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of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

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Morals, Not Finance—Mrs. Catt Couldn't—Votes and Garbage—Uncle Sam Doomed—The Skin They Love to Touch.

By PAUL HANNA

A little parable is a dangerous thing. Some words were printed in this space last week about the Munsey "eclipse" which obliterated both the Sun and the Globe. "And even the World has begun to wobble," the columnist concluded.

Since then a voice over the telephone assures us that the World has increased its advertising a whole lot, and that its owners have really no thought of selling the paper!

Readers who thought we were referring to the World's financial condition will please stand up. Thank you. Now if both gentlemen will resume their seats we will add that their error—perfectly natural so long as Munsey survives—is quite groundless.

There are more ways of taking the joy out of a newspaper than by selling it to Munsey. The World's wobble—to be quite simple—is not financial but moral. The great journal founded by the late Joseph Pulitzer is granite in the counting-room, but on the subject of Child Labor in the United States it is "a Daniel come to judgment" for the National Association of Manufacturers.

It can't be done. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt tried hard, but she has failed. Her anti-war conference at Washington was carefully hand-picked to keep out all those militant friends of peace who might be termed "red." It was to be a gathering of "thoughtful" and "constructive" persons against whom none could hurl the charge "unpatriotic!" But if Hetman Zinoviev of Moscow had come on the platform disguised as Mrs. Catt the uproar would not have been greater than the jingoes and munition makers have raised against the Washington ladies. For Mrs. Catt, they charge, "heads a force to disarm the United States similar to that which led to the establishment of Soviet Russia."

And the dime novel newspapers from Sandy Hook to the Golden Gate carry the charge in their headlines. Mrs. Catt may blush for shame at the stupidity of her countrymen, but if she does the entrenched gunmakers will see in her crimson cheeks nothing but proof of an alliance with Russia.

Just the same, there are times when the right, left and center in politics can and do stand together. It happened in France the other day. The Paris Government decided to build a plant in the town of Meudon to dispose of the metropolitan garbage. Meudon rebelled and its administration resigned. New elections were called. Conservatives, Radicals, Socialists and Communists boycotted the polls en bloc, and there is today nobody in office to carry out the Paris order.

In garbage there is strength! Here in America we have not reached the Meudon stage yet, but in many precincts the smell is so strong that only the brave deserve the ballot.

Forty per cent of the voters couldn't stand it last November and stayed at home. The others turned out on condition that while marking the ballot with one hand they had the other hand free—for self defence.

Hemmed in and about to fall! Uncle Sam, Columbia, Pillars of Government and everything else we hold dear are going plumb to the devil. If you doubt it, consider these headlines from New York dailies:

"High Taxes Menace Nation."
"Bootlegging Undermines Government."
"Prohibition Destroys Liberty."
"Nation's Vitality Sapped by Divorce."
"Farm Bloc Hampers Progress."
"Cigarettes Deemed Greatest Peril."
"Lewd Books Corrupt Our Youth."
"Liquor Dealers Defy Authorities."
"Crime Wave Sweeps Nation."
"Bobbed Hair Pollutes Modesty."
"Women Attack National Security."

An eminent divine and college president in Philadelphia says there are only forty dishonest millionaires out of 4,043 in the United States.

This is the only time on record that any man has vouched for the absolute honesty of 4,000 other men. But when you are asking rich men to endow new buildings you must know the facts.

Every man who has made his pile is surrounded by gentlemen who murmur the motto: "He is the skin I love to touch!"

INDIANA TO OUST PRISON LABOR CONTRACTORS

West Virginia Prison Labor Contracts Are Held To Be Illegal.

INDIANAPOLIS.—The State Reformatory at Pendleton, entrusted with the care and correction of the youthful law-breakers of the State, is itself to be brought to account before Judge Linn D. Hay, of the Superior Court, on the charge of being a secret violator of the laws which forbid it to traffic in convict labor.

The immediate issue is the legality of a contract which the trustees made last April with the Worthy Manufacturing Company, a Chicago concern, of which Max Cowen is president. In an injunction suit brought by Lewis Meier and Co., union-made shirt and overall manufacturers of Indianapolis, it is charged that this contract is so drawn as to cloak the sale of prison labor, forbidden by law, under the guise of a sale of "goods" or "products."

The trustees of the reformatory demurred to the complaint, contending that the facts stated in the application, even if true, were not in violation of the law, that they were not selling the labor of the inmates, but merely the shirts produced by that labor.

Judge Hay, by overruling the demurrer, has brought the issue into the open, where it will be fought out in his court next March. The progress of the case will be watched with keen interest not only by the Labor forces of Indiana, but by all prison reformers and others interested in social legislation throughout the country, as the Worthy contract is typical of many others which have recently been made in those States where public opinion no longer permits the open, and generally corrupt, contracting or leasing of prison labor as such.

Similar efforts to circumvent State laws have been ruled out by the State courts of Utah and Arkansas, and by a Federal Court in Kentucky, in the famous Bromwell case. The judgment in this case was affirmed by the United States Supreme Court in June, 1924. In Oklahoma, where the State Supreme Court ruled otherwise, owing to an emergency created at the State penitentiary by the notorious Jack Walton administration, a petition for a rehearing has been filed by the Attorney General, at the instance of the State Federation of Labor.

Indiana Labor forces are on guard against a possible attempt by the prison contractors, now that Judge Hay has put teeth in the laws, to rush through a repeal measure in the last hours of the legislative session. It is reported that a repealer, full of jokers, has already been drawn up, and is in the hands of an important Senate Committee which is known to be favorable to the contractors.

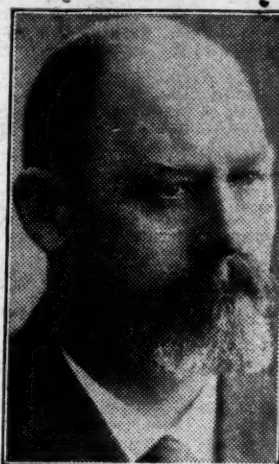
MOUNDSVILLE, W. Va., January 27.—Agitation against the sweat shops in the State penitentiary has gained fresh impetus because of a ruling handed down yesterday by Judge P. D. Morris, of the Circuit Court, according to which the present contracts are declared illegal because they have been made secretly, in evasion of the law which requires four weeks' advertising for bids in at least two State newspapers.

The ruling was rendered in a suit brought by Neely and Lively, the law firm of United States Senator Neely, on behalf of a taxpayer named Jolliff, who contended that the State Treasury was losing enormous sums through these "secret and collusive contracts," whereby the labor of hundreds of able-bodied men is sold for as low as seventy cents per day to a subsidiary of the notorious "convict Labor trust."

State Senator Harry H. Darnall, who is pressing a bill for the abolition of the contract system, which has been an open sore in the State for many years, is determined that the prisoners shall be given a chance at outdoor work.

"Our people are used to open-air and outdoor life," he declared. "Take a healthy young mountaineer sent up for some shooting affair. He has never been penned in his life, but here he is put to work at a sewing machine in the prison sweatshop. In a year or two you have a wreck of a man. I have seen some of these wrecks come home. That is why I am opposed to the destruction of young manhood in the prison sweatshops."

New Socialist Premier



RICKARD SANDLER.

STOCKHOLM.—Although it is believed that Hjalmar Branting, the veteran Socialist statesman, has safely got over the worst of the illness which has kept him in bed for several weeks, the prospect of a lengthy period of convalescence has caused him to resign as Premier of the Swedish Government. He has been succeeded by Rickard Sandler, the former head of a Labor college who was Minister of Commerce in Branting's Socialist Cabinet. He will carry on his old chief's program of reduction of armaments and general improvement of the condition of the Swedish masses.

Illness has also brought the resignation of F. V. Thorsson, Minister of Finance, whose place has been taken by Ernst J. Wigfors, formerly Minister without Portfolio. Comrade Branting remains a member of the Cabinet and it is hoped that he will eventually be able to resume his post at the helm.

FIGHT ON CHILD LABOR GOES ON

Adverse Action of Some Legislatures Fails to Kill Amendment—A. F. of L. Renews Fight.

Despite exultant announcements of the "defeat" of the child labor amendment by the National Association of Manufacturers and such Senatorial stand-patters as Senator Wadsworth of New York and Gray of Delaware, the National Child Labor Committee and the American Federation of Labor believes the amendment is far from lost.

The National Child Labor Committee has issued the following statement:

"The Child Labor Amendment has not been defeated or shelved. The adverse vote of the Legislatures is not final, and we expect six of the States which have been hurried into adverse action to go on record in favor of the children when they discover that the present scare of a super-Socialism is groundless."

"We intend to continue fighting for adequate child labor standards until all American children are protected. Every Legislature will vote on the amendment. It may take two years instead of six months to secure its ratification. It will come because it is now being rejected from a foolish fear that all labor will be prohibited and all chores forbidden, rather than from adequate reasons. No good legislation can be permanently scared into defeat."

"Out of the twelve Legislatures taking adverse action to date, only eight registered action in both houses. In South Dakota, North Dakota, Delaware and Wyoming, only one House rejected. Favorable action by the other house will bring immediate reconsideration. Further unfavorable action will simply postpone present consideration of the amendment. Favorable action on the amendment has been taken by California, Arkansas and one house of the Montana and Arizona Legislatures. In New York State a majority of the legislators are pledged in favor of the amendment by both party platforms."

That the A. F. of L. will continue the following statement issued at its fight unabated was indicated in its headquarters in Washington:

"The battle is by no means over," said Secretary Morrison of the Federation. "In fact, it is just beginning. If all the friends of the amendment rally to the cause we shall yet crown the effort with victory and release America's children from their present industrial enslavement."

"In most of the States where unfavorable action already has been taken there have been organized campaigns of the most despicable nature. There has been no hesitation about resorting to gross misrepresentation nor about engendering all kinds of prejudice."

"Employers of child labor have gone the limit in financing these campaigns. The whole situation calls for a Congressional investigation of the most serious character. The light ought to be let in on the methods (Continued on page 2)

SUSPICIOUS DEAL WITH MORGAN HOLDS UP NOMINATION OF STONE; D. OF J. CALLED CRIMINALS NEST

Attorney General Charged With "Deliberate Falsehood" in Attempt to Conceal His Relations With Money King—Senate Presses Probe.

Is Attorney General Stone guilty of "deliberate falsehoods uttered to conceal his relations" with J. P. Morgan & Co.? Is the Department of Justice, presided over by Stone, "a nest of criminals"?

Are "criminal acts and practices being carried on with the full knowledge of Stone and President Coolidge, if not under their direction," as formally charged?

These accusations, backed by documentary evidence, are made to President Coolidge; Senator Borah and Senator Brookhart, by R. Momand, an attorney at 120 Broadway, New York.

Stone, formerly dean of the Law School of Columbia University, is at this moment the Coolidge candidate for a seat on the Supreme Court Bench.

There is a rebellion in the Senate against his elevation to the highest court in the land, and a growing interest everywhere in the question whether he is a man capable of "deliberate falsehoods," officially uttered, and is harboring "a nest of criminals" in the Department of Justice.

Stone Made Flat Denial

Among the documents submitted is the copy of a letter written by Stone to Momand on July 22, 1924, in which Stone "positively denied that he had ever represented J. P. Morgan in any way, directly or indirectly," a denial which he repeated categorically in another letter four days later.

Records submitted by James Ownbey, of Boulder, Col., now "show that Hjalmar E. Stone represented J. P. Morgan in certain litigation" and that his actions "were grossly irregular and resulted in great financial loss to Mr. Ownbey, and in corresponding gain to the Morgan interests."

"It now appears," Momand charges, "from the record in the Ownbey case, that Attorney General Stone's denials of this relationship . . . were deliberate falsehoods uttered to hide his close relationship with the United Gas Improvement Company, a criminal combination of which E. T. Stotenburg, a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Company, is a member, and which criminal combination Attorney General Stone has been shielding from prosecution for their flagrant violations of the law since he became Attorney General last fall, as the records show."

Momand holds that "a criminal conspiracy in the Department of Justice" was begun under the administration of former Attorney General Daugherty to dismiss indictment found against the United Gas Improvement Company in New York two years ago.

Evidence of this alleged conspiracy, Momand says, he laid before Stone as soon as the latter succeeded Daugherty in office last fall, and that since Stone entered office the alleged conspirators, A. T. Seymour and James A. Fowler, have been retained and "are still trusted advisers of Attorney General Stone in the Department of Justice."

Says Coolidge Knows Facts In consequence of this conduct by Stone, it is charged, "the United Gas Improvement Company and its officials have been permitted to dismiss the indictment against themselves and dismiss the suit to dissolve that criminal combination."

All of these "criminal acts and practices . . . are being carried on with the full knowledge of Attorney General Stone and President Coolidge, if not under their direction, as I have abundantly proved which I am prepared to submit," Momand declares.

In conclusion, it is held that Stone "should not be confirmed by the Senate" as a Justice of the Supreme Court, but should be removed as Attorney General and prosecuted for continuing the Daugherty criminal conspiracy, which involves "the senior member of J. P. Morgan & Company, his former clients."

Further charges being raised against Stone is that he has joined with former underlings of Daugherty to bring fresh indictment against Senator Burton K. Wheeler, running mate of La Follette in the last campaign. The Daugherty charges against Wheeler were called utterly groundless by a committee headed by Senator Borah several months ago.

Ever since the war, wage earners and the lower middle class in Chile have been suffering from a very high cost of living. The humbler ranks of the army, including many officers, were driven, by the need to borrow, into the clutches of professional money lenders and of usurious fellow soldiers.

This condition created a bond of sympathy between the army, organized Labor and the thousands of unorganized and impoverished civil servants, and paved the way for revolt. To make the revolt inevitable, a corrupt and reactionary Congress chose this critical moment to enact a law voting to themselves increased salaries, free meals and free travel on the railways. While voting that salary grab, members of the Congress dared to abuse some young army men who had gathered in the galleries to witness the stealing.

That no general revolution was at first intended by the young army men is indicated by the fact that their first demand upon President Alessandri was simply for the resignation of some members of his Cabinet. But Alessandri did not belong to the Congress majority and was helpless. Then the whole administration.

(Continued on Page 11).

GOV'T ISSUING POWER TRUST PAMPHLET

Smithsonian Institute Attacks Ontario System of Public Ownership.

By JUDSON KING

WASHINGTON.—Right in the middle of the fight over Muscle Shoals, an agency of the Government has jumped in to win that great public property for the Power Trust.

This blow at public ownership, delivered by the Smithsonian Institution, comes in the form of a handsomely printed pamphlet entitled "Niagara Falls, Its Power, Possibilities and Preservation."

The pamphlet is written by one Samuel S. Weyer, whose title is given as "Associate in Mineral Technology, United States National Museum." The impression is at once given to the unwary that this is a scientist, employed by the United States Government.

Attacks Ontario System Significantly enough, the greater part of this pamphlet is given over to diatribe against the publicly-owned and operated hydro system of Ontario. Figures are given to show that the enterprise is not solvent, and that its management has deceived the public and that as a matter of fact, it is \$19,147,014 short of the actual cost of the service furnished by it—which cost future taxpayers will have to make good. But the source of these figures is not given.

The newspapers have been quick to herald these allegations. The pamphlets are being distributed. Senators, Congressmen and other officials are getting them. The seal of reliability is put upon Weyer's statements by Dr. C. D. Walcott, Secretary and head of the Smithsonian Institution, who writes an introduction for the report, in which special attention is called to Weyer's assertions of the superiority of private over public ownership.

The facts are that Samuel S. Weyer is not an employee of the Smithsonian Institution at all, and is not on the payroll. He is a private consulting engineer, who lives in Columbus, Ohio, and for the past two years has been sending out anti-public ownership propaganda to farm organizations, women's organizations and others for distribution in quantity. His alleged facts about Ontario Hydro are utterly fallacious, misleading, and damnable, as will be quickly be proven.

I do not assert, because I have not the facts to prove in court at this juncture, that Weyer is an undercover propagandist for the power combine. I do not say that he is financed by the power people. He may be devoting all this time and energy—and he spent a week in Toronto recently—for his health, or because of a burning patriotic desire to prevent the people from owning and using their own water-power sites. It is enough to say now that if he is not underwritten by the power trust, he is a rare and unselfish engineer who is doing Power Trust propaganda at his own expense.

I predict that this Weyer pamphlet will speedily be reprinted and circulated all over the nation in huge quantities by the power people or the Big Business interests. Watch for it!

Crisis in Congress

The Underwood Bill was passed by the Senate and sent to the House last week. Senator Underwood has been over on the House side personally, lobbying with the Republican machine leaders to prevent the bill going to a regular committee for minute examination. He wants a special rule passed to permit this bill to be sent direct to a Senate and House Conference Committee.

This means that the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House could name men on the Committee favorable to the power trust; that they could write into the Underwood Bill anything they want to, making it even worse than now. It would then be returned to the House and the Senate and jammed through by a combination of a reactionary Democrats and Republicans, with no discussion, and the power trust would win Muscle Shoals. That action would immediately become a precedent for like disposal of Boulder Canyon, the Colorado River, the Columbia, and all other great power sites.

FIGHT ON CHILD LABOR GOES ON

(Continued from Page 1)

that have been employed and that are being employed to bring about the continued enslavement of children in industry.

"Our answer to the campaign of misrepresentation, which has hindered speedy ratification of the children's amendment," said the statement issued by the organizations for the ratification of the child labor amendment "is an immediate speeding up of activity, with the object of securing ratification by the thirty-three States which have not yet acted and reconsideration in the States where one or both houses have rejected. A sober second thought will be the result where the real facts reach these Legislatures."

"Adverse action by one or both houses of thirteen States on the proposed child labor amendment to the Constitution does not signify defeat," officers of the National League for Women Voters declared in reply to statements that the amendment had been defeated. "Even in these thirteen States both houses of only four Legislatures took definite action against the amendment."

League officers pointed out that the one branch of the Legislature in Texas, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Ohio, Washington, Delaware and Wyoming which disapproved the amendment may reconsider its action, and that even rejection by both houses is not conclusive action.

\$1,000 Raised to Aid Socialists Imprisoned By Russian Soviets.

About \$1,000, which will go for the aid of political prisoners in Russia, victims of Soviet suppression of Socialist opponents, was realized as the result of a theatre party held by the Society for Relief of Political Prisoners in Russia Tuesday night at the Yiddish Art Theatre.

Rafael Abramowitz, one of the leaders of the Socialist opposition to Bolshevism, spoke between the acts. His views of the present situation in Russia were accorded a warm reception by the crowded house. Proceeds of the sale of The New Leader in the theatre were turned over to the relief fund.

The Society for Relief of Political Prisoners in Russia was organized about two years ago and is one of more than a score of similar organizations throughout the world, federated through international headquarters in Berlin. The funds collected in this country are forwarded to Berlin, where they are applied to practical relief work among the Russian Socialists in Soviet jails.

Fore!

Eugene V. Debs
Will Discuss Child Labor and the Courts.

Vicente G. Bunuan
Replies to Attack Upon the Filipinos

F. C.
Tells How Canadian Labor Is Drawn Into Uncle Sam's Orbit.

Herman Kobbe
Considers "The Power of Good Breeding."

In Coming Issues of
The New Leader

Keep Cool with Coolidge

SCHENECTADY.—Unemployment here has become an acute condition at the time of the year when assistance is most difficult to provide. At least 2,500 men are out of work and the number may reach 5,000. Men who for years have not known an idle day are staying home with their children while their wives take advantage of the only market for labor—household jobs. There is actual suffering in countless cases.

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—Unemployment has become so widespread in this city that the Salvation Army has established a soup kitchen. An average of fifty of the unemployed are fed every day.

Assassination on the scaffold is the worst form of assassination, because there it is invested with the approval of society.—George Bernard Shaw.

Who can compute what the world loses in the multitude of promising intellects combined with timid characters who dare not follow out any bold, vigorous, independent train of thought, lest it should land them in something which would admit of being considered irreligious or immoral?—A. S. Mill.

GERMANY IS IN DEADLOCK AGAIN

Rudolf Breitscheid, Socialist Leader in Reichstag, Writes on Election Results.

By RUDOLF BREITSCHIED

Although written before the end of the old year, the following article by the prominent German Socialist, Rudolf Breitscheid, gives a clear idea of political problems involved in forming a Cabinet.

SHOULD anyone desire to examine the reasons for the numerous Governmental crises in Germany, it must be borne in mind that we suffer from a plethora of political parties. This "embarras de richesses" is due to various causes. In the State as it used to be, Government was carried on regardless of Parliamentary majorities, and it was possible to indulge in the luxury of numerous parties, for the party was a sort of community professing the same ideals, which was never in a position to put these ideals into practice. It could keep itself entirely to itself, and never had to consider whether it might possibly have to form a coalition, either as a Government or as Opposition, with its neighbors on the right or on the left.

The inherent predilection of the German for theorizing and evolving different shades of ideas did the rest. The past weighs heavily on our public life. We now possess a Parliamentary democracy, but we are still without very important conditions necessary for its application, and we have, moreover, an electoral system which, in addition to many good points, has, amongst others, this defect—that it favors the formation of new parties.

No less than fifty political groups canvassed for votes at the last election. Such a state of affairs leads not only to dangerous divisions but it prevents a clear working out of wide political views, as the very existence of a number of parties depends on their placing in the foreground problems which have little or nothing to do with the most important questions of the day.

Moreover, there is the division of political and economic forces in general. There is a sort of attempt at equilibrium between the adherents of the old and the new, between the Republicans and the Monarchists, between the representatives of the interests of employers and employed. This state of equilibrium is, moreover, very unstable, for not all the groups take up a definite position on important questions. In some cases they are more on the Left, in others more on the Right. Clearly defined outlines are only to be found amongst the Social Democrats and the German Nationalists. The bourgeois Democrats are Republican, but are anti-Socialist as far as social reform is concerned. The Centre, which is held together by means of the Catholic creed, and which is today substantially Republican, is, in the economic sphere, attempting to strike a balance between the interests of the classes of which it is composed. The German People's party, under the leadership of Stresemann, represents industrial capital; it is Monarchist in its heart of hearts, but meanwhile takes up its position on the basis of the existing form of the State; it recognizes the Republic, as Stresemann himself once so excellently expressed it, "provisionally for a quite indefinite time," as the platform on which policy must be based.

Seeking Middle Courses
As a result of all this there is a tendency, and perhaps to a certain extent the necessity, of constantly seeking a middle course, and thus the most varying groups may come together in the centre according to the needs of the moment. Its confines are now wider, now narrower. At one time it embraces the Social Democrats, at another it shuts them out. Now it includes the German Nationalists, now it rejects them. Uncertainty is the one thing certain.

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Catholics Reply to Pope's Attack on Socialism

LONDON.—As a result of the Pope's recent declaration against Socialism, The Daily Herald reports that it has received many letters from Catholic Socialists taking issue with the Pope.

Among the letters published by The Daily Herald, many are from Catholic women. For instance, Annie Ahern, of Sheerness, writes:

"Speaking as a practical Catholic, I urge all Catholics to treat the statement of the Pope with caution and consideration. Until the Pope speaks with the authority of mother church, that is with the sacred college of cardinals behind him, he is merely expressing a private opinion. Until a decree is issued—for example, the Papal decree compelling all Catholics to believe in the immaculate conception—we can follow our own opinion."

Defends Her Socialism
Mollie Mulvey, of Highgate, advises Catholic women to read Desmond Ryan's book on James Connolly, especially the chapter on "America and After." Also Terence McSwiney's "Principles of Freedom," G. K. Chesterton's "St. Francis of Assisi," and Bernard Shaw's "St. Joan."

"At the same time," she adds, "I would remind our non-Catholic friends that we Catholics have such a thing as an individual and political conscience, and, indeed, we exercise that conscience to the full in all social and political thought, without in any way affecting our loyalty to the Holy See or to the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic Church."

Thinks for Himself
E. Jud, of Gloucester, writes: "The present Pope expresses his opinion upon Socialism, and speaks like one of the thoroughly comfortable class. I ignore the Pope's opinion upon Socialism, as Jesus Christ Himself preached Socialism. Christ foretold that, in His kingdom, the tares would grow with the wheat until harvest day. The people today pretending to represent Christ, call

tain. Parties draw closer together and then separate again, and the result is a perpetual see-saw and an ever-recurring crisis.

After the elections of May 4 the Marx Government remained in power in spite of the German Nationalists having strengthened their position. The efforts of the Right Wing to obtain some of the seats in the Cabinet were unsuccessful because the other bourgeois parties, unlike it, had accepted the Dawes Report. Yet the Marx Cabinet as a restricted Centre Party Cabinet represented in its composition only a minority. If it wished to keep in power it had to depend on the support of some party outside the Government. This it got from the Social Democratic party, which was substantially in agreement with it as far as its foreign policy was concerned. But when the legislation involved in the Dawes Report was passed the situation changed. It was known that a section of the German Nationalists had voted with the Government, and the People's party and the Right Wing of the Centre party made this a pretext to demand an extension of the coalition towards the Right.

Various motives were put forward for this demand. Some took the point of view that the political and intellectual energies in the German Nationalist party should no longer be allowed to lie fallow. Others wished, so they said, to compel the party which had so far always been negative towards the new State to take a responsible share in cooperation and so educate it. The real reason was, however, that they wished to get rid of the Social Democrats, more especially at a moment when the internal apportionment of the increasing burdens arising out of acceptance of the Dawes agreement were to come on the order of the day. But Stresemann, who had a year before been the most zealous propagandist of the so-called big coalition with the Labor party, was now the herald of the bourgeois block.

This combination met with opposition meantime from the Democrats, who helped the Left Wing of the Centre party to obtain the ascendancy over the Industrialists and Agrarians—more inclined towards the Right—in their own camp, and the Reichstag was dissolved. The electorate was to decide. As a matter of fact, the Social Democrats gained considerably on December 7; they increased the number of their seats from 100 to 131; the Democrats won four seats; but somewhat surprisingly the German Nationalists also won a victory, though a small one. Their hostile attitude towards the experts' report had done them harm, and the votes which they forfeited on account of their former policy were counterbalanced on the other hand by the votes gained by the collapse of General Ludendorff's party. They also gained votes by their demand for an agricultural protective tariff and by an unscrupulous campaign against the Republic and its alleged corruption.

Possible Coalitions
Thus the election did nothing to clear matters up. The parties which form the Marx Cabinet are again in the minority. The former Wirth Coalition, composed of Centre party, Democrats, and Social Democrats, has likewise no clear majority. Should, nevertheless, an attempt at carrying on with this Coalition be made the impossibility of success would soon become apparent, as its downfall would soon be brought

ing themselves 'Catholic and Christian,' but upholding things as they are, are tares. Dante, the great Catholic poet, depicts Papes in hell!"

J. J. Hanrahan, of Devonport, declares that Roman Catholics are being advised to keep away from Socialism, although Socialists outside Great Britain "are of a higher standard of administrative capacity, and know how to carry out the laws of Almighty God irrespective of their religious belief, to the general and spiritual benefit of those they have the grace of God to govern. I am a Roman Catholic myself, and, naturally, will vote for the Labor party."

Expects Socialist Pope
J. A. Lovekin, Caldey Cottage, Harborne, Birmingham, has this to say:

"As a Socialist of twenty-four years' standing and a Catholic of about seven years, I am free in my political opinions. The next Pope may be a Socialist, and then there might be a pronouncement against capitalism, but that would not convert all Catholics to Socialism. One must remember Socialism, as now generally accepted by so many millions of people, is in its youth compared with all churches, which are generally conservative in politics, and the older members may remain so; but I venture to think probably the young clergy and laity will accept Socialism in increasing numbers."

W. Budge, of Lewisham, declares that the Pope is infallible only in matters of faith and morals, and then only under certain clearly defined conditions. His political opinions are as liable as those of any other statesman to be influenced by prejudice or misunderstanding, the twin enemies of Catholicism and Socialism. The Protestant idea that we Catholics are intellectually enslaved is as obsolete as the idea that we wall up our recalcitrant nuns alive!

The election campaign had a more decisive influence here. The workers belonging to the Centre party recognized the danger for the future of social policy which would threaten a Cabinet under the supremacy of the German Nationalists. The local party branches in the Western Provinces of Germany voiced their anxiety concerning the continuation of a foreign policy of conciliation, and, in general, the campaign which the Right Wing parties waged against the Republic had cooled off any inclination towards cooperation.

A Long Crisis
In any case, for the moment the two Government combinations which could count on a clear majority in Parliament, do not come under consideration, and there only remains the possibility of leaving the Marx Ministry as it was and seeing how far it will go. Necessarily, the Social Democrats would, to begin with at least, agree to this course, although it will not be easy for them to share the indirect responsibility of forming a Government in which they themselves do not participate. The German People's party, under the leadership of Stresemann, will not hear of this solution. As there is little prospect of the immediate fulfilment of their wishes in regard to the Bourgeois Bloc, they sabotage all other attempts at a solution in the hope of eventually winning over the Centre party.

Thus we find ourselves once more in the midst of a long-drawn-out crisis, the outcome of which it is impossible to foretell. Meantime, we will permit ourselves a little rest for Christmas, and will see in the early days of the New Year whether conditions have in the meantime taken a turn for the better.

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Rockefeller and Atterbury Industrial Heavens Fail to Allay Desire for Real Trade Unionism

By EDWARD LEVINSON

PITY the poor company union.

The workers never wanted the kid, anyhow. It wasn't theirs, they said. Now General Atterbury, crusader-in-command in the battle for sweet reasonableness in industrial relations, has found his offspring a pesky nuisance on the Pennsylvania. One of the elections has gone wrong. His employees voted for the wrong people—their bona-fide union.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., daddy of them all, is heart-broken, too. Taking Cripple Creek and Ludlow as the scene for his

Industrial Heaven, he was the first of the protagonists of company unionism. He has always thought his kid was pretty good, like all proud fathers.

Now the Russell Sage Foundation has given the kid the once over and says its bringing up has been very bad. Bringing up children is a matter of supplying the proper influences. Rockefeller's child has missed the most essential influence—bona-fide trade unionism—they find.

Just as the Order of Railroad Telegraphers seems to be the only proper guardian for the Pennsylvania's industrial relation problem, the Foundation finds that what the Colorado mine situation needs is the United Mine Workers to guide it.

Pennsy Paradise Brings More Trouble

General Atterbury's "Employees' Representation Plan," has been painted through the medium of a million-dollar advertising campaign as a panacea for all industrial ills. The child of General Atterbury's brain has won no end of applause and loud huzzas at countless Rotarian functions.

But, as a cure-all for industrial ills, it has always seemed to work in strange manners, bringing only continued strife and unrest in its wake. The harder the Pennsylvania pushed the plan, the more it refused to work. As it stands now, it seems to have died from improvements; the workers have repeatedly booted it about; the United States Labor Board has unmasked it repeatedly and in unmistakable terms; now Atterbury himself has been forced to ride over it rough-shod.

A few months ago the Rail Labor Board held an election among the telegraphers on the Pennsylvania. Of 7,760 ballots mailed out, 4,528 were returned marked for the Order of Railroad Telegraphers. Three hundred and eighteen voted for the "Employees' Representation Plan." Thereupon the Rail Board decided "that the Order of Railroad Telegraphers had been elected the duly authorized representative of the employees in telegraph service of the Pennsylvania Railroad and shall be so recognized by the carrier."

Though the election was held under the regulations set down in the Atterbury plan, the Pennsylvania refused to abide by its result. Instead, in best Mussolini fashion, the company on January 10 summoned to the offices of the various district superintendents the members of the local committees representing the telegraphers.

The committee-men were interviewed individually. Each had the demand put to them that they agree to handle all questions with the management "in accordance with its plan of employee representation." This would automatically have made them committee-men of the company union. The committee-men were given an alternative of signing or being removed from their places as committee-men, despite the fact they had been elected by an overwhelming vote.

When they were refused even a few hours to "think it over" or discuss the situation with fellow-committee-men, most of them refused to sign. A scattering few permitted themselves to be browbeaten into signing. The reign of industrial democracy on the Pennsylvania had evidently taught the district superintendents many of the regulation tricks of company unionism.

The committee-men were called into the superintendents' offices one at a time. Then they were treated with the reading of a long letter recounting the blessings of the Employees' Representation Plan. After which they were presented with a dotted line and told to sign. They were not permitted to leave by the same door they had entered, lest they might confer with the other committee-men waiting for their lesson in the Pennsylvania's school of industrial democracy.

Finding themselves baffled by the great number of committee-men who stood solid and refused to sign, Atterbury's fellow-crusaders for industrial brotherhood issued an edict vacating the places of the recalcitrants. This was followed by an announcement that these places would be filled at an election to be held under company auspices February 6.

The members of the Telegraphers' Union will refuse to participate in the so-called election, which gives every promise of turning out to be the cause of corruption and intimidation which have marked every other election held under company auspices. President E. J. Manion has put the matter up to the Railroad Board and demanded quick and effective action.

Meanwhile, General Atterbury proceeds serenely to tell in railroad time-tables, on the backs of dining car menus, in the numberless speeches that tickle the funny-bones of Rotarians, of the rosy Paradise known as the Pennsylvania Employees' Representation Plan, where the Pennsylvania Railroad and their employees slumber peacefully side by side much as Isaiah's idyllic lion and lamb.

Is not the furrow of the laborer of as much value as that of the idler, even if that idler, by some absurd chance, has made a little noise in the world and left behind him an abiding name?—George Sand.

DUKE, EASTMAN PHILANTHROPY DRUGS COLLEGE FREEDOM

By SCOTT NEARING

RECENTLY there have been a number of significant developments in connection with philanthropy in the United States. John D. Rockefeller donated \$1,600,000 for the Imperial University of Tokio and \$1,000,000 for the New York Museum; Eastman and Duke have given extensive sums to Rochester and Duke universities.

And now comes Nicholas Murray Butler, in his annual report, with this significant comment: He says that Columbia University is badly in need of funds, but that under present conditions these funds cannot be secured because taxes are so high that there is nothing left to give. He therefore suggests the very imperative necessity of reducing taxation. But unless he is willing to maintain that taxes have diminished the surplus in the hands of the owning class he will have to admit that taxation cannot have any effect, for if his theory is correct, it is the amount of surplus that is the determining element. It is true that taxation is higher, but it is also true that interest, dividends, etc., have increased, so that after taxes are deducted the rich still have more wealth than they had thirty years ago.

Men like Carnegie and Rockefeller had a humble background, with limited needs, and spent a great portion of their lives hard at work collecting wealth. With the second and third generations the volume of wealth is not in the hands of the people who made it, but to a very measurable degree in the hands of people who have never done any work and whose one object in life is to spend money. Standards of living have increased; surplus funds available to Mr. Butler have correspondingly diminished. It seems to me that Mr. Butler is making a grave error when he assumes that it is increased taxation which is drying up the sources of philanthropy.

Meaning of Philanthropy

What is philanthropy? It is the willingness of a small group of rich people in the community to part with considerable sums and turn them over for some public purpose. But there are certain common characteristics of philanthropy. Carnegie pointed this out in a paper, "The Gospel of Wealth," which he contributed to the North American Review in June, 1889. He says that wealth can be disposed of in one of three ways—inheritance, establishment of trusts, or gifts during the life of the owner. He says that the man of wealth should "consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer."

In the Middle Ages there was a law by which the eldest son inherited the estate. That system held the property intact. But now property is not so easily disposed of, because it is so diffuse. And the outright gift is not a happy method. It subjects the donor to all kinds of petitions and complaints, and he seeks relief by putting it into the hands of a business organization called a foundation. The possessor of large wealth finds it impossible, therefore, to give that wealth personally, and so hands it over to some board of trustees. The "trustee of the poor" surrenders his trusteeship to a group of secondary trusts. In a village, as long as the people know one another, the job of philanthropy is done personally by people helping each other out. In New York people do not know each other and do not care to, and regard any attempt in that direction as an impertinence, so that neighborliness is turned into charity organizations, with snoopers agents and card catalogues, whereby we pretend that we can do what people did when they lived in villages. Manifestly, the problem is a different kind of problem. Philanthropy is no longer a matter of noblesse oblige or generosity; the trustee holds his job just as he would hold a job selling butter and eggs. So that Mr. Butler is living in a day, first, where there are much higher standards and therefore much less surplus, and second, where the business of giving is taken out of the hands of generous individuals and put into the hands of business organizations.

Shaping Education

Philanthropy may be used, first, to advance the revolutionary movement, to direct a campaign against the established order. But the chances of this are pretty remote. The owners of wealth are in business to stay, not to go. Second, philanthropy may be employed in the interests of the subnormal—people poor, sick, or out of work. When it comes, however, to the very large philanthropy in the United States a different line has been followed. The wealthy do not give primarily to the support of subnormal individuals, but to the support of public institutions—educational and religious in large part, and research to a lesser degree. What does it mean to have the wealth power centered in a university? In the case of the Duke University Fund at Durham, the official statement of the board of trustees implies that Duke just happened on this university and found it exactly to his liking. Probably, on the contrary, they asked him for the money, he laid down certain prerequisites, and the gift was then forthcoming!

How can it be possible that an institution which needs a new dormitory will not be influenced by the fact that the donor holds certain views on certain questions? If the institution goes to him and asks for money it will shape its policy accordingly. One follows the other just as consistently as night follows day. If, by converting wealth from personal property into trusteeships, the owning class provides the income for institutions, with a consistent policy carried on generation after generation, just so long will the rich be in a position to decide the policy of institutions.

A Sign of Social Disorder

What is the character of this philanthropy? A philanthropist has all he wants to eat and spend, and when he gets through living he has so much left over that he can give millions away. When you see philanthropy you know that wealth is unequally distributed. The extent of that maldistribution is measured by the extent of philanthropy.

We think of ourselves as the most generous people in the world. Not at all; we are the richest and have the richest ruling class, so that, our surplus being large and concentrated, the problem of getting gifts from the rich is comparatively simple. Mr. Butler knows that; when he wants a large sum of money he surely would not pick out the 100 most generous people in New York, he would pick out the 100 richest and hope that they were generous.

Philanthropy is a sign of basic social disorder. When we read that Rockefeller or Duke has given away a large sum of money, we may say to ourselves that here is another case where stolen property is being handed around by the thief of his agents, where the community's attention is called to the fact that distribution is so unequal that one man has at his disposal as much as thousands have for a whole lifetime. This inequality grows more pronounced year by year. Its presence marks our society as one of the most unsound social growths in the world.

Rockefeller Plan Found Wanting

In making the report on the Rockefeller Plan public, Mary Van Kleeck, Director of the Foundation's Department of Industrial Studies, said it has a three-fold significance for industry generally and for the country at large: it reveals the underlying causes of the perennial controversy between coal miners and mine operators; it is the first impartial appraisal of the most prominent experiment in employees' representation—an experiment which was the forerunner of the shop committees, works councils, and similar projects introduced in about 1,000 companies within recent years in an effort to solve labor difficulties.

The Industrial Representation Plan was developed by W. L. MacKenzie King, now Premier of Canada, at the request of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and was introduced at the mines of the company by Mr. Rockefeller. At each mine, two or more representatives are elected by the employees to serve for one year. These representatives from all branches of the company meet periodically with an equal number of company officials. At these conferences any matter which employees desire to have discussed can be brought up—at least, so the rules provide. There are also in each mining district joint committees composed of equal numbers of employees' representatives and company officials to consider: (1) safety and accidents; (2) sanitation, health and housing; (3) recreation and education; (4) industrial cooperation and conciliation.

Kills Workers' Initiative

The report shows that, as a result of this plan, working and living conditions are more wholesome and happy for the miners and their families, but that the miners are far from satisfied that their representatives have the power to protect them in decisions regarding wages and other conditions of work.

"Employees' representation, as practised in the mines of this company," Miss Van Kleeck said, "works a revolution in remedying the outstanding grievances of an earlier decade, but—limited as it is to conference, concerned primarily with adjustment of grievances, and failing to take cognizance of organized labor—it does not develop leadership or stimulate interest among the wage earners. The lesson for industry generally in the experience of this company is that giving workmen a voice in the management of industry is decidedly a step toward permanent industrial peace and efficiency, but the measure of success to be attained by an employees' representation plan depends on the sincerity and intelligence with which the plan is carried out by foreman, superintendents and higher administrative officials."

The report points out that at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company the employees' representatives are men who work in the mines and who do not feel free to act in opposition to the company's interest in defense of fellow-employees; that employees are thus not making full use of the plan even for the presentation of grievances; that in actual practice the employees' representatives have no share in decisions concerning reported grievances; that the issue of trade unionism versus employees' representation is kept constantly alive by the company's refusal to permit union meetings in any building in the camps owned by the company, by other

APPEAL TO STONE IN SCHEDEL CASE

An appeal to Attorney-General Stone to dismiss a charge of illegal entry into the United States after deportation was sent the other day by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of John C. Schedel of Fort Wayne, Ind., a Communist deported to Germany in 1920 after the anti-red raids conducted by Attorney-General Palmer.

Schedel is held under bail for the Federal grand jury at Chicago, where he was arrested during his reunion with his wife and children after four years. He worked his way back to the United States through Mexico after having failed three times previously to get back. If the prosecution is not dismissed, Schedel faces imprisonment for five years and deportation following his release. His family will again be left here to take care of themselves.

The Civil Liberties Union points out "that the sole charge against Schedel was his membership in the Communist party and that the Government's policy toward Communists has undergone a marked change since 1920. Alien members of that organization are not now deported for mere membership." During her husband's absence, Mrs. Schedel was driven temporarily insane by the separation and by the death of one child. She and the children were all placed in institutions. She later recovered and kept her little family together by hard work as a domestic.

Many prominent people hostile to Communist doctrine have joined in the Schedel appeal.

Vagabond's Joy

There's sunshine in the heart of me,
My blood sings in the breeze;
The mountains are a part of me,
I'm fellow to the trees.
My golden youth I'm squandering,
Sun-libertine am I,
A-wandering, a-wandering,
Until the day I die.

—Robert W. Service.

Let's See Your Tongue!

If you don't feel so well today, if you lack energy and ambition, if you are tired and lazy and feel as if you would like to run away from yourself, just take a mirror and look at your tongue. If your tongue is white and coated, it is a sure sign that your liver and bowels are not in perfect order and must be regulated at once.

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February 3 "Among My Books" ALGERNON LEE
February 6 "Theoretical Economics" ALGERNON LEE
February 7-1:30 p. m. "Russia" MEYER LONDON
Saturday, January 31—1:30 p. m. "Are We in the League of Nations?" SCOTT NEARING
Saturday, January 31—3:30 p. m. "The Drama" ELMER RICE
February 6-8:30 p. m. and February 7-3:30 p. m. "The Modern Impulse in Writing" SHERWOOD ANDERSON

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Children Toil in Danger and Filth of Shrimp Canneries

WHERE do oysters come from? Almost everybody likes oysters and if you are a lover of sea-food you probably also like shrimp. Let's take a trip down to the Gulf coast and visit some oyster and shrimp canneries. The open season for catching oysters runs from October to April. There are two seasons for shrimp, one in the fall and another in the spring, but since the trawl system has been introduced it is possible to fish for shrimp all year round.

If you are fond of sailing, suppose we make a trip on an oyster boat. There will be a crew of about five boatmen. They enjoy their life on the water, with its unusual and its adventurous side, but we will probably find them talking about their pay and their families like any group of workmen in the towns.

"This sea life spoils you for a land job," the captain says, "but its mighty uncertain . . . It all depends on the weather in our work . . . It's a game of chance; a gamble with the wind. If the wind is right, luck's with you; but if its too windy you can't manage your sails, and if it isn't windy enough it's no good, for you've got to keep the boat moving. . . . Some months we can make four trips, and then again when the weather is bad we only manage to make one. . . . We are usually out a week and load on about 450 barrels of oysters. When we are paid we first deduct our provision bill and then divide the rest into six shares, and one share belongs to the boat, which counts as a person, and goes to the company. We average about \$30 apiece each trip."

A Tough Life

The average earnings that the captain speaks of vary according to what the canneries pay per barrel, of course. A cannery owner discussing the labor situation has said that when the canneries cut down on the rate there is some dissatisfaction, but that "men with large families . . . are satisfied because the difference is more than made up by what their children earn shucking." (Shucking is the word used for the opening of the oyster shells and taking out the meat, and it is a job which is done to a great extent by the boatmen's families.) But here on our boat, all the boatmen do not seem to be "satisfied" with this arrangement. One of them tells us that he is sending his son to school regularly and planning to have him learn a trade. "He is not going to be a shucker all his life if I can help it. It's a tough life and I don't want him to work like I have."

The oyster boat comes in to the pier and a shovel on a crane begins to unload the catch into small cars; we hear a whistle blow from the shed on the other end of the pier. It is only four o'clock in the morning, but oysters do not keep, and in a short time a group of women and children of all ages appear from a row of barracks and shacks behind the cannery. The shed on the pier is the cannery and there are the workers coming from their camp. The oyster cars are pushed along the pier into a steam box where the steam partly opens the shells. Then they are run on into the shed and the workers fasten containers to the sides of the cars and reach in for clusters of oysters. They break apart the clusters and open the shells with knives and begin to fill their cups with oyster meat. They stand at their work swaying back and forth with a rhythm which apparently enables them to work long hours and still keep up speed. They bend farther and farther over to reach the oysters at the bottom of the cars.

Shrimp Picking

If shrimp picking is going on, the shrimp are iced instead of steamed, to make their shells less difficult to open, and spread on wire trays on top of the empty oyster cars or on tables. The workers break off the heads with one hand and squeeze out the flesh with the other. A strong odor arises, and we notice that children and women are wearing gloves and dipping their hands in a tub of alum water, and that even with this protection the hands of some of them are bleeding. There is an acid in the head of the shrimp and also a sharp thorn which is likely to run into the hand and break off. The floor is wet and slippery and strewn with piles of shrimp heads or oyster shells, and over this the babies crawl and the children who are too young to work run about and play. A two-year-old has

Get in the Swim With the Socialist Party



"And dead fish can float down a stream. But it takes a live one to swim up."

had his hand crushed, falling in the path of the oyster cars, and others show cuts received from falling among the shells. There is no one back in the camp to leave these toddlers with. There are not likely to be any neighbors about; the workers living in the camps have been brought here from the North for the winter and everyone in the company camp is expected to work. "We hold it over their heads," the boss tells us. "It's like sea duty to a sailor." Perhaps, however, the babies may be left in care of children just a little older. The mother of a girl of nine tells us that this child hasn't gone to work because "her little hands are too tender." A big sister explains apologetically that her seven-year-old brother does not work because he can not reach up to the car to shuck. A child of twelve looks at us wonderingly, since visitors in this out-of-the-way place are rare, and she asks us, "Don't you ever shuck?"

The Child Victims

Child labor seems to be taken for granted. In some of the canneries a State inspector may be seen at long intervals, but his coming can usually be detected and the children

sent to hide. In most of the cannery villages the school terms are short and the school attendance law not well enforced. Whenever a boatload of oysters comes in, the children are at the cannery, though on days when no boat arrives they may perhaps go to school. But like the boatman who told us he was sending his boy regularly, there are other parents who make great sacrifices to give their children a better education than they have had. A "Louisiana French" mother has moved away from one cannery village because it had no school at all. She says, "I want the children to get a good schooling because I never had any." Many others, however, can not see their way out of the endless circle of poverty, child labor, and still more poverty for their children who will grow up lacking education. The father's uncertain earnings and even the addition of the mother's earnings do not adequately support the family. A mother tells us "it takes every penny to feed and clothe them," including what the children themselves can make.

The illiteracy among the children over ten years old is six times as great as for the children of about

the same ages in the United States as a whole. Many children of school age have never been to any school. This is specially true among the families brought from the North. In the spring they return to the Middle Atlantic States and work till fall, perhaps in the corn and tomato and fruit canneries, where conditions are likely to be much the same as in the oyster canneries on the Gulf. Wet, uncomfortable work, long hours; crowded camps to live in; no one to care whether the children are sent to school, since they are not "legal residents" of any district. If the local communities do not take care of these children, whose responsibility is it? It must be somebody's, don't you think? Under our Federal Constitution, as the Supreme Court recently has decided, the Government at Washington does not have authority to deal with this question, unless there should be an amendment giving Congress special power. But the Federal Children's Bureau has been established to investigate and report on conditions affecting children all through the country, so that everybody may know the facts.

Some "Legal Fictions" That Still Survive

By LOUIS P. GOLDBERG

The following is from a lecture recently delivered by Louis P. Goldberg, Socialist and Labor lawyer, before the Lex Club of Brooklyn. The lecture is entitled "Legal Fictions" and presents a rational view of law and judicial procedure as they are affected by changing social and economic conditions.

THE fictions which are the subject of this lecture are not only legal in aspect and character but of vast social and political importance. They originated in the early days of the development of the Common Law in the struggle of the rising commercial class against usurpation and autocracy of the feudal barons.

They began as rules, intended to establish equality—politically—between the declining feudal class and the rapidly rising trading classes, the harbingers of the approaching social order—capitalism. Useful when they originated, they have lost their force with the total destruction of feudalism, the victory of the democratic principle, and the development of a highly intensified industrial system.

Our judicial system is based primarily upon the English Common Law which went through a development of centuries before the establishment of our government. It was derived from established customs of Old England, interpreted and modified by a long line of decisions. The Common Law may therefore be characterized as customary law. These customs not having originally been recorded, it remained for the judges or rulers to decide what the custom was and, therefore, the prevailing law. The judges ultimately became the depositaries and monopolists of the law. From this condition many fictions arose.

Legal Fictions

One of these is that we have a form of government divided into three equally important and supreme departments, Legislative, Executive and Judicial. The first is supposed to enact the laws to supplant the Common Law; the second to enforce, and the third to interpret the law. The fiction is that the Judiciary

merely interprets the law, that it never legislates. But judges very often interpret in such manner as to violate its intent or purpose and thus substitute their discretion for that of the Legislature. Rules of law are modified, rejected or distinguished in such manner as to be equivalent to the establishment of new law.

The administration of law has always been confronted by two conflicting forces, one requiring stability in law and the other change and modification. It should be clear that the law which governed Old England in the medieval ages when serfdom was the prevailing economic order and life was comparatively simple cannot be adequate for modern times with its highly developed industries and complex social life. A demand upon Courts to apply the old law to existing conditions would be asking of them to be either unjust in the extreme or to require of them the exercise of divine genius. Judge Cardozo, in his excellent little book "The Growth of the Law," points out that it is the judge who can strike a happy medium and reconcile these conflicting forces who becomes a great jurist and serves society.

Survival of Old Fictions

Although the law has been changing rapidly, we retain many of the fictions enunciated centuries ago. One fiction is that lawyers who are elevated to the Judiciary, as soon as they become judges, lose all their prejudices, acquire a "judicial temperament" and a desire to do "justice." This is clearly a fiction. Consult your own experiences for support of the statement. How is it possible for one who has been brought up in a certain environment, taught to reverence certain institutions and ideas, and to abhor and denounce certain others, who through his education and associations has built up a certain philosophy of life, to summarily discard all his past and become free, unhampered and unprejudiced in the determination of matters which require the constant application of a philosophy of life for arriving at a decision?

Two other fictions that may be considered jointly. One is that the people rule, and the other that all are equal before the law. Our Government is not a democracy and the people do not rule directly; but it is also true that they do not govern even indirectly, for under present conditions there are many ways of compelling one to do a thing in spite of his inclination or bent to do the opposite. Take as an illustration the great industrial areas of New England, where during the last election thousands and thousands of workers were threatened with a lowering of wages and even a loss of jobs if a certain candidate for Presi-

dent were not elected. What more natural than for a man to succumb to such coercion?

Who of you do not know friends who enroll in certain political parties and join organizations because of their business needs and not because of their convictions? Furthermore, the control of the press, the sycophancy of the pulpit and abject subordination of the pedagogical profession to financial and industrial interests, make it almost impossible for the great masses to be reached by facts which are important for them to arrive at a proper understanding of our system of government, and consequently also for a proper determination of their conduct in participating in the affairs of our country.

The Fiction of Equality

Equality before the law is another fiction. It is possibly true that in an ordinary case involving no great social question or matter of large importance that it is possible for the litigants to be equal before the law.

But we see a different situation when we turn to industrial relations. In West Virginia, we find the miners in constant struggle with the mine owners for a living wage and proper conditions of labor. There the owners with the aid of the Courts, have victimized the miners, oppressed them and suppressed their organizations; deprived them of civil and political rights guaranteed by the Constitution, and made the administration of justice a laughing-stock. Miners have been shot down from ambush, their homes have been raided, and they have been dispossessed in the most inclement weather. They have been arrested and jailed without any charges against them. The list of atrocities is too long to enumerate.

The Courts have repeatedly stated that all litigants should be treated alike. But that in itself is a great injustice when one of the contending parties is rich and powerful and the other poor and starving. When, by reason of strike or lockout, the boss and his workers come into courts, the former is economically provided for; he has the means of continued livelihood, and is merely temporarily inconvenienced. The workers, however, have had their sole means of livelihood suspended, starvation stares them in the face, and their families are crying for food. Under these conditions, to say that the parties are equal under the law and should be treated so is to make the law unjust and oppressive. The theory of equality of litigants arose when the capitalist class was fighting against the ruling feudal class. The slogan was "Equality before the law." Now, however, with the change of conditions, all right-thinking persons should demand that the Courts "re-

States' vs. Children's Rights—Which?

By ALICE S. BLACKWELL

THE National Child Labor Amendment is said to interfere with States' rights. It is a sound principle that the national Government should not intervene in State matters except for very serious reasons. But here the serious reasons exist. When human lives are at stake, ordinary considerations must give way; and this matter concerns the lives and health of the children, who are the country's most precious asset.

A man has the right to be unmolested in his own house, but if his house is on fire, and he is too drunk to rescue his children, his neighbors must go in and get the children out. In some of our States, the powerful interests that control legislation are drunk with greed for profits, and the health and lives of the children are made a sacrifice.

The Federal Government already takes a large hand in State affairs. State roads and bridges are built with the aid of Federal money, under the Federal Highway Act. In the Western States, most of the schools were built with the proceeds of the Government lands. Federal officers representing the Department of Agriculture inspect perishable foods and supervise the inspection of grading of grain. Federal officers representing the Bureau of Animal Industry supervise the eradication of tuberculosis in herds of cattle and horses. Representatives of the Interstate Commerce Commission see that locomotives are inspected in accordance with its rules, and repair defects, if defects are found. In epidemics, whether among human beings or domestic animals, and in checking the ravages of insect pests, Federal and State authorities have to cooperate.

These cases, it may be said, are

not on an exact parallel to the Child Labor Amendment; but the Prohibition Amendment is such a parallel. It was as distinct an interference with States' rights as the Child Labor Amendment can possibly be; yet it was, and is, strongly supported by most of the Southern States.

Every State has a right to protect its own children; yet no State can do this effectively while neighboring States let down their bars. Children in a State with high standards are taken across the border into a State with low standards and put to work there, and then returned to their home State, stunted in body and mind. Child labor can no more be held in by State lines than an epidemic or forest fire. We need a national law to meet a national evil.

No State has an ethical right to let its children's health and lives be sacrificed to a greedy commercialism. Sixty years ago, a nation-wide constitutional amendment was adopted abolishing black slavery. It is just as righteous and necessary to abolish the slavery of white children.

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Socialist and Labor International In Memorable Session

BRUSSELS.—In a series of meetings held in this city from January 2 to 6, representatives of the great international organizations guiding the activities of world labor on the political and industrial fields, i. e., the Socialist Labor International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, exchanged views on current matters of import to the working class of the world, and especially of Europe, and mapped out lines of action for the future. The harmony obtaining during the sessions was taken as a good omen for the continued cooperation of the two arms of the labor movement.

Following the meeting of the Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International, under the presidency of Emile Vandervelde, at which the agenda for the conferences were examined and approved, the joint session of the two Bureaus got under way in the beautiful Maison du Peuple, which the hospitality of the Belgian cooperatives had placed at the disposal of the delegates.

Representing the S. L. I. were Secretaries Frederick Adler and Tom Shaw, Anderson (Denmark), Bauer (Austria), Bracke (France), Cameron (England), Dan (Russia), Levi (Italy), Vandervelde (Belgium), Vliegen (Holland), and Wels (Germany), while the I. F. T. U. sent Secretaries Oudegeest and Sassenbach, Grassman (Germany), Joushaux (France) and Mertens (Belgium). Bad weather in the Channel is understood to have prevented President Purcell and other British delegates from attending.

British Delegates on Russia

Hardly had the joint session started when Comrade Vandervelde, who was presiding, drew the attention in the name of the S. L. I. of the representatives of the I. F. T. U. to the seriousness with which the leaders of the Socialist political movement regarded the recent statements on Russia made by A. A. Purcell and other members of the delegation of British trade unionists who visited Russia last fall under instructions from the Hull congress of the British unions. While noting that of course the British visitors had the right to report what they considered an improvement of general conditions in Russia and to be friendly with the Soviet officials and those of the Communist International, Vandervelde remarked that some of the optimistic statements made by individual members of the delegation in anticipation of their official report, which had not yet been published, were being exploited to the limit by the Communist press and that, as Purcell was President of the I. F. T. U., it was in order for the Socialist and Labor International to point out how the Communists of the Red Trade Union International, having failed to force their organization into the place occupied by the International Federation of Trade Unions, were now trying to get inside by shouting about the united front and that the British delegates' statements were of great value to them. Once inside, the

Communist tactics of building "cells" and making trouble would soon produce new divisions of the labor movement. Vandervelde said that the British unionists' disparaging reference to the Georgian Socialists and their movement for independence was a surprise to all Socialists and he also noted that the delegation had said nothing about the lack of political liberty in Russia, but had reported that there was religious freedom.

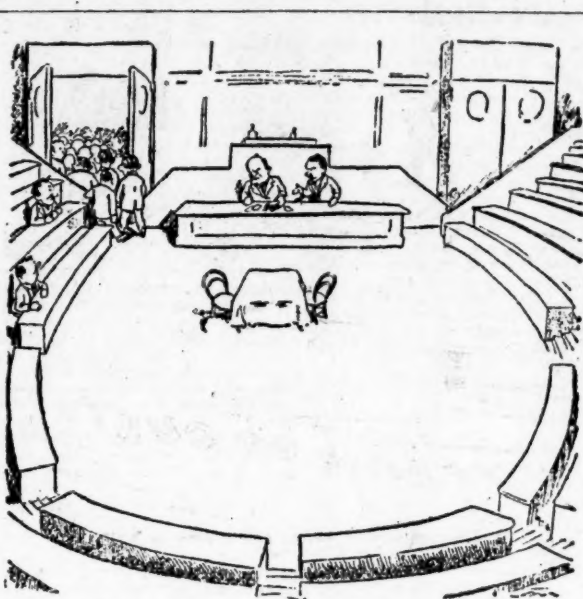
Replying for the I. F. T. U., Vice-president Joushaux said that while he did not believe in discussing the delegation's alleged attitude on the Russian matter when none of its members was present, he wanted to point out that the Amsterdam Bureau was going to ask a few questions of President Purcell in this connection, although it must be remembered that his trip to Russia was not made in the interest of the I. F. T. U. Joushaux then sketched the progress of the negotiations between the Amsterdam Bureau and the Russian trade unions on the united front and assured his hearers that his organization was fully aware of the plans for disruption entertained by the chiefs of the Red Trade Union International, that the negotiations for unity were being carried on only with the Russian trade unions and not with their International, and that there was danger of the Amsterdam Bureau or its Executive Committee being fooled.

Tom Shaw then remarked that he thought Joushaux's statement was entirely satisfactory and that there was no need of further discussion. Jan Oudegeest added that he and the Amsterdam Bureau, while not wanting to mix into the affairs of the political International, would be glad to see it take more energetic action in the future for democracy and against dictatorship.

The consensus of the meeting was that, with the two Internationals working in harmony, as they always did, and with their Bureaus in close touch, there was small chance of either making a false step.

Important Resolutions

At the joint session, which was concluded on January 4, three resolutions of international importance were adopted. It was decided to push the fight for ratification by all industrial countries of the Eight-Hour Day Convention of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations and that as soon as the French Parliament ratifies it, but at all events not later than the first half of April, the Socialist and Labor members of all Parliaments should make a drive for ratification. Approving the plan for the abolition of night work in bakeries drafted by the International Labor Office and passed for its first reading at the last International Labor Conference,



MUSSOLINI There seems to be a quorum.
SECRETARY For whist, Excellency?—*Il Travaso*

the delegates asked the Labor and Socialist press of the world to begin a campaign for this plan and urged cooperation of the political and trade union movement in all countries, so that it will be passed in second reading at the Seventh International Labor Conference, which will open in Geneva in May, and its ratification by January 1, 1927, be assured. In arranging May Day celebration this year the various parties and Labor unions are asked to lay stress on ratification of the Eight-Hour Day Convention.

In the discussion on the Geneva Protocol, by which the League of Nations hopes to outlaw international wars and cut down armaments, the British delegates pointed out that the Protocol was not popular in England and that the role of international policeman was not desirable. But the majority of those present favored the plan, even with its imperfections, as a definite step along the road toward peace, and a resolution urging the Socialist and Labor movements to work for its ratification and the early calling of a disarmament conference was passed, with the British delegates not voting.

Executive Meets

The afternoon of January 4, the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International opened a meeting which, interrupted by numerous social affairs, lasted until Jan-

uary 6. The members present, in addition to the Bureau members already named, were De Brouckere (Belgium), Crispin (Germany), Allen and Wedgwood (England), Martna (Esthonia), Longuet (France), Tseretelli (Georgia), Zeelens (Latvia), Niedzialkowski, P. P. S., and Drobner, Independent (Poland); Sukhomlin and Stalinski, Social Revolutionary (Russia); Engber and Lindstroem (Sweden), Soukup, Czechoslovak and Czech, German (Czechoslovakia); Peidl (Hungary) and Bezpalko (Ukraine). The meeting was also attended by Treasurer Wallhead, Dr. Marion Phillips for the International Women's Committee, and Comrade Heinz for the Socialist Young People's International.

In a detailed report, Secretary Adler gave an account of world happenings of importance since the last meeting of the Executive Committee in London the last week of September and then the committee members began a discussion which resulted in the adoption of a resolution denouncing the prolongation of the occupation by the Allied troops of the Cologne district beyond the date set in the Treaty of Versailles (January 10, 1925) as an act calculated to encourage the German reactionaries and discourage the German Socialists and other Republicans in their work of international reconciliation and consolidation of democracy at

home. The resolution notes the activities of the Socialist parties of England, France and Belgium in favor of ending military occupation and of the German Socialists against attempts to revive militarism in their country.

Decisions of Executive

Other resolutions adopted condemned the crushing of Egyptian independence by the British Tory Government under the pretext afforded by the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, the British Sirdar, by a fanatic; and expressed ardent sympathy for the Italian working class in its time of renewed trouble due to Dictator Mussolini's recent efforts to stamp out all opposition through raids and suppression of the press.

An exhaustive report on the situation in Esthonia, where Communist attempts to seize the Government on December 1 resulted in some street fighting and many executions, was submitted to the meeting, but no resolutions on that subject were passed.

After hearing a report by Julius Peidl on the party troubles in Hungary, due partly to the signing in 1921 of the "truce" between the leaders of the Socialist Party and Premier Bethlen and other Government officials, a committee consisting of Tom Shaw and Louis De Brouckere was named to get in touch with the Hungarian party leaders and the chiefs of the opposition with the view of preventing a serious split in the ranks of the only real opposition to the bloody rule of Regent Horthy.

Following a report by Tom Shaw on conditions in Mexico and Latin America in general, the Secretariat was instructed to prepare a plan for getting in closer touch with the Socialist organizations in Latin America.

In a letter explaining his desire to devote more of his time to the task of promoting real Marxism within the ranks of the Socialist movement, Frederick Adler asked permission to give up his place as

one of the secretaries of the London Bureau so that he might return to his home and work in Austria. While appreciating his reasons and personal difficulties, the committee members urged Comrade Adler to stay on the job at least until after the International Congress, which is to be held in France next August or September, and he consented to do so. Adler's decision was hailed with enthusiasm, as the value of his services to the international movement is recognized everywhere.

Adler's Report

On January 6, the following telegram was sent to Eduard Bernstein, the German Socialist veteran whose seventy-fifth birthday was being celebrated in Socialist circles all over Germany:

"From Brussels, where we are meeting, we send you heartfelt greetings for your seventy-fifth birthday. For more than half a century you have worked untiringly in the service of the International for the equality of mankind. Good luck to you in your future struggles."

In his report of the work of the London Bureau, Comrade Adler noted that its weekly news service called International Information, although only a few months old, had already become popular with the Socialist and Labor press all over the world and that there were 320 subscribers to the German edition, 180 to the French and 100 to the English. Secretary Adler urged the committee men to see to it that their party officials furnished the International Bureau with more news about party activities.

Following the adjournment, a number of the committee men made trips to different Belgian cities to inspect the political, social and industrial activities carried on so successfully by the Belgian Comrades. To say that they were enthusiastic over what they saw would be putting it mildly.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee will probably be held in May.

"Gold Dollars at 50c Each Would Create a Sensation"

Said Finkelstein to His Partner, Maisel, "Yet Let Me See You Convince the People Our Sale Means the Same."

"See what we are doing in this clearance sale," continued Finkelstein, "virtually giving our goods away, at the prices, and certainly offering as fine a line of suits and overcoats to be seen anywhere."

"Absolutely," replied Maisel, "but you also want to remember we are offering an additional discount of 15 per cent."

"That's true," said Finkelstein, "and it's 8 per cent. more than we offered our various retail shop trade in former years in order to clear our factory at this time of the year."

"That's more like selling gold dollars at about ten cents each," replied Maisel, "but at that you are right; it is next to impossible to convince the public of the truth, outside of those who have dealt here."

"Why? Because, I guess, they take everything nowadays with a grain of salt," said Finkelstein, "and you can't blame the people. How can they tell the out and out honest fellow from the trickster?"

"True," replied Maisel, "How can they distinguish the real manufacturer selling direct to the public and the fellow who deliberately fakes it? Or the one who marks his goods sky high and offers fifty per cent off?"

"Only one way," said Finkelstein, "the people should deal only with reliable concerns. Take nothing for granted. Demand a guarantee such as we give. Demand and insist upon getting money back if dissatisfied, whether advertised or not."

"That's been our success," replied Maisel, "in spite of our many imitators. Some people get fooled for a while, but the fools get fooled in the end. Notice the bankruptcies. Notice our ever-increasing business."

But as to the real factory clearance sale Finkelstein & Maisel start today. It is offered but once a year in order to clear their factory preparatory to manufacturing spring goods.

This means a 15 per cent. discount off of their retail factory prices on all ulsters and overcoats of highest grade domestic, English and German woolsens, a' o' one and two trouser suits of finest domestic and imported materials.

These are the prices for Ulsters and Overcoats: \$22.74, \$25.08, \$31.08 and \$36.12.

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The March of American Imperialism

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

It would be idle to deny that the United States is an imperialistic country. The American Empire already rivals the British Empire in world influence and power and in its rapid onward march it bids fair to outstrip all great empires of the past.

Imperialism may be defined as the exercise of sovereignty, dominion or rule beyond the original boundaries of a country. Its successive forms are the extension of the home territory, the acquisition of overseas colonies, the establishment of "protectorates" and the development of the more subtle "spheres of influence" in foreign countries.

The United States has passed through all these stages. It has extended its territory in continental North America by occupation, purchase and conquest; it has acquired overseas "possessions," established effective protectorates, and is now entering upon the phase of international rule through the money power. This powerful form of the new imperialism has attained tremendous proportions after the war. The impoverished countries of Europe had only America to turn to for assistance, and America, or rather the American bankers, were ready to lend them money on proper terms.

When a borrower is sound and the required loan is comparatively small the banker will extend it to him on the mere security of his promise to repay, but when the borrower is of doubtful solvency and the required loan is large, he will exact security in the form of a lien on property or revenue or by some other arrangement that will give him a measure of control over the business and affairs of the debtor.

The majority of European countries are in a condition of questionable solvency and the loans extended to them are often made on conditions which imply foreign control over their fiscal and governmental affairs. The Austrian and German loans are typical examples of such transactions. The United States is the largest holder of such obligations. It is fast becoming the Receiver General and supreme ruler of bankrupt Europe.

This not a boast, nor is it a reproach. Imperialism is an inescapable phase of modern or capitalist industrial development and American capitalism has outstripped its rivals in that direction, as in all

U. S. Money Kings Lead as Foreign Lenders

So strong is the rise of American financial imperialism, New York has surpassed London as the money capital of the world.

During 1924 the total of American foreign loans was \$1,209,000,000, as against \$578,949,100 for London. In the last five years American loans to foreign countries—governments and corporations—have exceeded London's by a substantial margin. The London total of \$2,360,932,950 for the five-year period is less than 68 per cent of the American total for the same period, \$3,490,096,000.

In the year 1924 the American money market loaned to seventy-six foreign borrowers. The money power here is thus vitally interested in the affairs of seventeen foreign governments, seven provinces, seventeen municipalities and thirty-five corporations.

The tendency since 1919 has been to invest more money in corporations and municipalities and less in governments, the figures show.

other directions, because of the great economic advantages of the country.

Imperialism is a standing menace to the peace of the world, but any attempt to check its course would be as idle and fruitless as the favorite sport of trust busting. All that an enlightened and progressive citizen can do is to palliate the evil consequences of imperialism by insisting that the business dealings with foreign countries be carried on by our bankers at their own risk and without any species of Government intervention for the collection of their claims; that armament be

progressively and rapidly reduced by international agreement, and that the countries under American control receive fair and just treatment and be given complete political independence and autonomy as speedily as possible.

And in the meantime we may find reassurance and hope in the rise of Socialist and Labor Governments, who are pledged to the principle of cooperative production for use instead of competitive industry for profit and to the program of a pacific union of nations instead of the system of rival imperialisms.

"Its Only Fault"

By VICTOR L. BERGER

Socialist Member of Congress

There is probably at the present time no proletariat in any civilized nation that is less class-conscious and more capitalist minded—less progressive and more reactionary—less honest and more corrupt—than the American proletariat.

This is due to a variety of conditions and circumstances that exist in no other country. One of them is the almost complete absence of a Socialist press, or even of a genuine Labor press. Only in that way can we explain that, like in the old Turkish empire, "Amurath followed Murath"—sort of Green follow Gompers. A capitalist legend with a patriotic halo is already in the process of formation about Gompers for the adoration and emulation of the young, hopeful trade union painter or cigarmaker.

And these conditions will never change until we have a genuine progressive Labor press in this country. This lack of a genuine Labor press

is also responsible for the pitiable showing made at the last election in most of the States.

It is therefore hardly necessary for me to say much about the mission of The New Leader in New York. It is a good paper and its only fault is that it has not enough readers. It should have three or four times as many. The New York comrades, and the Eastern comrades in general, must get those readers for The New Leader. They should remember that the emancipation of the working class of the world can never be accomplished without the actual cooperation of the American workers, and this collaboration cannot take place without a powerful and influential Labor press.

We must wake up the American working-men—and wake them up soon. We must re-mold their minds and clean their brains of the capitalist cobwebs, spread there daily by the capitalist papers. To build up the social conscience in place of the capitalist mind—is probably the foremost and the hardest task of our press.

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Why not let Sammy help you in doing propaganda? He won't enjoy the job at all. But, then, he'll never know the little messenger is in your sealed envelope. Let's put it over on Sam, ten thousand every day. We have some fine leaflet literature for just this sort of stunt. Address the National Office Press, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago.

PENNSYLVANIA

TO PENNSYLVANIA READERS
Information concerning the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania may be obtained from the State Secretary, Darlington Hoopes, 415 Swede street, Norristown, Pennsylvania. News items concerning Pennsylvania Socialist activities should be sent to that address.

New Branch Organized

The Italian Socialist Federation reports that a branch has been organized at Altoona. The charter has been issued by the State Office, and we hope that our Italian comrades will soon have a flourishing organization in this great railroad center.

Local Berks On the Job

Reading comrades are showing us the way things should be done. Every comrade is asked either to contribute money to buy literature, or to volunteer to distribute literature every week. A few cents a week from each comrade will make it possible to supply every working-class family with leaflets at regular intervals. Here's wishing our Berks County comrades the greatest success. The example should be followed by every branch in the State. We have a supply of good literature at the State Office, and will welcome a chance to place it where it will do the most good.

Pittsburg Forum

Clinton S. Golden, Field Representative, Brookwood College, of Katonah, New York, a member of the International Association of Machinists and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, will speak before the Labor Party Boosters' Club of Pittsburg, Sunday evening, February 1, at eight o'clock, in the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Hall 510 Fourth avenue, Pittsburg, on the subject, "Labor Colleges and Their Relation to the Labor Movement."

The Labor Party Boosters' Club of Pittsburg, formerly the La Follette-Wheeler Boosters' Club, will hold a dance and entertainment at Duquesne Garden, Wednesday evening, February 4, 1925.

CONNECTICUT

State Committee Meets

The State Executive Committee met Sunday, January 26, in New Haven. It was decided that the State organization begin at once the issuance of a monthly paper, to be known as "The Appeal to Reason." The publication committee, to which was added Nathan Gandelman of New Haven, will meet after the State convention, Sunday, February 8, and complete plans for issuance of the new propaganda bulletin.

The committee will call a State convention to be held February 8 to instruct delegates to the Socialist Party and C. P. A. national conventions. The convention will be held in Machinists' Hall, 99 Temple street, New Haven, at 2 p. m.

Local Bridgeport Dinner
Arrangements have been com-

pleted for the dinner Local Bridgeport is to give on the evening of January 31 at Waters' dining rooms. Comrades Bertha Hale White, Morris Hillquit and Judge Panken have been invited.

New London Women Active

The Socialist Women's Club, formed last summer by members of the Socialist Party, is setting a high mark for activity. It expects in the near future to build a Socialist club house. Local New London has raised \$40 toward defraying the expenses of delegates to the Chicago conventions.

Eclipse Social in Hamden

Local Hamden is more than elated with the social and financial success of its Eclipse party held January 24. About fifty comrades and friends attended. The Local will hold another social at the home of Joseph L. De Scheen, 1775 State street, Saturday evening, February 7.

Norwich Power Fight

Comrade Albert Boardman, active member of Local Norwich, is making a hard and well-directed fight against the proposal that the city sell its electric power plant to the electric combine.

New Haven Social

A social will be held Sunday evening, February 8, at the Labor Lyceum, 38 Howe street, for the purpose of swelling the convention delegates' fund.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston Yipsels

Boston Circle, No. 1, has a program for a membership drive which includes the following three committees:

1. A "Where" committee composed of the organizer and two members to lay out routes for speakers from our circle, who will speak at different organizations and street corners.
 2. A "What" committee composed of the entire organization who will be given topics which they will have to look up and report on.
 3. A "How" committee composed of the Educational Director and four members to write up the data which the "What" committee collects and to train the speakers.
- The plan was received with enthusiasm and all seemed willing to help make it a success.

Worcester Reorganized

Local Worcester has been reorganized with a membership of twenty. Esther Friedman will speak under the auspices of this local at A. O. H. Hall, Tuesday, January 27. A long lease of life is assured the local, due to some very active members. Daniel Donovan, President of the Central Federation of Labor in Worcester, is taking an especially active part in the local.

District Secretary Warren Edward Fitzgerald has just returned from a trip throughout the Western part of the State. He reports an unusually fine spirit among the party membership. They are hoping that a new alignment will come out of the February convention, but realize the necessity of a strong Socialist Party organization whether or not a new party is formed.

2nd A. D. branch will be held Monday evening, February 2, at the headquarters, the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. Important business will be transacted, including the voting on delegates to the National Convention. At the last meeting of the branch, the following officers were elected: Joe Leventhal, Organizer; Abe Elmer, Treasurer; Ida Shapiro, Financial Secretary; Abe Schaeffer, Recording Secretary.

Upper West Side

The Upper West Side Branch will meet Tuesday, February 3, at 51 East 125th street.

Pat Quinlan will speak on "A Labor Party for America." Comrade Quinlan made an extensive tour during the last campaign. He knows the sentiment of the people and what they want in the small towns and villages. He has an important message in view of the coming conventions of the Socialist Party and the Conference for Progressive Action. Come to this meeting. There will be ample opportunity for discussion. Members absent at last meeting can vote for delegates to the conventions of the Socialist Party and the C. P. A.

Pat Quinlan Lectures at 8th A. D.
Pat Quinlan will lecture at the branch meeting of the 8th A. D., this Friday evening, January 30, at 207 East 10th street. All members are urged to attend.

Harlem Socialist Center

Justice John Ford of the First District of the Supreme Court of New York State will lecture Friday evening, February 6, at 8:30 p. m., at the Harlem Socialist Center, 62 East 106th street. Subject: "Criminal Obscenity Rampant."

Judge Jacob Panken will lecture on February 13 on "Judges and the Public."

General Meeting

A membership meeting will be held on Monday, February 2, in the People's House, 7 East 15th street, at which Comrade Rafael Abramowitz will speak on conditions in Russia and his experiences in that country. Admission will be only by paid-up dues card and party members of other locals are invited to attend. Do not come without your card as you will not be admitted. Meeting starts at 8 sharp.

1st-2nd A. D.

The branch shows what can really be done in the way of building up a branch. They are not talking; they are taking in new members and re-instating others. There are some other branches that will have to wake up to keep pace with this branch.

22nd-23rd A. D.

This branch will meet Tuesday evening, February 3, at the home of Comrade Meyer Gillis, 600 West 161st street, corner of Broadway. There will be good music and good speaking. Our comrades are trying to prevail on Meyer London to speak. The last meeting was a satisfying one. Five new applicants were received and several members paid up their arrears. The branch is doing good work now; perseverance will make it a powerful one.

THE BRONX

On Saturday night, January 31, Branch 2-4-5 will hold an entertainment and dance at 1167 Boston road. Good music has been engaged for this occasion and to top the program, Miss Rebecca Rosen, the well-known pianist, will entertain with a piano recital.

The regular meeting of the Branch 2-4-5, which will be held on Tuesday, February 3, will be a very interesting one, as a number of important matters will be transacted. There will take place the election of delegate and alternate to the National Convention, to be held February 21. All members are urged to be present.

BROOKLYN

A borough meeting of the party

Sunday Afternoon Forum Organized in Brooklyn

Through the efforts of the Brooklyn Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, Brooklyn is to

have a Sunday forum. The Forum will begin its season this Sunday afternoon, February 1, when Commissioner Sheehan of the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity, Louis Waldman, author of a book on traction, and a representative of the Transit Commission, will discuss the transit situation in New City. The forum meetings will be held in the Ridgewood Masonic Temple Building, Bushwick and Gates avenues. Admission will be free. Discussion and questions will follow the lectures. Among the speakers announced for subsequent meetings are Harry Weinberger, who will speak February 8; Norman Thomas, February 15; Dr. Leon R. Land, February 22.

The next regular meeting of the central committee will be held at headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue, Saturday evening, January 31.

All comrades are urged to make their reservations for the theatre party, which is to be held on February 11.

The Williamsburg Central Committee has secured the Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion place, for a four-day bazaar, beginning April 30, 1925. The committee hopes that all branches will keep these days open.

Thomas at 22nd A. D.

The 22nd A. D., Kings, is opening its Educational Campaign by a series of Friday evening lectures to be conducted at headquarters, 218 Van Sicklen avenue. At the first lecture Friday evening, January 30, Norman Thomas will speak on "The Case for a Third Party."

It is expected that most of the old members of the branches in the district will come out and resume their activities in building up a strong organization in the 22nd A. D.

Brownsville School

The Brownsville Socialist Sunday School, the biggest institution of its kind in the country, is now without the services of an instructor for its High School class, teaching Socialist economics and history. The ages of the children in this class, the cream of the school, range from fourteen to seventeen.

The work being done by the comrades behind this institution is inestimable and of the utmost importance to the Socialist movement.

If there are any comrades who will be kind enough to volunteer their services, who have had previous training and experience, or who are confident of their ability to handle such a class, kindly write the undersigned.

FRANK MONACO,
374 Bristol street,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

YIPSELDOM

Young Fabians will hold their monthly open meeting and social afternoon Sunday, February 1, at 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn, at 3 o'clock. Abraham I. Shiplacoff will talk to the members, who are studying proposed roads to freedom and happiness, on the social versus the individualistic roads to happiness. Singing, dancing, refreshments and the playing of games will wind up the afternoon. Young boys and girls over fourteen years of age are cordially invited to attend. The regular meeting will be held Friday evening, when Laurence Stallings' "Plumes" will be discussed.

The new Junior Circle 4, which meets every Sunday at 3 p. m. at 420 Hindsale street, invites all Junior members to attend their meetings. Comrade Green (Mrs.) is their directress.

The National Convention of the Junior Y. P. S. L. may receive a charter at the next meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in 1925. The hope of the Junior Yipsels will then have been realized.

QUEENS COUNTY

Branch Jamaica will hold a special meeting at the home of Barnett Wolf, 57 Beaufort avenue, Monday night, February 2. Members will vote on delegates to the Chicago conventions and James O'neal will speak on the problems bound up with the organization of a Labor party.

Thomas at People's Forum

Norman Thomas will speak on "The Case for a Third Party," at the first lecture to be held by the People's Forum, 218 Van Sicklen avenue, Brooklyn, this Friday evening, January 30. A musical program will precede the lecture. Questions and discussion from the floor will follow. Admission is free.

A GERMAN PERIODICAL

Keep your German speaking friends informed with the progress and activities of the Socialist Party, here and abroad, through the

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New York Activities

NEW YORK

Esther Friedman Lectures

Owing to the difficulty in regard to a suitable hall in Poughkeepsie, the February course of lectures planned for Esther Friedman in the Capitol district has been cancelled. Those receiving season tickets for sale for the course of four Schenectady lectures originally scheduled to begin February 2, 1925, are requested to refund the money to all who have purchased them.

Mrs. Friedman is expected to lecture in Schenectady en route to the special National Convention of the Socialist Party at Chicago. The date tentatively set is February 16, but a further announcement in regard to the matter will appear in The New Leader.

Arland to Represent State Committee

Fred Arland has been selected as the representative of the State Committee of the Socialist Party on the editorial board of The New Leader.

Municipal Convention Called

The call for a municipal convention March 28 and 29 has been sent out by the State Executive Committee. This convention will lay the plans for a strong municipal campaign in Greater New York, adopt a municipal platform, endorse candidates for nomination for municipal office, and take any other action that may be necessary to promote success at the polls next fall. The basis of representation, as determined by the State Executive Committee, will be: New York (Manhattan), fifty-five delegates; Kings, thirty delegates; Bronx, twenty delegates; Queens, four; Richmond, two. Locals may elect their delegates in any way they see fit provided each affiliated branch is given at least one delegate.

Comrade S. H. Stille, general organizer attached to the State Office, is organizing a health class in Westchester County. The class will specialize in open-air work; hiking will be a feature. All interested should write Comrade Stille at 2 Hudson street, Yonkers, N. Y.

Claessens' Lectures

August Claessens will lecture Friday, January 30, at 1167 Boston road, the Bronx, on "The Distribu-

tion of Wealth." Sunday, February 1, he will speak in Kingston, at Mans Hall; the subject, "What Is Socialism." Wednesday, February 4, he will speak in Woodbridge, on "Evolution and Revolution." Thursday, February 5, he will speak at the Rivoli Theatre, in South Fallsburg, on "Race Prejudice."

LOCAL NEW YORK

The 14th-15th and 16th Assembly District Branch will hold a special meeting on Thursday, February 5, 8:30 p. m., at the headquarters, 227 East 84th street.

Comrade Leo Turiow, who was one of the Socialist delegates at the inauguration of President Calles of Mexico, will talk on the Socialist Movement and the General Conditions in Mexico.

The comrades who have not voted for delegates to the Socialist Party Convention and the C. P. A. to be held in February in Chicago will have a chance to vote at this meeting.

Comrades are also requested to bring clothes that they can spare for the striking and evicted miners of West Virginia.

The branch had a well-attended meeting on Thursday, January 22. A great deal of business was transacted, and in view of the fact that the next regular meeting would come on Lincoln's Birthday (February 12), it was decided to hold a meeting on Thursday, February 5.

All members of the 14th-15th and 16th A. D. branch, and comrades interested to hear about conditions in Mexico, are requested to attend.

Remember Thursday, February 5, 8:30 p. m., at 227 East 84th street.

4th A. D. Activities

A regular meeting will be held on Thursday, February 5, at the club rooms, 24 Ridge street. Voting for delegates to Chicago conventions will take place. Tickets for the branch Theater Benefit, March 4, may now be obtained from the secretary, Comrade Young. A series of Sunday night lectures is being arranged by the branch; members are asked to be present that they may aid in the management of the lectures.

1st and 2nd A. D. Elects
A regular meeting of the 1st and

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MEYER PERLSTEIN, Administrator.

Telephone: Madison Square, 5590-5591

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

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Office, 16 West 21st St.

Watkins 7980

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.

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Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.

SECTION MEETINGS

Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 6 P. M.

Brooklyn—E. 14th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.

Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.

Bklyn—105 Montrose Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.

SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary.

SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

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On The International Front

THE INTERNATIONAL

World Membership Near 7,000,000

In its New Year summary of the

activities and strength of the or-

ganized Socialist movement of the

world, the London Bureau of the

Socialist and Labor International

gives a table showing the approxi-

mate dues-paying membership of

twenty-six of the forty-two parties

affiliated with the International. It

is pointed out that in a number of

countries, such as Russia, Georgia,

Armenia and Italy, data on member-

ship are not available owing to the

difficult position occupied by the So-

cialist parties, but it is estimated

that if figures for the whole world

were at hand the total membership

would be revealed as about 7,000,000.

In printing the table below, The

New Leader omits Hungary, as the

membership given for that country

(190,000) seems too large for that

poorly-ridden country and may be

the result of careless use of figures.

Since the International's figures

were compiled, Paul Faure, Sec-

retary of the Socialist Party of France,

has announced that the dues-paying

membership of that party has

reached 73,000.

America 15,000

Argentina 8,000

Austria 566,100

Belgium 621,000

Bulgaria 28,000

Czechoslovakia—

Czech S. P. 100,000

German S. P. 72,200

Polish S. P. 2,000

Ruthenian S. P. 6,400

Hungarian S. P. 2,000

Denmark 130,000

England—

Labor Party 3,126,000

I. L. P. 30,000

Finland 28,000

France 70,000

Germany 869,000

Greece 35,500

Holland 2,600

Latvia 2,000

Lithuania 8,000

Norway 2,000

Poland (P. P. S.) 59,800

Rumania 12,000

Spain 8,500

Sweden 138,500

Total 5,948,700

Going Out After Members

Noting that thus far outside of

Europe only the Socialist Parties of

the United States, Argentina and

some of the British Dominions have

affiliated with the Socialist and

Labor International, the London

Bureau says that the Secretariat,

in accord with a decision of the

Administrative Committee, has

started correspondence with non-

affiliated parties asking if they ac-

cept the principles laid down at the

Hamburg Congress and inviting

them to join.

The London Bureau has decided

to allow individuals to subscribe to

its weekly information service at the

rate of six shillings and sixpence for

three months. Extra copies to the

same person will cost only half. Sub-

scriptions may be sent to the Secre-

tariat at 4 Great Smith street, Lon-

don, S. W. 1, England.

GERMANY

The Definite Reichstag Makeup

Official results of the Reichstag

election of December 7, given out in

Berlin on December 19, show only

a few slight changes in the makeup

of the New German Parliament, re-

ported in The New Leader of De-

cember 13. Instead of 130 Deputies,

the Socialists have 131, out of a

total of 493, against 100 out of 472

in the Reichstag elected May 4, 1924.

The Socialist popular vote was 7-

880,058, out of a total of 30,282,984

valid ballots, against 6,014,380 last

May, and their percentage of the

total rose from 21 to 26.

How the German bourgeois groups

feel about the Socialist gains may

be deduced from the fact that the

mere threat by the Socialists of pos-

sible direct action to resist any at-

tempt to lower the workers' standard

of living, following the organization

of the bourgeois-Nationalist Cabinet

of Dr. Hans Luther a few days ago,

caused that Cabinet immediately to

order the restoration of the eight-

hour day in the coke and blast fur-

naces on April 1. As the strongest

party in the nation, the Social Dem-

ocracy expects to be able to utilize

its position outside the new Cabinet

effectively in the interest of the

masses and to retain the freedom

of action and criticism that it would

Green Acts To End Stone-Lewis Dispute

Morrison Heads Committee

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor has appointed a committee to meet with Grand Chief Warren S. Stone of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in regard to the dispute between the United Mine Workers of America and the Engineers at the Coal River Collieries in West Virginia.

President Green's action is pursuant to a resolution adopted by the convention of the American Federation of Labor in El Paso, Tex. The committee consists of:

Secretary Frank Morrison, Vice-President Martin F. Ryan and Vice-President James P. Noonan.

No date has yet been announced for the meeting with Grand Chief Stone, but it was said at A. F. of L. headquarters that the committee would lose no time in endeavoring to arrange a date for a conference.

Walker Again Heads Ill. Labor

The Illinois State Federation of Labor has, by a referendum vote, elected the following as its officers: President, John H. Walker; first vice-president, Thomas Kelly; second vice-president, Al Towers; third vice-president, Joseph W. Morton; fourth vice-president, Robert G. Fitchie; fifth vice-president, James B. Connors; sixth vice-president, Mary McEnery; seventh vice-president, Emil Reinhold; eighth vice-president, M. J. Whalen; ninth vice-president, Waldo Cross; secretary-treasurer, Victor A. Olander.

5,000 W. Va. Miners Suffer From Cold

The cold spell this week, bringing below-zero weather in the West Virginia mountains, caused severe suffering to 5,000 miners and their families living in tents in the hills of the Kanawha coal district. Only the thin canvas of the worn tents stood between the men, women and children and the fury and cold of the snow storms.

The miners were evicted from their homes when they went on strike for recognition of their right to join the United Mine Workers. Strikebreakers now occupy the company-owned homes they formerly lived in. The union is supplying the strikers with food; friends and sympathizers from the outside are sending in clothes. Despite the terrific hardship wrought by the zero weather, there is not a thought but that the fight for the union will go on.

Mine Safety Conference In Ill.

The basis for co-operation between miners and mine operators to cut down the hazard to life and limb in the occupation was laid at the Illinois Mining Safety Conference at Springfield. The Illinois Department of Mines and Mineral Resources, the Illinois Mining Institute; the Joseph A. Holmes Safety Association; the United Mine Workers of Illinois; and three Illinois operators' associations co-operated with the mining section of the National Safety Council in holding the conference.

About 300 miners, mine operators, superintendents, managers, officials of the union, and other interested persons attended the sessions. Officials of the union who took part included Frank Farrington and Harry Fishwick, president and vice-president of District 12, and George L. Mercer, statistician.

Concrete achievements of the conference included an invitation to the United States Bureau of Mines to hold its next first-aid competition in Springfield; the passage of a resolution furthered by George Mercer to have first aid taught in the schools; and reappointment of the old committee to arrange another such conference in the near future.

Unionist Jailed Under Injunction

Judge Denis E. Sullivan, Democratic injunction judge and pal of Charles G. Dawes, Republican Vice-President-elect of the United States, has fined Peter S. Shaughnessy, president of the Bricklayers' Union of Chicago, \$500 and costs, and sentenced John J. Stretch, business agent, to thirty days in jail. John Campbell, another business agent, was fined \$300 and costs, and Charles L. Wilde, assistant financial secretary of the union, was fined \$50 and costs.

The defendants were charged with violating an injunction issued by Judge Sullivan in favor of the Union Contracting Company last May. Peter S. Shaughnessy is well known among trade union officers throughout the United States and Canada. He was fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trade Union Congress.

W. Va. Miners Appeal To Coolidge

Declaring that coal company gunmen surrounded their houses and invaded their homes without a vestige of authority except the authority of high-powered guns, the miners formerly employed by the Jamieson Coal & Coke Co. have placed the facts before President Coolidge in a resolution adopted by Local Unions 4042 and 4036, U. M. W. of A. at Morgantown, W. Va.

The resolution says: "War has been declared against the old employees of this company, gunmen are stationed around their homes, and are torturing these people, brilliant searchlights being flashed in their doors and windows from dark until daylight. Searches are being made without a vestige of authority except the authority that high-powered guns give them. Men and boys are beaten for trying peaceful persuasion; the guards tell them to keep their mouths shut. Those men have a right to work, this is a free country," say the

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guards. "But you fellows keep your mouth shut." Some of the men that are working have been deceived or intimidated, and a knowledge of the facts would bring several of them out. But there is the Liberty protecting guards. The reason for this war-like arrangement is the men refuse the anti-union basis of employment; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we protest and condemn the action of this absentee landlord, and employer. And be it further

"Resolved, That these conditions be presented to the knowledge of the public."

Shoe Workers' Unions Merge

Several months of negotiation between representatives of the various shoe workers' unions in Greater New York have borne the first good results. The Children Shoe Workers' Union has officially decided to merge with the American Shoe Workers' Protective Union. The Joint Council of the latter, at its last meeting, approved the merger and extended their hearty welcome to the brothers of the children shoe trade.

It is now predicted that the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, a successor to the Amalgamated Shoe Workers' Union in Brooklyn, will follow the example of the Children Shoe Workers' Union. The representatives of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union have also participated in the conferences of the Shoe Trades Union. They have not as yet taken any definite stand in reference to amalgamation with the American Shoe Workers' Protective Union, owing to the fact that they

are affiliated with a national organization with headquarters in Haverhill, Mass.

A tremendous sentiment prevails to-day among all the shoe workers of Brooklyn for some action that may bring about a unification of all unions into one, a union that could present one united front against the manufacturers, and it is hoped that this sentiment will bear such pressure on the leading elements of the Protective Shoe Workers' Union that they will soon amalgamate with the American Shoe Workers' Protective Union, which is now the strongest organization of shoe workers in Greater New York.

Bonnaz Embroiderers Renew Agreement

The Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 68, I. L. A. W. U., informs us through its manager, Max M. Casenfeld, that the union has reached an agreement with the Bonnaz Embroidery Manufacturers' Association, which goes into effect February 1 and is to last two years.

This agreement is hailed with sincere satisfaction by all the workers in the trade, as it represents a distinct advantage over the old pact, and brings a number of distinct improvements in the trade conditions.

The minimum wage scale of spoolers and stampers has been increased from \$2.50 to \$5 a week above the previous scale.

A few weeks ago the union elected the following officers to serve for the next term: Z. L. Freedman, president; Max Diesenhau, vice-president; Max Riesel, secretary-treasurer; and Leon Hattab, business agent.

Stage Hands Appeal To Public

The Theatrical Stage Employees' Union, Local 4 of Brooklyn, appeals to the public to help them in their campaign to unionize two movie houses which are unfair to them. The theatres are the Ampton Theatre in Williamsburg and the Olympic Theatre on Adams street near Myrtle avenue. A statement by Dave Burk, secretary of the union, points out that these are the only unfair houses in Brooklyn and that a little pressure by organized Labor in patronizing only union theatres would bring these houses under the control of the union.

Bank Clerks Win Demands

Their repeated individual requests for relief from onerous working conditions having been denied, the employees of the Bank of Athens, New York City, organized, made their requests collectively and won increases in pay and other improved working conditions.

The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union's advocacy of the idea of organization won a ready response among the clerks employed by the Bank of Athens, who deserve the honor of being the first group since the unionization campaign began in the financial district which organized and asserted its right to a living wage.

NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS

Union Local No. 238
Office and Meeting Room:
106 Seventh Avenue Phone Chelsea 9549
Regular Meeting Every Monday
Executive Board Meets Friday at 8 p. m.
GEO. B. HOFFMAN, JAS. P. CONLON,
President Vice-President
J. J. COUGAN, D. J. NAGLE,
Rec. Sec'y Fin. Sec'y

SEE THAT YOUR ENGINEER WEARS THIS BUTTON!

I. U. S. and O. Engineers' Local 56
Meets every Friday at 8 p. m. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stage 3444. Office hours, 8 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 6 P. M., Room 14.
F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORTFOLIO MAKERS' UNION

65 University Place, Streetway 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 181 Clinton St., N. Y. City, Garfield, Org. H. Kaplan, Sec'y.

N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday, Board of Officers Meet 2nd and 4th Friday 242 East 14th Street, New York City
Frank Walter, H. Kramer, President Rec. Sec'y
A. Puglietta, Wm. Dettelbach, Vice-President Fin. Sec'y
H. Vols, Treasurer Business Agent

United Hebrew Trades

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

PAINTERS' UNION

LOCAL 802
Office and Headquarters: 216 E. 59th St.
132 East 10th Street, New York City
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening
John Barry, Clarence Barnes, President Rec. Sec'y
Peter Goldie, J. J. Connell, Vice-President Fin. Sec'y

WAITERS' UNION & Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS

Local 219, H. & R. E. L. A. of N. Y.
Office & Headquarters: 170 E. 50 St., N. Y. LENOX 1874
Regular meetings every Tuesday, 8 P. M.
Meyer Schachter, Chas. S. Lowy, President Vice-President
L. KORN, August Scher, Sec'y & Treas.

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 300 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone Longacre 5629
Day Room Open Daily, 8 a. m. to 6 p. m.
JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GAA, President Fin. Sec'y
M. McDONALD, G. F. BREHEN, Vice-President Rec. Sec'y
Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.

MEETING HALL TO RENT

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German Painters' Union

Local 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 P. M. at Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.
BRUNO WAGNER, President, CHAS. KOENIG, Rec. Sec'y.

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.
178 E. 107th St., Orchard 5259
Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday
AL GRABAL, President, L. KORN, S. JACOB, Manager, Sec'y.

Amalgamated Lithographers

of America, New York Local No. 1
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 285 WEST 14th ST. Phone: WAT 4145 7761
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at ARRLINGTON HALL, 19 ST. MARK'S PLACE
ALBERT E. CASTRO, President
Pat's Hanlon, A. J. Kennedy, Frank J. Flynn, Frank Schel, Vice-Pres. Sec'y Treas.

N. Y. Printing Pressmen's Union

Local 51, International Printing Pressmen's & Assistants' Union
Office: 23 WEST 10TH STREET Phone: CHL 1824-1826
Regular Meetings Every 2nd and 4th Thursday at 1 L. G. W. U. Auditorium, 2 W. 10th St.
PHILIP CUNYASKE, President
Edward Neway, John E. Donnell, Chas. T. Stewart, Wm. Anthony, Sec'y-Treas. Bus. Agent Sign-of-Arms

Opium

Behind the Row and Hypocrisy at Geneva Is Old Monopoly Which Controls Government and Poisons India.

By P. L. QUINLAN

Had our delegate to the International Conference on Opium, held at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations, been a Socialist instead of being a representative in the Congress of the United States, Stephen Porter would have slashed right and left and torn the veil of hypocrisy that the pro-opium capitalist delegates, led by Lord Cecil of England, wave around the question of the culture of the poppy and its manufacture into the demoralizing drug that is destroying the physique and morals of the East.

In this brief article I shall try to avoid the mistakes of Mr. Porter. Instead of abusing the British or displaying heat over points of honor and international etiquette such as the well-meaning American delegate did, I shall present a few important facts taken from the British Government official reports and let the readers judge for themselves.

India suffers from a double dose of exploitation. It has its native rulers, the most gorgeous parasites on earth, and it has superimposed, dominating all—workers, peasants, middle class and aristocracy alike—the British political and military overlords and dictators. As the British officials are the highest paid in the world (the Governor-General alone drawing \$500,000 a year) and as the native rulers are the most gorgeous and most extravagant, the burden of taxation is most crushing, and, as happens everywhere, is heaviest on the weakest and poorest of the population.

The Controllers
The Rothschilds are the biggest factors in Indian banking. They were given the overlordship of Anglo-Indian finance by Gladstone. The Montagues of London have the silver monopoly. Sir Alfred Mond and his crowd control that most es-

sential article—salt. So that themonds and the salt monopolists can make millions, the people of India are forbidden to use their own natural resources; they cannot even take a pail of water from the sea to obtain salt. This makes the use of salt among the poor almost prohibitive, hence disease is rampant. Sir Philip Sassoon, head of all the Sassoons, controls the production of opium. When the readers see in the papers the words Indian Opium they must change the terms and call it the Sassoons. They bear the same relation to the poppy that Rockefeller does to oil in the United States. In 1924 the Sassoons exported \$8,160,000 worth of opium. The revenue from the home-consumed drug is 398.1 lakhs of rupees. A lakh is 100,000, and the rupee, at present exchange rates, is worth about 32 cents, or one shilling and fourpence English money. So if we translate the Indian terms into British, we have, roughly speaking, over \$2,500,000 collected from the opium tax.

Some years ago, when the Chinese Government stopped the legal importation of opium into China, the British compelled the weak Chinese Government to pay the Sassoons \$5,000,000 for compensation for the loss of their opium trade. Fancy Uncle Sam being forced to compensate the Rum Row plutocrats and the bootleggers for loss of their business!

With the above facts in mind the readers can see and understand the Ethiopian in the woodpile, the nickel under the foot. When Lord Cecil said he stood for humanity and not for the vested opium interests, he was telling the usual sanctimonious lie of British diplomacy—the hypocritical blab-blah that provokes the scorn of Bernard Shaw so often.

Lord Cecil spoke only for the opium magnates who are all powerful in the British Government and for no other interest. It is a pity Stephen Porter did not know that.

SOLOMON AND IVY LEE TO DEBATE CAPITALISM

A debate between Charles Solomon and Ivy Lee is scheduled to take place Monday night, February 2, at the Brooklyn Jewish Center, Eastern Parkway and Brooklyn avenue. The subject will be: "Resolved—That the welfare of humanity can be best served under Capitalism."

Lee has been intimately associated with banks, railroads and large commercial and industrial enterprises. He was recently on the personal staff of John D. Rockefeller, and before that was adviser to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. Solomon, who was recently Socialist candidate for Lieutenant Governor, has been on the Socialist platform for many years and is well known in the Socialist and Labor movement.

Paperhangers' Union

LOCAL 190
Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers
Meetings Every Wednesday Evening at 62 East 10th Street
Irving Heldman, Meyer Cohen, President Vice-President
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UNION DIRECTORY

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

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LOCAL 34
Office: 239 EAST 84th STREET Telephone Lenox 4550
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

BRICKLAYERS UNION
LOCAL NO. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 919 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stage
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening
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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 Metrose 5674.
THOMAS DALTON, President, CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent
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Carpenters and Joiners of America
LOCAL 385
Office and Headquarters, 12 St. Mark's Place, Dry Dock—4586
Regular meetings every Monday of the month.
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Carpenters & Joiners of America
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4215 3rd Ave., corner Tremont Ave.
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Carpenters and Joiners of America
LOCAL UNION No. 808
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 919 Willoughby Avenue.
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stage 5414. Office hours, every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening
JOHN HALKETT, SYDNEY PEARCE, HENRY COOK, President Rec. Secretary Treasurer
FRANK HOFFMAN, JOHN THALER, CHARLES FRIEDEL, Vice-President Fin. Sec'y Business Agent

CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA
LOCAL UNION NO. 208, LONG ISLAND CITY
Office and Meeting Room at Volkart's Hall, 270 Prospect Street, Long Island City
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening Phone: ASTORIA 0909
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DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS
LOCAL UNION 1458, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA, Orchard 6804
Office: 12 St. Mark's Place.
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday.
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Office, 227 E. 84th St. 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday, closed all day.
Lenox 7629
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
DANIEL HUNT, PETER FINNERMAN, JOHN MCARTLAN, JOSEPH MORAN, Vice-Pres. President Rec. Secretary Fin. Secretary Bus. Agent

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Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
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Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76
Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283
Meets Every 2d and 4th Wednesday, Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St., 6:30 Sharp
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Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Union
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 166 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza—4100-5116. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261
Office: 62 East 108th Street Telephone University 2828
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNEFIELD, Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

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Phone Watkins 9188
LEON B. ROUSE, President
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John S. O'Connell, Secretary-Treasurer
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Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.
Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELD'S HALL, 67 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418
Of Queens County, New York.
Office and Headquarters, 259 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
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WILLIAM PIPITA, Financial Secretary.
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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

International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
JOHN P. BURKE, President-Secretary, 163 Broadway, Fort Edward, New York.

The Realm of Books

The American Revolution

A Review by JAMES ONEAL

THE AMERICAN STATES. During and After the Revolution, 1775-1789. By Allan Nevins. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$4.

To those who believe that the American Revolution was the uprising of a united people and who desire to continue belief in this fiction this history will come as a shock. It is not the first one of its kind as Becker, Beard, Schlesinger, Beer and others have done notable work in this field. The merit of this work is that it knits together a number of important factors during the revolutionary period so that a comprehensive picture of the revolution is obtained. The author's idea "is to present a conspectus of State history, as distinguished from national history, from the organization of the first independent State agencies at the beginning of the Revolution until 1789."

The struggle was a complex one. Beneath the political revolution for independence was a struggle for social revolution against the American ruling classes, a struggle that verged on civil war a number of times. Those who summoned the mechanics and poor farmers to fight for the political revolution became alarmed when the latter placed their own demands in the foreground. Practically every State was affected by this proletarian phase of the revolution. "The radicals," writes Nevins, "aligned themselves against special social, economic and religious privilege. . . . But the conservatives were usually ready to support the old order." Should workers fight and then be told that they could not vote? was a question frequently heard, while the conservatives claimed that a radical triumph would be "the rule of the mob."

In the South the class lines between a handful of plantation owners and the mechanics allied with the non-slaveholding small farmers are illustrated by South Carolina. The white population of the low country was only 28,644, of which a small number were wealthy slave owners. The white population of the up-hill country was 111,534, yet to the low country was apportioned a majority of the seats in the State Legislature. "The radicals' wrath against British loyalists soon turned against the ruling 'nobles' and 'aristocrats' and a class struggle between the two factions was carried into politics and often threatened physical violence."

The "fathers" of the revolution were not sticklers for law, order, tradition and established government. Extra-legal methods brought them into power. "First we see the scattering local committees; then a legislative committee of correspondence; then a Congress starting up side by side with the Legislature; then the disappearance of the latter and the rough elaboration of the new Government to cover executive and judicial functions; and finally the drafting of a new and free Constitution." All this was illegal and founded on contempt for the "established order."

The Sons of Liberty supplied what we would today call a "Red Guard." It was their duty, so they conceived, to close the mouths of opponents, in some cases to take over local governments, to deport some offensive Loyalists and in some cases to kill those who were either suspected or were known to be guilty of giving encouragement to the British. Personal estates were seized. In Westchester County, New York, stray Loyalists were seized; "some were beaten to death, while others had the tendons of arms or legs cut and were lamed for life." The Assembly confiscated and sold some Loyalist estates and deprived Loyalists of their civil rights, including the franchise. Some Tory farmers of South Carolina were murdered, many others were banished, still others tarred and feathered and much Loyalist property was confiscated. Some of these acts of vengeance were committed after the end of the war and the signing of the peace treaty.

The States were not united in their policies nor in support of the Continental Congress and Washington's forces. Their antagonism to each other and to Congress, their varying internal policies, struggles and aims, their tendency to separatism and in some cases to snatch an advantage for themselves, leaves one wondering that such a loose union of States could have ever come out victorious in the struggle with Great Britain. With few exceptions each State also went through the disastrous experiment with paper money which brought so many financial difficulties to Congress. One good source of income was the confiscation and sale of Loyalist property, New York alone obtaining "more than \$3,600,000 in specie from the sale of Loyalists' property." Mr. Nevins' account of State finances is excellent and one of the most valuable features of his book. The variety of currencies brought financial chaos and that business transactions were conducted at all is a marvel.

The jealousies and provincial out-

look of the various sections and States also found expression in the army. Of this the author writes: "How deeply provincial and sectional jealousies, based on differences of society and manners, cut was shown as soon as Washington took command. Southern soldiers stood as a clan apart; the troops of the Middle Provinces regarded each other with a cordiality not felt for slaveholders or for frost-bitten Yankees; and the New Englanders, whom Admiral Warren had found in the last French War the quickest to assert their rights as Englishmen, showed a coldness to other breeds. Complaint was soon heard among the Massachusetts and Connecticut regiments that the men of other sections habitually called them 'damned Yankees.'"

One of the most valuable chapters considers the political, economic, educational and religious institutions of the colonies especially as they affected the mass of the people. On the whole this is a valuable contribution to American social history and it will have to be consulted by any person who desires to be informed upon the revolutionary period.

Work and Play

A Review by LUCY RETTING

SKILL IN WORK AND PLAY. By T. H. Pear. New York: Dutton.

The science of form, which has developed from the study of muscular movements underlying skill, is scarcely so new that it warrants this treatise from the pen of an English psychologist. If we may believe the words on the jacket, teachers of games and economics of industry are the public for which this little book of six chapters and seven illustrations was written. But trained teachers, at least in America, have already learned to employ every device known to their profession that will gain the "greatest possible result from the least possible expenditure of energy." And I doubt whether Professor Pear's words of advice would reach any but the trained teacher, for no other could assimilate this heavy mixture of physiology, even though there are many apt similes to lighten the dose.

Teachers may be different in England, however. They probably are, if their pupils are as different from ours as the author indicates in an incident related in his first chapter. A beginner, having been told the rudiments of tennis, then asks for an account of the game as the teacher "feels it from the inside!" Urges the teacher to "describe the sensations in his limbs as he changes his grip, or steps into position for a backhand stroke." At once, says Professor Pear, the teacher finds himself at a loss for words. He certainly would if that happened in America, for he would have swooned from surprise! We have some pretty bright beginners over here, but not that bright!

This incident brings forth eleven pages on the need of a terminology which will allow the teacher to make such a description. But a good teacher, faced with such an erudite question, would need no terminology. He could explain in everyday language the working of the muscle groups involved, for his training in kinesiology, or action of muscles, would have given him the necessary knowledge. Unfortunately this ignorance of pedagogical background of the avowed audience characterizes the entire work.

The book is not without its interest, however, especially toward the last, where emphasis is laid upon several good points. There is a clear exposition of Gilbert's tridimensional photography, which is still used, although slow-motion pictures have come to share that field. In Chapter Four, he shows how foolish it is to expect that a person skilled in skating or ditch-digging, for example, can therefore teach those arts. In that same chapter he emphasizes the fact that the approval or disapproval of the worker toward a new efficiency movement should be taken into consideration in the teaching of that movement. So we find our new friend in habit formation, interest, given due credit.

In the last chapter the author closes with an appeal for the teacher who will combine scientific understanding of his profession with an academic background that will make for tolerance and sympathy, especially in teaching the working man. It is unfortunate that Professor Pear has not written a book more needed in the field he tries to cover, and in a manner which would attract readers rather than discourage them, for his attitude on this point is one that cannot have too many exponents.

Now It Can Be Discussed

A Review by RAYMOND FULLER

OUR CHANGING MORALITY. A Symposium by 15 Writers. New York: Albert & Charles Boni.

Some of the Chilkat Indians, and a few Bantu tribes, bind their babies' heads to make them conical. The Shan peoples go on welding neckrings around their girls' throats year by year so as to lengthen them grotesquely. High-class Chinese women not so long ago had their feet so bound that they soon ceased to function as anything more than stumps. Senseless barbaric customs, of course! Terribly devastating to the flesh!

But our modern Occidental civilization demands that boys and girls, fully ready to procreate at sixteen, do not do so for at least eight years. The sex repression aimed at in order to accomplish this feat could not but produce violent biologic and psychic protest from the human animal. What this civilized barbarism means in our efforts to improve our culture-stage and achieve advances toward brotherly and spiritual love the Freudian schools are revealing to us.

To steer a course socially expedient between free-love and chill sex-containment has been perhaps the most serious worry of all to preachers, keepers of the public morals, and to parents generally. It is no light question. And monogamous marriage itself, with all that its mores may mean of stultification, ennui and parasitism, is pressed, cut and shaped by a similar anti-natural expediency. Longer and longer grows the pre-marital taboo period, as economic pressure sets the tighter. More and more hypocritical on the one side and hysterical on the other have the efforts become to make social purges out of biologic sow-ears. Are we reaching the breaking point where taboo no longer stands the strain?

It is not difficult to imagine the perennial panic in parents' hearts over their sons' and daughters' dangers, which could readily lead to the extreme tyranny of enforced virginity. It is difficult to trace into the sex mores themselves much of economic influence. Curiously, pure morality seems to have had little money value on the Rialtos of the world. Sentimental family forebodings gave us the virgin-complex, and hard economic interference, the one-woman-one-man life sentence—disguised as a contract! And both family and State are equally fearful and intolerant of discussion. Between free love, with its blindingly bright possibilities, and Victorian-style Podsnappery, the bourgeoisie, however conscientious, have trembled and trembled—and passed the buck. Experiment they dare not—those few who dared went either into police-courts or fiction.

Of course, we cannot have intelligent adaptation to changing economic and patriarchal conditions without free discussions; of course, the humane implications of a tightening interdependence industrially must be traced out; to the columns of the Nation during 1924 goes our gratitude for such inventorying. With singular aptitude in its choice of contributors, the Nation made of this symposium a brilliant success. Angle after angle of the polyhedral subject of Sex Morality is exhumed into the light of sane criticism. As a rule these writers nowhere plead or demand, they present. "None of them is afraid to saunter up to the edge and see what moral disorder looks like," says Freda Kirchway in her introduction.

Privilege and emotionalism—both anti-social—stand as the sternest obstacles to a sweeter freedom for the race. And in so far as logical, tolerant, scientific discussion of both subjects will help, such a campaign of publicity for the latter is both a step ahead and a striking evidence of another once muted topic that now we can talk about!

BOOKS RECEIVED

Social Science
PUBLIC FINANCE. By Harvey Leist. New York: Appleton.
MODERN TURKEY. By Elliot G. Mears. New York: Macmillan.
CAN THE SOVIET IDEA TAKE HOLD OF AMERICA, ENGLAND AND FRANCE? A debate between Bertrand Russell and Scott Nearing. New York: League for Public Discussion.
CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. A debate between Clarence Darrow and Alfred J. Talley. New York: League for Public Discussion.
THESE UNITED STATES. Second Series. Edited by Ernest Gruening. New York: Boni & Liveright.
Literature
THE PEASANTS. By St. Ladislav Reymont. Vol. II—Winter. New York: Knopf.
THE GUARDSMAN. By Franz Molnar. New York: Boni & Liveright.
THE FIREBRAND. By Edwin Justus Mayer. New York: Boni & Liveright.
TRIMBLEBEGG. By Lawrence Houston. New York: Albert & Charles Boni.
TUTANKHAMEN AND AFTER. By William Ellery Leonard. New York: Huebsch.
EXILES. A PLAY. By James Joyce. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

New Education For Old

A Review by MAX SCHONBERG

WHAT AILS OUR YOUTH? By George A. Coe. Teachers' College, New York: Scribners.

"If I find myself limping in my left knee, I am likely to assume that my left knee is the seat of my ailment and that the cure must be direct treatment of this joint; but medical science may tell me that my lameness is due to a poison that originates elsewhere and that, in order to walk normally, I must permit the pulling of a tooth!"

Thus Professor Coe in his provocative essay indicates that what ails the youth of today is not due to a malady inherent in youth but rather to a maladjusted social order. In approaching his analysis in this manner he strikes at the root of the problem rather than at its surface manifestations.

Science and invention have brought about significant changes in economic conditions and social relationships, to which all the rules of conduct laid down by the ethics and morals of our elders are no longer applicable. "What was good enough for my father and his father ought to be good enough for me" is a lazy rationalization for blinking at problems at which open-eyed and inquisitive youth refuses to blink.

The youth of today finds himself in an environment which is solely the creation of its elders. This creation is the ugly ogre of an industrial society, feverishly consumed with the aim of mastering and exploiting natural resources for profit, and not for production, craftsmanship and creativity. It fosters the mechanization of men as routine attendants upon a machine or as mere soulless marionettes fulfilling the unquestioned will of their superiors. The author points out that "this mechanization creates a chasm between work and leisure, and sends men in search of exciting pleasures to offset the deadening routine"—a telling indictment of the meaninglessness of work as achievement. In this new environment vast numbers of women have been drawn into industry which has changed their outlook on life. But nothing has been done to give them spiritual purpose. This industrial order "impoverishes the spirits of men, and then with ready money invites them to seek refreshment in things that can be bought rather than in things that can be had by achieving them."

What does education do to help youth understand this environment? Professor Coe's implied answer is embodied in one pithy phrase—"a rapidly changing world and slowly changing schools and colleges." Not only does our educational system neglect to consider the new problems in modern life, but the new values and fresh purposes which spring from these problems suffer a like neglect. Methods of teaching and the administrative machinery of

our schools, still weighed down by hoary traditional standards, as well as the financial dependence of colleges and universities upon the benefactions of the captains of industry, interested in the preservation of the present order, have not been conducive to the formulation of educational ideals that would serve as a guide to our ailing youth toward a critical approach to the values of modern life. Yet it is this critical approach, the searching for the virtues and defects of the social environment, the actual participation in devising and making social changes, which is one of the most vital and essential characteristics of the educational process.

In his concluding chapters, Professor Coe discusses the failure of religion to meet the new needs of education. He ascribes this failure to the belief that "religion itself is ailing." Religion is today still under the influence of a too potent soporific-theological tradition—with no fresh outlook upon the remaking of a human world.

Wherein lies a remedy? In the energy, inspired enthusiasm, quickening thought and action of the critical youth of today—the Youth movement—which senses the realities of the problems facing it. That there are risks involved is equally true of the thought and action of the more mature. Maturity has got us into the troubles in which we find ourselves and seems to be insufficiently grown-up to show us the way out. Professor Coe makes a plea for age to welcome the Youth movement and cooperate with it, and aptly sums up what may be gained from the partnership, as follows:

"The simple joys of robust health, open air, the beauty of nature, folk-song and festival, sincerity of speech, unvarnished good fellowship; free intelligence, and the development of the capacity of all for making and creating; art as daily food rather than as a mere appendage of the common life; the utilization of science, not to enhance the profits of the few but to enlarge the life of all; Government not in the interest of a race or of a class but of humanity as such; world-peace, not as an equilibrium of selfish interests maintained by fear but as a possible world-fellowship and world-cooperation. . . ."

Within the limited scope of an essay, the author necessarily presents his case in bold strokes, but it is nevertheless well substantiated and convincing. Throughout, the reviewer was impressed with a freedom and freshness of treatment that cut deep, a sincerity of conviction that is compelling, and a clarity and simplicity of style that would make this volume a valuable addition to the library of worth-while books of every layman.

Sherwood Anderson—Philosopher

An Interview by NELLIE SEEDS NEARING

SHERWOOD ANDERSON arrived in New York the other day, his first visit here in ten years. He is a big, virile-looking man, keenly interested in people. Probably the best-known American novelist today, he is of course sure of himself after the manner of any one who has thoroughly mastered a job or a situation. But his is not the smooth, blatant sureness that closes the door to new impression or ideas. He is distinctly open-minded and, above all, kindly. He has not much faith in political expedients to solve the social and industrial inequities of the world.

"In another ten years," he said, when I asked him what he thought about politics, "no one but the politicians will vote. But this of itself is not really significant. I used to believe that political changes could work wonders. I have simply grown up. Other people will do the same. Nothing will change things but growth and mutual understanding, a realization that people are people, not machines."

"This is what chiefly interests me," he continued, "not social causes or universal panaceas. The real tragedy of the industrial age lies in the effect of standardization."

IMAGINA. By Julia Ellsworth Ford. New York: Dutton.
THE FLATTERING WORD AND OTHER ONE-ACT PLAYS. By George Kelly. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Miscellaneous
THE JOURNAL OF LOUIS HEMON. Translated by William A. Bradley. New York: Macmillan.
MY FLIGHT FROM SIBERIA. By Leon Trotsky. New York: American Library Service.
THE CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS. A debate between John S. Summer and Ernest Boyd. New York: League for Public Discussion.
COSTUMING A PLAY. By Elizabeth B. Grimbail and Rhea Wells. New York: Century.

People are reduced to the level of machines." "Does the return to handicraft work offer any chance of improvement?" I asked him.

"No," he said, "that is simply going up a blind alley, as did William Morris. Man functions as a man, with tools and materials, just as a woman functions with children. The industrial age makes men impotent. Of course the industrialization of Europe will come. It is inevitable. But there is a virility coming up out of the soil from the mass of the people that will save the situation, if anything can. And American people have much to contribute. They are a sweet people, the sweetest in the world."

"Look at New York," he continued. "I have not been here for ten years. It has become a real thing of itself, not an imitation of any European city. It is built upon money. Yet no one really cares about money for itself, it is what money will do. Americans are simply trying to find themselves."

"No, I am not interested in propaganda," he replied when questioned. "I had a propaganda motive once, but it's gone now, I hope. That is not my job. My job is to interpret what I see and feel, and let people draw their own conclusions. If you merely interpret what you see, you become a realist. The emotions can be developed just as the intellect, but they aren't—usually. The arts are nothing but the crafts intensified in the hands of an imaginative person. While it takes the artist to interpret emotion, no artist is a divine thing, nor is any artist any good who does not work like the devil."

"But I am no pessimist," he concluded. "We Americans are really a spoiled people, we have so many comfortable things in our life."

"But if you are no pessimist and don't believe in politics, where do you see hope?" I questioned.

"In the arts," he replied, "and in the mass of the people. There

There and Then Stories

A Review by MARY P. FULLER

FEATS ON THE FIORD. By Harriet Martineau. New York: Macmillan.

TALES FROM SILVER LANDS. By Charles J. Finger. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co.
THE STORY OF ROLF. By Allen French. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Two of these books are reissues of older volumes; one is a new publication. All three contain stories of far away lands and peoples, "Feats on the Fiord" conveying very definite pictures of daily living in one of the Scandinavian countries, and "Rolf," of life in the long ago in Iceland; while by "Silver Lands" Mr. Finger indicates various places in South America, where he learned the stories from isolated groups of Indians. Mr. Finger would seem to have travelled in very remote spots and to have penetrated deeply into the lives of the simple-minded and sweet-minded folk he found there. The stories he relates are decidedly different stories, unlike any I have read from Greek or Norse legend, from our North American Indian tales, from the folk lore of Russia, Germany, or Czechoslovakia. One cannot rename the characters and meet with Cinderella or Hansel and Gretel. Whether or not Mr. Finger edited his tales to leave out all flagrant cruelty is not made clear; but at any rate, the tone of the stories is one of "sweetness and light"; unselfishness and gentleness are emphasized throughout the book, but, at the same time, bravery, skill, and diligence are highly rated. They are written with charm and picturesqueness. The volume is illustrated with wood cuts by Paul Honore, which adds another unusual touch to these unusual legends.

"Feats on the Fiord," with striking pictures by Boris Artzybasheff, is put out by the Macmillan Company as one of the Children's Classics along with "Robinson Crusoe," "Arabian Nights," "Treasure Island," "Gulliver's Travels," "Aesop's Fables," etc. In my rather varied reading as a child it escaped me; perhaps the somewhat stilted and didactic style of 100 years ago would not have appealed to my twelve-year-old mind. But it was a pity to miss it and I am glad it had been reprinted for the youth of today. It gives a vivid genre picture of the farm life on the fiord; it shows what the rigors of Far North climate mean; it makes one understand clearly the different adaptations which people must make to living where nights are sometimes so very long and light comes for so brief a period, and vice versa. The book contains adventures of real excitement, interest, and suspense. The author very skillfully develops the routing of the ignorant superstitions through science and knowledge.

Some twenty years ago Mr. French tried to revive an interest in the thrilling exploits of the old Icelandic heroes, by writing the story of "Rolf," drawing upon the incidents as they occurred in the Sagas. It is full of wild adventures and holds many a thrill for the boy or girl who can master the difficult names and somewhat unusual language. He says in his preface, "The main interest of all these tales (the Sagas) is the same: they tell of real men and women in real circumstances, and show them human in spite of the legends which have grown about them. The Sagas reveal the characteristics of our branch of the Aryan race, especially personal courage. . . . The prominence of law in almost every one of the Icelandic Sagas has been preserved in the following story; and the conditions of life, whether at home or abroad, have been described as closely as was possible within the limits of the simple narrative form which the sagas customarily employed." This volume is gaily illustrated by Henry Pitt in a manner which increases the vividness of the adventurous tale.

is real and direct originality in the point of view of the man on the street because he has had a direct contact with life. It only needs the artist to interpret it."

A further insight into Mr. Anderson's most interesting philosophy can be obtained in a series of lectures which he is giving at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, on Friday evening, Jan. 30, at 8:30, Friday evening, February 6 at 8:30, and Saturday afternoon, February 7 at 3:30. Tickets can be secured in advance for these lectures.

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

RAND BOOK STORE
7 EAST 15th STREET
New York City

DRAMA

The Drama of God and Man

By JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

Since drama sprang from religion, its first theme is God; since it rose at the call of the people, its first impulse is to coordinate the ways of God and man. When still predominantly religious, the theatre presents the disastrous results of man's vain struggle against the will of his gods, enacting solemn warning. The greatest dramatic themes of this stage are embodied in Prometheus of the Greeks and Jesus of the Christians: the one receiving the wrath of superhuman gods when their power is stolen for the use of man, the other bearing the gift of salvation from a boundless, bountiful God when his powers have been stolen for the misuse of man. The Christian drama thus bears, implicitly on a secondary theme, which soon manifested itself in the dramas of Lucifer—notably in the Faust tale, the story of man and the tempter who would lure him from the divine way. Yet in the Christian drama the fundamental conflict is one with the Greek, for that which is man's unforgivable yielding—whether the Prometheus or to Satan—is his acceptance of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, his launching forth on that far daring quest the ultimate goal of which is to make man the equal of God, master of the mysteries of the universe, creator and disposer of life.

Thus the drama of God and man grows inevitably to be conflict between them. The earliest phases of this opposition present man as the blind or unwilling victim of a tempter,

a demi-god or fallen angel or fiend that twists man to his service in his war on deity. Modern drama throughout its history, from the early morality play to such modern counterparts as "The Servant in the House," by Charles Rann Kennedy, and "The Wonderful Visit," by St. John Ervine and H. G. Wells, has pictured the coming of the tempter or the redeemer to draw the support of puppet man by leading strings, a devious way to ends that are not his own.

Grown more conscious of himself, man stretches a hand toward the ruler of the vessel on which he sails. The doctrine of free will is man's declaration of independence of God and demon. Modern social theory has substituted, for the personal plotting of devil and the vengeance or compassion of a personal god, the countless fiends of factory and mill, the compulsion of capitalistic organization, grinding out their millions of dollars, grinding down their millions of men. Through blind forces, blind men lash or grope their way in search of light; the more serious drama of today pictures this hopeful or anguished questing. Since drama presents its ideas objectively, through moving figures, the new conception may still employ the old imagery; the most intellectual presentation of the conflict accepts "Satan" to embody the mind of man, and "God" to represent the truth all men seek. "Anathema" uses the bodies and wealth of men as a decoy, in the hope of sharing the secret of life, the knowledge man will never—for it grows with his growing—wholly gain. Yet the drama drives a battering-ram against the wall that bars us from truth.

"The Piker"

Lionel Barrymore Returns In Leon Gordon's Play at the Eltinge

Lionel Barrymore is superb as the sniveling, cowardly little Yid in Leon Gordon's new play, "The Piker," now showing at the Eltinge Theatre. Seldom has New York seen such a remarkable characterization. And to add to the joy of the occasion, Leon Gordon, who gave us "White Cargo," has given Mr. Barrymore a play that is worthy of his fine art.

Barrymore is Bernie Kaplan, a cheap little Bronxite who hasn't any higher ambition than to own one of those suits that has two pairs of pants, and that he has been unable to buy to date. He is anxious to get such a suit because he aspires to stand in well with June Knight, a cheap actress in a cheap Bronx theatre, who represents everything beautiful and unattainable to him. Bernie is a messenger in a bank, with no prospects of promotion. He wants to make a good showing in June's eyes, he wants that suit. And he earns just enough to pay his half of the rent of a cheap flat bedroom that he shares with Willie Riley, and to buy cheap clothes and cheaper food. But one day he passes the cashier's cage and sees that it is open. He sees an envelope on a shelf marked "50," and before he knows what happened he has it in his shoe.

In his room, Willie spies on him and bullies him into promising to share the swag fifty-fifty with him. But to the horror of both of them, it is not \$50 but \$50,000, and they haven't the nerve to return the money. Willie will not accept a cent from Bernie. But he will let Bernie give him presents and keep him as a companion in a new flat on Central Park West. Bernie is in constant fear that he will be arrested, but the cashier of the bank is accused of the crime and is sent to jail for ten years for it. Bernie is unable to keep from boasting about his money, and he invents a fiction that his grandmother died and left it to him. Willie is living a fast life, eating, boozing, playing the races. Bernie "makes" June, but she turns out to be a cheap little grifter who has a man on the side. She sees a "good thing" in Bernie, however, and is playing him for all he is worth. And the inevitable buckt shoppers get \$20,000 from him, too.

The crash comes when Bernie finds June in the arms of Mr. Montgomery in a love scene of lurid torridity. Throwing off her cloak of make-believe respectability, she turns on the poor fellow with a torrent of vulgar abuse, letting him know that she was using him only to get money out of him to spend with Montgomery. A cheap little tragedy of a cheap little man. The greatness of the tragedy is measured by the cheapness of the incident. Mr. Barrymore is perfect in the part. His wife, Irene Fenwick, is excellent as June.

W. M. F.

Martin Brown's "Cobra" At Bronx Opera House

Martin Brown's gripping play, "Cobra," comes to the Bronx Opera House, beginning Monday night, for a week's stay. The cast includes Ralph Morgan, Minnie Campbell, Walter Gilbert, Walter Horton, Clara Moores and Jeanne De Me.

Good Film Play at the Colony

Martin Brown's "The Lady" With Norma Talmadge, Tense and Powerful

The Colony Theatre, without pretension, is excellently fitted to give excellent film entertainment. Its organ is handled by John Priest with a skill that displays every advantage of the superb instrument; and E. F. Goldman manages the orchestra—which rises into eight and falls at need—with harmonizing skill. Everything about the place combines to make an effective background for the presentation.

"The Lady," featuring Norma Talmadge, is an emotional film, after the rollicking style of Douglas Fairbanks. Based on A. H. Woods' play by the same name, it develops the opportunities afforded by the drama into an appealing play. Norma Talmadge, whose role carries through many years, has an opportunity for dramatic portrayal of many emotions, and she shows herself to great advantage, handling the years of the old woman with tenderness and sympathy. The story is one of an English nobleman who marries a variety girl; he gives her up for a flashy creature of "his class"; the wife (it seems) hopes to bring the sun up as a gentleman. She is stranded by fate in a Marseille English bar, where, during the World War many years later, fate gives her an opportunity to sacrifice herself for the son she has long lost sight of and to prove that her son has become a gentleman because his mother is a lady. The somewhat sentimental nature of the story as outlined is softened by the careful handling of the picture, which moves tensely and powerfully to its well-wrought close.

W. L.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

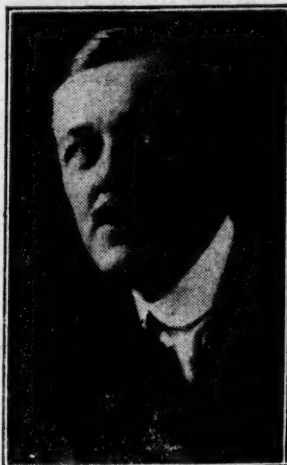
"SHE HAD TO KNOW," a new comedy by Paul Gerald, with Grace George in the leading role, will open Monday night at the Times Square Theatre, presented by William A. Brady. Bruce McRae is featured and the cast includes Frederick Worlock, Charlotte Ives, Edward H. Wever, H. Tyrrell Davis, Anita Damrosch and Barbara Kitson. The play was staged by John Cromwell. Settings are by Livingston Platt.

TUESDAY

"THE UNDERTOW," a new play by William McMahers, comes to the Cort Theatre, Wednesday night, sponsored by Barrie, Inc. Harry Beresford plays the principal role. "DON'T BOTHER MOTHER," by E. B. Dewing and Courtenay Savage, will be produced at the Little Theatre for a series of matinees, beginning Tuesday. The cast includes Mary Hall, Margaret Mower, Mary Fox, Brandon Peters, Albert Bruning, Borden Harriman, Jay Fassett, and E. B. Dewing.

WEDNESDAY

"EPISODE," a comedy by Gilbert Emery (author of "The Hero" and "Tarnish"), opens at the Bijou Theatre, Wednesday night. Lee Shubert is the producer. In the cast Kathlene MacDonell, William Courtleigh, Gilbert Emery, Eugene Powers and the author play leading roles. Melville Burke staged the play.



GILBERT EMERY, author of "The Hero" and "Tarnish," returns to the city in his new comedy, "Episode," opening at the Bijou Theatre Wednesday

Delightful Fare

"Isabel" and Barrie's "Shall We Join the Ladies?" Now at Empire Theatre

Charles Frohman presents a mixed but delightful fare at the Empire Theatre, in Curt Goetz' "Isabel" (adapted by Arthur Richman) and James M. Barrie's short-story play, "Shall We Join the Ladies?" The first is a three-act comedy with the slightest of themes, yet with a sophistication and a wit that constantly bubble out just in time to save the play from growing boring. The plot is that of a wife who is in love with two men at a time—with some measure of justification, because she loved an unknown rescuer whom her husband impersonated. . . . until the actual man arrived to claim his reward. The play goes through the dilemma which the scientific husband perceives but cannot break out of, until the fair Isabel (played by the gracious Margaret Lawrence) properly goes out into the garden to reward her rescuer.

Barrie's play, announced at first as a one-act play, then as an unfinished drama, is perhaps the first carrying into the theatre of the technique of such unsolved mystery tales as "The Lady or the Tiger," "A Dilemma," and "A Hundred in the Dark." The last of these is the story of a woman at whose party some rings are stolen; she gathers the guests at table, and announces, turning out the lights, that she will call in the police when she has counted one hundred. Then we discover that there is some reason why every one of those present might be the guilty person. Barrie's play is of this sort, save that Sam Smith is trying to find out which of the company it was that, two years ago at Monte Carlo, had murdered his brother. They sit at dinner, whether he had lured them unsuspecting; we find in their words or actions reason for suspecting every one of them, including the butler and the maid. The situation has grown more and more tense; a woman outside shrieks! The agitated Smith is left alone; he gulps a trembling draught as the curtain falls. Which was guilty? Was it Smith himself? Shall we ever know? "Isabel" is a glass of absinthe under a green parasol, on the beach at Monaco; "Shall We Join the Ladies?" is a cocktail, for an appetizer, with the rest of the meal left out. Save that mention should be made again of the pleasant Margaret Lawrence, and also of Edna May Oliver, whose Aunt Olivia was a sort of aristocratic Helen Westley, and of Lionel Watts, A. P. Kaye (an excellent butler and a good Sam Smith) and Leslie Howard, all of whom added to the pleasure of a pleasant performance.

J. T. S.



GLORIA FOY in the amusing musical show, "Betty Lee," now holding forth at the 44th Street Theatre.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

The screen feature at the Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, will include Mrs. Wallace Reid in "Broken Laws," the story of the jazz-mad youth of today. Percy Marmont, Jacqueline Saunders and Virginia Lee Corbin support Mrs. Reid. The story is by Adela Rogers St. John. Harry Fox heads the vaudeville, with Roger Imhoff, Marcelle Coreene and Company. Other acts include "Let's Dance," a dancing act; The O'Connor Sisters; Nixon and Sans, and other acts.

PALACE

May Irwin, Harry Richman, Yvette Rugel, Eddie Elkins and His Orchestra, with Muriel De Forrest and Bee Jackson, Wilton Sisters, Shura Bulowa and her Ballet Russe, and Jay C. Flippen.

HIPPODROME

Eddie Leonard, Houdini, Mary Hayne, Jean Bedini, Dr. Rockwell, the Saratons, the Merediths, the Collians, Family, and the Hippodrome dancing girls.

THEATRES

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Begin MONDAY EVE'G.
EVENINGS 8:30—MATINEES 2:30
"The Revue that has everything."—*Heywood Brown, World.*
"Laughed till tears came to my eyes."—*Alan Dale, American.*

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with CHARLOTTE GREENWOOD

ALL OF THE ORIGINAL FAVORITES AND ADDED NEW FEATURES
TOM BURKE, JIMMY SAYS, HAL FORDE, JAY BRENNAN, STANLEY ROGERS, MADEIRA FAIRBANKS, WILLIAM LADD, ALBERT VIKAR, EDDIE CONRAD, JACKIE HULBERT, OTHERS.

AL. JOLSON in "Big Boy" returns MONDAY, FEB'Y 9

SUNDAY NIGHT—WINTER GARDEN

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Opera in its incomparable

THE LOVE SONG

Life's most of OTTENBACH
Cast & Ensemble of 20 persons
Alfred Kneller's Ballet of 40
Symphony Orchestra of 50

HOLIDAY MATINEES:
Lincoln's Birthday
(Thursday, Feb'y 12)
Washington's Birthday
(Monday, Feb'y 23)

ASTOR THEATRE

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Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30
2nd ANNUAL PRODUCTION

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50 MODELS from the STUDIOS
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MOVES to CASINO MON., FEB. 9.

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The Most GLORIOUS
MUSICAL PLAY OF OUR TIME

THE STUDENT PRINCE

Staged by LEONARD
Symphony Orchestra of 40
Singing Chorus of 60
Eve. Seats (Res.)
\$1.00 \$1.25 \$2.00 \$2.50 \$3.00

39th ST. Thea., E. Bwy. Eves. 8:30

Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

2ND LAUGHING MONTH

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"We have rarely shared in such uproarious laughter."
—Frank Vreeland, Tribune-Herald.

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

GARRICK

68 West 35th St. Evenings, 8:30.

Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2:30.

PROCESSIONAL

A new play by JOHN HOWARD LAWSON

with a cast including
George Abbott June Walker
Donald MacDonald Blanche Frederick
and others

KLAW Thea., 45th St., W. of Bwy. Eves. 8:30.

Mats. Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30.

THEY KNEW WHAT THEY WANTED

A COMEDY BY SIDNEY HOWARD

With a Cast Including
RICHARD BENNETT PAULINE LORD
GLENN ANDERS AND OTHERS

BOOTH West 45th Street. Evenings at 8:30.

Matinees Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30.

THE GUARDSMAN

A COMEDY BY FRANZ MOLNAR

with ALFRED LUNT and LYNN FONTANNE

and DUDLEY DIGGES

Jewish Theatrical Guild First Annual Dinner This Sunday Night

The first annual dinner, dance and entertainment of the Jewish Theatrical Guild of America will take place at the Hotel Commodore, Sunday evening. The guests of honor will include, among others, Augustus Thomas, Colonel Walter Scott, Pedro de Cordoba, Jacob Adler, Joseph L. Buttenweiser, Rev. Dr. John Atkinson, Arthur Lehman, S. L. Rothafel, Frank Gillmore and George M. Cohan.

The entertainment has been arranged by Eddie Cantor, who will also act as Master of Ceremonies. Fanny Brice, Ann Pennington, the Four Marx Brothers, Orville and Patti Harold, Avon Comedy Four, Ben Bernie and his Hotel Roosevelt Orchestra, Gladys Rice, Belle Baker, Houdini and Cantor Joseph Rosenblatt head the entertainers.

"Cheaper to Marry" and "H. M. S. Pinafore" Head Capitol Program

"Cheaper to Marry," a screen version of Samuel Shipman's drama, will be at the Capitol Theatre next week. The cast is headed by Lewis S. Stone with Paulette Goddard in the leading feminine role.

The musical program will be headed by "H. M. S. Pinafore," Gilbert and Sullivan opera, a thirty-minute presentation, divided into two scenes, with an interlude, a "Sailor Dance" by Doris Niles and the ballet. Frank Moulan will play "Dick Dead-Eye."

Mlle. Gambaelli will be seen in an arrangement of Victor Herbert's "Air de Ballet." The overture will be Elgar's "Pomp and Circumstance," with S. L. Rothafel leading the baton at 9:30 each evening.

Clare Eames has been compelled to withdraw from the cast of "Candida" at the 45th Street Theatre, because of illness. Elizabeth Patterson will play Prosperpine in Shaw's brilliant comedy.

HOW CAN YOU GO ON LIVING WITHOUT AIR

ABIE'S IRISH ROSE
FOR THREE YEARS
REPUBLIC THEA. 1442 1st Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30



EDWARD GARVIE gives an excellent performance in the new Barry Connors comedy, "Hell's Bells," at Wallace's Theatre.

BROADHURST Thea., 44th St. W. of Bwy.

MATINEES THURS. and SAT., 2:30.

JANE COWL

— IN —

THE DEPTHS

A modern play by Dr. Hans Mueller

with ROLLO PETERS and a notable cast

Evenings \$1.00 to \$3.00.
Thurs. & Sat. Mats., \$1.00 to \$2.50.

ELTINGE THEATRE, W. 42nd St.

Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30

A. H. WOODS presents

LIONEL BARRYMORE

IN

"The Piker"

A PLAY IN A PROLOGUE OF 3 ACTS

BY LEON GORDON

with IRENE FENWICK

SHUBERT Thea., 44th W. of Bwy.

Eves. 8 Sharp. Mat. Sat. at 2. Tel. Lackawanna 7115.

WALTER HAMPDEN

IN

OTHELLO

in the COMEDY HIT

"BADGES"

Ambassador

418 ST. W. BWAY Eves. 8:30

Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Direction of JULES HARTIS

JOHN GOLDEN'S

LAFF HIT

PIGS

AT THE LITTLE

The SENSATIONAL TRIUMPH

H.B. WARNER

in

"SILENCE"

NATIONAL THEATRE

418 ST. W. BWAY Eves. 8:30

Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

EXTRA MATINEES LINCOLN'S & WASHINGTON'S BOWLS, FEB. 1-13

Broadway Briefs

The Garret Players, a little theatre group, will give two more performances of three one-act plays this Friday and Saturday evenings, at their playhouse, 31 West 8th street. The plays are "Winter," translated from the Jewish by Sholem Asch (author of "Gods of Vengeance"); "Three Hearts and a Ring," by Thomas Kiernan, and "Stalemate," by Malcom La Prade.

"The Bluebird," the Russia Revue, now at the Frolic Theatre, presented a change of bill Thursday night.

Raymond Hitchcock, in "The Sap" will be the attraction at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre, Monday.

Richard Herndon has engaged Florence Mason for the leading role in a new play (yet unnamed), by James Fallier, which he will present at special matinees at the Cort Theatre, Tuesday, February 10.

J. Harold Murray in "China Rose," at the Martin Beck Theatre, introduced a new song last night entitled "My Manchurian Queen."

"Silence," Max Marcin's melodrama now at the National Theatre, opened at the Queen's Theatre in London, Wednesday night, with Godfrey Tearle heading the cast.

THEATRES

"You'll enjoy this play if you know how to laugh."
—BIDE DUDLEY, Eve. World.
HERMAN GANSVOORT Presents The New American Laughter Play
"HELL'S BELLS"
By BARRY CONNORS
"LOT OF EXCITING SITUATIONS. GOOD ENTERTAINMENT."—Bulletin.
"PLENTY OF ACTION AND FULL OF SENSE."—The Sun.
"MANY IN FIRST NIGHT AUDIENCE LAUGHED LOUDLY AND FREQUENTLY."—Times.
WALLACK'S
THEATRE, W. 42d St.
Evs. 8:30, Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30.



EUGENE O'NEILL'S GREATEST PLAY
"DESIRE UNDER THE ELMS"
WITH
WALTER HUSTON
EARL CARROLL
THEATRE 7th St. & 5th Ave.
POP. MATS. THUR. 6 SAT. 2:30

YIDDISH
ART
THEATRE
217th STREET
& MADISON AVE.
Maurice Swartz
IN
"WOLVES"
By ROMAIN ROLLAND
(Author of "Jean Christophe")
FRIDAY, SATURDAY &
SUNDAY, MATINEE &
EVENING, 2:30 & 8:30.

CAPITOL
BROADWAY AT 51st ST.
World's Largest and Foremost Motion
Picture Palace—Edw. Bowen, Mgr. Dir.
BEGINNING SUNDAY
Cheaper to Marry
— WITH —
Conrad Nagel, Lewis Stone
and Marguerite de La Motte
Famous CAPITOL Program
CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA
BALLET CORPS AND ENSEMBLE
Presentations by ROTHAFEL ("ROXY")

B.S. MOSS' B'WAY
Where the crowds all go
ALL NEXT WEEK
A Film Play of Jazz-Mad Youth
BROKEN LAWS
— WITH —
MRS. WALLACE REID
and PERCY MARMONT
Harry Fox — "Let's Dance"
Roger Imhoff & Co., and other
B. F. KEITH ACTS

Bronx Amusements
BRONX OPERA HOUSE
149th St., E. of 3d Ave.
POP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.
BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT
L. LAWRENCE WEBER presents
Greatest Dramatic Hit Ever Known
"COBRA"
By MARTIN BROWN
With Longest Theatre Cast,
Including
Ralph Morgan, Minna Gombell
Walter Gilbert, Clara Moore
Walter Horton, Jeanne De Me
Staged by WILLIAM B. FREIDLANDER
Week of February 9
"SIMON CALLED PETER"
Direct from the Broadway Theatre

MUSIC AND CONCERTS
STATE SYMPHONY
METROPOLITAN O. H.
Sun. Aft. Feb. 1, at 3:15
IGNATZ WAGHALTER, Conductor
SOLOIST
FABLO CASALS
GOLDMARK—DVOŘAK—WAGNER
SEATS 50c. to \$2.50 at Box Office, Steinway
TOWN HALL, Sunday Aft., Feb. 1, at 3
PILZER
VIOLIN RECITAL (Knabe Piano)

Music Notes
Musolina Giannini, soprano, will give her only New York recital at Carnegie Hall, February 28.
Ernest Berumen's program at Aeolian Hall, Sunday evening, will include a Bach-Busoni Chaconne, an Etude by Elpheryak and pieces by Griffes, Cyril Scott, Lipponoff, and Scriabin.
Roderick White will give a violin recital at Town Hall, Thursday evening.
The London String Quartet will give their concert in Carnegie Hall, Saturday afternoon, February 7.
Alice Rosseter, contralto, will make her debut Tuesday afternoon, in song recital, at Town Hall.
Joseph Coleman, violinist, will make his debut at Carnegie Hall, Monday evening.
Jascha Heifetz gives his second violin recital this Sunday afternoon, in Carnegie Hall.
Maximilian Pilzer will give his violin recital tomorrow afternoon, in Town Hall.

DRAMA



MARGUERITE DE LA MOTTE
plays a leading role in "Cheaper to Marry," a screen version of Samuel Shipman's play, coming to the Capitol Theatre Sunday.

"Hell's Bells"
Miners In a Mixup Pull the
Rope In New Connors'
Comedy At Wallack's

If Kenneth Macgowan goes to Wallack's this week he will see his early Victorian revival, "Fashion," brought up to date. This time it bears the post-Victorian name of "Hell's Bells," and for serious students of the drama it is quite as funny in a doleful way as the Provincetown company's comedy hit.

Barry Connors wrote the play and Herman Gansvoort presents it. The tale told is one of two Arizona miners who turn up in the Connecticut town where one of them was born. Fashionable relatives, who loathe the uncouth Westerners, covet their fancied millions. To get the money, these relatives launch a quaint project to lock one of the honest miners up in a madhouse, and they fail to do it only because the other honest miner unlimbers a gun and makes ready to "fan" them with it. (Cheers and laughter). But gun play is no match for Connecticut law, so when the armed minions of corrupt legality return in force the desert men abandon their forty-fives and cut a way to freedom with a barrage of plain and fancy lying which fills the audience with joy and incredulity. No obstacle then remains to a couple of romantic weddings that have been simmering on the fire ever since the curtain rose.

MUSIC

Ignatz Waghalter
The New State Symphony
Conductor Is Interviewed

W E "dropped in" at the State Symphony office for a chat with Ignatz Waghalter, the eminent Polish conductor, who recently took over the baton of the State Symphony Orchestra.

Slightly under medium height, dark of hair and eye, earnest in speech and gesture, is Mr. Waghalter. "My plan for the State Symphony? In a few words, to develop the orchestra to its highest powers, to play the best music in the best way I know how. Our programs will, of course, include both the new and the old, the modern and the classic. The great classics must always be there—they form the rock foundation of all music. The contemporaneous must also have its place, for the genuinely worth-while music of today is the classic music of tomorrow."

"Among the new works that I plan to present is a symphony by Krenek, one of the most gifted of the younger moderns. He is a Bohemian, a pupil of Franz Schreker. I will introduce his 'Prelude to a Drama.' I hope also to perform for the first time in this country the introduction to Richard Strauss' latest opera, 'Intermezzo.' I have cabled for the score and orchestral material, and if they arrive in time, as I think they will, New York will have a taste of this most recent score by the Munich master."

"I am very deeply interested in American composers, although as yet, unfortunately, I have only a hazy acquaintance with them. I feel that there is musical talent in great abundance in this country—it is still virgin soil hardly disturbed by the prospector. Your composers have not thus far had the representation which I believe they deserve on symphony programs. I invite all American composers to send me their scores. I shall give every possible moment to their study and play all that I can. I hope that many composers here will submit their works to me."

Ignatz Waghalter was born in Warsaw on March 15, 1881. He comes of an old musical stock. Music and life were both literally abundant in Mr. Waghalter's family, for he was one of no fewer than twenty children—"Number Fifteen." His father and mother were both musicians and so were the scores of youngsters. The future conductor was launched on his professional career at the age of ten, when he fiddled for dear life in vaudeville. At the age of seventeen he studied piano with the well-known Dr. Jedlicza, and later piano and composition with Frederick Gernsheim. He has won fame both as an operatic and symphonic conductor throughout Europe. In 1923, Mr. Waghalter came to New York. In addition to his work as conductor, Mr. Waghalter is an indefatigable composer and has quite a long list of works to his credit. Among the more important of these are a string quartet, a sonata for violin and piano, a violin concerto, a rhapsody for violin and orchestra, and no fewer than six operas and operettas, all of which have already had premieres in Germany.

Czecho-Slovakia
Honors Playwright
Karel Capek and
Frantisek Langer
Awarded Prizes

ON every anniversary of the declaration of the Czecho-Slovak Republic (October 28), a series of birthday honors are bestowed, not on politicians and public men, but on those representatives of the various arts who are considered to have produced the best work during the year. The honors take the form not of a handle to the name, but of 5,000 Czech crowns, and the glory is as far as it is spread abroad. In the list just published, writes the Prague correspondent of the London Morning Post, Karel Capek, the well-known author of "R. U. R." and "The World We Live In," has been awarded a prize for his new novel, "Kakati," which deals with a Utopian problem like his former play, "Makropulos." The playwright, M. Frantisek Langer, has gained a prize for his comedy, "The Camel Goes Through the Eye of a Needle," which has had an exceptionally long run in Prague, and which is shortly to be produced in America.

For acting, the honor has been paid to Mme. Dostalova, who has achieved her greatest successes as a tragedienne, and is now playing in Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan." Of the musicians who have been selected for this year's award, two at least are known in outer Europe. M. Novak's choral and orchestral compositions have made him a popular name on the programs of many countries. The music of M. Josef Forster, though he has lived much of his life abroad, has never lost its definitely Czech color. His peculiarity is his unusual metaphysical tendency. He has become popular through many choral and symphonic as well as dramatic works, and his long life has been very fertile. M. Josef Jiracek, the pianoforte player, whom the authorities are delighted to honor, is best known as an interpreter of the great Czech composer, Smetana, of whom he was also a contemporary.

Tom H. Walsh and Eddie Garvie make a good team as "Jap" Stillson and D. O. O'Donnell, the sand-blown brudes from Arizona. Olive May brings out all the good there is in the role of Mrs. Buck, mistress of the inn where the play is laid. Shirley Booth and Humphrey Bogart are pleasing all the way as the young lovers. Joseph Greene, Camilla Crume, Violet Dunn and Virginia Howell are good in their supporting roles.

"Coq d'Or" Will Return To
Metropolitan Thursday

Outstanding features of next week at the Metropolitan Opera will be the first performance this season on Thursday afternoon of Rimsky-Korsakoff's operatic pantomime "Coq d'Or," the first appearance of the new Bohemian soprano, Maria Mueller, in an Italian role, Mimi in "La Boheme," on Thursday evening, when Mr. Lauri-Volpi also will rejoin the company and the advent of the American tenor Edward Johnson on Friday evening as Don Jose in "Carmen." The repertoire next week: "Falstaff," Monday, with Alda, Bori Scotti and Tibbett. "Jenufa," Wednesday, with Jeritz, Branzell, Laubenthal and Meader. "Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Coq d'Or," Thursday afternoon; the former with Feriala, Teta, Giza and Ballester; the latter with Galli-Curci, Aleock, Diaz and Didur. "Boheme," Thursday evening with Mueller, Hunter and Lauri-Volpi; "Carmen," Friday, with Boursakaya, Mario, Johnson and DeLuca; "Fedora," Saturday matinee with Jeritz, Guilford, Gigli and Scotti. "Die Walkure," Saturday night, with Larsen-Todsen, Mueller and Taucher.

With the Orchestras

PHILHARMONIC
Van Hoogstraten makes his final appearance of the season at Carnegie Hall on Saturday evening, the program including Tschakowsky's "Francesca da Rimini," Schumann's piano concerto, with Myra Hess as soloist, and Brahms' Fourth Symphony.

Willem Mengelberg assumes direction on Wednesday evening, and will conduct the rest of the season. The program consists of Schubert's C Major Symphony, and two Tschakowsky compositions, the "Netherland Suite" and the "1812" Overture. Igor Stravinsky makes his final Philharmonic appearances at Carnegie Hall on Thursday evening and Friday afternoon, as soloist in his piano concerto. The rest of the program includes Schubert's C Major Symphony and Tschakowsky's "1812" Overture.

STATE SYMPHONY

Ignatz Waghalter will wield the baton at the State Symphony concert Sunday afternoon at the Metropolitan Opera House. Pablo Casals, the noted cellist, will be the soloist. The program: "Rustic Wedding Symphony," Goldmark; "Cello Concerto," Dvorak; Prelude and Love Death "Tristan and Isolde," "Ride of the Valkyries," Wagner.

Toscanini to Finish Puccini Opera "Turandot"

A dispatch from Milan has it that Arturo Toscanini, formerly musical director of the Metropolitan Opera House, and former director of the orchestra at La Scala, has promised to complete the unfinished opera, "Turandot," of the late Giacomo Puccini. The opera will be finished next season and will be produced at La Scala.

Rand School Activities

Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg, one of the foremost child psychologists, is beginning a seminar course next Tuesday at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, intended especially for teachers, settlement workers, club leaders, Sunday School teachers, camp counselors, etc. "Guiding the Child's Leisure" is to be a cooperative study of child nature and its development through non-scholastic activities. It will be held every Tuesday evening, at 8:30, from February 3 until April 21.

On the same evening, at 7 p.m., Mr. Algernon Lee is beginning a six-lecture course entitled "Among My Books." These lectures will be informal talks about novels, poetry and other works of world literature that seem of universal value.

On Wednesday evening, February 4, at 8:30 p.m., Mr. B. Charney Vlodek will lecture on "Topics of the Times." On Thursday evening, February 5, at 8:30 p.m., Mr. Herman Epstein will lecture on Siegfried in his course on "The Ring of the Nibelungen."

On Friday, February 6, at 8:30 p.m., Mr. Clement Wood will lecture on "The Evolution of Sex" in his course on "Our Expanding Universe." The same evening, also at 8:30 p.m., Mr. Sherwood Anderson will lecture on "The Creative Impulse." This is the second in Mr. Anderson's series on "The Modern Impulse in Writing."

Former Congressman Meyer London is beginning a course of lectures on Russia at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, on Saturdays at 1:30 p.m., beginning February 7.

The Fellowship
The Rand School Fellowship is getting into action. On February 3 it will hold its first general membership meeting since its organization. The program calls for a

On the International Front

(Continued from Page 7)

copate in Holland for reading in the churches during Christmas week the ban was again laid upon all Socialist political and economic organizations and Catholic workers were ordered to drop their membership under pain of having the holy sacrament withheld from them. They were advised to join the Catholic party and the Catholic unions instead. This ukase drew sarcastic comment from the Socialist press and a few days later the statement of the Catholic union leaders corroborated the Socialists' opinion that, as in the past, the Catholic workers would continue to consider their material interests when it came to joining unions and political parties, regardless of what might happen to their souls.

Het Volk Fined Fifty Guilders
De Telegraaf, the big Amsterdam daily which was generally regarded in Dutch circles as almost too pro-Entente during the World War, won a hollow victory over Het Volk, the Amsterdam Socialist daily, on January 4 when the latter was fined fifty guilders (about \$20) for having been too caustic in its comment upon a special Russian edition got up by De Telegraaf on June 26, 1917. As revealed in detail by Russian archives quoted from in the Paris Humanité last winter, the Czar's agents spent lots of money in winning and holding the support of big French and other European newspapers, both before and during the war, and Het Volk did not hesitate to point out the possible connection between the rolling ruble and De Telegraaf's pro-Russian edition. While the Amsterdam judge held that Het Volk had gone a little too far in its remarks, he said hard things himself about Dutch newspapers that were unneutral during the war and practically justified the Het Volk articles. The costs of the action were assessed fifty-fifty upon the litigants.

Reforms Planned in Chile

(Continued from Page 1)

strike against the usurpers in December. So on January 23 the young army men drove their own Government out of office without firing a shot, and announced in a manifesto that "we who were responsible for the September uprising have decided to depose the National Union chiefs who betrayed our confidence and maliciously abandoned our program." Their proclamation says also that "we will call upon the free majority in Chile to reorganize the nation along constitutional lines, after former President Alessandri has returned from exile and convoked the constituent assembly." Alessandri, now in Italy, is believed willing to return provided certain conditions of his own are accepted by the young army men.



RALPH MORGAN
in Martin Brown's dramatic play, "Cobra," coming to the Bronx Opera House Monday evening.

short business session, two piano solos, a declamation by Miss Platt, group recreation, led by Richard Blechschmidt of the physical education department. This will be followed by social dancing for all. Admission is free to all friends of the Rand School.

A group of friends of the Rand School of Social Science held a conference on Sunday evening last to begin a drive to raise a sustaining fund of \$15,000 for the work of the Rand School during the next year. Three thousand dollars in pledges was raised and a committee chosen to carry the work further throughout the country. The committee was composed of the following persons: Morris Perman, Solomon Fillin, Louis P. Goldberg, Darwin J. Messerole, Adolph Held, Dr. M. Rothenberg, Abraham Zucker, Harry Heyman, Frank Hill, Leo Turbow and Louis Sadoff. In addition to these a group was chosen to bring the Labor movement into closer touch with the Rand School and to secure financial support therefrom. This group consisted of Jerome T. Hunt, David Mikol, Leonard Bright and J. Baskin.

Socialism would, for the first time, make home life possible for all. It would, for the first time, make the mothers of the nation free and healthy and honored and happy. No nation with respect for womanhood and with knowledge and keen consciousness of the importance of motherhood would permit any woman to live the life now lived by millions of women.—R. B. Suthers.

The rich man's disinclination to recognize the poverty of the masses is only excused by the poor man's disinclination to escape from it.—H. C. Palmer.

GREAT BRITAIN

Justice As a Monthly

Justice, the oldest Socialist paper in Great Britain and one of the most widely quoted in the world, has announced that from its forty-first birthday it will appear as a monthly instead of a weekly. Justice is the official organ of the Social Democratic Federation, in which the late H. M. Hyndman played a leading part. Before the World War it enjoyed great international prestige, much of which it lost through its 100 per cent British attitude during the conflict.

Goode In Labor Party
Professor W. T. Goode, who as special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, the great Liberal newspaper, spent some months in Russia, is now a member of the British Labor party. Urged to become a Labor candidate, Professor Goode protested his disinclination on the ground of practical politics being distasteful to him, but his notable gifts of scholarship are available to the movement. "Until the Labor party shall have gained its complete majority in Parliament," he writes, "poor humanity will continue as poor humanity."

CUBA

Working for a Labor Party

Having supported the successful candidacy of General Gerardo Machado, Liberal, against that of General Mario Menocal, Conservative, in the November election as a matter of expediency, Cuban Socialist agitators are now laying the foundation for a genuine Cuban Labor party, based upon Socialist principles, according to Action Socialista of Havana. An organizing committee, with headquarters in Havana, has been formed and it is hoped that within a short time there will be a convention to launch the new party.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"Broken Laws," with Mrs. Wallace Reid and Percy Marmont.
CAMEO—"Capital Punishment," with Clara Bow, George Hackathorne and Elliott Dexter.
CAPITOL—"Cheaper to Marry," by Samuel Shipman, with Lewis Stone, Paulette Goddard and Marguerite de La Motte.
COLONY—Norma Talmadge in "The Lady," from the play by Martin Brown.
RIALTO—"Forty Winks," "Lord Chumley," "The Last Laugh."
RIVOLI—"The Swan," with Frances Howard.

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, January 31, 1925

AN AMERICAN CHEKA

COMMISSIONER ENRIGHT'S suggestion that every inhabitant of New York City should be finger-printed and carry an identification card is in line with a propaganda that has been going on for a number of years. The Secretary of Labor advised this course nearly three years ago for aliens. The Chamber of Commerce of New York State recommended it in 1922. The Department of Justice compiled a list of thousands of social, political, and economic dissenters during the World War, classifying them, indicating their opinions, and spying upon them. Ruling classes who fear that their rule cannot be defended in the arena of free discussion always turn to these despotic expedients. Enright's suggestion is made ostensibly for the purpose of better checking up on criminals, but that it leads to espionage and persecution of opponents of the present order is verified by every experiment of this kind. Many of the old slave states prescribed some system of identification cards for slaves to carry when they left the plantation.

Whether this propaganda in "free America" will eventually be successful is a question that only the future can answer. The organized workers of the nation have most to fear from this despotic bureaucracy and unless they range themselves against it they may wake up some day to find themselves caught in the spider's web of an American Cheka.

CAPITALISM AND OPIUM

IF AMERICAN investors had funds tied up in the opium traffic we doubt whether the American delegate would be so opposed to the British position at Geneva. No matter where American dollars are invested across frontiers they have shaped American foreign policy. For this reason we are not much impressed by the "moral" pose of the American delegate.

British citizens have funds invested in the trade and British revenues are also involved. For these reasons Lord Cecil takes a position and presents a program that would require a Commission to study the problems bound up with the opium trade. A proviso would require that international control be made effective when China is able to cooperate.

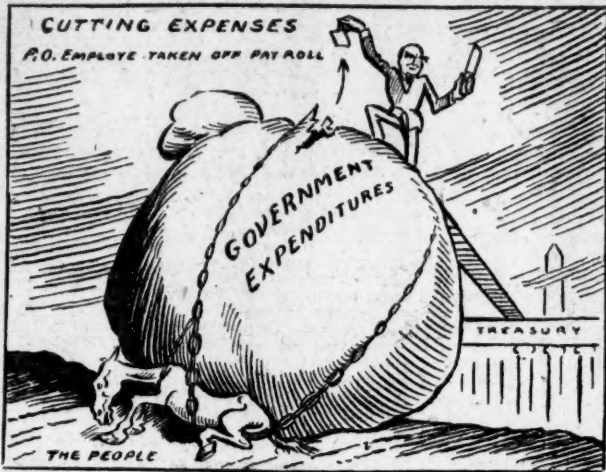
The interesting thing about this proposal is that China is weak, divided into warring factions, her territory parcelled out into "spheres of influence" by the Powers, and is deprived by the Powers themselves of the power to levy import duties that would enable her to get on her feet. Without a national revenue a national Government is impossible. Without a strong Government that can knit the provinces into a Federal solidarity adequate control of poppy culture is impossible.

The British delegate and every other delegate at Geneva know this, and to present a program contingent upon China herself effecting control of opium is to indulge in hypocritical evasion. Moreover, there is reason for believing that the Powers interested in the opium traffic have no objection to the physical deterioration of the Chinese people, for this would tend to perpetuate China as a helpless ward of these Powers. It is a dirty mess and offers an interesting example of what profiteering capitalism is capable of doing.

HELP EVICTED MINERS

IN the hills of West Virginia are found thousands of miners and their families who have been evicted from their "homes" by order of the mine owners. What this means in severe winter weather may be imagined. Men, women and children, the aged and the sick, have been

Economy According to Cal



thrust back into primitive conditions of living. The suffering is intense, but the spirit of these soldiers of Labor solidarity remains unbroken.

Some day the story of the West Virginia class struggle will be written, a struggle that has continued for more than thirty years. Its heroism and sacrifice has not been duplicated in many countries. It has its sacred memories and its martyred dead as well as its living heroes who are now carrying the torch which others had to lay down.

The suffering of these heroes of the West Virginia mine fields brings an urgent call for aid. Last Sunday a meeting in Cooper Union realized a substantial money contribution and a truck load of clothing and shoes for the miners and their families. This is a good beginning, but it is only a beginning. Relief is urgent and many of our friends can help with little sacrifice on their part.

The New Leader therefore urges that every reader who can spare anything in the way of shoes and clothing give generously to the sufferers. Money contributions are also acceptable. Whatever your contributions may be, they may be delivered either to room 505, 7 East 15th street, New York, or sent direct to Will C. Thompson, Secretary-Treasurer, District 17, U. M. W. of A., 1201 1/2 Summers street, Charleston, W. Va.

EDUCATING THE WORKERS

IT WAS three years ago that the International Fur Workers' Union took up the matter of workers' education and today its educational department represents one of its most important activities. For the member in need of instruction in English and other elementary matters the union provides courses of immense value to adults. It also provides lectures by competent authorities on subjects of importance to working people.

What is more important is its recognition of the Rand School of Social Science and cooperation with this institution so that its educational facilities may be at the disposal of union members. By special arrangement with the school, members are able to take any lecture or study course provided by the school.

This cooperation between the union and the oldest workers' university in this country is a cooperation that should extend to many more trade unions.

"Don't be afraid. I'll be respected more 100 years after I am dead than I am at present." Burns died a few weeks after making the above remark; died in poverty and want with the spectre of a debtor's prison hanging over him should he be so fortunate, or rather unfortunate, as to recover. How the satirical Scots poet would smile at the hosts of sleek and well-fed individuals who, ignorant of Burns' philosophy, rise at Burns' suppers to propose the "Immortal Memory." There would seem to be a conspiracy among the conservative elements in Britain to surround Burns with a halo of respectability.

I remember at one Burns gathering in Glasgow a eulogy on Burns was being rendered by a gentleman who prided himself as being a patriot. He had carefully selected excerpts from Burns' poems calculated to give a totally false view of the poet.

Wha wadna sing "God save the King" Shall hang as high as the steeple!

Here the patriot stopped and went on to another poem, but a voice came from the floor, "Finish it." The lecturer took no heed, and a youngster jumped up and exclaimed, "Well, if you won't finish it, I will."

But while ye sing "God save the King," Let's not forget the people.

Naturally the rest of the esteemed gentleman's lecture fell somewhat flat.

I have gathered a few of Burns' poems, which throw some light on the mind of the man who, in his simplicity, sent a gun through the post to the French Revolutionists and imperilled his own livelihood by doing so.

While on the subject of monarchy, the following, from "A Dream," is illuminating:

"I see ye're complimented thrang By ionic lord and lady; 'God save the King's' a cuckoo sang 'That's unco easy said, ay ..."

The fur workers are to be congratulated on their success of the past three years in this field of workers' education. Knowledge, training, discipline and effective organization are essential to the organized working class, and to the extent that the organized workers take up workers' education will they increase in power.

THE STATE RIGHTS DOGMA

THE revival of the State rights dogma in opposition to the child labor amendment recalls the fact that all the controlling parties throughout American history have supported the dogma and also opposed it. Whether they approved it or opposed it depended upon the changing views of the particular class interests which they represented.

The Federalists were the nationalists before the ascension of the Jeffersonians to power. They formulated the classic arguments against State rights. At a later period, when representing the maritime interests of New England and fearing the effect of the War of 1812 on New England commerce, they embraced the State rights dogma to such an extent that they seriously considered secession from the Union.

The Jeffersonians, who had formulated the classic arguments in favor of State rights against the centralizing tendencies of Washington and the first Adams, abandoned the dogma and justified the purchase of Louisiana with Federalist nationalist views. The Jacksonian party in the matter of internal improvements advanced the dogma, but its modern successor has abandoned it. Jackson himself, one of the popular products of a State rights party, took an extreme nationalist attitude when suppressing the South Carolina nullifiers.

The Southern states have been the old home of State rights, yet with the rise of textile capitalism there is no longer the old State rights argument against protective duties. On the contrary, there is an increasingly strong protective tariff sentiment in the South. It was also the South that supplied the big group of states in favor of the national prohibition amendment. The National Association of Manufacturers advanced nationalist arguments against State legislation to prohibit child labor a few years ago. Today these organized capitalists are subsidizing a vast propaganda in favor of the State

rights dogma and against the national child labor amendment.

There is nothing more insincere in our history than this hoary old dogma. Ruling groups have opposed and have approved the dogma. Their parties have executed surprising changes of opinion also. Exploiters of Labor favor or oppose the dogma not because of any fundamental convictions, but because support of or opposition to it at any particular time will serve their material interests. The State rights dogma is a swindle and never has been anything else.

A MOTHER GOOSE TALE

CERTAIN suggestions made to a Congressional committee which is investigating commercial aviation are of peculiar interest at this time. Representatives of private interests in New York advised Government encouragement and even financial assistance in the development of commercial aviation.

Congress has for several years been developing a merchant marine with the view of turning it over to private exploitation. Muscle Shoals is now practically certain of being turned over to private interests after millions of Government money have been spent in its development. Now it is the commercial aviation crowd that are asking the Government to serve as a kind father to them.

Throughout our history practice has been in conflict with the conventional theory of American capitalism. The assumption that capitalism is based upon individual initiative without any aid from the Government is nonsense. Not one of the great corporations in this country has developed without some valuable aid from the Government. Steel, textiles, oil, coal, railroads and other capitalistic dynasties have been favored. In the days of the old regime cotton, rice, tobacco and slaves received fatherly consideration.

The theory of the professional economists and politicians belongs to the literature of Mother Goose tales. Transportation, manufacturing, trading, financial and commercial interests have shared in running the Government and have shared in important favors. The workers of the nation alone have not shared in this control. They have yet to learn how important and how valuable it is to have a Government which will serve them. So long as they accept the Mother Goose story of a Government that serves all alike they will continue to vote that Government into the hands of those who will use it for their class interests and against the workers themselves.

Five more States, Texas, North Dakota, Kansas, Ohio and Delaware, have rejected the Child Labor Amendment, making eight ranged against it. Thirteen will defeat it. While only one branch of the Legislature in Ohio and North Dakota is recorded against the amendment, it is practically certain that the other House will concur. The present tendency appears to be against the amendment, but even if more than one-fourth of the States required to defeat the amendment are obtained, the fight is not lost. It simply means that hopes of ratification this year will be disappointed. The battle will go on.

Burns, The Poet and Rebel

By JAMES McAVLEY

For me! Before a monarch's face
Ev'n there I winna flatter,
For neither pension, post or place
Am I your humble debtor."

"Man was made to mourn" is fairly well known in Scotland and is one of Burns' best poems.

"See yonder poor, o'erlabour'd wight,
So object, mean, and vile,
Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil;
And see his lordly fellow worm
The poor petition spurn,
Unmindful though a weepin' wife
And helpless offspring mourn.
If I'm designed your lordling's slave,
By Nature's law designed,
Why was an independent wish
E'er planted in my mind?
If not, why am I subject to
His cruelty and scorn?
Or why has Man the will and pow'r
To make his fellows mourn?"

What would Burns have said if he had lived during the World War? Here is how he hits off a British naval victory:

Ye hypocrites: Are these your pranks?
To murder men, and give God thanks?
Desist for shame! Proceed no further—
God won't accept your thanks for murder.

"Why Should We Idly Waste Our Prime?"
I give in full. In these three stanzas Burns' politics cannot be mistaken.

I. Why should we idly waste our prime
Repeating our oppressions?
Come, rouse to arms! 'Tis now the time
To punish past transgressions.
'Tis said that kings can do no wrong—
Their murderous deeds deny it,
And, since from us their power is
sprung,
We have a right to try it.
Now each true patriot's song shall be:
"Welcome death or liberty!"

II.

Proud Priests and Bishops we'll trans-
late
And canonise as martyrs;
The guillotine on piers shall wint;
And Knights shall hang in garters.
Those despots long have trade us down
And Judges are their engines;
Such wretched minions of a Crown
Demand the people's vengeance!
Today 'tis theirs! Tomorrow we
Shall don the Cap of Liberty!

III.
The golden age we'll then revive:
Each man will be a brother;
In harmony we all shall live,
And share the earth together;
In virtue train'd, enlighten'd youth
Will love each fellow-creature;
And future years shall prove the truth
That man is good by nature:
Then let us toast with three times three
The reign of Peace and Liberty.

Like the above, "Is There For Honest Poverty," was written during the French Revolution.

Ye see yon birkie ca'd a lord
Wha struts an' stares an' a' that,
The hundreds worship at his word—
He's but a caif for a' that,
For a' that an' a' that,
His riband star and a' that:
The rank is but the guinea's stamp—
A man's a man for a' that.
A prince can mak' a belted knight
A marquis, duke and a' that,
But an honest man's aboon his might
Guid faith he mauna fa' that,
For a' that an' a' that,
Their dignities an' a' that:
The man o' independent mind
He looks and laughs and a' that.
Then let us pray that come it may
(As come it will for a' that),
That sense and worth o'er a' the earth
Shall bear the gae and a' that!
For a' that an' a' that,
It's comin' yet for a' that,
That man to man the world o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that.

THE Chatter-Box

Polygamy

Three maids I woo at once with pagan greed:

One timid as a zephyr in the dawn,
One gracious and as supple as a reed,
And one the daughter of a leprecaun.

Three lives I live, and each with fitting zest,

Since one brings peace and one an even glow;

And when I weary of their grace and rest,
I still have her of the bewildering to.

And so I fill my days as hurriedly
As one must do who lives so many lives,
With rendezvous and trust, And one should be

So careful not to tangle days and wives;

And surely I should be quite careful, too,
Did I not know how all my maids, are you.

Blanche Watson says she likes Riley's Dabster's Dictionary, except that the definition for Liberal was omitted. And she supplies it with her accustomed aplomb:

Liberal—the worst Foe of Progress.

And she adds, that while some might say a Liberal is the bridge between the conservative and the radical, the trouble with all liberals is that they remain on the bridge entirely too long.

For which, many gracias.

Hyman Waldman, who is hibernating in Washington this frigid season, attended one session of Congress, and immediately mounted Pegasus, and spouted forth some verse, which we regret being unable to print on account of space this week. We will say for Hyman, that any poet who can write anything less than a suicide note and last will and testament, after attending a Congressional meeting, deserves a high place among Les Immortels.

Harold Berman, the famous essayist, looks over towards us from his Jersey City baronial estate long enough to remark, "Where is the Slush Fund of Yesteryear?"

Costs of removing New York's snow and slush requires \$1,000,000 says the Mayor. And all that is removed is the snow of Wall Street and Fifth Avenue. While we of The Bronx nod our heads with Villon and sigh, "Ou sont les neiges—downtown?" Not on your existence, Red Mike—"Les neiges sont toujours—uptown."

To understand this it is necessary to understand "a leetle beet, Franch—comprenez?"

A. J. Y. sends us in a lovely Ode to a Good Cigar, which we refrain from publishing, first because we are trying to give up smoking, and secondly because we haven't smoked a cigar in all our twenty years of nicotineating that really deserved such praise. An Ode to our Column with exactly the same adulation might get by. Thanks, just the same.

The war's over, and we would like to wipe its malodorous memory out of mind forever. But every now and then comes a cry out of the darkness into our well-lit office that jabs us into attention. Like this one:

Hell

No, it isn't the shot and shell that's hell,
Nor the slushy long hike;
It isn't lying in a shell hole
In mud, rain and filth,
With coats running wild all over you;
It isn't the fall of your buddy
Or the shame of killing,
That seems like hell so much, now—

It's the kind of a life you're up against
When you're broke in civies back home,
Out of work, slighted like
And looked on with contempt—
And the yellow way
The patriots act, with their dough
And their soft jobs and all—

It's the way you're made to feel back home
That's Hell—if you want to know!
Donald G. King, ex-Corporal,
U. S. Army, A. E. F.

II.

Song of a Hall-Room Girl

O when I build my city,
There will be no alleys.
There will be no closed court-yards.
There will be no skylight rooms.
No cellar holes called basement rooms.

(When the wind blows I want it to stir the curtains of my windows;
When the sun shines I want it to make my room glad with its brightness.)
Lea H. Kaufman.

Hired

There is no peace in my dreaming;
I am at the call of another ...

I muse in a garden of ivy and azelia,
And listen to the zip-zap of the fountain ...

But there is no peace in my dreaming.
I am at the call of another ...

Anna Steffens.

III.

We have been feeling a trifle Frenchy all week, what with the glad news that one of Europe's most reactionary countries, France, is coming out strongly for the repudiation of her national debt.

The trouble with the Bolsheviks, apparently, was their hurry to announce repudiation of debts without even the embellishment of a qualifying adjective. They might have kept talking about paying the debt, and kept talking, for five or ten years, until the world would have said, as we will eventually say to France, "Pay up or shut up." Just an ounce of diplomacy would have saved Russia tons of propaganda for recognition.

Excuse our French.

S. A. DE WITT