon—

making good. Without jazz life would be razz. And while the foreigners put up their bluff about understanding the Nibelungen Ring, the tone lyrics of De-busy, and such truck, let us just get closer in our dance halls and cabarets, put in a loud needle on that dance record, hook up the loud speaker, and pump the old pianola till the bellows squeak. Let us drown out those free-lunching music fakers, with their Tschkowskis, Moskowskis, Bowwowskis, Schuberts, Bachs, and De Pachmanns in our own unapproachable, invincible, all-conquering 100 per cent American Yankee Doodle Jazz." (Sustained applause.)

### AFTER THOUGHTS

Some day, somebody authoritative and experienced enough will confess that our modern dancing is a most admissible excuse for hugging the "other" woman or man in public.

A movie with a Pola Negri, or any other soft svelte, seductive, silk-sheathed dame, furnishes the inspiration. Any hall will do for a rendezvous, we mean dance hall, and any good band can furnish the conventional rhythm and convulsions.

On with Jazz and the dance, we say, and off with pretense. We always detested the hypocritical Puritans who, after preaching stern and rigorous decorum in daylight, sneaked off behind rocks and shadows at night to purloin a hug or a kiss.

This public institution for sex recreation, the American dance hall, and cabaret, is a healthy step toward open diplomacy.

S. A. DE WITT.