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## A REAL LABOR PARTY | A SOCIALIST TRANSIT FOR MINNESOTA PROGRAM

By MURRAY E. KING

**"PROGRESSIVISM"** on the one hand and Communism on the other were ousted from the Farmer-Labor political movement of Minnesota and an organization of industrial workers and working farmers and their progressive allies, having much the same kind of structure as the British Labor party and a platform that embodies some of the basic demands of Socialism, was launched as a result of the unity conference at St. Paul, March 20.

These major achievements transcended the most sanguine expectations. The circumstances were such that the opposite result—the shifting of the Farmer-Labor movement entirely off from its foundation in the economic interests of the primary producers and the establishment in its place of a "progressive" party like the one recently established in Chicago—was widely feared.

The call for the conference was an attempt to extricate the movement from what seemed to many an almost hopeless position of disunity between the real Farmer-Laborites and the "progressives." More than a year ago the Farmer-Labor Federation, an attempt at a rank and file party organization, was formed for the purpose of bringing the farmers and industrial workers and the liberals and radicals into a unified working force. The door was left wide open for individual Communists and Communist groups to enter.

### Position Seemed Hopeless

These took full advantage of this opportunity to put into operation their favorite "boring within" tactics. As a result, suspicion, mistrust and disruption followed. Conservative and moderate trade unions abandoned the Federation. The great mass of organized and unorganized farmers throughout the State came to fear and shun it.

Under these circumstances, the call for the unity conference was prepared for the special purpose of bringing back these disgusted trade unionists and frightened farmers. Communist delegates and members of the Workers' party were then and there expelled from the organization and barred from the conference. Representation in the conference was based upon the broadest kind of county representation of all elements that supported the Farmer-Labor party candidate for Governor last fall and the rural elements were distinctly favored in this representation. The conference was planned to represent as far as possible the 360,000 votes that were cast last November for Floyd Olson.

This great mass of voters was supposed to be in the main liberal rather than radical. It was feared by many Farmer-Laborites that its representatives would be largely "progressives" who would unceremoniously proceed to junk the Farmer-Labor movement and set up a "progressive" movement in its place.

### Class-Lines Clearly Drawn

Never has the Farmer-Labor movement of Minnesota met with such a surprise as it experienced when the charter of the Farmer-Labor unity conference stood revealed in the Labor Temple in St. Paul on March 20. It was not the non-descript political gathering that was feared. On the contrary, the embattled farmers and workers and workers were there in overwhelming force on the job. It is altogether likely that this conference was the most genuine and thoroughly representative Farmer-Labor gathering in the history of the State.

There were between two hundred and three hundred delegates. Fifty-one "cow counties" and the State's three great industrial counties were represented. The rural counties were almost wholly represented by "dirt" farmers. The industrial counties, which contain more than a third of the population of the State, sent delegates who were mainly representatives of trade unions and Central Labor bodies.

Outside of these real workers, the remaining delegates were outstanding men and women in the old Non-Partisan League movement, the newer Farmer-Labor party movement, the Socialist movement, and other veterans in the cause of reform—largely intellectuals of the professional class. There were grizzled, rugged old Populist lead-

(Continued on Page 2.)

### SPRING FLOWERS



—Drawn by Alice Beach Winter

## CAPITALISM, WRECKER OF HOMES

**C**HILDREN working at 5, 6, and 7 years of age and upward; children of those ages working late at night; working at occupations which strain the eyes and blister and callous the hands. Not in factories—but on factory work in homes.

This was the condition which the U. S. Children's Bureau found in three neighboring New England cities. One of the cities is the most important jewelry manufacturing centers in the United States. Another is a center for the making of cotton small wares and knit goods and lace.

Coming home from school, with little playtime or none at all, the children go to work. Perhaps they card glove or dress fasteners of shoe buttons or jewelry, or they work at stringing tags or separating hands of lace held together by some threads. Easy enough work, it seems.

But "you have to stay right with it all the time or you won't make anything," one worker said. With a whole family working together, the older members doing the harder parts of the work and the little children doing the easier parts, the average earnings of each person were about three cents an hour.

To earn one-half of a cent at carding fasteners it was necessary to place a gross of them in cards and very few small children even working at top speed could make more than a few cents an hour. The knobs of the fasteners or "snaps" are put through holes in the cards, and the tops are then snapped on to these knobs. The pressing down of the tops, hour after hour, is not easy for the tender thumbs of children.

"Big holes in the card and little snaps make hands sore and are hard to do," one mother said. "When you've got the bottoms all in and then try to put the tops on they all spill out."

Fingers are cut on the threads which must be drawn from lace. Rosary beads are linked and wired with the aid of pliers, and the hands are left sore or calloused. In some homes machines had been installed and fingers were crushed or cut in using them.

So till 10 or 11 or 12 o'clock the children work. Of course the smallest ones fall asleep at work before this time.

"Mary often works on carding jewelry until very late at night but Agnes goes to sleep on them and we put her to bed," a mother commented.

Four or five nights a week, September until Christmas, a 7-year-old strung tags from 5:30

till 9—but "sometimes she fell asleep in her chair before 9," the report says.

The gaslight flickers overhead or a kerosene lamp supplies illumination. Many children said they had to begin wearing glasses after starting work on tags or beads or snaps or setting stones in small pieces of jewelry. Sometimes the whole family rise again at 5 o'clock to go on with the work. Stopping at the factory for more work on their way to school the children are likely to be tardy, and it is little wonder that teachers say they come to school worn out and listless. It is little wonder that many of them are below their normal grades.

But in addition to the evils from which the children suffered, a danger to the public health was found in the fact that many families worked at home on these products during times when some of their members were ill with communicable disease. In a family where the father and mother and two children worked at stringing tags and carding snaps the father and one of the children were recorded as positive cases of tuberculosis and the other child as a suspect. In the families studied at least nineteen cases of tuberculosis were reported. One mother said her children carded and packed jewelry all the time they were ill with measles. Children who were kept out of school because they had whooping cough did tag stringing and thread drawing on lace. Among other diseases which the home-working families reported were pneumonia, typhoid fever, tonsillitis, influenza, mumps and diphtheria.

American capitalists with the morality of ghouls have caused to be defeated the national child labor amendment, merely an ameliorative measure. Child labor cannot completely be wiped out as long as capitalism—the profit system—continues.

Socialism would substitute the ideal of service for profit, of happiness for all instead of richness for the few.

Child labor would be as impossible under Socialism as it is inevitable under capitalism.

It is Spring—the substantial business men of the land are polishing their golf clubs—while a million and more children slave to earn a mean living.

**T**HE Socialist Party, in the New York City elections this year, will stand for absolute municipal ownership and "democratic management" of transit lines. This was indicated in the report of the Socialist Committee on Transit made public this week, after it had been approved by the Executive Committee of the New York Socialist organization.

The proposed Socialist plan sets up an operating corporation controlled by the city. Directors of this corporation are to be chosen from the different political parties in proportion to their voting strength. Elective representatives of the operating force will also sit on the board of directors. This operating corporation will not be part of the city administration and must fill all positions under it on the principle of merit and not of political affiliation.

Louis Waldman, author of several books on the transit question, former member of the Legislature and candidate for Attorney General on the Socialist ticket last year, is chairman of the Socialist Transit Committee. The other members include Norman Thomas, former Socialist candidate for Governor; Dr. Harry W. Laidler, director of the League for Industrial Democracy and authority on public ownership; Charles Solomon, former Assemblyman, and Evans Clark.

### Text of The Report

The report follows:

The present intolerable transit situation in New York City is a matter of common and painful knowledge to all our citizens and the strangers within our gates. Our immediate and obvious needs are:

- 1—An extension of service, particularly by the building of new subways.
- 2—A unified service, avoiding the necessity for double fares.
- 3—The cheapest fare consistent with proper service and decent remuneration of the workers.
- 4—A plan which takes account of future needs before the situation becomes critical.

It requires no argument to show that these conditions have not been met. We have tried private ownership and management and found them wildly corrupt and inefficient. We are still saddled with financial burdens piled upon us during the era of loot by private transit companies.

We have tried a partnership between the city as owner and private companies as operators with State regulations. It also has failed.

Any plan which considers the vital problem of transit as primarily an opportunity for private profit is bound to fail. Rapid transit, like the water supply, concerns all the people and should be managed by them through the city for use and not for profit.

No plan to this end has been proposed by any of the existing official factions. The Transit Commission would give us unified service and more subways at the price of fastening the control of the present transit companies more firmly upon us. Its alleged provisions for public control are outrageously insincere and constitute a step backward and not forward.

### Corruption of Tammany Hall

Mayor Hylan has exploited popular suspicion of the transit companies for his own political interests. During eight years he has done practically nothing to solve the problem. His present plan will not give us unified service and contains no guarantee for the nickel fare which is his chief talking point. For the new subways to be built, if he can get the money, he proposes political control with no representation of the workers and no defense against the corruption of Tammany Hall.

Past crimes and blunders create a situation which make a proper plan for municipal ownership and operation more difficult of attainment than it should be. Nevertheless we believe that the following outline presents a practicable plan for the great end we have in view.

First: All the necessary and useful lines—subway, elevated, street car and bus—should be brought under one comprehensive, unified, city-wide system with proper exchange of transfers to insure a city-wide ride for one fare.

Second: The whole transit system to be owned by the City of New York—that is, title to the line, equipments, franchises, etc.—should be vested in the City of New York.

Third: A single operating com-

(Continued on Page 2.)

### Contents

|                                       |         |
|---------------------------------------|---------|
| A Real Labor Party for Minnesota..... | Page 1  |
| By MURRAY E. KING                     |         |
| A Socialist Transit Program.....      | Page 1  |
| By ALICE BEACH WINTER                 |         |
| Spring Flowers.....                   | Page 1  |
| Capitalism, the Home-Wrecker.....     | Page 1  |
| N. Y. Socialists Convene.....         | Page 3  |
| Hylan's "Honest" Graft.....           | Page 4  |
| By WM. M. FEIGENBAUM                  |         |
| Labor Tackles Housing.....            | Page 4  |
| Felipe Carrillo's Successor.....      | Page 4  |
| By GERTRUDE W. KLEIN                  |         |
| A Plan for Tolerance.....             | Page 5  |
| By ADAM COALDIGGER                    |         |
| The National Game.....                | Page 5  |
| By ART YOUNG                          |         |
| A Bourgeois Bedtime Story.....        | Page 5  |
| By MALISTER COLEMAN                   |         |
| The Lord's Anointed.....              | Page 5  |
| By UPTON SINCLAIR                     |         |
| The Barmaid Affair.....               | Page 6  |
| By FREDERICK ADLER                    |         |
| The Socialist Party at Work.....      | Page 7  |
| The Mail Bag.....                     | Page 8  |
| The Realm of Books.....               | Page 9  |
| An Open Letter to Vachel Lindsay..... | Page 9  |
| By PAUL F. SIFTON                     |         |
| News of the Drama.....                | Page 10 |
| Editorials.....                       | Page 12 |
| The News of the Week.....             | Page 12 |
| The Chatter-Box.....                  | Page 12 |
| By SAMUEL A. DE WITT                  |         |

### Next Week

|  |  |
|--|--|
| By FRANK CROSSWAITH:<br>Harlem, a Black City Within a White One; a Vivid, Original Study                               |  |
| By HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON:<br>A Radical—A Pictorial Definition, by the Author of "The Story of Mankind"               |  |
| SPECIAL FEATURE<br>In Memory of Ferdinand Lassalle, an Article by Joseph Bernstein, and "What Is Capital?" by Lassalle |  |



# A REAL LABOR PARTY FOR MINNESOTA

By MURRAY E. KING

(Continued from Page 1.)

ers and former leaders in the Democrat and Republican parties, some of whom had served in Congress. The Farmer-Labor representatives in the State Senate and lower House, themselves mainly farmers and trade unionists, were there almost in solid strength. The Socialist and Labor group of fourteen aldermen in the Minneapolis City Council was in the conference in almost full force. On the whole the conference was a good cross-section representation of that large section of the population of Minnesota which has broken with the past and which in all probability is leading the way toward a real American Labor party.

## Communists Are Absent

One thing was absent, which has been an unvarying part of Farmer-Labor conventions in Minnesota during the past two years—the hand-picked, well-placed block of Communist delegates, sitting together and voting together—the Workers' party wheel within the Farmer-Labor party wheel. The workers of Minnesota had very carefully junked this mechanical time-bomb before the conference set.

It was this kind of clean-cut delegation, purged of noisy obstructionists and disruptionists, chastened and made wise by its past experience, which built for a new era of organization and achievement by the fighting workers of Minnesota. With an inspiring singleness of purpose and a unanimity of action which had become rare in Minnesota, the revamped organization drafted and adopted a party constitution, laid the foundation for an official party paper, wrote and adopted a declaration of principles and purposes, passed the usual grist of resolutions, elected officers and a State executive committee—all in one day.

## New Name Chosen

The general structure of the Farmer-Labor Federation was retained, but the name, which had become so clearly associated with Communist activities and intrigues, was scrapped and the name Farmer-Labor Association adopted. The result is a dues-paying political organization composed of associated Labor and Farmer economic groups and a territorial organization covering the State and subdivided into county, ward and township branches and locals. This double form of economic group and political territorial organization is not unlike that of

## Farmer-Labor Federation, at Unity Convention, Steers Clear of Communism and Progressivism

the British Labor party. Progressive groups of professional men and women and even groups of small business men and women subscribing to the principles, purpose and program of the organization may affiliate. The basic groups, however, will be trade unions, farmers' economic organizations and co-operatives and farmers' political groups like the Non-Partisan League. The affiliated economic, political and progressive organizations will pay from their treasuries two cents per month per member. Members of ward or township branches will pay three dollars per year. Half of this will be used to send each one of them the party paper every week.

The door was left open for the State-wide reorganization of the farmers' Non-Partisan League to serve as the principal organization of the farmers in the Farmer-Labor Association. During the conference the directors of the Minnesota League, organ of the Non-Partisan League, and directors of the Farmer-Labor Advocate, organ of the former Farmer-Labor Federation, met and agreed on a merger of the two papers, the combined paper to be the official organ of the Farmer-Labor Association. This agreement was endorsed by the conference.

## Statement of Principles

The declaration of principles states that the aim of this political organization is to protect and promote the economic welfare of the wealth producers; to unite all agricultural and industrial workers for the purpose of insuring for them the opportunity to earn a living and enjoy the fruits of their toil. Government, it declares, is controlled by great special interests. Money, credit, exchange, communication, the natural resources and the basic industries are controlled by private monopoly. The purpose of the Farmer-Labor Association, it de-

clares, is to restore government to the people and abolish monopoly by means of the public ownership, and operation of all monopolies.

This organization intends to make itself a factor in the national field. Fundamental problems, the declaration states, cannot be solved except by national action. This necessitates a national organization of wealth producers. The Farmer-Labor movement of Minnesota stands ready to cooperate with a national Farmer-Labor movement.

There were no dissenting votes on the plan of organization and the declaration of principles. These American- and Scandinavian-born farmers and workers, the majority of whom had not yet developed a conscious social philosophy, voted without hesitation and with great enthusiasm for what is essentially a working-class party with a large part of the program of Socialism.

## Johnson Is President

In the article in its constitution permanently barring Communists the Farmer-Labor Association commits itself indefinitely to a program of fundamental political and economic change by the ballot and by democratic processes.

This article reads as follows: "Membership in this organization may comprise all persons and organizations of men and women accepting the program and principles of the Farmer-Labor Association; provided however, that no person or any organization advocating political or economic change by means of force or by means of revolution, nor advocating any other than a representative form of government, shall be admitted to membership."

The new president of the Association is Magnus Johnson, recently the picturesque "dirt" farmer United States Senator. To a large extent he has been the man behind the Non-Partisan League, the Equity cooperative movement, and

the more recent Producers' Alliance, whose 10,000 farmer members in Minnesota are organizing to hold non-perishable produce on the farms until equitable prices are realized. He is unquestionably the most popular man with the farmers and industrial workers in the State.

## Starkey New Secretary

The secretary is a representative of organized Labor—Frank Starkey, president of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, and a Farmer-Labor member of the Legislature, who is making a great record. The vice-president is Louis Enstrom, a farmer legislator of outstanding ability, energy and probity. The other members of the executive committee are William Mahoney, who more than any other man in Minnesota has earned the right to be called the father of the Farmer-Labor movement; Floyd Olson, clean and brilliant county attorney in Minneapolis, Hennepin county, who was the Farmer-Labor candidate for Governor in the recent election; Victor Lawson, pioneer agrarian reformer, old-time Populist candidate against Floyd Olson for Governor in the Farmer-Labor primary election. Two outstanding men or women from each of the ten congressional districts in the State constitute the State committee which is entrusted with final governing power.

Why did a broadly representative body of typical American elements, constituting a large proportion of the population of a great State, thus accept so readily and with such unanimity the idea and form of a Labor party?

There is just one answer—PREVIOUS EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE STATE.

The farmers' Non-Partisan League in spite of the later backsliding and defection of many of its founders and original leaders, began and per-

sisted through its period of growth and greatest activity as a great educational movement. It taught in those days a large degree of class consciousness and an understanding of public ownership as a weapon in the hands of the producers. It sent every week to every member a national and a State paper filled to the brim with good fighting educational stuff. Its large army of organizers and speakers taught a militant class spirit and an understanding of the economic basis of the struggle. The effects of this work remain today active or latent among many farmers of the Northwest.

## Socialism a Factor

Another great educational factor was the Socialist movement which gained an influence in the great cities in Minnesota unusual in American states. In the Farmer-Labor movement these two streams constantly cross each other. At the unity conference was just such a crossing and commingling of these currents.

In this connection it is interesting to note what two short years have done to reverse the respective positions in the Farmer-Labor movement of the Socialists and Communists. When the Farmer-Labor Federation was at its height the Communists were at the zenith of their power in Minnesota. Through committees within committees representing different degrees of Communist "saturation" they virtually controlled the Federation in the Twin Cities. Socialist influence was then at its lowest ebb. Labor circles in which the Communists functioned reeked with propaganda aimed against the Socialists.

At the unity conference the Communists were banned and in utter disrepute. The Socialists were there in large number, respected, welcome and influential in shaping

## A SOCIALIST TRANSIT PROGRAM

(Continued from Page 1.)

pany should operate, manage and administer this city-wide system.

Fourth: The city is to acquire all these lines as follows:

(a) All the subway lines built under contracts 1, 2, 3 and 4, or

erated both by the Interborough and B. R. T. companies, have been built at the city's expense and title to them is now vested in the city. The equipment on these subways, together with the properties of the elevated lines, street car lines, etc., appraised by the Transit Commission under authority given to it by the Transit Act of 1920, amounts to, approximately, \$500,000,000, which is in private hands and would have to be purchased by the city (assuming the experts of the city agree with the experts of the commission upon the same lines as being necessary to an adequate city-wide system of transportation); and, assuming further, that the amounts of appraisal of the Transit Commission are not too high). Thus the city would require approximately \$500,000,000 to buy out the present private owners in order to come into possession of the entire necessary transit system in New York.

(b) An operating corporation shall be formed with all the attributes of a corporation, to be called the "Public Transit Board," which corporation shall lease from the city all of its transit lines for some definite period by proper lease. In consideration of this lease, the Public Transit Board is to pay to the city out of its income the interest on the bonds it shall have issued for the purpose of purchasing all the lines, and create a proper fund for amortization of those bonds. The remainder of the income shall be devoted to the necessary operating expenses, including, of course, such funds as are necessary to provide for replacement, obsolescence, repair, etc. There should also be a fund that should contribute partial of the system. No profits shall be made either for the taxpayers or for the city. All the income should be devoted to making the industry self-sustaining, and to making the workers of hand and brain employed in the industry economically contented and fares as low as possible.

(c) For the purpose of acquiring these transit lines and for the purpose of raising the approximate sum of \$500,000,000, the city shall issue bonds bearing interest not to exceed six per cent, which shall be used in payment to the various companies and owners of the lines and equipments to be purchased by the city.

These bonds shall be given in place of and instead of the present bonds and to extensions and improvements and stocks owned by the owners of the lines in question, and shall be in the amount of the appraised physical value of those lines. These bonds to be issued by the city, in payment for the various lines and equipments, shall be first mortgage bonds and shall bear provisions for a specific and general lien; the specific lien being against the property acquired for payment of which these bonds are issued and a general lien against the whole system.

(The suggestion for payment herein made has been approved of as sound financially by the Transit Commission in its proposed plan adopted in 1921, and still recommended for adoption on this date.)

Where bonds are issued under provisions such as are made here, making the bonds self-sustaining, they do not come within the debt limit of the city, and, therefore, the question of the debt limits under such circumstances does not arise.

Fifth: In order to insure independence from political domination, and the efficient administration of the system, it is necessary to divorce the political arm of the Government as expressed by the municipal government and the economic body actually in charge of the transportation facilities. For this reason, the lessee, the "Public Transit Board," is to be created and vested with corporate powers. Its existence is not brought about to make profit for any selfish purposes, but to accomplish the highest aim for public ownership and democratic administration. The Board of Directors of the city shall consist of the following representatives:

(a) Persons selected by the various political groups represented in the Board of Aldermen, who shall be entitled to a representation on the Board of Directors for every 100,000 votes or major fraction thereof cast for that political party at the last mayoralty election. Should there be any political party or parties without representation in the Board of Aldermen, but having cast over 50,000 votes at the last mayoralty election, then and in that event such political party or parties shall be entitled to a representation for every 100,000 votes cast or major fraction thereof, such representation to be chosen by the city.

tation to be chosen by the legally constituted body of such political party represented by the counties within Greater New York.

(b) Three representatives of the employees of hand and brain, to be selected by them under rules and regulations that would safeguard the free and untrammelled collective expression of those employees, requiring that such election be held under definite organized form.

(c) The principles of civil service shall apply to the operation of the subways; appointments to technical and managerial posts shall be only on the basis of approved efficiency.

Sixth: The new subways and other transit facilities to be built and established, shall be so built and established as to relate to this general system of transportation. The present available funds within the city borrowing capacity are, approximately, \$50,000,000 to \$60,000,000. According to estimates, the average annual margin of the city's borrowing capacity is, approximately, \$35,000,000 to \$45,000,000. All of this money shall be utilized for the purpose of the immediate building of proper extension of routes to relieve congestion. By the adoption of the above plan, the \$275,000,000 now invested in the subways, which is a charge against the city's debt limit, would be released for immediate construction of additional lines. With such available funds, there would be no need of any delay in building proper and adequate additional transportation facilities.

Seventh: The manner in which the private companies are to be induced to part with their property and sell it to the city in accordance with the above plan should be:

(a) Negotiation and agreement, if possible.

(b) Recapture of such recapturable lines of the subway as is permissible under the contracts. Subways now available for recapture would amount to, approximately, \$200,000,000, according to the estimates of the Transit Commission; all of the B. M. T. and half of the I. R. T. subways are subject to the recapture clause.

(c) The remaining lines, if made to live up to the franchise provisions and contractual obligations, would soon find themselves in the hands of receivers and, by foreclosure, the city could acquire a good portion of them. The remaining few lines, finding themselves alone in competition with the all-powerful City of New York, would soon rather sell their properties than go down to ruin.

The above suggestions constitute a bare statement of a feasible and workable plan to be adopted by the city, for the institution of a permanent policy of public ownership and democratic control and management of the largest single industry in this city, and the most important one.

Respectfully submitted,  
THE COMMITTEE ON TRANSIT.

the conference along the lines it followed. They had won because they had maintained an attitude of service in the Farmer-Labor movement and a respect for majority rule. They had trusted to the contact of loyal service to spread their more fundamental ideas. The Communists lost out because they are committed in theory and practice to rule by "intelligent minorities," meaning themselves, and they depend for influence rather upon intrigue and physical control than upon loyal service and the power of ideas.

## Lectures

### The Community Forum

Park Avenue and 34th Street

Sun., April 3rd—8 P. M.

CHARLES W. WOOD

"Bunk—Militarist and Pacifist"

11 A. M.—The Community Church

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL

"Has Man a Soul?"

Special—10 A. M.

DR. HARVEY DEE BROWN

"Psychoanalysis"

### The People's Institute COOPER UNION

Friday, April 3

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

(The Great Mass Movements of History)

"The Influence of Mass Action on Culture"

Sunday, April 5

BEATRICE FORBES ROBERTSON

SON HALE

"Women in Politics and Parliament"

Tuesday, April 7

NO MEETING—EASTER HOLIDAY

Eight o'clock Admission Free

OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION

### LABOR TEMPLE 14th St. & Second Ave.

Sunday, April 5

DR. WM. DURANT

"Striving—Conquering"

8:30 P. M.—FORUM, at 9 Second Ave.

MR. ZERO

"Is There An Unemployment Crisis?"

7:15 P. M.—American International Church, 239 East 14th St.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

"Spiritual Need of Modern Man"

"The Path"

### THE BUSHWICK FORUM

Bridgman, Madison Temple

BUSHWICK AND GATES, BROOKLYN

Sunday, April 5th, at 3 P. M.

"The New York Assembly at Work"

AUGUST CLAESSENS

Ex-Socialist Member of the Assembly

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Auspices of

League for Industrial Democracy

Brooklyn Chapter

### RAND SCHOOL

of Social Science

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SCOTT NEARING

"Labor Banks and Banking"

FRIDAY, APRIL 3, 8:30 P. M.

LOUIS UNTERMEYER

"Poetry as Color"

### Scott Nearing in the Bronx

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Prof. Scott Nearing

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FRIDAY, APRIL 10th, at 8:30 P. M.

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# N. Y. SOCIALISTS CONVENE

It was a spirited gathering of 400 delegates and visitors who packed the gymnasium of the Rand School in New York City on Saturday afternoon, March 28, to attend the city convention of the Socialist Party. Every seat was occupied, while many comrades stood in the rear and near the side entrance.

About 110 delegates were present, and the eager discussions revealed an intense interest in the problems of party building and the coming campaign. What stood out in this convention was the determination of the delegates to avoid a repetition of the conflict of plans in the coming campaign, a desire to bring the borough organizations into a more effective solidarity and to bring all Party institutions into closer cooperation with each other.

State Secretary Merrill opened the convention. Julius Gerber was elected chairman, August Claessens, vice-chairman, and Joseph Viola, secretary.

As soon as the convention was organized, August Claessens moved that the following telegram be sent to Eugene V. Debs, which was ordered:

"The delegates assembled in the New York City convention of the Socialist Party send you their fraternal greetings and pledge to do their utmost share in the great revival of party activity. We fervently hope that your good health will continue and that your unconquerable spirit will cheer us for the struggle ahead. We wish to assure you that virile, growing and active Socialist Party of Greater New York will greet you when you again arrive in our midst."

G. August Gerber then presented a statement of the work of the Arrangements Committee, which was accepted by the convention. The statement follows:

"The Convention Arrangements Committee, consisting of two members from Locals New York, Bronx and Kings and one each from Locals Queens and Richmond, was organized on the solicitation of Local New York to make arrangements for the City Convention called by the State Executive Committee."

"The Committee, in order to save time of the convention, decided to elect a Committee on Platform to prepare a draft of a platform to be submitted to the convention, and a committee to prepare a plan on campaign and organization to be submitted to the convention."

"The comrades elected on the Platform Committee are Louis Waldman, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Algernon Lee, Morris Hillquit, Charles Solomon, Adolph Warshaw, James O'Neil and Norman Thomas."

"Comrade Waldman was designated as chairman of this committee, with instructions to call the committee to meet, and see that a draft of a platform is prepared for the convention."

"The committee to prepare a plan for the campaign and organization is composed of the following comrades: G. A. Gerber, Henry Fruchter and Algernon Lee from New York; A. K. Kassar and A. Claessens from the Bronx; Joe Viola and Arthur Rosenberg from Kings; Barnett Wolff from Queens and Fred Rosenthal from Richmond."

"Comrade G. A. Gerber was selected as chairman and instructed to call this committee to meet and to prepare a plan to be submitted to the convention."

## Restore Debs' Civil Rights!

"Suitcase Senator Fall" of Arizona is a citizen with full civil rights. Chief Justice William Howard Taft, with his ten-thousand-dollar yearly tip from the law-breaking Carnegie Steel interests, is also in full enjoyment of his civil rights, including the right to take the befooling tip of ten thousand. Thousands of thugs, rogues, gamblers, oil thieves, lumber thieves, profiteers and professional corruptionists have their full civil rights. Thousands of trust magnates who have openly, defiantly, treasonably broken the anti-trust law for thirty-five years still have their full civil rights. Tens of thousands of American citizens who are justly hated for their outrageous robbing of the people of the necessities of life—all these and thousands just like them in spirit and purpose are in the full enjoyment of their civil rights. And these things are well known to the President of the United States.

But there is Gene Debs, who has given fifty years of his life for the welfare of the workers; Debs, the best loved man in America; Debs, marked by a host of men and women as a magnificent embodiment of the real spirit of Christ; there is the noble-hearted Debs made an alien, robbed of his civil rights after being jailed for years in a Federal prison, robbed of his rights for speaking as he had a right to speak on the war, for speaking with the courage of the prophets.

A million citizens should deluge the President of this land and urge justice to Debs, urge Mr. Coolidge to rise to the sporting level of the old-time Republicans who re-instated Jefferson Davis and his generals, and said: "The war is over! Away with hatred! Away with cheap revenge!"

pare a plan to be submitted to the Convention. The Arrangements Committee itself to act as the Credentials Committee.

"The committee also prepared the Rules of Order and the Order of Business for the convention."

"While the committee does not want to interfere with the prerogatives of the convention, it recommends, however, that as soon as the convention has organized, by electing its officers and committees, that the convention proceed to consider the report of the committee on plans for the campaign and organization, and that the convention, after it has acted on the report of this committee, adjourn to Saturday, June 20, when the convention shall adopt a platform, nominate candidates, and transact such other business as may come before it."

The important matter that brought out a long discussion, a number of amendments, amendments to amendments, substitutes and withdrawal of motions, was the report of the Committee on Organization and Campaign. This report offered a wide range for suggestions and criticisms and, before adoption, was changed by a number of insertions, the most important being an amendment by Norman Thomas and one by Morris Hillquit. Both amendments carried. This document is important in that it forecasts the work of Party organization and the coming campaign as planned by the convention. Following is the amended report:

### Report of Committee on Organization and Campaign

I. The committee recommends the formation of a City Campaign and Organization Committee of seventeen members.

II. This City Campaign and Organization Committee to be composed as follows:

a. Two members of each of the Counties of Bronx, Kings and Man-

hattan, and one each from Queens and Richmond.

1. These members are to be designated by their respective locals; and of the two each in Bronx, Kings and Manhattan, one shall be the Executive Secretary.

b. Nine members to be elected by the Convention; not more than four of them shall be members of any one county organization. In case of a vacancy in these nine members the committee shall fill it.

III. The duties of this City Campaign and Organization Committee shall be:

a. To organize and co-ordinate the activities of the county organizations, to get the maximum best results for a concerted municipal campaign.

b. To organize a financial drive for the coming municipal campaign.

c. That a committee of eleven be elected, three from Manhattan, the Bronx and Kings, and one each from Richmond and Queens, to make as complete a survey as possible of the conditions and activities and needs of the Party organizations and subdivisions in the City of New York; this to include all auxiliary, associated and related groups and organizations—and to work out as complete a plan as possible for the unification and co-ordination of the activities and efforts of all to the end that a centralized, ordered and disciplined organization of Socialist efforts and activities be made possible—and to report the results of this work to a meeting of this Convention not later than five weeks from the date of this Convention.

IV. In order to organize and co-ordinate the activities of the county organizations to get the maximum best results for a concerted municipal campaign, this City Campaign and Organization Committee shall:

a. Employ and route speakers for use in the campaign.

b. Print literature and leaflets for the use of the county organizations.

c. Print posters for the city campaign.

d. It shall be the duty of the Campaign Committee to endeavor to obtain the cooperation of Labor unions, cooperatives, fraternal societies and progressive groups in the coming municipal campaign, and with that end in view, if the way be clear, to call a city convention of such organizations and groups, together with the Socialist Party.

Provided, that every participating group and organization be definitely in opposition to the principles and candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties and that the convention be obligated to put a full municipal ticket in the field without endorsement of any Democratic or Republican candidate.

e. That the convention adopt a platform and do all things necessary to carry on a united municipal campaign.

f. To arrange and hold meetings for the candidates on the city ticket.

g. To take over the management of the forthcoming mass convention in September.

V. To organize a financial drive for the coming city campaign—the City Campaign and Organization Committee shall:

a. Organize a Committee on Finance and the county organizations shall work with and under the direction of this committee.

b. The monies raised by the City Campaign and Organization Committee shall be divided as follows:

1. Of the monies raised by the county organizations from individuals, groups and supporters in their respective territories, the county organizations shall retain the entire sum by them so collected.

2. That the City Finance Committee shall prepare for the use of each local lists of local unions and fraternal bodies; that these lists of local unions and fraternal bodies be apportioned to the several county organizations for the collection of funds, and the monies so collected shall all remain with the county organizations.

3. That the solicitation of funds from International and National Union bodies; organizations supporting inter-local activities and city-wide campaign needs shall be the sole prerogative of the City Finance Committee.

4. Such organizations as the Workmen's Circle Branches are to be solicited through the office of the City Campaign and Organization Committee.

5. Money-raising campaigns through such mediums as the Jewish Daily Forward and The New Leader shall be by the City Campaign and Organization Committee.

6. Of the monies raised by the City Finance Committee, 15 per cent shall be set aside to be equally divided among Bronx, Kings and Manhattan county organizations; Richmond and Queens to receive special consideration from the City Campaign and Organization Committee.

VI. That this City Campaign and Organization Committee be elected at once; and the county organizations be instructed to select their representatives to this committee.

VII. That this City Campaign and Organization Committee shall at once proceed to the fulfillment of its duties.

VIII. This Convention to be organized as a permanent body until after election, to meet subject to the call of the City Campaign and Organization Committee. A meeting of this Convention shall be held not later than Dec. 31, 1925, to receive the report and any recommendations of the City Campaign and Organization Committee.

Fraternally submitted,

G. AUGUST GERBER, Chairman.

HENRY FRUCHTER, LEONARD BRIGHT, AUGUST CLAESSENS, JOE VIOLA, A. ROSENBERG, A. KANASSY, Committee.

tion of this City Finance Committee. b. The monies raised by the City Campaign and Organization Committee through the activities of the Finance Committee and the county organizations shall be divided as follows:

1. Of the monies raised by the county organizations from individuals, groups and supporters in their respective territories, the county organizations shall retain the entire sum by them so collected.

2. That the City Finance Committee shall prepare for the use of each local lists of local unions and fraternal bodies; that these lists of local unions and fraternal bodies be apportioned to the several county organizations for the collection of funds, and the monies so collected shall all remain with the county organizations.

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Fraternally submitted,

G. AUGUST GERBER, Chairman.

HENRY FRUCHTER, LEONARD BRIGHT, AUGUST CLAESSENS, JOE VIOLA, A. ROSENBERG, A. KANASSY, Committee.

The following committees were elected: Platform: W. M. Feigenbaum, Harry Laidler, Louis Waldman, Charles Solomon, James O'Neil, B. Charney Vladeck, Samuel Orr, Norman Thomas, Frank Crosswaith and Harriet Stanton Blatch. Resolutions: James O'Neil, Alex. Fichandler, Thomas Rogers, Emmerich Steinberger, Algernon Lee, August Claessens, Jacob Panken, Meyer Gillis and May Harris Mainland. Survey: Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, G. August Gerber, Louis S. Schiff, Abraham Shiplacoff, B. Charney Vladeck, Samuel Orr, Patrick Murphy, August Claessens, James O'Neil and Fred Rosenthal.

Campaign and Organization: Louis Waldman, Norman Thomas, Charles Kruse, D. Kasson, Frank Crosswaith, G. August Gerber, Leonard Bright, W. M. Feigenbaum, Arthur Rosenberg.

One of the last actions of the convention was a motion by Delegate Feigenbaum that the convention instruct the Resolutions Committee to send a statement to Governor Smith urging him to sign the bill providing for the installment of voting machines in cities with a population of 175,000 or more.

The committee has sent the following letter to the Governor:

New York City, March 28, 1925. Hon. Alfred E. Smith, Governor of New York, Albany, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Governor: By action of the city convention of the Socialist Party of the City of New York we urge upon you the importance of approving the bill for the establishment of voting machines in cities having a population of 175,000 or more.

The approval of this measure will tend to remove some of the worst features of elections which have disgraced New York City for many years. We assume that you are aware of frequent frauds and charges of frauds that have accompanied many elections, the unfair counting of ballots in some instances and mutilation of ballots in others. There is also the fact that the ease with which the present form of voting permits of fraud also encourages the use of violence at the polls.

Any mechanical device that makes possible an accurate record of the actual votes cast should be welcomed by all honest citizens of all political parties. Such devices are available and the signing of the bill now before you will contribute much toward an honest count of the votes of citizens and help to wipe out certain practices of elections of which all honest citizens are ashamed.

We trust that you will rise to the great opportunity before you by signing a measure of so great merit as the one mentioned.

Very respectfully yours, SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION, New York City.

Shortly before the convention adjourned the following telegram was received from the Jewish Socialist Verband through its National Executive Committee:

"Socialist Party Branches, Greater New York:

"Please express to the members present our heartfelt congratulations and best wishes for the good work they have done in the past. May their decisions of today be such as to keep up the good work as in the past."

"National Executive, Jewish Socialist Verband."

## A WHITE TONGUE

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| 112 West 116th St. bet. Lenox & 7th Ave. | 2391 Seventh Ave. bet. 125th & 140th Sts. | 98 Second Ave. Near Sixth St.          |
| 138 West 14th St. bet. 6th & 7th Aves.   |   | 953 Southern Blvd. Near 162nd St.      |

## RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Saturday, April 4, at 1.30 p. m., Scott Nearing will discuss "Labor Banks and Banking" at his Current Events Class at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

On Monday, April 6, at 8.30 p. m., Joseph Jablonowicz will lecture on "The Drama of Social Conflict."

On Friday, April 10, at 8.30 p. m., Mr. Louis Untermeyer will lecture on "Poetry as Color"—The Imagists, Amy Lowell, John Gould Fletcher, "H. D." in his series of Talks on Modern Poetry.

At 7.00 p. m., the same evening, Dr. Morris H. Kahn will discuss "The Phenomena of Inheritance" in his course on Heredity and Eugenics.

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Total Sick, Accident and Death Claims paid \$11,148,790.34

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Initiation Fees—\$3 to \$7, according to age.

Monthly Assessment—\$1.65, \$1.15, 90c and 40c, according to class. For further information write to the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Local Branch, or to the Main Office, No. 9 Seventh Street, corner Third Avenue, New York City

(ORGANIZED OCTOBER 19, 1884)



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## Socialism Scores Gains In Germany

—BERLIN.

**A**NOTHER big step on the road leading to the final capture of the Government of the German Republic by the organized political forces of Labor was taken last Sunday.

In an election for President where there was no chance of putting another Socialist in the place made vacant by the death of Frederick Ebert, the Social Democratic party marshalled about 7,800,000 votes for Otto Braun out of a total of some 27,000,000, compared with 7,880,058 in the Reichstag election of Dec. 7, last, out of a total of 30,682,984. Thus the Socialist percentage is raised to almost 29, against 26 on Dec. 7 and 21 on May 4, 1924, when the Socialist vote touched the low water mark of 6,014,380.

That the Socialist voters turned out in such numbers, despite the fact that only by receiving a majority of the total vote can a President be elected on the first ballot, speaks volumes for the effectiveness of the party discipline and the active propaganda of the last few weeks. Exploitation of the Barmat bank case, alleged to have involved several leading Socialists in shady deals, by both the Right and the extreme Left, apparently had little effect upon the hard-headed workers who understood that even if the charges were true, which thus far remains to be seen, their whole party could not be held responsible for the aberrations of a few prominent members.

The Socialist victory is enhanced by the debacle of the Communists, who cast only some 1,870,000 votes for Thaelmann; against 2,707,176 in the elections of Dec. 7, and 3,746,671 on May 4, 1924; and of the so-called National Socialists, who united only about 300,000 votes for Ludendorff, compared with 908,087 on Dec. 7 and almost 2,000,000 last May. The only place to report a gain in the Communist vote was Halle, due to high-handed action of the police early in the campaign which resulted in the killing and wounding of several persons at a Communist rally.

Now that the Socialists have shown their strength they are ready to make a deal with the other Republican parties (the Democrats, with some 1,570,000 votes, and the Centrists, with about 3,900,000), which will insure the election of a President on April 26 wholeheartedly devoted to the Republic. Such a combination will make it impossible for a pro-monarchist to win, as all the Conservative bloc, composed of the Nationalists, People's party and Economic party, which polled some 10,400,000 votes for Dr. Jarres, can hope to gather in are the Ludendorffs and perhaps half of the 1,000,000 votes cast by the Bavarian People's party for its favorite son, Dr. Held. While the Communists will run a candidate again in the final election, the other little parties will drop out, leaving the field clear for the race between Republicanism and reaction. Unless the campaign during the next three weeks should bring out huge numbers of ordinary stay-at-homes to reinforce the Conservative bloc, a Republican victory is assured.

While the Socialists would like to have a Socialist President, they are willing to accept either a Democrat or a real Republican Centrist as the joint candidate, so there will probably be no trouble in effecting the bloc needed for the final trial. Possible choices are Dr. Marx, former Centrist National Chancellor, Dr. Wirth, Dr. Simons, acting President, and Dr. Willy Hellpach, the Democratic Premier of Baden.

### Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society

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# HYLAN'S "HONEST" GRAFT

By WM. M. FEIGENBAUM

Democratic Practice of Letting Millions of Dollars in Contracts Without Public Bidding Was Vigorously Attacked by Socialists When Republicans Lagged Behind

**I**N their campaign to discredit and ultimately to defeat Mayor Hylan, a Republican "fusion" committee has just made public tables of figures showing that since it took office the Hylan administration has persistently let contracts for public works without the public bidding that is required by law, the total amount so spent reaching the sum of \$7,856,770. The story was released last Monday and was sponsored by one Harold G. Aron, a leading real estate lawyer.

A terrific indictment of the Hylan administration, indicating a large amount of "honest" graft. Competitive bidding is required by law and is insisted upon by all honest administrations to protect the public treasury. Only those who have friends to favor with purchases and contracts will manipulate public purchases in such a way that competition to secure the lowest possible profits for profiteers is eliminated.

But what is this Republican committee getting excited about? Do they really care for that percentage of the \$7,856,770 that presumably went into the pockets of friends of the Hylan administration that would have remained in the public treasury if honest competitive bidding had been indulged in on every occasion?

Mayor Hylan took office on Jan. 1,

1918, the day that seven Socialists took their seats. From the very beginning, money was spent in large and small sums without public letting, the Socialists alone leading the protest, while on only rare occasions did an occasional Republican join them. In the four years that Socialists took part in Aldermanic proceedings, they became a nuisance to both Republicans and Democrats by their constant opposition to the expenditure of public funds without public letting.

### Frequent Socialist Protests

Again and again a Socialist would raise his voice in protest, to be met with weary objections, and frequently an official statement by the leaders of the Tammany majority that it was such a small matter, anyway—why waste time and money on the mere formality of observing the law? To which a Socialist always said that each purchase of an automobile, each consignment of pencils or scratch pads bought without competitive bidding, was a violation of the law and the entering wedge for a system of favoritism that spelled nothing less than large-scale graft.

Does Mr. Aron's statement mention this public spirited work of Socialist aldermen? If his committee really cares for the public welfare rather than merely to make political capital for his party, it would be mentioned. But such mention is as conspicuous by its absence as were the Republicans when their support for common honesty and decency was required.

There's a reason, too. The Republicans can point to crookedness in office when they are out of office—and vice versa. "Twas ever thus, and 'twill ever be thus as long as the two bankrupt old parties share the rule of our city, our State and the United States. For them, public funds represent a means of holding on to power. The award of contracts, the handing out of positions to ward heelers, and the threat to withhold jobs on public works to workmen who threaten to vote honestly, constitute the machinery with which the old parties hang on. Therefore, if Hylan's gang is driven out and Aron's gang swims into office next fall, it won't be long before Tammany will be able to make up a

nice little tabulation of instances of "honest" graft, if not in the form of letting public money go without public bidding, then in some other form.

### Our Socialist Program

Socialists, however, while insisting upon strict honesty in public business, while giving an example of absolute honesty whenever they have control of a city, nevertheless hold that expenditures of public money, and public business is a means, not an end; that the end of all government should be the comfort, the welfare and the happiness of the men and women and children who live in a city, a State and a nation.

The public welfare is not safe in the hands of Tammany, of Hylan and Hearst and Wanamaker and their multi-millionaire "friends of the people"; nor is it safe in the hands of real estate operators and their high-priced lawyers.

The public welfare, the right to life and liberty and happiness of the men and women who do the world's work, cannot be taken care of honestly and decently except by the Socialists, who set human welfare above everything else—even above real estate speculators' profits and politicians' graft.

Drive out both gangs of exploiters of the people! Drive them out as you would drive out a boss's representative if he dared to raise his head in a union of your trade. Join with the Socialist Party in restoring the city to the people!

## A Labor Government Tackles Housing

**ADELAIDE, So. Australia.** LIKE every other Australian State, South Australia has its slum and housing problem. Unlike other States, it is seeking to solve the problem in a practical way.

When the present Labor Government came into office after the elections last year, Premier John Gunn included in his Cabinet a Minister of Housing. The portfolio was given to the Attorney-General, Mr. W. J. Denny.

An enthusiast in town planning and directly interested in improving the conditions surrounding the lives of the slum dwellers of Adelaide, the Minister ascertained that the housing shortage was so acute that 6,000 residents were urgently in need of homes to combat the excessive rents charged. In evolving a scheme to overcome this shortage he was fortunate in not having to seek legislative approval with the possibility of a hostile House wrecking or delaying his plans.

Under the Advances for Homes Act, the State Bank is empowered to afford opportunities for people with families, whose incomes do not exceed \$2,250 a year, to acquire homes on easy terms, and the bank also possesses power to acquire land without application and erect houses upon it. This latter power has never been exercised, but it gave the Minister his opening.

He presented to the Cabinet a scheme for the erection of 1,000 homes, and the Cabinet speedily gave its approval.

**The Question of the Land**  
To secure the land was a simple matter. Some years previously, some land had been purchased by a previous Government, and had been laid out by Mr. C. C. Reade, a well-known expert on town planning and garden suburbs principles. A large portion of this land had been sold to individuals and many residences had been erected, but there was still a considerable area available—sufficient for the first 400 homes under the Thousand Homes Scheme.

Having secured the land, the more difficult problem of erecting 1,000 houses at reasonable cost and on modern lines had to be faced. Tenders were invited and that of Mr. Joseph Timms, at an average cost of \$3,200, was accepted.

As the houses are built of brick throughout, and have either five or six rooms, with bath, gas, electric light, sewerage and water service, with an additional 400 gallon tank for rain water, the price seemed astonishingly low.

But Mr. Timms declared that "massed production" was to be the secret of his success. A start was made in June last, and under the terms of the contract, Mr. Timms has to hand over 1,000 homes by June next. Every foundation has been laid and the first occupants entered into possession recently.

About 200 houses have been completed and they are being finished off at the rate of 25 to 30 a week, with the rate increasing as the end draws near. Each of these houses stands on a block of land 50 x 150. The soil is extremely fertile, being suitable for vines, vegetables, and fruit trees. Some of the occupants will be fortunate in having their orchards ready made, for some of the land was formerly an orchard and vineyard, and in planning the homes care has been taken to preserve the vines and the trees. Each house has a cyclone fence in front and

South Australian Cabinet Starts Drive to Clean Up Slums by Building Homes and Selling them to the People Without a Profit

down a portion of the side, the balance of the fencing being of palings.

### Beauty Not Forgotten

One thousand homes of one design, planted in a suburb, would, indeed, be unattractive and repellent to the eye. That factor was not overlooked. Fourteen designs, mainly on bungalow lines, were drawn up, and the successful applicants were given their choice, with one provision, that no two adjacent houses should be of the same design. The result is that the new suburb differs only from any other suburb in that it is laid out on garden city lines, possesses no slums and no pocket-handkerchief allotments.

Each occupant becomes the owner of his property in time. All he is required to pay down is \$125—in instalments, if he wishes it, while the house is being built.

Paying a small weekly rate, the full amount will be paid in 42 years, but it may be paid more rapidly if the occupant wishes. In no case, however, may the occupant sell his place within ten years.

Many thousands of applications were received for these 1,000

homes. It was decided to give preference in allotment to "size of family." No. 1 on the list was a man with a wife and 11 children. He was allowed first choice of allotment and design of house.

The 1,000 homes will provide housing for a population of 5,481 at a cost of, say, \$3,500,000, or an average of \$640 per capita. As the scheme works at present no person with less than two children can secure one of these homes.

### Changes in Conditions

Originally it was provided that the deposit in the case of people with only one child or without children should be \$500, instead of \$125, but so far there are no homes available for this class. Some of the successful applicants are former dwellers in the slums. One of these occupied a house built on land 12 x 75, for which he paid \$6.50 rent. Now he occupies a six-roomed house on land 50 x 150, for which he pays \$4.50 per week, and every penny he pays goes towards making the house his own. Another former slum dweller was living in a house built on land 12 x 90, for which he paid \$5 a week.

Other typical cases are: Widow with four children, occupation of-

fice cleaner, now paying \$7 a week for house with no conveniences or bath. Wife of laborer with nine children, paying \$8 for a house with no conveniences. Engine fitter with four children, striker (four children), driver (four), motorman (five), watchman (ten), paying \$6.25 for a house devoid of conveniences; gardener (four), paying \$5 for a house without conveniences, which is about to be condemned. There are many such cases. A new life opens up to these people.

In planning this new suburb, provision was made for extensive tree planting. The main street is 90 feet wide, and has been planted with an avenue of trees. Most of the other streets are 60 feet wide, and they also are planted, while the rights-of-way, where the water and gas mains are laid, are astonishingly wide.

In the center of the suburb is the site of a recreation ground 13 acres in extent, while at well-chosen points in the streets small gardens are designed. The largest State School in South Australia is to be erected in this area, and each church has been allotted a suitable site.

## FELIPE CARRILLO'S SUCCESSOR

By GERTRUDE W. KLEIN

**O**NE HUNDRED YEARS of struggle to achieve—a dream. A dream of social justice for the oppressed peons of Mexico. And now the task of carrying out the dream. This is the story of Mexico and of the great men of Mexico.

This is what I got from my interview with Jose Iturralde, president of the Southwestern Socialist Party of Mexico and Governor of Yucatan, who was in New York for a few days winding up the affairs of the late Felipe Carrillo; and it was indicated more by the purpose and the vision Mr. Iturralde tried to convey than by the actual recording of achievements. For Jose Iturralde is not voluble. Rather, he gives the impression of great placidity and peace, and to us whose picture of Mexicans has been drawn by the "movies," this tall, fair-skinned, blond, big-almost-stoutness, genial young man immediately brought to mind, by contrast, the supposedly typical, dark, sinewy, ferocious fighting Mexican.

Undoubtedly Iturralde can be the fighter too, when necessary. The great men of Mexico have all been fighters, for the struggle for social justice for the oppressed of Mexico has been a bloody one.

"The Mexican wants peace," said Mr. Iturralde, "but more, he wants liberty, cultural and economic liberty, and—land."

"And has the Socialist Government given him this liberty and land?" I asked.

**No Absentee Landlords**  
"Yes. There are no longer any large scale absentee landlords, always the terrible curse of Yucatan. All Yucatan was in the hand of some 2,000 Spaniards. The Mexicans worked the land. From dawn until late at night the Mexican worked for his hut, his food and the privilege of working again the

next day. He received no pay and no recognition as a human being with desires and aspirations."

"And that is really all changed today?"

"Today that is nearly all changed. The land is owned by the people—by the community," Mr. Iturralde explained, "not by individuals. The Government is still parceling out some large estates. Every Thursday of the week the distribution of land goes on, and when there is an increase in the price received for fibre hemp, which is the main product of Yucatan, the workers get the increase. Old peons who have never possessed anything are now working their plots of land, and we are also beginning to grow other products for our own use."

"And the Labor unions—I understand they are very powerful in Mexico," I said.

"The Labor union or the Liga de Resistencia, as we call it, is the power in Mexico," said Mr. Iturralde. "Eighty-five thousand men in Yucatan belong to the Liga. That means practically every able-bodied adult in Yucatan. But the Liga is not just a Labor union, it is a social institution and an economic weapon as well."

**Red Mondays**  
"Every Monday is Red Monday, when the Liga in every town meets. There the business of the community is transacted. Lectures are held. Singing, dancing and the reciting of poetry occupy the evening. The Liga builds schools. The Liga nominates, and because it is the only single, permanent organization, elects the candidates for political office. The Liga is the life and soul of Mexico."

According to Mr. Iturralde, his unhappy country is at last achieving a certain measure of happiness and content. He is trying to carry on the work where the late Felipe Carrillo, that most beloved of all the great figures in Mexico's struggle for liberation, left it when he was assassinated.

In the two days Mr. Iturralde

was in New York he was so completely occupied with administrative affairs that he had not time for anything else. He intended placing a wreath on the grave of Samuel Gompers, for whom the Mexican workers have a great admiration, but had to send it by special courier through the Mexican consul's office.

He did see the Woolworth Building—don't forget this was Mr. Iturralde's first visit to New York—and he was going to see the "Follies" this evening, his last before sailing.

### Greeting to Socialists

"And what do you think of American women?" I asked, apropos of the "Follies."

"I find them utterly captivating and most charming," beamed the Governor of Yucatan.

It developed that I was the only American woman he had met. Naturally, his impression would be unduly favorable!

As I was taking my leave, the Governor's trunk was being packed and I saw a heavy consignment of Mr. Woolworth's celluloid kewpie dolls. I hope the Mexican children to whom they are going will not accept them as typical Americans. I know some New York babies who might well have been born in Mexico and Mr. Iturralde himself might pass for a native of Milwaukee.

"Won't you salute the readers of The New Leader for me," requested Mr. Iturralde, "and convey to them greetings from the Socialist Party of Yucatan?"

"I will." And I hereby do.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## A Plea for Tolerance

DON'T be so cocky. Don't take yourself too seriously. Don't think you know it all.

The greatest man that ever lived wasn't worth over 85 cents. Leastways, that is what science says, and science is usually right, because it never is ashamed to "fess up" when it is wrong.

That intrinsic value of 85 cents is derived from a few ounces of chemicals, a few pinches of mineral salts and a few buckets of water which compose the human body. If you have water on the brain, you may be worth more on account of the additional water.

Oh, yes, there is that blessed soul of yours, and you claim that you're the only "critter" that has a soul, and what's more, that that soul is so all-fired precious that all kinds of people you would have lynched if you had known them, bled and died for no other reason than to save that measly soul of yours.

Well, I wouldn't be so cocksure of having a monopoly on souls. I never vivisected a dog and hung his soul on a clothes-line. But I have looked in the eyes of many a dog, and I saw his soul. At least, those eyes looked much more soulful than those of many human beings I have met.

### Maternal Affection

Then, too, human parents, especially the mothers, have such a deep love for their young, and this proves conclusively that they are made of finer clay than other creatures. But does it?

Did you never see a poor deluded hen sit on a door knob for weeks and weeks and fret and starve herself until there was nothing left but bones and feathers just because her mother heart was longing for a flock of fuzzy little chicks? And did you ever, you, an able-bodied 200-pounder, try to take some of those fuzzy little chicks away from a mother hen and have the poor thing turn on you like an enraged tigress? Perhaps you did, and perhaps you didn't, and if you did, the chances are that you kicked the poor "brute" and never dreamed that you kicked a mother love as deep and self-sacrificing as that of the best woman who ever fought for her children.

Some time ago, I read a story where a two-legged beast, who claimed he was made in the image of God, sought to find out how deep a soulless animal could love its young ones. So he took a mother dog with a puppy, and laid her on the operating table and cut first one thing and then the other out of her poor body. Then after every new operation, he would put the mother on the floor and she would crawl to her puppy in the corner and make over it and lick it and try to nurse it and console it like it was the puppy and not her who was being tortured to death. And she kept this up until she "gave up her soul" on the last trip to her puppy.

### Coming Down to Brass Tacks

Yes, folks, no use of bragging about our souls or sympathies or love. When we come down to brass tacks, we share these virtues with all the higher animals, and even the lower ones are not entirely bereft of them, for I have observed bass fanning the golden eggs in their little trundle beds below the water to keep them clean and shining and protect them against enemies. Now when we consider that the poor bass is one of the lowest of God's creatures, he isn't doing half bad, especially when we compare him with the "ornery" crowns of creation who live off the labor of children and who call everybody names because they won't subscribe to infanticide on the installment plan.

Of late, there has been a heap of loose talk about inferior and superior races. When we look close at that subject, we always find that the superior races are I, my, and we, while the inferior races belong to the tribes of you, they and them. I, for instance, belong to the Nordic race, and ordinarily that would be enough to convince any good Nordic that the good Lord used a special brand of clay in constructing me and that He worked years and years to give me that nice pale tint which distinguishes me from other races. But not being an ordinary Nordic, I know that most of the good things which make up "our Nordic civilization" were given to us by the swarthy people from southern Europe, from Asia, and (please don't hit me) from Africa. They gave us our alphabet, numbers, algebra, architecture, art, astronomy, medical science, music, laws, and religion.

### Our Noble Nordic Ancestors

While our noble Nordic ancestors were still roaming the woods and caves of central Europe, gambling, boozing, fighting, and killing, the Egyptians had reared their pyramids, the Greeks their temples, the Romans their Coliseum. And while our ancestors were making the nights hideous by hulla-ballooing for Valhalla, which was their conception of a heaven in which they would find eternal bliss by drinking the blood of their slain enemies out of their skulls, the gentle religion of Buddha and Jesus had already supplanted the harsh creed of Moses.

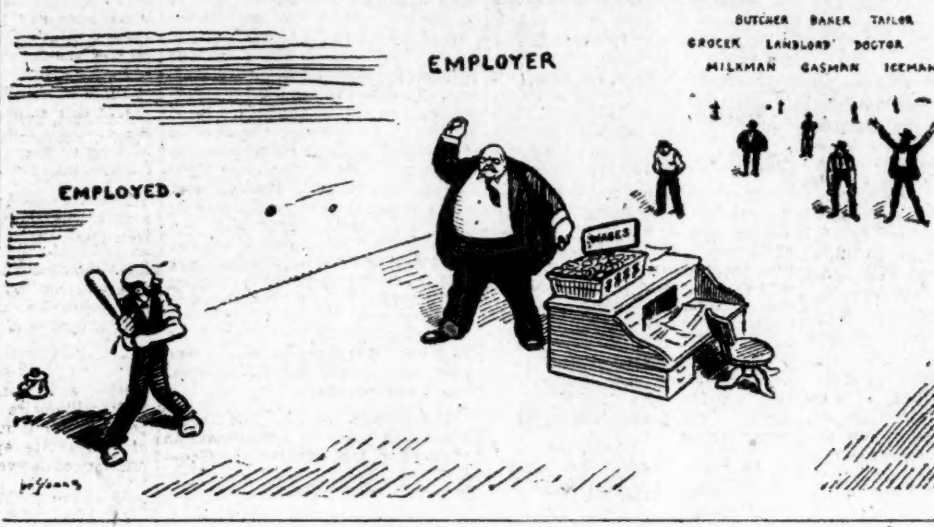
When it comes to religion there are only two ways about it. One leads to heaven, the other to hell. I'm right, you're wrong. I'm saved. You're damned. And yet what we call religious convictions are not our convictions. We did not pore over the ancient writings to find the faith coming nearest to the longings of our hearts. We did not fast forty days in the wilderness to bring our spirits nearer to the Infinite. No, brother, you go to one church because some 500 years ago, a libertine of a king wanted to marry a few more wives than the Pope said he could have. And I go to another church because another king made himself a legitimate widower by divorcing the old wives with a meat axe whenever he hankered for a new one. If you had been born in China you would worship a crockery Buddha in a porcelain temple, and if I had been born in Greenland I would pray for fish bait to a wooden totem pole carved out of a stranded mast by my grandfather.

### What We Are?

We all are what we are because we are but a package of notions, prejudices, feelings, virtues, follies, wisdom, kindness, cruelty, godliness, and hellishness inherited from a thousand generations of ancestors who were born before we could stop them. In our 85-cent body flows the blood of every race on earth. In our hearts the best and the worst of all ages are struggling for supremacy. We are brothers to the most godlike and the most depraved.

Adam Coaldigger.

## THE NATIONAL GAME



## A Song of Labor

By HELEN CARY CHADWICK

I sing a song of Labor—  
Of struggles to be free;  
I sing a song of millions  
Who dare to do and be.  
The Phoenix of the ages,  
The hosts of light whence ran  
Creation's glorious gospel  
Of work, bequeathed to man.

Grappling the throat of nations,  
The Church and State have bred  
Their drones to rob the living  
And fatten on the dead.  
Labor has fought their battles,  
Labor has wrought their crown,  
And won a chain for guerdon,  
Oblivion for renown.

Who fed and clothed the armies—  
Rewarded by a frown?  
Who built the priest his temple?  
Who made the road and town?  
Their unknown names are legion.  
But where, on any soil,  
Is reared their shaft of honor,  
The record of their toil?

Where rulers fought to ruin  
Labor rebuilt the State,  
Where bloody faiths contended  
Labor outwitted hate;  
And hymns were sung of heroes,  
And martyrs' wreaths were wove,  
For Kings whose soldiers conquered,  
And saints whose converts strove.

No wonder crowds are staring  
To see the slave of years  
Rise up and look with longing  
Down Freedom's long arrears.  
Stand back! A man is waking  
That never yet knew birth  
Since Adam turned a toiler  
And broke the virgin earth.

The stars have sung rejoicing,  
And so shall you, despite  
Ye curse the dawning era  
And wrestle with its light.  
Join in! I hear the chorus—  
Jehovah's marching spheres  
Exalt the praise of Labor  
Through all the eternal years.

## THE LORD'S ANOINTED

MAMMONART—CHAP. V

By UPTON SINCLAIR

WHO pays for art? The answer is that at every stage of social development there are certain groups able to pay for certain kinds of art. These groups may be large or small, but they constitute the public for that kind of art, and determine its quality and character; he who pays the piper calls the tune. It should need no stating that Rolls-Royce automobiles are not made according to the tastes of rag-pickers and dit-diggers, nor yet of poets and saints; they are made according to the tastes of people who can afford to pay for Rolls-Royce automobiles. If our thinking about the arts were not so completely twisted by false propaganda, it would seem an axiom to say that the first essential to understanding any art product is to understand the public which ordered and paid for that art product.

Some arts, of course, are cheaper than others. Ballads cost nothing; you can make one up and sing it on any street corner. Hence we find the ballad close to the people, simple and human, frequently rebellious. The same thing applies to folk tales and love songs—until men take to printing them in books, after which they develop fancy forms, understandable only to people who have nothing to do with their time except to play with fancy things.

Beginning with the primitive art forms, it would be possible to arrange the arts in an ascending scale of expensiveness, and to show that exactly in proportion to the cost of an art product is its aristocratic spirit, its subservience to ruling class ideals. Of all the art forms thus far devised, the most expensive per capita is the so-called "grand opera"; this grandeur has to be subscribed for in advance by the "diamond horseshoe," and consequently there is as never been such a thing as a proletarian grand opera—if you except the "Nibelung Ring," which was so effectively disguised as a fairy story that nobody but Bernard Shaw has been able to decipher its incendiary message.

Many years ago I was talking with a captain of industry, prominent in New York political life. I spoke of the corruption of the judges, and he contradicted me with a smile. "Our judges are not bought; they are selected." And exactly so it has been with our recognized and successful artists; they have been men who looked up to the ruling classes by instinct, and served their masters gladly and freely. If they did not do so, they paid the penalty by a life of conflict and exile; if they happened to be poor and friendless, they do not even receive the gratitude of posterity, because their dream-children died unborn, and were buried, along with their parents, in graves unknown. "Some mute, inglorious Milton here may rest."

It will be our task to study the great art periods one after another, taking the leading artists and showing what they were, what they believed, how they got their living, and what they did for those who paid them. We shall find that everywhere they were members of their group, sharing the interests and the prejudices, the hates and fears, the jealousies and loves and admirations of that group. We shall find them subject to all the social stresses and strains of the time, and fighting ardently the battles of their class. For life is never a static thing, it is always changing, always subjecting its victims to new dangers, forcing them to new efforts. Either the ruling class is threatened by the attacks of outside enemies, or else there is a new class arising inside the community. In

times of eternal order and prosperity there come luxury and idleness, the degeneration of the tribe; there come all sorts of novelties startling the elders—modernists sapping the old-time creeds, and flappers adopting the vices of men.

Such evils must be corrected; such enemies of the tribe must be put down; and in the course of these labors, what chance is there that the ruling classes will fail to make use of their most powerful weapon, that of art? There is simply no chance whatever. Ogi will be called on by his masters; or else he will act of his own impulse—he will lead the crusade, singing the praises of the old-time ways, "idealizing" the ancestral heroes, the holy saints and the founding fathers, and pouring ridicule upon the bobbed heads of the flappers. The critics will leap to Ogi's support, hailing him as the Lord's own anointed, a creator of masterpieces, dignified, serene, secure in immortality. This is art, the critics will aver, this is real, genuine, authentic art; while out there in the wilderness somewhere howls a lone gray rebellious wolf, attacking and seeking to devour everything that is beautiful and sacred in life—and the howling of this wolf is not art, it is vile and cheap propaganda.

The critics are certain that the decision is purely a question of aesthetics; and we answer that it is purely a question of class prestige. They are certain that art standards are eternal; and we answer that they are blown about by the winds of politics. Social classes struggle; some lose, and their glory fades, their arts decay; others win, and set new standards, according to their interests. The only permanent factors are the permanent needs of humanity, for justice, brotherhood, wisdom; and the arts stand a chance of immortality, to the extent that they serve such ideals.

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## Bedtime Stories for the Bourgeoisie

WE see where a Republican politician hanged himself the other day because he was disappointed with the way the Republicans are running things in Washington and Albany.

Now if some smart Democrat could only popularize this practice—

Our idea of a grand, good book is Sinclair Lewis' "Arrowsmith" which skins alive the medical Babbits.

Having thought up a splendid plan for having a jury decide what plays it is wise for us to see, the New York World, that bulwark of liberalism at any time when it doesn't really matter, now wants to have a jury of medics in judgment on psychiatrists, psychoanalysts and the like.

Fine! But may we in all humility suggest that a jury of newspaper readers be formed to judge the cases of former editors of liberal weeklies who work their heads off during elections to get reactionary corporation lawyers into office?

We weren't really convinced that it was Spring until a German band came tooting down the block. Isabel, our black cat, forsook her four charming white kittens to look wistfully out the window into the backyard and our feet began to hurt, all in the course of one day.

The fact that the recent Mid-Western tornado skipped Herrin ruined a lot of perfectly good sermons pointing out how God punishes the unrighteous.

It is our private hunch that the tornado took one look at Herrin and went on the other side muttering to itself, "What can a poor, timid little tornado do to a tough town like that?"

We have an elegant new brown hat called Armitage.

Freda Hogan, who edits the Oklahoma Leader when Oscar Ameringer is away with the Illinois Miner, wrote us the other day that she had had her hair bobbed—and it is our bet that she looks prettier than ever. Ah, there, Freda.

Also, "Gold by Gold," by Herbert Gorman, is a book worth sitting up with.

Josh Lieberman, over at Pioneer Youth, tells us that he can't find any books about Labor and liberal heroes fit for juvenile consumption and opines that we will have to write books of our own for the kids.

At first, we suspect they will have to be a bit sugar-coated so as to get the youngsters who have been brought up on such things as "Frank on the Gunboat," "With Clive in India," "Betty Brown at High School," etc.

For example, for our Communist friends, "With Dunn at Seattle"; for our Liberals, "With Hopkins at Cleveland"; for our own folks, "Tales About Thomas."

Seriously, though, it's a sweet situation when our children have to get their heroes from the American Magazine and the pens of men like Sam Crowther and Bruce Barton.

It's bad enough when they're alive, this sickening adulation of mean-souled shrimps like Chauncey Depew and John D. But when they're dead! Well as someone said, "De Mortuis, Nil Nisi Bonum." Scads of kids will grow up thinking that Chauncey Depew, for example, the sneaking little lobbyist for the Vanderbilts, was a great and good man with only the public's interests at heart.

Every rotogravure section is working overtime to convey the impression that John D. is somehow a kindly old thing who would never think of doing anything so naughty as rebating and who spends his time giving bright nickles to dull caddies.

And just wait until he dies and you read the obituaries about him planted in the newspaper offices by Press-Agent Poison Ivy Lee, the far-famed editor of the Subway Sun! If you find any mention of the fact that in reality the incorrigible old scamp was as flinty-hearted a business pirate as ever made an independent oil company walk the plank, we will eat Armitage.

We see they have indicted Senator Wheeler again and we expect to survive the surprise of learning that everybody connected with Teapot Dome has got off scott free and even been presented with a Congressional medal for distinguished public service.

It will be explained to us, no doubt, that the whole thing was just a joke and that Fall was kidding when he took that jack in the black bag. Newspaper accounts of the ending of the trial said that all hands, including the prosecution at the trial, were on the best of terms and that even the judge joined in the laughter at the witticisms of the lawyers.

Now if Chapman, the mail bandit, had had the good luck to have been tried by a couple of politicians for swiping property from the Government he wouldn't need to have been nervous. He could just have sent for a copy of Life or some funny paper and put his feet up on the desk and swapped wise cracks with the judge.

But Chapman made a break. He took a chance. There was nobody around to slip him his money, so he got a gun and made a mess of getting it. Our advice to all rising young bandits is cut out the rough stuff, join up with the Republican administration and do big stealing in a big way.

We take off Armitage when we think of five or six Protestant Ministers with guts enough to come out publicly in favor of birth control. They spoke at the recent Birth Control Conference at the Hotel McAlpin and every one of them had an economic background and a sense of social direction that many professional "radicals" of our acquaintance sadly lack.

We particularly like to remark of Dr. Ray Petty, who, it, speaking of the fact that so many folks who oppose birth control do nothing for children after they are born, said, "Spare the sperm and spoil the Child."

McAlister Coleman.

### SCEPTICISM

"Scepticism!" This word is made synonymous with negation and impotence. Yet our great sceptics were sometimes the most affirmative, and often the most courageous of men. They denied only negations. They attacked everything that fetters the mind and the will. They struggled against ignorance that stifles, against error that oppresses, against intolerance that tyrannizes, against cruelty that tortures, and against hatred that kills. It would not be difficult to prove that those Frenchmen of genius who are called sceptics professed the most magnificent credo. Each one of them formulated some article of it.—Opinions of Anatole France.



# THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE BARMAT AFFAIR

By FRIEDRICH ADLER,

Secretary of the Socialist and Labor International.

THE grave charges brought against certain members of the German Social Democratic Party, and which first became known in connection with the Barmat scandal, afford a welcome opportunity for Communists and other opponents to attack the German Social Democracy. They hope to succeed in utilizing the well-founded charges against individuals so as to shake confidence in the party as such. Moreover, they even hope to make use of this weapon in

the international sphere in trying to establish a connection between the Socialist and Labor International and the Barmat affair.

The repudiation of Communist maneuvers in Germany might be left to the German Socialist Party which will succeed all the better if it maintains the undaunted determination and rigor which it showed in the case of Gustave Bauer. As regards the libelous attacks on the Socialist and Labor International, one fact is sufficient to contradict them from the outset. All such allegations refer to a period actually four years prior to the foundation of the Socialist and Labor International.

The Second International By constantly referring to it as "the Second International," Communists try to hide the fact that, at the

Hamburg Congress, in May, 1923, a new international organization was founded, based on an entirely new constitution both in principle and in organization. They do not trouble about the fact that, at the Hamburg Congress, not only the Vienna Union, but also the Second International, formally declared dissolution. The resolution of the Second International reads as follows:

"That the Vienna Union and the Second International be dissolved immediately the Commission on Rules has reported and the Congress has come to a decision. This will automatically avoid any danger of either being continued."

The Socialist and Labor International never thought of accepting responsibility for anything which took place before its foundation. It adopted this well-conceived attitude,

not in view of the ridiculous defamations which are now put forward in connection with a meeting of the Second International in 1919, but in view of the much more serious political problems resulting from the war. The Socialist and Labor International has set to work for the great objects of the working class in the international sphere, unhampered by the past. It claims the same right as the Communist International, which would obviously refuse to be charged for happenings which preceded its foundation, simply because Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg happened to sit on the Executive of the Second International.

But, superfluous as it may seem to defend the Socialist and Labor International—which in reality could not have had any connection with the Barmat affair—against such ac-

cusations, it is not our intention to admit of the interpretation as if there were any justification in the charges brought against the members of the Second International in connection with a meeting in Amsterdam in April, 1919. As I was not at this meeting and never saw the brothers Barmat or even knew of their existence until their arrest, I must state the facts without bias.

The Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung, in a striking article on the case of Gustave Bauer, is justified in saying:

"Those comrades to whom Barmat was presented by a Dutch Socialist of impeccable character were naturally incapable of foreseeing in 1919 and 1920 that five years later Barmat would be under a criminal charge. This applies in a still greater degree to the Executive members of the Second International, who, at the time, spent two or three days in Amsterdam and were introduced by Dutch Socialists to a man whom nobody had any reason to mistrust and for whose personality or dealings they had no particular interest. One may well be of the opinion that certain German Socialists displayed a lack of discretion in their relations with Barmat when he had already shown himself to be a profiteer on a large scale. As to the Executive members who went to Amsterdam in 1919, even the strongest judgment could not attach any reproach."

May I add a personal word in conclusion? The Berlin Rote Fahne of Feb. 22 asks:

"May we take the resignation of Friedrich Adler from the leadership of the Second International as a cunning move by the Austro-Marxists to make a timely retreat from the quagmire?"

In order to stop the circulation of such rumors, I want to make it clear that I announced my resignation from the Secretariat of the International to the Executive six months before I ever heard of Barmat. It never occurred to me to make a cowardly retreat when times were difficult in the Labor movement. If the German Socialist Party must now suffer for the wrongdoings of certain of its members, it is not the moment to shrink from difficulties, but rather the duty of international solidarity to help the German workers in their efforts to overcome their

reverse and regain their full fighting strength.

(Out of the mass of material published in the United States over the Barmat case and its relation to the Socialists of Holland and Germany, about the only clear point seems to be that, while, as admitted at the recent national convention of the Social Democratic Labor party of Holland, Barmat was generous in using some of his profits from more or less legitimate deals in foodstuffs to help finance the publishing of the Dutch Socialist paper Rotterdam, he never attached any conditions to his subscriptions to stock and never held a controlling interest in the paper. Concerning the Barmat Brothers' transactions in Germany involving Gustave Bauer and some other Socialist leaders, who have been ousted by the Socialist Party, it may be pointed out that, according to a Jewish Telegraph Agency dispatch of March 13, from Berlin, the Prussian investigating authorities have stated that the charges of fraud and bribery were unfounded, but that release was being postponed until further investigation of the case of Dr. Hoeft, ousted Minister of Posts. Dr. Alfred Klee, counsel for the defense, declared that the creditors of the Barmat brothers would in all likelihood receive 90 per cent of their investment. Democratic press organs emphasized that in spite of the fact that the two parliamentary committees were engaged in investigating the charges against the Barmat brothers, no one knows what the crime of the Barmats really was.—Editor.)

## ORGANIZING FOR SOCIALISM

By S. H. STILLE

GETTING new members and organizing new Locals is the beginning of organization work. It is the first step. The next is to keep members organized and working. How shall we do this? I admit it is a problem. But it can be solved.

The conditions and environment of the American workingman are surely different than that of his European brother. In Europe the struggle for existence is keener. His economic environment forces him to be very active in order to lighten his burdens. In this country it is not so. Many of the workers own their home. Many have automobiles; more are planning to get a Ford on the installment plan. They dress well and as a rule have enough to eat.



They are two doors from the Socialist movement, one the economic and the other the intellectual. I am sure in Europe more enter our movement through the economic door than here. The struggle being keener they are forced to do something for their immediate relief. In their struggles they have gone hungry and cold and have been denied many comforts. In this country we have not gone hungry and cold, at least not to the extent of our European brothers. While they have been denied the comforts of life, we have been denied the luxuries. I will admit that in sections of New York City and the suburbs the workingmen and women live under conditions as bad as those in Europe. They live cave-man fashion in tenement districts. A progressive farmer would not keep his hogs in some of the "homes" of working men. I am glad to say that through the West and Middle West, with the exception of the large cities, this condition does not exist. Our parents have suffered more

in this country than we of the present generation. We have shared our food on dad's table and slept under a roof he provided. Often we hear it said: "When I was a boy things were different." The spirit of the young has surely changed as has everything else. The boys and girls of today have the cinema, dance halls, jazz music. They want to have a good time, which in itself is alright. As a rule, however, the young folks are not intellectual. What does the average young man or woman of today care about the philosophy of Marx? To be sure, some are interested, but they are few, that is comparatively speaking. What does this mean to our cause? It means this: that as long as economic conditions force people to live as they do, since people are not interested in philosophy but only in having a good time, then we must appeal to them through the latter.

I would suggest the following routine for Locals: Transact the business of the Local in a business-like way. That is, quickly and promptly. Have debates, serve refreshments, give musical recitals, produce plays, arrange lectures by able persons, assign positions to as many as possible, conclude with so-

cial dancing. Above everything else a field organizer should be kept constantly in the field to canvass for new members, help collect dues and to keep things going in general. Locals should be visited every month or two by the field man. They should arrange street meetings, that are thoroughly organized, and not rely on a hit or miss system.

Small leaflets or handbills are appropriate to distribute to the crowd, telling the location of headquarters and names and addresses of officials of the Locals and branches. Publish local literature so that it will not fail to attract the eye. Let us take for example the following:

Municipal Hospitals  
Municipal Ice Plants  
Municipal Markets  
Municipal Railway  
Municipal Storage Houses  
Municipal Gas and Electricity  
Municipal Waterworks  
Better Schools.

Give the people the A B C of Socialism and a good and sound program for the town or city.

To the Hall of Socialism, with its two large doors of Economics and Intellectualism, we must build a side entrance of Entertainment. People of this age want to be entertained.

Let's entertain them. Give the people what they want. The Catholic Church knows what the people want and it also knows the psychology of the people. P. T. Barnum knew humanity. He put his plans across. He knew how to do it. Open your eyes, observe a little of humanity, and prepare to give them our program with a flavor we know they like.

We know that Socialism belongs to the ages. We know it cannot fail. Thousands of people do not know our philosophy and they are prejudiced by the press. It is our task to break the prejudice and tell them our plans. There are two ways of doing everything: a right way and a wrong way. We should be careful, in presenting our Cause, that before we tear down the present order we have to offer the blueprint of a better one.

Be a salesman. You are selling the ideals of Socialism to humanity. Make it a study. People will patronize if convinced. Always bear in mind that before we can convince we must be convinced.

Two gifts there are of value far Beyond great wealth or land.  
The Gifts are these: The Eye that Sees,  
The Heart that Understands.

## On The International Front

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

### FRANCE

More Victories At The Polls Despite the anti-Socialist campaign being waged with much expenditure of printer's ink and fervid oratory by both the French reactionaries and the Communists, the Socialist Party continues gaining members and winning victories in local elections. In a special election in Blaye, in the Department of Tarn, on Feb. 22, to fill vacancies in the municipal council, the Socialists captured all three seats, with the Communists far behind and the reactionaries not daring to nominate. In 1919 the Socialists swept the field in the municipal contest, but after the split forced by the Communists at the Tours Congress, the party organization, with twenty-one of the some twenty-five Socialist aldermen, went over to the secessionists. The local sections were reorganized and propaganda work resumed. The re-

sults of Feb. 22 show how strong the Socialist Party has come back.

In Saint-Ambroise, in the Gard, the Socialist candidate for member of the cantonal council beat his reactionary opponent by a vote of 2,091 to 1,836, and in the canton of Uzès, with the support of the Radicals in the second election, the Socialists won the seat in the council by a vote of 1,325 to 1,238 for the reactionary candidate.

### Paris Meetings Successful

Organized attempts by the Paris Communists to break up some thirty Socialist propaganda meetings on March 4 and 5, failed in all but two cases, as when the Communist interrupters got too obstreperous the Socialists in the audiences proceeded to use a little direct action and throw them into the street. At one meeting the Communists hurled a glass at Leon Blum, cutting his lip, and two Socialists were so badly beaten that they had to be taken to the hospital. According to Le Populaire, not only were the meetings successful in gathering in many new members, but the outrageous conduct of the interrupters alienated the sympathies of hundreds of Paris workingmen who previously had some faith in the "revolutionary" talk of the Communists.

New Party Paper In The Capital To supplement the work of Le Populaire, which since its transformation into a semi-monthly offi-

cial party organ has had to give a great deal of its space to national and provincial news, the Paris district organization has started a weekly called Le Combat Social, with Comrade Bracke as editor-in-chief, for special propaganda work in the capital.

### GREAT BRITAIN

Labor Party for Peace Protocol Although the hostile attitude of the British Tory Government has practically killed the chances of the Geneva Peace Protocol of the League of Nations becoming anything more than a pious wish for some time to come, the British Labor party has gone on record in its favor through the adoption of the following resolution at a joint meeting of the Labor Party Executive and the General Council of the British Trade Unions held Feb. 25:

"The party holds that this country should do everything in its power to obtain the acceptance of the principles of the Protocol and the holding of the Disarmament Conference. It stands by the Protocol on the ground that it furnishes the only practical plan at present for obtaining disarmament and substituting arbitration for war as the method of settling disputes. The party should strongly oppose any suggestion of substituting for the Protocol any form of limited military alliance or guarantee. Every effort should be

made to get all non-signatory States to sign and ratify."

It will be remembered that at the joint conference of the Executives of the Socialist and Labor International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, held in Brussels in Jan., the British delegates abstained from voting for the Protocol resolution adopted there on the ground of not having been instructed by their organizations. This action was seized upon by opponents of the Geneva Protocol as an excuse for asserting that even British Labor was against it. Now Labor's favorable attitude has been definitely laid down.

### POLAND

#### Help Settle Danzig Row

Considerable credit for the probably amicable settlement of the row between Poland and Danzig over the placing of Polish mail boxes in the Free State is claimed by the Polish Socialist Party and the Social Democratic party of Danzig. As soon as the clash became serious early in Jan., the Polish Socialists sent Comrades Liebermann and Zulawski to Danzig, where they conferred with Comrades Geel, Rahn and Mau of the Danzig Socialist organization and agreed that the two parties were to fight against jingoism and try to get the matter adjusted without trouble. Then the Polish Socialist Deputies introduced a resolution in the Sejm, which, although rejected, had a decided effect in inducing the Government to let the League of Nations settle the dispute. At a second conference between the Polish and Danzig Socialists, held in Warsaw on March 1, complete agreement on all questions affecting the two countries was reached.

### SWITZERLAND

Socialist Students In Conference Material progress toward harmonizing all Socialist activities of the young Swiss was made at a conference of Socialist students held in Olten, Feb. 28 and March 1, according to a report in the Berner Tagwacht. Features of the conference, which was formally welcomed to the city by the local Socialists, were lectures on student life in the United States and on the young people's and student movements in Austria. All the speakers were a unit in insisting upon the need of getting as many students as possible into the Labor movement and it was resolved that the Socialist students should affiliate with the Socialist young people's movement, while preserving their own administration.

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Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4180  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

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INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION  
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The Council meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday.  
The Board of Directors meet every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.  
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Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4540  
Office, 231 E. 14th Street.  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 6 P. M.  
Bronx—E. 187th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Hajiam—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.  
Bklyn—106 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomery St.  
SALVATORE NINFO, Manager-Secretary.

**SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION**  
LOCAL NO. 2, I. L. G. W. U.  
130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 147.  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 6 P. M.  
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

**Italian Dressmakers' Union**  
Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.  
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at the Office, 3 West 21st Street. Telephone 7748-Walton.  
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

**Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.**  
130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934  
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**NEW YORK JOINT BOARD**  
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JOS. GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

**New York Clothing Cutters' Union**  
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."  
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5536.  
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.  
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

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Office: 178 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1351  
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**Children's Jacket Makers**  
of Gr. N. Y., Loc 16, Sec. A. C. W. A.  
Office: 3 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387  
Executive Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
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**Children's Jacket Makers**  
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A. C. W. A. Section "B".  
Office: 155 Bushwick Ave. Bklyn. Stagg 10180  
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m.  
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.  
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I. Portner, Sec. Sec'y.  
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62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4408  
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**PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION**  
OF GREATER NEW YORK  
Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Mark's Place. Phone Orchard 1200  
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.  
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Up-town Office: 50 West 57th Street. Phone Fitzroy 6784  
Down-town Office: 210 East 5th Street. Phone Orchard 1042  
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# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## NATIONAL

Comrade William H. Henry writes from Detroit: "The Detroit comrades are already making arrangements to run an excursion train to Cleveland for the Convention. We are boosting the big doings and I am sure the comrades here will turn out in fine shape."

There is no doubt about it, there will be a long trainload from Louisville and Newport, Kentucky; from Cincinnati and Dayton, Ohio; another from Pittsburgh. From New Castle, Youngstown and Akron, from Buffalo, Dunkirk and Erie, Springfield, Columbus, Piqua, Delaware and Marion, making up another trainload. Imagine Detroit furnishing the only trainload!

Comrade Van Essen urges that all speed be made with the new national Socialist weekly. The comrades make some helpful suggestions in connection with the Cleveland mass convention and demonstration, offer one thousand dollars to the National Office for one lecture by Ramsay MacDonald, and have no doubt that several thousand subscriptions for the new national weekly can be secured in connection with a great Pittsburgh meeting.

Comrade Camans of Idaho writes that the comrades are full of the old-time zeal for the Socialist Party as the Labor party. Idaho Socialists are to be counted upon for cooperation in the mass convention and demonstration enterprise and for the quick realization of a powerful national Socialist weekly newspaper.

One dollar in cash and a liberal remittance came with a letter from Wisconsin in which is the following: "Never in the history of this (Wisconsin) community have so many farmers been compelled to buy so close; and more foreclosures have taken place this year than ever before. As farmers I and all the rest of the farmers, surely belong to the proletariat. We are most positively exploited. Enclosed you will find the meager sum of one dollar to help in whatever way it can."

**Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.**  
Office: 175 East Broadway. Phone: Orchard 6639  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.  
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas. PETER MONAT, Manager.

**EMBROIDERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.**  
Exec. Bd. meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday at the Office, 601 E. 161st St. Melrose 7650  
CARL GRABHER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

**FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.**  
Office and Headquarters, 845 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone: Pulaski 0798  
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.  
M. LEISS, President.  
S. FINE, Vice-President.  
F. FRIEDMAN, Sec. Sec'y.  
E. WENNER, Fin. Sec'y.  
H. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

**FUR FLOOR WORKERS' UNION LOCAL 3, F. I. U. A.**  
Office and Headquarters, 845 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stagg 5239  
Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Thursday.  
FRANK BARROSI, JAMES CARUSO, President Secretary

**NECKWEAR CUTTERS**  
Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
2 E. 16th St. Stuyvesant 7678  
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.  
G. LEVINE, Pres. N. ULLMAN, Sec. Sec'y.  
A. Schwartzwald, Chas. Basso, Vice-Pres. Leo Saffian, Bus. Agent

**N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union**  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 523). Phone Spring 2336-2339  
ALDO CURSI, Manager. H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer.  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 243—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union.

**INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION**  
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 68  
MORRIS KAUFMAN, General President. ANDREW WENNER, General Secretary-Treasurer.

**JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK**  
Office: 22 East 22nd Street. Phone Caledonia 0350  
Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office  
H. BEGOON, Chairman ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager  
ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, Sec. Sec'y. ADOLPH LEWITZ, Sec. Sec'y. BENNY WEXLER, Vice-Pres.

**FUR FINISHERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 15  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
A. SOIFER, Chairman. H. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman. H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

**FUR CUTTERS UNION**  
LOCAL 1  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
F. STAUB, Chairman. H. SOHNN, Vice-Chairman. H. SCHINDLER, Secretary.

Another Wisconsin letter runs: "I recently rounded up seven comrades for a new local and would by this time have had a good local if I had not had to fly a slave job and save my farm from the clutches of the banker. I'll have that local ere long."

A loyal comrade in the sunny South writes: "... I am in the employ of the Government and therefore must do what I do secretly. Enclosed is my remittance—with all my heart. I wanted to see a Labor party organized, but as that was not done, it behooves us to work the harder to build up the Socialist Party. I heartily agree with you, Comrade White, we must right now build up our own party."

Comrade Debs was at his desk in the National Office last week, still more firmly fixed in his determination that the mass conventions and demonstrations shall be national triumphs, a tremendous influence in the rapid rebuilding of the party and of the national Socialist weekly newspaper.

A former member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies will soon be in the United States. Comrade Vincenzo Vacirca was elected a Deputy at the beginning of the Fascist fight in Italy. He was so bitterly persecuted that he was forced to flee to Switzerland. He was at one time editor of our paper, La Parola, and organizer of the Italian Federation. He will arrive in this country May 1. Comrade Vacirca is eager that all State Secretaries and Socialist editors make note of his availability for service.

Irwin St. John Tucker has written a history of imperialism, the best thing in the English language on the subject of imperialism past and present. This book may be had through the National Office, Socialist Party, Chicago, for \$2.25.

The National Executive Committee has voted to give credentials to Esther Friedman of New York as a fraternal delegate to the British In-

dependent Labor party conference which meets in Bristol on April 10. Comrade Friedman sailed for England on March 28.

## CONNECTICUT

The monthly meeting of the State Executive Committee will be held at Machinists' Hall, 99 Temple street, New Haven, Sunday, March 22, at 2 p. m.

At a memorial meeting in honor of John P. McCarty, held in the Ansonia City Hall, Sunday, March 29, the following comrades spoke about the many sacrifices that he had made for twenty years as a member of the party: Martin Plunkett, chairman of the meeting, Charles Beardsley of Shelton, I. Polsky of New Haven, Jasper McLevy, State Organizer, and Louis Kralch of Meriden, a member of the State Executive Committee. Samuel E. Beardsley said that the biggest thing McCarty had to his credit was his fight against war. A committee of six was appointed to raise funds for a monument in his memory.

Those wishing to contribute should send money or checks to Martin F. Plunkett, Wallingford.

The State Executive Committee has voted to cooperate with the Socialists of New York and New Jersey in holding the proposed mass conventions in New York City this summer.

I. Polsky of New Haven was elected chairman of a committee to raise a sustaining fund for maintaining "Our Commonwealth," the monthly bulletin.

Locals and branches in New Haven and vicinity will hold a May Day celebration in New Haven.

The next meeting of Local Hamden will be held Friday evening, April 10, at the home of Gustave Berquist, 28 Millis street.

## ILLINOIS

The Cook County Executive Committee (Chicago) and the Organization Committee of the party have adopted a resolution scoring an ordinance which is being supported on

the grounds that it will advance municipal ownership of the Chicago traction lines. Comrade Swan Johnson has challenged Alderman Schwartz to debate the bona ordinance and Walter Thomas Mills has issued a similar challenge to Mayor Dever.

Chicago Socialists have suffered recently in the death of two devoted comrades, Ethel E. Beers and John Boening, the latter being one of the oldest Socialists in the country. He came to Chicago in 1869 and was identified with the early activities of the German Socialists in the city and took an active interest in the party down to a recent date.

## WISCONSIN

The five Socialist candidates for school board directors were all nominated by safe majorities in the recent primary election in Milwaukee.

Running in a field of eighteen candidates, three of whom are incumbents, the party candidates finished 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th and 9th, each with a vote that is a glowing endorsement of them.

The victorious Socialist candidates, with the vote polled by each, are as follows: George O. Strehlow, 10,674; Rudolph Beyer, 10,173; Alexander Bender, 8,833; Benjamin Scherer, 8,642, and Leo Wolfsohn, 8,230.

## NEW JERSEY

About 100 signatures have been secured so far for each of the five Socialist candidates for City Commissioner of Jersey City. Nearly 300 signatures are needed for each candidate and all Jersey City comrades are urged to call at once at party headquarters, 256 Central avenue, to obtain blank petitions. Do not leave this till the last minute, as the time will soon be at hand for the filing of the petitions.

Local Essex has nominated Comrade John T. Wheratz as a candidate for Commissioner in the coming election in Newark.

Nomination papers are being circulated and all comrades who can help in getting signatures are requested to report at once as 400 names are needed to put our candidate on the ballot.

The canvass of the party members in the county is going actively forward for the purpose of enlisting all in the work of party building and collecting funds for special organization work.

A special meeting for active party workers will be held at the home of the county organization on Thursday evening, April 2. Personal notices are being mailed to members.

## PENNSYLVANIA

TO PENNSYLVANIA READERS

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

The semi-annual membership meeting of Local Philadelphia will be held at the Machinists' Temple, 13th and Spring-Garden streets, Sunday, April 5, at 3.00 p. m. This is the most important meeting of this kind held in Philadelphia for a number of years; in addition to the election of officers and regular committees, a very important committee on Centralization of the English-speaking Branches will report. Centralization is entirely new to Local Philadelphia and promises to make possible much more effective organization of the districts. Every Comrade is urged to attend and express his opinion of the new plan.

Plans are being made for a non-street Debs banquet to be held April 26; the exact time and place will be announced in the near future.

Many Philadelphia Comrades have been taking part in the work of the Philadelphia Labor College and hope to attend the Workers' Education Bureau Convention at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, April 17, 18, and 19. All persons in Philadelphia and vicinity interested in education from the worker's viewpoint should make a special effort to attend these gatherings.

**NEW YORK STATE**  
The State Executive Committee met at the People's House last Saturday with Merrill, Arland, Feigenbaum, Gerber, Kobbe, Riley and Sander present. Absent: Noonan, Steel and Wiley.

The more important actions were that a hearing be asked of Governor Smith on the bill to install voting machines and that State Chairman Block try to interest the Honest Ballot Association and other civic organizations in the matter. Comrade Gerber reported that the Ullmer Park, Brooklyn, had been obtained for the mass convention on Sept. 19-20. Decided to get the cooperation of adjoining States and that net profits of the convention be distributed in proportion to the tickets sold by the States and the New England District participating. Comrade Fitzgerald, of the New England District; Leemans, of New Jersey; Hoopes, of Pennsylvania, and executive secretaries of the Bronx, Brooklyn and New York, approved. Decided that the Committee of 17 of the city convention take charge of arrangements with two representatives each from the other States and the New England District. Merrill and Arland elected (Continued on Page 11.)

## The Party Builder

Effective Party Branches

TO BUILD the Socialist Party is important but it is not enough. To hold new members is essential or we will have to rebuild again. Branch meetings have been dry, uninteresting and often futile. New members come in, remain members for a time, and then disappear.

Usually there is a reading of the minutes, followed by the reading of communications and bills; reports of committees and officers; discussions and disputes regarding the routine of these matters to a late hour, and then adjournment. New members become bored and sleepy. In this age of the movies, the Ford, parks, museums and the Sunday newspaper, a Socialist branch meeting is at a disadvantage.

The new member joins because he is impressed by the ideals of So-

cialism and not because of any desire to participate in routine business matters. Those ideals must find expression in every branch meeting if the new member is to be held and his cooperation is to be retained. He must find fellowship, fraternity, social and intellectual enjoyment. Otherwise he is lost to the branch.

The first essential is to transfer every possible bit of routine business to an executive committee for action. This committee will determine whether that bill for printing tickets is excessive or not and will save branch members a long debate. It will save long discussions on other routine matters and thus give time for social and intellectual enjoyment.

What program is feasible? In the smaller towns and cities where one local is organized it will work out its own plans. But the State executive should assist them with suggested programs each month. In the larger cities where numerous branches are organized the city executive should act for the branches, either through itself or through a special subcommittee which once each month should work out social and educational programs and send them to the branches. Lectures, of course. But what sort of lectures? Shall we ask the new members to listen over and over again to an exposition of the principles of Socialism?

Not at all. The lives of eminent men, Garrison, Phillips, Lincoln, Cobbett, Marx, Lassalle and others, offer appropriate themes on their birthdays. Great episodes, the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Chartist movement, the crusades, may be suggested. Every subject chosen necessarily has its social and economic background and its Socialist interpretation. Of course, contemporary problems should not be overlooked. Pageants, festivals and, by a large city organization, an occasional fair with a program of several days, are important. In each case something more than a bare suggestion should be sent to the branches. For example, if Garrison is chosen, an outline of the most significant events in his life should be mentioned and a few books regarding his career should be suggested. We should always keep an educational and social program before the branches, suggesting each one month in advance.

Ours is an educational movement. Our education does not end when we join a branch. It is or it should be the beginning of a wide culture for our members. Substitute social and educational enjoyment for routine and we will grow. Every branch meeting will become an anticipation as well as a center of fellowship and social enjoyment. The members' lives will be enriched, enduring social contacts will be formed, and the Socialist Party will become a living, active and powerful social force.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29th

Comrades and Friends  
Keep This Date Open

Watch for Announcement  
Next Week



# LABOR EDUCATORS TO MEET

By E. J. LEVER

Secretary, Philadelphia Labor College

THE Fourth National Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau of America will be held at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Philadelphia, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, April 17, 18 and 19. From its meager beginnings when first organized in Brookwood in the Spring of 1921, the Workers' Education Movement has grown to rather large proportions. Many labor colleges and workers' study classes have been organized and the list of full-time directors of the work and teachers in the service of workers' education is growing into a formidable army of education.

Delegates from some 100 international and national unions, many State Federations of Labor, Central Labor bodies, District Councils, local unions, Labor Colleges and Workers' Study Classes will be in attendance. Great impetus has been lent to the movement through the action of the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor in again endorsing workers' education and its recommendation to the International Unions to set aside one-half cent per capita for the Workers' Education Bureau.

Many trade unions have gone into workers' education in earnest and some local unions are spending hundreds of dollars per year to carry on their classes. The organization of Labor Colleges, such as the one in Philadelphia, has resulted in many unions partaking in the work who never went into it seriously before, and the resulting good is apparent on every hand.

American Labor has reached the point where it is essential that workers' education be developed on a large scale to train the rank and file in social thinking and to make them more effective in their struggle for industrial and political freedom. The labor movement in the past years merely "talked" the necessity for education, now the talk is being converted into action and before long new leadership with a broader vision is bound to develop that will guide the rank and file and make real progress for the labor movement.

It is apparent on every hand that

what the labor movement needs most at this stage of the game is more speakers, more organizers, more effective committee workers, more effective and intelligent business agents and other officers and a more intelligent rank and file.

That is the idea behind workers' education. That is the ideal to bear in mind in developing it. The capacity to face given facts and solve the problems of labor with them as a basis is more important than loud platitudes that no one pays any attention to and which only detract

## "Sand Hogs" Win Shorter Hours

The Compressed Air Workers' Union, in which the 3,000 "sand hogs" of New York are organized, has won a signal legislative victory in the passage and signing of the Nicol-Phep bill at Albany, radically limiting the hours under which men may be worked at the higher pressures in the caissons and tunnels beneath our skyscrapers and rivers and harbors.

Representatives of the contractors' association fought the bill to the last ditch, but legislators were aware of the union's declaration that not a "sand hog" would go into the "air" in the construction of the much advertised Brooklyn to Staten Island tunnel unless hours were so shortened that the men would be protected in some degree against the terrible "bends" or compressed-air illness that laid nearly 900 men out in the New York to Jersey City tunnel now nearing completion.

The bill gives legislative sanction to the regulations the union has laid down in all new tunnel work recently. John McPartian, secretary of the Compressed Air Workers, told the Federated Press. Had the new schedule of hours been in effect when the contract was drawn for the New York to Jersey City job, with Booth & Flynn, it is estimated that two-thirds of the cases of "bends" would have been avoided and many men dragging along with atrophied thigh muscles would be walking erect. The union is stronger now than it was then and is in a position to enforce its health measures.

The six-hour day, broken into two

shifts, begins at 18 pounds pressure above normal, under the new bill, instead of at 21 pounds as in the former regulations. The four-hour day starts at 26 pounds instead of 30, which means that a large proportion of the men will be on a four-hour basis as much of the work

is done between 26 and 30 pounds. Hours decrease with air pressure until 48 pounds is reached, when men will be allowed to work only one hour a day.

Clarence Crane, chief lobbyist for the contractors, and his associates, ran into a knockout when union representatives told the Senate Assembly Committee on Labor and Industries, before the measure was recommended, that the Booth & Flynn doctors and bosses were faking reports. Many men dangerously hurt by compressed air illness were labeled rheumatic cases, and in fifty-four cases no report at all was made, so that casualties appeared low on company sheets, and, incidentally, the men were defrauded of compensation when they sought it. In other cases, reports showed that alleged company doctors were no doctors at all, but laymen. This evidence seriously discredited the contractors at the hearings.

## A New Labor Temple Being Built

A monument to free speech—a handsome six-story, modern Labor Temple—is rising these days on the site of the old Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue. For fifteen years the Labor Temple, without favor or prejudice, has been a citadel of free speech, lending its rostrum to speakers of all shades of opinion, radical, liberal, anarchist, and conservative.

Its free forum and its school outgrew the old church building a few years ago. Now, thanks to the enterprise of Edmund B. Chaffee and Will Durant, the directors of the temple and school, and to the friendship of sympathetic businessmen, a new and more adequate building is in the process of completion. The cornerstone of the new Labor Temple will be laid Sunday with appropriate exercises. Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin will deliver the principal address.

The new building is being erected by the Labor Temple Building Corporation. Under the terms agreed on, the corporation will enjoy a lease of the property for twenty years, after which it will revert to the owners of the old Labor Temple. The new building, in addition

to a large auditorium, classrooms, clinics and other equipment of the Temple and School, will have a number of apartments and business offices.

SEE THAT YOUR ENGINEER WEARS THIS BUTTON!

**U. S. and O. Engineers' Local 56**

Meets every Friday at 8 P. M. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone Stags 3344. 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

52 University Place, New York 23, N. Y. The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 151 Clinton St., N. Y. Chas. Garfinkel, Org'r. H. Kaplan, Sec.

## N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday. Board of Officers Meet 2nd and 4th Friday. 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

President: Frank Walter, H. Kramer, Sec. Secretary: A. Pugliese, Wm. Detlebach, Vice-Pres. Fin. Secretary: H. Vols, August Schrempf, Treasurer Business Agent

## United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board, Every Saturday, 12 Noon.

M. ABRAMSON, Chairman  
M. GOLDOWSKY, Vice-Chairman  
M. FEINSTONE, Secretary-Treasurer

## PAINTERS' UNION

LOCAL 892  
Office and Headquarters: 216 E. 59th St. Tel. Hagen 3625  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening David Cullanan, Clarence Barnes, President Rec. Secretary J. J. Connell, Vice-President Fin. Secretary

## WAITERS' UNION & Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS

Local 219, W. & E.L.A. & B.L. of A. Office & Headquarters: 170 E. 50 St., N. Y. LEXON 1874  
Regular meetings every Tuesday, 8 P. M. Meyer Schachter, Chas. S. Lowy, President Bus. Agent & Sec.

## PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters: 266 EIGHTH AVENUE Telephone Longacre 5439  
Day Room Open Daily, 8 A. M. to 6 P. M.

JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GAA, President Sec. Secretary M. McDONALD, G. F. BRENN, Vice-President Rec. Secretary

## MEETING HALL TO RENT

FOR LABOR UNIONS AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES. Seating Capacity 350.

## German Painters' Union

LOCAL 490, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS  
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.

BRUNO WAGNER, President, CHAS. KOENIG, Rec. Sec'y.

## HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. C. & S. W. of N. A. 175 E. W'way, Orchard 5239  
Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday

AL GRABAL, President, L. KORN, Sec. R. JACOB, Recy.

## Amalgamated Lithographers

of America, New York Local No. 1  
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 205 WEST 14th ST. Phone: WATkins 3764  
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at ARLINGTON HALL, 19 ST. MARK'S PLACE

ALBERT E. CASTRO, President, Frank J. Flynn, Vice-Pres. Frank Schel, Treas.

## N. Y. Printing Pressmen's Union

Local 51, International Printing Pressmen's & Assistants' Union  
Office: 22 WEST 16TH STREET Phone: CHL 1025-10263  
Regular Meetings Every 2nd Thursday at L. L. G. W. U. Auditorium, 3 W. 16th St.

PHILIP UNSTADTER, President, PATRICK J. LYNCH, Vice-President, Edward Neway, John E. Donnelly, Chas. T. Stewart, Wm. Anthony, Sec'y-Treas. Bus. Agent 391-52-Arms

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

LOCAL No. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK  
Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Phone: Sterling 9733.  
Regular Meeting every Monday evening at 182 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn. Executive Board meets every Friday evening at the Office.

Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.

THOMAS F. OATES, President, CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

# UNION DIRECTORY

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

## BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL 34  
Office: 230 EAST 84th STREET Telephone Lenox 4549  
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, 949 Wiloughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stags.  
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.

Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening

WILLIAM WENGERT, President, CHARLES PFLAUM, Fin. Sec'y, VALENTINE BUME, Vice-President, JOHN TIMMINS, Treasurer, HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y, ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent.

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St.  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST ST. Telephone Melrose 5674.

THOMAS DALTON, President, CHAS. H. BAUSCHER, Bus. Agent, HARRY P. EHREY, Fin. Sec'y, JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y.

## Carpenters and Joiners of America

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF LOCAL 385  
67-69 Lexington Avenue. Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month.  
V. J. CASTELLI, President, WILLIAM GARDNER, Rec. Secretary, N. VILLACCI, Bus. Agent, CHARLES FIESELER, Fin. Secretary

## Carpenters & Joiners of America

Local Union 386  
Regular meetings every Monday evening  
4215 3rd Ave., corner Tremont Ave.

Walter Anderson, President, James Dulgan, Sec'y, Victor Saul, Vice President, Joseph Vanuipool, Treas., Chas. Nobis, Business Agent, Board of Trustees—Jos. Hies, Louis Schmidt, E. Glaw

## Carpenters and Joiners of America

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF LOCAL UNION No. 808  
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Avenue. Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone Stags 4414. Office hours, every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.

JOHN HALLKETT, President, SYDNEY PEARCE, Rec. Secretary, HENRY COOK, Treasurer, FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President, JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary, CHARLES FRIEDL, Business Agent.

## CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA

LOCAL UNION No. 298, LONG ISLAND CITY  
Office and Meeting Room at Volkart's Hall, 270 Prospect Street, Long Island City. Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. Phone: ASToria-0009

Wm. Pawlowich, Richard Damsian, President, Andrew Pransoul, Chas. J. Schwartz, Albert F. Mutter, Vice-President Recording Sec'y Financial Sec'y Business Agent

## DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1456, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA.  
67-69 Lexington Avenue. Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday.  
Madison Square 4992.

CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President, Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olsen, Fin. Sec. Ludwig Benson, Recording Secretary Charles Johnson, Jr. Ray Clark, Treasurer Business Agents

## COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 63, I. H. C. & C. L. of A.  
Office, 12 St. Marks Place. 8 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday, closed all day. DRY DOCK 6982.  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

JAMES MORAN, President, DANIEL HUNT, Vice-Pres. PETER FINNEN, JOHN MCPARTIAN, JOSEPH MORAN, Rec. Secretary Bus. Agent

## PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at the LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

MICHAEL J. JOLLEMAN, President and Business Agent, J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y, MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y, JOHN LEAVY, JOHN DOOLEY, Business Agents

## Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76

Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283  
Meets Every 2d and 4th Wednesday, Beethoven Hall, 210 East 8th St., 6:30 Sharp

H. VALENTINE, Vice-President, RALPH LEVY, President, PIERCE H. DEAMER, Bus. Agent, S. BLOOM, Rec. Secretary

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

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 165 East 56th Street.  
Telephone Plaza-4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUNER, Secretary.

## PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 106th Street Telephone: University 3528  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office. Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.

ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNENFELD, Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

## N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.  
Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at BRIDGES HALL, 51 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN

LEON H. ROUSE, President, John Sullivan, Vice-President, John S. O'Connell, Secretary-Treas. Theodore F. Douglas, Organizer

## JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York.  
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City. Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.

MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President, WILLIAM PIPOTA, Financial Secretary, WILLIAM MEERENS, Recording Secretary, CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents.

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

LOCAL UNION No. 463, of NEW YORK CITY  
Office 2033 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4878.  
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 245 East 84th Street

MATTHEW J. MORAN, President, JOHN WALSH, Vice-President, FRED DEIGAN, General-Secretary, TIMOTHY HOPKINS, Secretary, GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN BASSETT, PAT DREW.

## 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 New Leader Mail Bag.

Editor, The New Leader:

The New Party

In the News of the Week one of your fraternity says: "Ours is frankly a Labor party and they (the new party) are just as frank in not wanting a distinctly Labor party. The new party will not compete with the Socialist Party." This is something that needs explanation.

Compare the methods of organization of the two parties. Both profess sympathy with the aims of Labor, meaning the Labor unions, as distinguished from the working class as a whole. Both want, and the Socialist Party has been trying for years, to have Labor unions as such officially endorse the political party. The only difference in their attitude, so far as I can see, is that while the Socialist Party has definite principles which they insist the Labor unions ought to adopt, the new party is trying to work out a set of principles which the Labor unions can accept, and which will harmonize with their present purposes. I may be wrong, for I have not read the literature of the new party, and neither Socialist nor Capitalist literature gives a very clear view of it, but as I see it the new party, which tries to accept the Labor movement as it is, has a better right to be called a Labor party than the Socialist Party, which tries to cooperate with the Labor movement as it ought to be.

Not being a Labor man myself, and expecting Socialism to destroy Labor unions along with the rest of the capitalist system, I would like very much to see another party recognized as the representative of organized Labor, and then the Socialist Party would have to take up the interests of the poor, the scabs, all the unfortunate who need Socialism the more because they have no other protection.

The logical position for a political movement to free the working class, in my mind, would be to unite all who are the victims of capitalism, and all who love their neighbors enough to want something better than capitalism, and ask them no questions about their standing in the capitalist system, whether they are entrenched in symbiotic cooperation with the capitalists or whether they are competing with their fellow workers.

Labor unions are means of getting along with capitalism, and in effect they profit, not at the expense of capitalists, but at the expense of the poor. The political party looks to

the future, and it must have the poor as well as the unions if it is to win. It must, therefore, keep Labor disputes out and call itself the party of the working people, not of Labor. I enclose a check for renewal.

ARCHIBALD CRAIG,  
Jersey City, N. J.

(As a matter of fact, we were too generous in saying that the organizers of the new movement do not want "a distinct Labor party." They do not want a party committed to Labor at all people one committed to "all the people." If they profess "sympathy with the aims of Labor" they do no more than Republicans and Democrats have done in many elections. We also fear that our correspondent is unfortunate in the statement that Socialism would "destroy Labor unions." What he really means is that the realization of Socialist aims would make Labor unions unnecessary as they would get all they strive for and more. As for scabs, the Socialist movement can have no toleration for those who betray the organized workers in their struggles, although it is true that all workers—union, non-union, scabs, Republicans, Democrats and Socialists—will benefit by Socialist victories and final emancipation.—Editor.)

A Letter from Debs

Editor, The New Leader,  
The following letter, received by me from Eugene V. Debs, will be of interest to your readers.

The Bronx. F. CITRON.

(Enclosure.)

Terre Haute, Indiana.

March 24, 1925.

Chairman Educational Committee,

Workers' Circle Branch 164.

My Dear Comrade Citron:

Having just returned from Chicago after addressing the open Forum at Milwaukee I find your very kind and cheering message of the 20th inst. Please, dear Citron, accept for yourself, for your branch and your educational committee, my warmest thanks for this fine testimonial of your confidence and esteem. I am gratified to learn that you are to have Comrade Scott Nearing with you for a series of lectures under the auspices of your branch. I am sure you'll find these lectures both entertaining and instructive, and I hope that on each occasion you will have a full house to hear this great Working Class

## Structural Iron Workers

UNION, Local 361, Brooklyn  
Office: 671 Pacific Street. Telephone: Cumberland 0159  
Open Daily from 7:30 A. M. to 6:30 P. M.  
Meetings Every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at Columbus Hall, State and Court Sts.

Charles McDonnell, E. E. Calvert, President, Sec'y-Regis.

## Paperhangers' Union

LOCAL 490  
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers  
Meetings Every Wednesday Evening at 62 East 105th Street

Irving Heldeman, Mayor Cohen, President, E. J. Snyder, S. Matlin, Rec. Secretary, Fin. Secretary, Joseph Kohn, Bus. Agent, Treasurer



# The Realm of Books

## Samuel Gompers' Story

A Review by JAMES ONEAL

**SEVENTY YEARS OF LIFE AND LABOR.** An Autobiography. By Samuel Gompers. Two Volumes. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$10.00.

WHEN the announcement was made a few months ago that the autobiography of Samuel Gompers would soon appear it left many of us in an expectant mood. Because of his intimate relation to the development of the modern trade union movement no other man was capable of writing an enduring book that would be a monument to the trade union struggle of the past fifty years.

The two large volumes of "Seventy Years of Life and Labor" are now before us. The first one is rich in personal reminiscences, in anecdotes of the early struggle, and visualizes for us moderns many of the problems that faced the pioneers of fifty years ago. There were many sacrifices to be made, and Mr. Gompers made them cheerfully as others did. There was a groping for practical policies with little past experience to guide. Gradually there emerged the clear concept of organization of the workers by trades, a policy fitted for the industry of that time. Moreover, the Knights of Labor, with its organization by territory and membership open to non-wage workers, could not serve as a permanent basis for a trade union movement.

It fell to Mr. Gompers and some of his closest associates to be the first to appreciate the necessity of a new organization confined to wage workers and the struggle with the K. of L. was inevitable. But the reader is impressed by the fact that not only a new organization emerged from that struggle. Another personality gradually emerged from the new organization. The second volume emphasizes the conviction that the Gompers of the eighties is a different man from the Gompers of the last twenty years. The former associated with Socialists on the best of terms. He could even pay tribute to both Marx and Engels as two great men who understood the historical character of trade unions. He could also agree with the criticism made by the Marxists of the Lassallians who urged organization of Labor parties before the trade unions were strong. He could tolerate views which he did not share and work with the men who held them.

This was true not only of his Socialist comrades in the trade unions but also of those who organized the Labor party in 1886 and nominated Henry George for Mayor of New York City. He was active in the party, spoke in the campaign and acted in important committees. Socialist, Single Taxer and trade unionist cooperated. There was no dogmatic type of trade unionism, no sectarian leader charging all others who disagreed with him as enemies of the organized workers. The new personality emerged in the last half of the nineties after the quarrel with the Socialist Labor party. In that quarrel Mr. Gompers was right. The S. L. P. contention that a political organization should have representation in central bodies of trade unions was wrong. What was unfortunate in this difference of opinion was the personal animosities that followed. It was the beginning of the war between the A. F. of L. and the S. L. P. The organization of the Socialist Party was a distinct repudiation of the S. L. P. and its methods, yet Mr. Gompers does not mention this. On the contrary, he transferred his quarrel to the Socialist Party as well.

The earlier Mr. Gompers, the tolerant, open-minded man of the eighties, gives way to the dogmatic and intolerant man of the modern period. He appears as the custodian of a set of opinions that no man in or out of the unions must question. By the late nineties his views had set. Although industry and society have witnessed a profound revolution since that period, Mr. Gompers did not change. The trade unions of the world changed in policies, methods and outlook, but Mr. Gompers remained the Gompers of the nineteenth century. A member of the trade union could be a Democrat or a Republican and not incur suspicion. But he could not be a Socialist and avoid cutting criticism. No matter how loyal the Socialist might be to the trade unions, he was considered anti-Labor because he desired the workers to organize their voting power in a party of their own.

At one point the author writes that he never told a falsehood about his opponents, and later (Vol. II, p. 269) he writes that the Socialist "Red Special" train of 1908 was "financed by anti-Labor interests." Those who remember the modest contributions that came from individuals and also from trade unions in that campaign to keep the train going will furnish their own com-

ment. On pages 506-7 he states that a delegate at the Amsterdam meeting of the International in 1919 charged him with being in "the pay of the capitalist class." He declared this "a contemptible lie and the man who uttered it untruthful." Mr. Gompers, to his credit, be it said, died a poor man, and no man acquainted with his career would charge him with accepting money from the enemy, yet the charge at Amsterdam, which made him indignant he makes against the Socialists in the campaign of 1908.

Mr. Gompers raises a number of questions of a controversial nature. Victor L. Berger voted against the "rider" to the sundry civil bill in the 62nd Congress, which provided that no part of the funds appropriated by the bill should be used in criminal prosecutions of trade unions. Mr. Gompers observes that "Berger exploded the Socialist Party's claim to consideration as a Labor party."

But this "rider" was a dishonest makeshift of the politicians as Berger himself explained. He pointed out that it did not prevent prosecution of trade unions. It only prohibited the use of this particular fund for this purpose. It would enable the politicians to go before the country pointing to their vote for the "rider" as evidence of their "friendship" for the trade unions. The Government had ample funds for such prosecutions and it could draw upon other funds as it actually has. That "rider" could be attached to every sundry bill and it would offer no protection to trade unions whatever. Berger declined to be a party to a deceptive game by the politicians of the capitalist parties.

Of Mr. Gompers' participation in the movement to release Eugene V. Debs from Atlanta penitentiary we know. It was a generous action on his part despite his contribution to the hysteria which helped to place Debs where he was. But he goes on to observe that when Debs was in Washington "he allowed the message to be brought to me that he had completely changed his point of view. However, it was only a short time before he avowed anew his pre-war and during-the-war attitude." Debs may have modified his views on some questions. Many of us have, but that he ever changed his view of the war is unthinkable. Debs has always had the habit of saying publicly what he believes. Had he recanted in prison he would not have stayed there as long as he did. I personally know that Debs never at any time changed his view of the war. It is certain that if he had he would not have quietly told some individual. He would have announced it publicly.

Neither is Mr. Gompers generous enough to concede that the American Railway Union led by Debs won the Great Northern strike. He presents no evidence but merely observes that the victory was due "to influences brought to bear other than organization." If one were to so characterize a victory won by the miners or the garment workers we would expect some mention of the "other" influences, and if it were not forthcoming it would be considered a prejudiced statement.

An incident which he relates of Max Hayes indicates his point of view. Hayes has been one of the most effective trade unionists in the A. F. of L. In 1899 Mr. Gompers, despite illness, proceeded to the Detroit convention of the A. F. of L. and exposed an attempt of ship subsidy agents to get trade union approval. Hayes admired this effort of Gompers and said to the latter: "Good for you, Sam." Mr. Gompers reports himself as making the following retort: "What have I said or done, Max, to win praise from you. It must be something awful." Hayes was a Socialist. Had the compliment come from a Democrat or Republican this autobiography would hardly have reported that sort of an answer.

The several chapters devoted to the World War and Mr. Gompers' participation offer very interesting reading. Considering his controversy with British Labor there is a surprising absence of documentary material on this matter. Fortunately, Paul U. Kellogg and the late Arthur Gleason in their "British Labor and the War" have presented much valuable material. The documents which they present, some of them official communications from Mr. Gompers himself, cannot be reconciled with the version which Mr. Gompers offers.

He gives the impression that the visit of himself and his delegation abroad was a triumph in Labor circles. The most casual observer at that time was well aware of the fact that his relations with "with fractions of the movement" that were subsidized and patronized by their respective Governments. In England Mr. Gompers dealt with Appleton and Bowerman, who had no mandate to speak for British La-

bor. A similar situation prevailed in France and Italy.

On the war as a whole Mr. Gompers still accepted the distorted myths of 1917. The investigations of noted scholars into war origins and myths are ignored. It is as though one were to go back to Bancroft and Hildreth for their American history instead of to McMaster, Beard, Becker, Schlesinger, Turner and Beer.

It is not a modest man who writes (Vol. I, p. 87) that the A. F. of L. is the "most effective" Labor organization in the world. Moreover, comparison with the trade union movement in other modern nations shows that we have a smaller percentage of the total population organized than any other country in the world. Of the modern countries, Great Britain, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, Italy, Holland New Zealand, Sweden and Switzerland outstrip us. We are even behind the lesser nations such as Canada, France and Norway.

The reader will inevitably turn to the reminiscences of Bebel, Bernstein, Liebknecht and other great men who have fought the good fight for the workers and then passed on. Here he will find a contrast. Here are great men who tell the story of their lives without that display of intolerance and sublimated opinion that too often confront us in the two volumes before us. Mr. Gompers was too sure of himself and had not enough confidence in the value of honest even though dissenting opinions. One feels that the trade union movement in this country would be greater and more powerful, that leading industries still unorganized would be organized, if Mr. Gompers had been possessed of larger vision and had welcomed and considered new ideas instead of insisting that the road to power had been finally charted.

Truth and candor compel these judgments. It is a pity that Mr. Gompers passed away before much that he had written could be challenged. On second thought it is probable that Fate dealt kindly with him, for to have challenged some statements would likely lead to bitter controversy. But justice to the living requires that they be challenged, for, as Wendell Phillips once said, men often speak with ten-fold authority "when they speak from the grave."

## An Open Letter to Vachel Lindsay

By PAUL F. SIFTON

"I am the calliope, the calliope, the calliope  
"Sizz-fizz, sizz-fizz!  
"And I play every day—Well, AL-  
"MOST every day!"

YOU'RE out of date, Vachel. The calliope's gone to the storehouse, went about the same time Uncle Samuel shaved off his moustache and made a date with the manicure before he left the shop—or thought he did. Old stuff, Vachel. The calliope don't play no more. Not even on circus days. We pay as we go, old boy, and we get good stuff—at least the advertisements said it was. There ain't no more Rachel Janes chirping along the Sante Fe trail—the gas gets in their throats. Lookit the last census in their town. They can't build roads fast enough to hold 'em. You roasted old Bill Lorimer and the Senate for lettin' him in and you promised that some day we'd get mad and grab ballots or muskets and do something. Squint your eyes into the almanac if you wanta see how much we think of ballots. And muskets—don't make me laugh, it hurts—they're as much good now as willow whistles made up the stem.

Last summer you called lots of us pole-cats but you can't go back to your Chinese dreams in dirty Springfield that easy. Wrap your ears around these notes: Gilda Gray and grapefruit cocktails shaking, shaking 'em down, down where the alligators laugh themselves to death at the dredges inching into the Everglades. Bryan, top, Bill Bryan, smooth and shiny like an Edam cheese (another player you played to win), shaking 'em down by talking 'em out. Somewhere between Gilda and Bill is the kingdom of heaven, you say? You would say that, you prancing relic. Gilda doesn't savvy your stuff, but you'd savvy hers in a song and make Mary Pickford's publicity seem scarlet.

But you'd feel at home down in Union Square when the muscle-bound health boy gets his talky-talk flouin' strong. You'd look at the dull eyes of the musty-faced men and boys, and a few women, you'd see their little bodies and the money in their pockets, their savings books, and you'd envy the ballyhoo, the fairy tale of strength, health, earning power and love that he spins out in worn words—words that live and quiver and shoot sparks because he stands in a cold wind, the skin over the plaited muscles of his shoulders and neck pink and warm—the

## Brief Reviews

**IMAGINA.** By Julia Ellsworth Ford. New York: E. P. Dutton.

The author of this book has played a charming little game with herself, much as children do in their many adventures into the land of Make-Believe. This little game allowed her to expand a notion of education which seems to her very beautiful and successful, though quite impossible. The story shows a little boy developing in very unique surroundings, without parents, with almost no companions, giving vast range to his imagination as he wanders by the sea or in the woods, or explores the forbidden regions of his own dwelling. He is permitted to overcome obstacles with much the same magic power as is met with in fairy tales and is allowed to have some of his dreams come true. A child reading this book would not distinguish its story from real events as he does actual fairy tales or tales of obviously impossible adventure, and yet in no particular does this volume deal with reality as a child meets it. To the bookish child, to whom a life of fantasy makes a greater appeal than actuality, such a book could not be recommended in spite of its touches of beauty, its appreciation of poetry, and its lovely illustrations (two by Arthur Rackham and others by the author's daughter, Lauren Ford). To the busy, active child, who only reads occasionally, it could probably do no harm.

M. P. F.

**THIS SORRY SCHEME.** By Bruce Marshall. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$2.00.

An unpleasant account concerning the misdeeds of one fantastic Scotchman, his religious wife, and various other exceedingly unreal people—written without imagination or any great discernment—unusually bad for a first novel. It should have a popular appeal.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**THE BLACK SOUL.** By Liam O'Flaherty. N. Y.: Boni & Liveright.  
**PRISONERS.** By Franz Molnar. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.  
**THE NEWER SPIRIT.** A Sociological Criticism of Literature. By V. F. Calverton. N. Y.: Boni & Liveright.  
**GROWTH OF AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS, 1880-1923.** By Leo Wolman. N. Y.: National Bureau of Economic Research.  
**THE INDESTRUCTIBLE UNION.** By William McDougall. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.  
**THE NEW BARBARIANS.** By Wil-

## Painful To Read

A Review by THERESA STICH

**STACEY.** By Alexander Black. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$2.00.

It is doubtless difficult to write an interesting story about an uninteresting person, consequently we should perhaps be not too harsh in our criticism of Mr. Black's "Stacey." We suspect, however, that while Mr. Black was not himself tremendously taken up with his hero, he expected us to be so, and that insult we cannot, with dignity, accept. Notwithstanding all of his efforts, we continued to find Stacey a singularly dull, unattractive male; one whose dreams of ultimate fulfillment came in the form of a generous bank account and whose imagination could conjure up no more nutritive recreation than a certain dancing pavilion in his little home town. Perhaps we should have loved him for his goodness and amiability (as most of the women in the story did), but we just couldn't. "Stacey" possesses all the requirements for a first-class cinema serial: mystery, murder, intrigue, reformed crooks and a woman turned from the streets; sneering tongues and casualties achieved while battling to save her "honor." Yet, in spite of all this, we couldn't get thrilled. We weren't a bit frightened when the heroine dashed in and announced that the villain was out of jail and on the trail of the incomparable Barrack. We are still marvelling at

the ingenuity of the art that created this and other similarly distasteful sentiments:

"The blaze that scorched him left her with an incandescence that pierced the dimness of the twilight and the slanting rays of the boat's lamps. He ached in the thrall of his wish."

Only once did we find ourselves relenting a little and that was when the hero contracted pneumonia and almost died, but as soon as he began to show signs of recovery we were conscious of a keen sense of disappointment. "Why hadn't they let him die? The story would have ended far more plausibly if he had."

Another thing we find it hard to forgive the author is for the criminal way in which he has shattered our illusions with respect to Greenwich Village girls. This one seemed to be endowed with all the essentials, possessing straight bobbed hair and cigarettes and fantastically colored garments. She was even careless about crossing her knees when she sat down and she had great, big, sparkling brown eyes. "If only she had just sat there, leaning back gracefully and smoking and revealing her pretty knees and undergarments, we might have forgiven Mr. Black a great deal. But she didn't. She spoke. And—it hurts to repeat it—but this is what she said: 'That boy Stacey's the goods.'"

If only none of Mr. Black's characters had spoken, we should have felt much more kindly disposed towards them, but they did speak—all of them—and it was exceedingly painful to listen. When the heroine shouted, "It's Barrack or Hell," we were conscious-stricken to find ourselves secretly consigning her to the nether regions.



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## DRAMA

### The Drama of Lust for Power

By JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

THE readiest weapon to man's hand, in his effort to learn the secret of the universe, was force. Recognizing happiness as the window-light of the ultimate home of his hopes, man thought to attain it by bodily prowess. By securing for himself, if necessary warring from others, the things the possession of which made those others seem happy, each man felt that he likewise might stroll in the garden of bliss. The pre-eminent manifestation of happiness was royal magnificence, display of undisputed, unmatched power.

While the lust for power played its early part in classical drama its greatest outburst was in the flush of the revival that swept the Dark Ages from all Europe, culminating in the exuberance that brought Elizabethan literature, that made England with her virgin queen the mistress of the seas. In all its aspects the boisterous Marlowe leashed this lust for power in his forceful lines. With the instinct of a god he carried his creatures to the summit of glory, that their headlong pitch might be the more spectacular demonstration of divine justice. "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall," conveyed with appropriate dignity the idea hammered home in the current phraseology. "The bigger they come, the harder they fall," both reveal the wholehearted delight of the underling when fortune turns upside down. Tamerlane, Barabbas, Dr. Faustus, seeking conquest, wealth, wisdom, all moved against the purpose of Nature, aiming to appropriate to themselves that which no man may lengthily hold. Does not the Bible admonish us "He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow," and popular warning sound "Where ig-

norance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise"? It is perhaps the unfortunate accompaniment of man's rise from the beast that to him ignorance is not bliss. All men suffer from what Carlyle called the disease of consciousness; all men therefore seek power.

The history of mankind might be traced in the shifting devices where with men seek supremacy. The various methods naturally overlap, but from the clanking of armor the emphasis turns to subtler schemes; in "Diasrael" the necessity for war seems overcome by far-sent diplomacy. Conflict itself widens to the civil sweep of revolution; Roland has shown through the "Wolves" of a century ago the eternal brutishness of the unchained passions of man. At the same time industry has been opening vast new fields for human enterprise, and cleaving a sharp division between the individuals who direct and the masses who follow. The wars of the captains of industry are spectacular; "The Lion and the Mouse" and "Galsworthy's 'The Forest'" thrill melodramatically to the theme. Yet even more tremendous in the pressure of contending powers are those plays in which the protagonist is the people, the formless, indistinct mass assuming the significance of sudden protest. Hauptmann's "The Weavers" is a sullen, black-clouded portrayal of this struggle; the dramatists of today, Toller in "The Machine-Wreckers," Kaiser in "Gas," show the frequent blindness of this surging mass, revolting against those who have wronged it to their will, yet seemingly incapable of winning its own way to freedom. Galsworthy's "The Mob," in another phase of the conflict, shows how easily the mass may be perverted, so that in its angry lashings it aids the enemies of mankind in their eternal lust for power.



MARGUERITE N. MARA, formerly of the Chicago Opera, will play Yum-Yum in the "all-star" revival of "The Mikado," opening next Saturday at the 44th Street Theatre.

### Another Mystery

"The Devil Within," by Charles Horan, Opens At the Hudson

Charles Horan, author (and one of the producers) of "The Devil Within," the new play at the Hudson Theatre, murders his man, presents a stageful of men and maidens and matrons, each one of whom has a motive for the murder, not one of whom can present a satisfactory alibi, most of whom have been sneaking around suspiciously behind curtain and under couches when the paper knife was stuck into the shoulder blades of the late lamented; and just when the audience is enjoying itself enormously as the cop drags in one person after another, for the Finger of Suspicion to Point At, the real murderer is unmasked. You guessed it; it was somebody else all the time.

You can't tell me that it isn't a burlesque. I never laughed so much in my life, and the rest of the audience laughed too. They also consider it a crackpot farce comedy. No author wants an audience to take his "willin'" and "betrayed" women and adventurers as authentic characters. That is, not since the decline and fall of the ten-twenty-third melodrama.

John Blackwood was a bad egg. You can't deny that. He was rich as the very devil, and he had a terrible temper. He beat his Kafir valet; he disinherited his beautiful niece; he tenderly turned over all his millions to the adventurous lady whom he was about to marry. Oh, and everything! There was a will and a diamond necklace, and a ruined woman and an illegitimate son, and trick detectives and a comedy Irish cook.

The last act is taken up principally by Chief Driscoll (Edward Bestwick), grilling one suspect after the other and accusing each one of the murder. He can't hang it on any one in particular, but, gosh! what a chequered past each one of the innocent appearing house party turns out to have had! When the suspense gets too awful—or the joke has gone far enough, whichever way you want—out pops the real murderer, and the curtain is down with a funny remark by the Irish cook. It seemed to me, though, that the assorted burglaries, betrayals, blackmails, assaults and badger games that the suspects admit warrant a special session of the Grand Jury. And maybe they'll get it, in a play to follow this one.

The cast is large and surprisingly good. Herewith a Shamrock is pinned on the ample bosom of Dorothy Walters who gave us one of the real Irish cooks seen on or off stage since the blessed St. Patrick drew the snakes out of Ireland. Leonore Sorby, as the adventurous woman who got Blackwood to change his will leaving everything to her, was good to look at, and her soft, purring speech was pleasing to the ear. "The Devil Within" is good for one of the most wholesome laughs of the season. W. M. F.

### "Princess Ida," Another Gilbert-Sullivan Gem, At the Shubert, April 13

Easter Monday, two theatres on 44th street will house Gilbert and Sullivan revivals. Yesterday Lawrence J. Anhalt announced that his production of "Princess Ida" will open at the Shubert Theatre, Monday, April 13, while across the street, at the 44th Street Theatre, the Messrs. Shubert will revive "The Mikado" on Saturday night, April 11.

### Philip Barry's Comedy, "The Youngest," Coming to Bronx Monday

The Bronx Opera House will have "The Youngest" the week beginning Monday; Henry Hull and Genevieve Tobin play the leading roles in Philip Barry's delightful comedy. Other players include Effie Shannon, Beatrice Miles, Vere Teasdale, Alice John, Jay Fassett, Douglas Wood and Harold Vermilye. Mr. Milton staged the comedy.

"Blossom Time," Messrs. Shubert's musical comedy, will play a return engagement at the Bronx Opera House, April 13.

Tom Powers, now playing in "The Wild Duck," has joined the ranks of the playwrights. His three-act comedy, "The Need," has been accepted by the Cherry Lane Theatre for early production.

### Talking Pictures

SPeAKING at the Imperial College of Science, London, on "Hearing by Light," Professor A. O. Rankine indicated the possibility of the production of talking motion-pictures.

He showed by experiments, continues the report in the Sunday Times, how by means of a photophone transmitter in one room and a receiving end in another, comprising a selenium cell, battery and telephone, it was possible to convey language along a line of light reaching from the transmitter to the receiver, and falling on to the selenium cell.

The sounds heard on the telephone, he explained, were not the same sounds as those imparted to the receiver, but were re-manufactured sounds practically the same in character. For the purpose of his illustration, Professor Rankine used an amplifier and loud-speaker, but he said the results would be more satisfactory with a single pair of telephones.

Talking motion-pictures were, he said, an amplification of this kind of thing. If they could make a beam of light fluctuate in accordance with speech or other sounds, they could do the thing in two stages. They could make the beam of light fluctuate and take a talk record of it and a photograph also. By allowing the light to fall upon a moving film they would get a photograph which was really a photographic record of the sound made—a sort of optical gramophone.

If they get on one and the same film a sound record of the corresponding picture record they could reproduce the two together. The synchronism was bound to be perfect, because they were both together on the same film. There was no doubt a very great future for the cinematograph industry in this particular extension of its functions.

### Paul Specht's Orchestra and Barbara La Marr, At the Colony Theatre

The new photoplay at Moss' Colony Theatre, beginning Sunday, will be "The Heart of a Siren," with Barbara La Marr in the principal role, supported by Conway Tearle.

"The Heart of a Siren" is directed by Phil Rosen. Others in the cast include Harry Morey, Ben Finney, Clifford Webb, Ida Darling and William Riccardi.

The music program includes a second week of Paul Specht and His Band; Eva Clark, soprano; piano solo by Charles Le Blanc and a number of diversions.

### THE NEW PLAYS

#### TUESDAY

"RUIN," a new play by Hatcher Hughes (author of the Pulitzer prize play, "Hell-Bent for Heaven"), will open Tuesday night, at the Provincetown Playhouse. The cast includes Jeannie Begg, Jane Burby, Caroline Newcomb and Anne Sutherland.

"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE," by Charles Rann Kennedy, postponed from last week, will be produced by the Actors' Theatre, Tuesday afternoon, at the Forty-eighth Street Theatre, and repeated on Friday afternoon. The cast includes Pedro de Cordoba, Violet Kemble Cooper, George Hassell, Arthur Lewis, Helen Chandler and Ernest Rowan. The play is staged by the author.

"CAIN," by Lord Byron, will be presented by the Manhattan Players at the Lenox Little Theatre, 78th street, Tuesday evening. In the cast are Thais Lawton, Jane Grey, Alberta Gallatin, Albert Howson and Curtis Cooksey.

#### THURSDAY

"WILD BIRDS," a drama by Dan Totheroh, is the next production of the Cherry Lane Players, opening Thursday night, at the Cherry Lane Playhouse.

#### SATURDAY

"THE MIKADO" will open at the 44th Street Theatre, next Saturday night, presented by the Messrs. Shubert. The principals who will interpret Gilbert and Sullivan's famous satire, follow: Yum-Yum, Marguerite Namara; The Mikado, William Danforth; Ko-Ko, Lupino Lane; Nanki-Poo, Tom Burke; Pooh-Bah, Stanley Forde; Pitti-Sing, Barbara Maurel; Peep-Bo, Elsa Peterson; Pish-Tush, Leo Hieropolis, and Katisha, Sarah Edwards. Milton Aborn staged the production.

"THE BACKSLAPPER," by Paul Dickey and Mann Page, will open at the Hudson Theatre, Saturday night, April 11, sponsored by Mears and Dickey. The cast includes Harry C. Browne, Charles Townbridge, Mary Fowler, Lee Patrick, Roger Pryor, Leila Frost, Malcolm Duncan and Florence Earle.



GEORGE HASSELL, of "The Student Prince" company, will play the "drain man" in "The Servant in the House," opening Tuesday afternoon at the 48th Street Theatre for special matinees.

### Queer Birds

#### "Ostriches" Hide Their Heads at Comedy Theatre

"Ostriches," a play by Edward Wilbraham and William Brady and D. D. Wiman are producing at the Comedy Theatre, presents rather a new variation of the eternal triangle. In its varied windings, we find a growing girl becoming conscious that she loves the man who for twelve years has been the lover of that girl's mother; the complications increase when the man recognizes that his own passion has been transferred from the parent to the child. Fortunately for public morality—though here it is only a question of taste—the girl, after the mother heroically overcomes her jealousy and pride and gives consent—the girl has a sudden revulsion of feeling and cannot take the man, after what he has been to her mother. The title of the play springs, one supposes, from the difficulty the older people have in discovering what is going on. The psychology of the play is simple; the daughter repents her lie when she is caught, the mother loses her pride when she is helpless against it.

\*Amelia Bingham plays the old aunt with a swift humor that is effective; Katherine Alexander, as the daughter, has a voice rich in variety and soft modulations; Janet Beecher is the mother. The men are less competent, and add little by their acting to a thin play that, despite the novelty of its central situation, calls for a deal of help.

J. T. S.

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By JAMES GLEASON  
(Co-author of "Is Zat So?")  
and GEORGE ABBOTT  
with ERNEST TRUOX

CHANIN'S  
46th ST. THEATRE  
Just West of Broadway.  
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30.  
EXTRA MAT. EASTER MONDAY



THE LAUGH SENSATION  
By JAMES GLEASON  
(Co-author of "The Fall Guy")  
and RICHARD TABER

### ACTORS' THEATRE PLAYS

"CANDIDA" Shaw's comedy masterpiece at the Ambassador Theatre, W. 49th St. Mats. 2:35 Wed. & Sat. Evenings at 8:35.  
"The Wild Duck" Ibsen's thrilling drama at 48th Street Theatre. Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:30. Evenings at 8:30.

LAURETTE TAYLOR in "PIERROT THE PRODIGAL" Mats. MONDAY and THURSDAY at 2:45, at 48th St. Theatre.

Chas. Rann Kennedy's "The Servant in the House" Powerful Drama  
Special Mats. Tues. and Fri. at 2:30, beginning Tuesday, April 7th at 48th St. Theatre. Cast includes Pedro de Cordoba, Violet Kemble Cooper, Arthur Lewis, Helen Chandler, Ernest Rowan, William Sauter, Bruce Evans. Seats now on sale.

### THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

MOVES HERE MONDAY, APRIL 6th  
GARRICK 65 West 55th Street. 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  
and others  
Klaw Thea. 45th St., W. of Bway. Eves. at 8:30. Matinees: Wed. and Sat. 2:30.

"WILL RUN FOR MANY MONTHS." Percy Hammond  
"BEST LIGHT COMEDY OF THE SEASON." Heywood Brown.  
THEY KNEW WHAT THEY WANTED  
A COMEDY BY SIDNEY HOWARD  
With a Cast Including  
RICHARD BENNETT PAULINE LORD  
BOOTH West 45th Street. Evenings at 8:30. Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30.  
THE GUARDSMAN  
A COMEDY BY FRANZ MOLNAR  
with ALFRED LUNT LYNN FONTANNE and DUDLEY DIGGES

### Elinor Glyn's "Man and Maid," At the Capitol Sunday

Elinor Glyn's personally supervised production is coming to the Capitol Theatre Sunday. "Man and Maid" is adapted from her novel and is presented by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Lew Cody and Harriet Hammond head the cast.

The diversions at the Capitol next week will consist of Pee Wee! a Chinese legend, sung by Betsy Ayres, Marjorie Harcum and Louise Scheerer; Victor Herbert's "Chinese Willow Plate," danced by Doris Niles and Frank Moulton. Gladys Rice will sing "Hunger" from the "Creole Love Song" Cycle, by Layton-Johnstone.



GENEVIEVE TOBIN

will be at the Bronx Opera House next week, co-starring with Henry Hull in Philip Barry's comedy, "The Youngest."

BROADHURST THEATRE  
WEST 44TH STREET  
Evenings 8:30. Matinees THURS. and SAT., 2:30.

### DORIS KEANE in "STARLIGHT"

"An episode play in eleven scenes rising in constellations with Doris Keane's lustre into genuine significance and fascination."  
—Stark Young, New York Times.

### Broadway Briefs

The Intimate Playhouse, 2135 Boston Road, Bronx, will open April 15, under the direction of Mr. S. Stavrov. The program will consist of "Sicilian Limes," a drama by Luigi Pirandello; a comedy, "The Model," by Mr. Stavrov, and a Ballet, "In Time," staged by Beatrice Stavrova.

"Is Zat So?" the Gleason-Taber comedy at Chanin's 46th Street Theatre, celebrated its 100th performance Wednesday night.

Charles Purcell joined the cast of "Sky High" at the Winter Garden, Wednesday, supplanting James R. Liddy, who will join the Philadelphia company of "The Student Prince."

"Charley's Aunt" will start its fourth week at Moss' Cameo Theatre, Sunday.

The Theatre Guild will open the new Guild Theatre on West 52nd street, Monday, April 13, with Shaw's "Caesar and Cleopatra." Next week will be devoted to scenic rehearsals on the new stage.

Edward Pawley will succeed George Abbott in "ProceSSIONAL" when the Lawson play moves to the Garrick, Monday.

Gladys Feldman will play an important role in "Thrills," a new play by William Dugan, to be produced by him on April 13.

Victor Kilian has replaced Perry Ivins in the role of Peter Cabot in "Desire Under the Elms," at the Earl Carroll Theatre.

Frank Mandel has begun work on a musical version of "The Firebrand," to be produced by him and Laurence Schwab. Mandel is the author of "No, No, Nanette," and other music plays.



MAURICE SWARTZ,

director of the Yiddish Art Theatre, who has made a notable revival of Abraham Goldfaden's operetta, "The Vitch," the oldest play of the Yiddish stage.



## THEATRES

erman Gantvoort presents Barry Conner's  
Marion Comedy of Youth, Love and Laughter  
**HELLS BELLS**  
MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30. EYS. 8:30.  
3d Month  
**GEO. M. COHAN THEATRE**

TONIGHT AND EVERY EVENING (Except Mon.) MAT. SATURDAY

TWO UNIQUE DANCE DRAMAS

**"SOONER AND LATER"**  
Music by Emerson Whithorne—  
**"THE LEGEND OF THE DANCE"**  
Music by Lily Hyland.  
Cast of 30 includes entire Playhouse Company of Dancers.  
Thomas Welford's Clavichord or color organ used in "Sooner and Later"

EVERYONE SAYS  
FRANK EGAN'S PRODUCTION**WHITE COLLARS**

By EDITH ELLIS, from EDGAR FRANKLIN'S STORY.  
**IS A LAUGH HIT!**  
CORT THEATRE, 13 St. East of Bway.  
Eva. 8:10. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30.  
Seats 5 Weeks in Advance

YIDDISH  
ART  
THEATRE27th Street  
& MADISON AVE.

MAURICE SWARTZ

Abraham Goldfaden's

Comedy with Music

**"THE WITCH"**

Music Rearranged by Josef Chernofsky

FRIDAY, SATURDAY &amp;

SATURDAY &amp; SUNDAY

MATINEES

B. S. MOSS' 9th WEEK

CAMEO NEW YORK

BWAY &amp; 42ND ST.

**Charley's Aunt**

This explosion of laughter, unalloyed

joy—in the picture of Brando Thane's

famous farce—opened in New York eight

weeks ago for a single week's engage-

ment. It proved so enormously popular

that its stay was extended from week to

week, being presented to delighted

throngs. Previous contracts compelled

Charley's Aunt to move to a week's

stay. In this new environment—a smaller

and more compact auditorium—it has

been found to be an even more popular

entertainment.

FROM BRAZIL WHERE THE NUTS

COME FROM.

Other Reel Attractions

FAMOUS CAMEO THEATRE

ORCHESTRA

**COLONY** BWAY at 53rd Street

BEGINNING SUNDAY

The Ravishing

Alluring Siren of

the screen

**BARBARA LA MARR**

WITH

**CONWAY TEARLE**

in the flaming love-drama

**The HEART of a SIREN**

ALSO

SECOND WEEK PAUL SPECHT-BAND

IN A NEW MUSICAL PROGRAM

OTHER STAGE &amp; SCREEN FEATURES

COLONY CONCERT ORCHESTRA

**Bronx Amusements****BRONX OPERA HOUSE**

149th St., E. of 3d Ave.

POP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. &amp; SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT

ROBERT MILTON Presents

**THE YOUNGEST**

WITH

**Henry Hull—Genevieve Tobin**

Direct from its Season's Run at the

Gaiety Theatre, with Original Cast.

Week of April 13th

BLOSSOM TIME

The Musical Hit of Ages

**MUSIC AND CONCERTS**

CARNegie HALL, Fri. Eve., Apr. 10, at 8:30

**MAX ROSEN**

2nd Violin Recital (Chickering)

AEOLIAN HALL, Sat. Aft., April 11, at 3

**BACHAUS**

3rd Piano Recital—Chopin Program (Baldwin)

CARNegie HALL, Thurs. Eve., Apr. 16, at 8:30

**BRASLAU**

SOPHIE

N. Y. Recital This Season (Kram)

## DRAMA

**"The Blue Peter"**

The Stagers Present  
E. Temple Thurston's  
Drama At 52nd Street

The Stagers, a new ensemble company directed by Edward Goodman (of the Washington Square Players, direct ancestor of the Theatre Guild), started its career auspiciously with "The Blue Peter," a drama by E. Temple Thurston. Mr. Goodman deserves the thanks of the intelligent theatre-going public for his venture, and especially for the fine production that he has given as his opening bill.

"The Blue Peter" is a little bit of a melodrama, a bit of comedy, a bit of tragedy, but principally it is a human drama, the story of a struggle that rages in each one of us.

The play opens on the West Coast of Africa; in the camp in which David Hunter and his friend, Edward Formby, mining engineers, have their being. David is happy; he is about to go home to marry. But his friend is cynical of his settling down.

Six years later David is at home in Liverpool happily married and the father of two children. But his eyes yearn for the open sky, his heart for the life of adventure. Formby has called on him with gold-bearing quartz that his experienced eye tells him is worth a fortune. Will he go? Will he leave his wife and children for the sake of adventure? His wife reasons with him. You have had your life. You lived as you wished for fifteen years. That is yours—none can take it from you. Now it is my turn. Your life belongs to me and your children. And so David reluctantly decides not to go.

But he sees his friend off at the Blue Peter, a barroom near the docks, where Rosie Callaghan is sweet to the men who interest her. And David does interest her. She hears Formby tell of his wife and his children, and she determines to break him away from his life. Maybe it is just devilishness. Maybe it is the resentment of every daughter of joy against men with regular family ties. But whatever her motive she wins. He plans to leave for Africa. He doesn't go. Something intervenes that wins him back to his duty to his family. The play is a bit talky, but all in all it is a delight. It is a good play, and it is well acted.

Margaret Wycherly is excellent as David's affectionate and understanding mother. Marjorie Vonnegut is a beautiful wife, and Mary Kennedy (the same who is author of "Mrs. Partridge Presents") is also alluring as Rosie Callaghan.

B. Russell Herts did some of the furnishings and Cleon Throckmorton the settings. Long life and success to "The Stagers!" They deserve the support of everyone who cares for honest, decent adult drama. W. M. F.

"Mercenary Mary," a musical comedy, by William B. Friedlander and Isabel Leighton, with music and lyrics by Con Conrad and Mr. Friedlander, has been placed in rehearsal by L. Lawrence Weber and will come to New York early in April. The play is a musical version of "What a Wife," acted here about a year ago.



CLARK SILVERNAIL

gives a realistic performance as Cousin Henry—the defender of "the great Middle Class"—in "White Collars," now playing at the Cort Theatre.

## Vaudeville Theatres

## MOSS' BROADWAY

Aunt Jimma heads the vaudeville program at Moss' Broadway next week; Ed and Tom Hickey; Nevins and Gordon; Cervo and Moro; Robert Johnson and Company are other acts on the bill. The film feature will be Richard Dix, in "Too Many Kises." A comedy-romance laid in a colorful background—the Basque country in the Pyrenees.

## PALACE

Princess Starr (vaudeville debut) in "Colette"; Clifton Webb and Mary Hay with Dave Bernie and the Club City Orchestra; Marjorie Gatenon; Flanagan and Edwards; Joe Browning; Deagon and Mack; Bob and Gale Sherwood; William Brack and Company.

## HIPPODROME

Vincent Lopez and His Orchestra; Rae Samuels; William and Joe Mandel; "The Antique Shop"; Dora and Ed. Ford Revue; Bobby Randall and Company; the Oriental Revue; Yong Wong and Company; Desse Retter, and other acts.

## Broadway Briefs

Frank Egan, producer of "White Collars," will present Mrs. Leslie Carter in "Stella Dallas," this spring at the Egan Theatre, San Francisco.

Willie Howard, star of "Sky High," has written a farce-comedy which he calls "A Guy Named Gus."

William A. Brady has a new play by Daniel N. Rubin called "Devils." Rehearsals begin this week.

"Ariadne" will close at the Garrick on April 4 at the end of its subscription run. "Procellanous" will return to the Garrick on April 6.

## MUSIC

Chaliapin in "Faust" and  
"The Meistersinger,"  
At the Metropolitan

"Traviata" will open the last week but one of the Metropolitan season, Monday evening, with Boris, Egner, Lauri-Volpi and DeLuca.

Other operas next week: "Der Freischütz," Wednesday evening with Reiberg, Dalossy, Taucher and Schutzen-dorf. "Faust," Thursday matinee with Mario, Dalossy, Chaliapin and Tokatyan; "Pelléas et Melisande," Thursday evening with Boris, Howard, Johnson and Whitehill; "Parsifal," Friday matinee with Larsen-Todsen, Telva, Taucher and Bohnen; "Samson et Dalila," Friday evening with Branzell, Martinielli, and DeLuca. "Rigoletto" and "Petrushka," Saturday matinee; the former sung by Mario, Telva, Lauri-Volpi and Danise; the latter enacted by Galli, Rudolph, Bolm and Bonfiglio; "Die Meistersinger," Saturday night with Mueller, Wakefield, Taucher and Bohnen; Verdi's "Requiem" will be sung Sunday night by Larsen-Todsen, Alcock, Martinielli, Mardones and the chorus.

Three Guest Conductors  
at Stadium Concerts

Three guest conductors at the Stadium Concerts this summer will supplement the re-engagement of Willem Van Hoogstraten as conductor. The visiting directors will be Fritz Reiner, conductor of the Cincinnati Orchestra; Nikolai Sokoloff, conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra; and Rudolph Ganz, conductor of the St. Louis Orchestra. Mr. Reiner made his New York debut as guest conductor of the Stadium Concerts last summer. Messrs. Ganz and Sokoloff are newcomers to the Stadium.

It is also announced that the season of concerts at the Lewisohn Stadium had been extended to eight weeks, beginning on July 2. The Philharmonic Orchestra, with its complete personnel, will be heard at all concerts. Many orchestral novelties as well as several choral works are planned for presentation.

## Music Notes

Edward Ervin has been appointed Associate Manager of the Philharmonic Orchestra, succeeding D. Edward Porter, who recently was named manager of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra.

Albertina Rasch, with Chester Hale, will give a dance recital at Carnegie Hall, Tuesday evening.

Richard Byk will give his piano recital at Aeolian Hall, on Tuesday evening.

Maxim Karolik will give a recital of songs on Monday evening.

## With the Orchestras

## NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Walter Damrosch will bring the season of the New York Symphony Orchestra to a close with the Sunday afternoon concert in Aeolian Hall. Lawrence Tibbett will be the soloist. Mr. Damrosch will accompany Tibbett at the piano in a group of Schumann songs. This will be the last concert that the orchestra will give in Aeolian Hall. Next season the Sunday series will be held in Mecca Auditorium, which has a seating capacity of nearly 4,000. The program follows:

Overture, "Carnival," Dvorak; Air, "Credo" from Othello, Verdi; "Tuo-lumme," Maganini; Dichterliebe, Schumann; Symphony in D Minor, Cesare Franck.

The final concert of the Young People's series will be held in Carnegie Hall this afternoon, with Lawrence Tibbett, soloist. The program: "Tannhauser" Overture, Wolfgram's Song to the Evening Star; Scherzo from Symphony in C; Entrance of the Knights of the Grail, from "Parsifal." The Meistersinger "Prize Song," "Dances of the Apprentices," Prelude to "Lohengrin"; Wotan's Farewell from "Val-kyrie."

## PHILHARMONIC

Two performances with the Schola Cantorum next week and one in the following week conclude the activities of the Philharmonic Orchestra until the opening of the Stadium Concerts on July 2. Tomorrow, at the Metropolitan Opera House, Mahler's Second Symphony will be repeated under the direction of Willem Mengelberg, with a chorus of 250 and Marie Sundelius and Charles Cahier as soloists.

The first of two special performances of Bach's "St. Matthew Passion" by the Schola Cantorum and the Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Willem Mengelberg, will take place on Saturday evening at Carnegie Hall. In addition to the Schola Cantorum, a boys' choir from Father Finn's Paulist Chorists will participate in the performance.

There will be a repetition of the concert at the Metropolitan Opera House on Tuesday evening, April 14.

Theodore Tarkoff, violinist, will be heard in recital at Aeolian Hall, Friday evening, April 10.

Guionar Novaes gives her recital, Saturday afternoon, April 11, at Town Hall. An all-Chopin program, including the Sonata in B Flat Minor, Op. 35, will be her farewell of the season.

The Holland Vocal Trio will give a program of classic and modern songs in their recital Monday afternoon, in Town Hall.

## The Socialist Party at Work

(Continued from Page 7.)

for New York State. Organizer Stille's work was planned as follows: Westchester to May 1; Broome and Dutchess for May; Capital district for June; Central New York and Syracuse for July; northern counties and Monroe to the middle of September. Decided to also employ comrades Claessens, Crosswaith and other good speakers for open-air meetings as funds permit.

Buffalo Branch to Meet  
Branch 1 of Buffalo will hold a special meeting, Sunday afternoon, April 5, at the East Side Labor Lyceum, 1644 Genesee street.

## MANHATTAN

## Lecture Notes

Sunday, April 5: August Claessens will lecture on "Race Prejudice—The Psychic Elements," at the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway.

Wednesday, April 8: August Claessens will lecture on "Is the Love of Money the Root of All Evil?" at the Harlem Educational Center, 62 East 106th street.

## Upper West Side Branch

Frank Crosswaith, noted colored speaker, will address the next meeting of the branch on Tuesday, April 7, at 51 East 125th street. His subject will be: "The Klu Klux Klan and the Negro." Comrades may look forward to an interesting evening. The meeting is open to outsiders. A report on the recent city convention will be given by the delegates.

## 8th A. D.

An important meeting will be held this Friday night at headquarters, 207 East 10th street. Reports will be made by delegates to the City Convention which will be followed by an address by Meyer London. His address is "Socialism and Its Future in America."

## BROOKLYN

The new Borough Park Labor Lyceum is under construction at the corner of 42nd street and 14th avenue, Brooklyn. The foundation has been erected and the cornerstone will be laid Sunday, April 26. The Labor Lyceum will be the home of the Borough Park branches of the Socialist Party and the Workmen's Circle.

Further announcements will be made in the Forward, Justice and The New Leader.

## Lecture Notes

Friday, April 3, August Claessens will lecture on "Do Socialists Believe in Free Love?" at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn.

## Hillquit to Lecture

Morris Hillquit will lecture on "American Socialism" at the Amalgamated Temple, Arion place and Broadway, on Friday evening, April 17. Admission free.

## Pioneer Youth Children Convention

The children of machinists, printers, painters, carpenters, clothing workers and numerous other workers, will meet in convention through the representatives of their Pioneer Youth Clubs this Saturday, April 4, 2 p.m., in the auditorium of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 16th street.

This first convention of the children of Labor's youth movement will consist of representatives of each of the nineteen clubs now organized in New York City and will plan the formation of a permanent central body representing all the clubs. The convention was decided upon at the last reunion of the children of all the clubs in New York City.

Joshua Lieberman, executive secretary of the adult organization sponsoring the Pioneer Youth movement, stated:

"The children will be completely in charge of their own convention, will have their own officers and committees, and sub-committees of children are now at work on the program of the convention, which will include not only action on purely club affairs, but also a number of public matters of interest to the youngsters, and which they have been discussing at their club meetings."

Scott Nearing will lecture on Post-War Economics, Wages, Income and War Debts, at 3875 Third avenue, near Claremont Parkway, Friday evening, April 3. The lecture is one of a series which Comrade Nearing is giving under the auspices of Workmen's Circle Branch, No. 164.

## Claessens to Lecture on Love

Continuing his series of lectures for the Educational Center, August Claessens will lecture on "Do Socialists Believe in Free Love?" this Friday evening in the banquet hall of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

At the Cinemas  
BROADWAY—"Too Many Kisses," with Richard Dix.  
CAMEO—"Charley's Aunt," with Syd Chaplin.  
CAPITOL—"Elinor Glyn's 'Man and Maid,'" adapted from her novel, with Lew Cody and Harriet Hammond.  
COLONY—"Barbara La Marr in 'The Heart of a Siren,'" with Conway Tearle.  
RIALTO—"Zane Grey's 'Code of the West,'" with Owen Moore, Constance Bennett and Mabel Ballin.  
RIVOLI—"A Kiss in the Dark," from Frederick Lonsdale's "Aren't We All," with Adolph Menjou, Lillian Rich and Aileen Fringie.

WALTER DAMROSCH,  
conductor of the New York Symphony, last week celebrated his fortieth year as conductor. The orchestra closes its season Sunday afternoon at Aeolian Hall.

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## THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, April 4, 1925

## FREE ASSEMBLY IN PATERSON

WHEN members of trade unions cannot meet in a hall to discuss their claims upon employing masters, when the police department disperses such a meeting, it is plain that the department has become a bureau of the employing class. When a court ratifies this police usurpation judicial sanction is given to such autocracy. It amounts to saying that trade unions are illegal, for if they cannot peacefully meet to carry on a strike they are useless to their members.

It is notorious that Paterson, N. J., has for years been a barony ruled by its textile owners. The conviction of Roger Baldwin, of the Civil Liberties Union, and six others in a Paterson court for attempting to address striking silk workers last year cannot be accepted as final. To do so would be to surrender this sector of New Jersey to an insolent dictatorship exercised by textile corporations.

Moreover, it is doubtful whether the decision would be sustained by a higher court. There are limits beyond which even courts cannot afford to go, however much judges may be prejudiced by education, training, tradition and associations to accept the conservative views of property. Courts have sometimes restrained the blind greed of ruling classes whose appetite for power induce them to action that endangers their own dominion.

The Civil Liberties Union will appeal the case. It is the duty of organized workers to support this fight for free discussion and assembly and thus prevent the further spread of this menace.

## ONE-IDEA REFORMERS

IT is an interesting fact that some human beings can become obsessed with one idea as a solution of the ills of human society. A small group in this country urges the magic powers residing in collective control of credit as a solution. Nothing matters aside from this one factor.

Human society is not a simple one-cell organization; it is a complex of many factors and influences having deep roots in history. Geography, climate, traditions, economic changes, taboos, Government, psychology, politics and other factors, to say nothing of divergent economic and group interests, render the consideration of any one factor absurd.

Moreover, as changes occur in society, one or more factors may become more important or less important, but no factor can be ignored at any time if we are to get a fair approximation to the truth and formulate a program that is adapted to desirable ends. The one-factor idea is in conflict with the actual composition of capitalistic society; it cannot be reconciled with the evolution of society.

Socialists may make mistakes in judging the changing world in which we live, but their philosophy and program are sincerely based upon an attempt to comprehend the many institutions and forces in modern society. They can concede the importance of one factor—the struggle between classes, for instance—without denying that many others must be considered before rational ideas can be formed.

We submit the importance of these considerations to those who sincerely think that we can interpret human progress in terms of a single factor and ignore all the rest.

The New York World is shocked over the immorality of directors of a number of oil companies who are abroad to escape testifying in the oil scandal and it commands the remaining officials to clean up. The World is getting real radical, so there!

## THE TACNA-ARICA REWARD

UPON what appears to be semi-official information, Peru is dissatisfied with the arbitral award in the Tacna-Arica boundary dispute between Peru and Chile, and the former is making, or is to make, a demand upon President Coolidge for "drastic action" and the immediate sending of American forces into the disputed area.

This is all the more amazing, considering the experience of Latin-American nations with American imperialism. Should this information be confirmed, the Peruvian proposal will be resented by other Latin-American nations. They want no invasion by what they call "the Prussians of the North," as they have observed with resentment what American interference has meant for them and for American imperialists.

Peru may well earn the reputation of the scab who deserts to the enemy or who plays the enemy's game if she insists on calling in the police power of American capitalism. On the other hand, the people of this country have every reason to see that no such errand is undertaken, for the very good reason that, once in, American power would not be eager to get out.

## FEUDAL CAPITALISM

ASAD phase of the industrial revolution in England and the United States was the rise of corporation feudalism. The factory of New England became the center of a capitalist dominion over the social, educational, family and religious life of the wage workers. Even flogging of workers occasionally occurred. This monstrous offshoot has also appeared in mining regions in the past quarter century, especially in West Virginia where governors, mayors, sheriffs and judges are often its servants.

The same brutal regime is rising in the South where northern and southern capital unite in merciless exploitation of illiterate whites. A series of articles in Labor of Washington which surveys this reversion to type in the southern States show that, given the opportunity, modern greed will fatten on children, break up the home, destroy family life and exploit human beings as work animals. The following paragraph might easily have been quoted from a document relating to the factory feudalism of Massachusetts in 1820:

The autocratic control over employees, found in all non-union industries, pernicious as it is, is increased in these southern cotton mills by the fact that the employer is also landlord, sometimes storekeeper as well and, usually, in complete domination, politically and socially, of the mill community. This control is sufficient to lead to attempts to dominate even the churches and schools, either by direct subsidy or through the fact that the mill owner is the principal taxpayer in the village.

Outside the mining and steel areas of the North a "benevolent" type of this feudalism is developing. It consists of "philanthropic" extension of the factory regime, selling shares to employees, organizing company unions, and in every way possible tying workers by many bonds of illusive interest to the modern industrial lords.

This modern corporate offshoot of the industrial order offers an interesting study in adroit management to keep the masses content with a subordinate role in society. Eventually the southern type will be shaped after the northern model as a strong trade union movement develops in the South.

## CANDLES AND CAPITALISM

A RATHER interesting invasion into the religious field by the profit motive is disclosed by the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. It seems that the Federal Trade Commission discovered that a large business firm supplying Catholic institutions with candles for use at Mass used only eleven per cent bees' wax instead of fifty per cent as advertised. The cheaper substitute brought larger profits to the firm.

This recalls the fact that many years ago "Christian" firms in this country were known to provide certain peoples of Asia with idols, the trade bringing in satisfactory profits. In the case of the candles we are assured that the burning of the bogus tapers is in violation of the symbolism Catholics are expected to observe in the candles burned upon the altar.

"What should the Federal Trade Commission do?" is asked by the organization that sends this story to the press. Well, things are produced to sell and not because they are to be used. Utility is a minor consideration, while profits are of most importance in capitalist production. Therefore our answer is, abolish capitalism and produce for use, not for sale and the enrichment of the sellers.

## AGED VETERANS OF LABOR

WRITING in the American Labor Legislation Review on the need of old age pensions in the United States, Dr. John A. Lapp emphasizes the fact that in our increasingly mechanical age "the aged worker is not wanted." The dead line of employment, once fifty-five, then fifty, is "in many industries approaching forty-five." With this increase in the numbers of those not wanted the writer presents a striking contrast of the way in which aged workers are treated:

Old veterans of Labor, exhausted by many years of ill-requited toil, and people of better birth and breeding reduced to poverty and old age by some disaster, ought not to be left to associate in the almshouse with the "worn-out veterans of dissipation," the feeble minded, the chron-

ically sick, the doddering and demented humans and the dregs of social life. As we have already taken out of almshouses the children, the insane, the acutely sick, and other special classes, so we should now take out the one remaining class of worthy people who deserve a better fate than to end worthy lives in such surroundings.

The unmerited fate of these by-products of our profit-making industrial system is a heavy indictment of it. If a social system cannot guarantee a comfortable existence to the veterans of Labor in their last days and in pleasant surroundings that system requires a complete reorganization. To the extent that the workers themselves are content to leave the care of the aged to the mercy of two political parties of reaction these workers share responsibility for this tragedy.

## AS TO POLITICAL ACTION

A TYPICAL misunderstanding of the Labor history of this country is contributed to the American Photo-Engraver by its editor. Independent Labor parties have been formed and failed in this country. Therefore, they must always fail, writes Mr. Woll.

Apply this logic to trade unions. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century they were organized and failed. They were organized again and failed, yet again and failed. Time after time this was repeated, even down to the middle nineties when the trade unions finally began to assume stability.

Apply the logic to Europe. Labor and Socialist parties organized and failed. They organized again and failed, yet again, and again, until they acquired stability. Mr. Woll may now travel anywhere in the modern nations and he will be confronted with trade union movements that once expressed his view but do not now. They support their own parties. Even Mexico inaugurates a Labor President while we inaugurate a strike-breaker. What is there in this for us to boast of?

The burden of his satire falls upon the lost hopes of a Labor party in the Chicago conference last February. Another failure. Yes. There may be even another, but eventually the organized masses will have their own party and will repeat the history of all other modern countries. That the organized workers do not support their own party now merely means that there is much education yet to do.

There is little to boast of in following the old policy. British Labor through its own party relieved its unions of seizure of trade union funds by employers more than twenty years ago. Our trade union funds are still at the mercy of the enemy. In this respect we are the most backward of any movement in the world. If we cannot learn from the experience of our fellows in other countries we will have to let the courts teach us what is effective political action.

## THE Chatter-Box

### Bottom and Quince

(Lenin and Trotsky over imperial Muscovy were as if Bottom and Quince had usurped the throne of Duke Theseus in spacious Athens.—An Editorial.)

Bottom and Quince, Bottom and Quince—  
Weaver for king, and a carpenter-prince!  
(Christ was a carpenter not long since,  
And the Fates keep weaving their bloody tints.)

Bottom and Quince, Bottom and Quince—  
Laugh at the ass-head, sneer at the prince!  
Why, it is sacrilege! God will rot 'em,  
Blot 'em to nothing, Quince and Bottom—  
Surely the devil misbegot 'em!  
Lynch 'em, garrote 'em, Bottom and—  
(Christ was a carpenter not long since,  
And the Fates keep weaving their bloody tints.)

Clement Wood.

One of our readers, who signs himself "Subscriber," has the devastating idea that Small Talk can be best defined—as an ant and a flea discussing Cal.

May we, in turn, foist this one as best describing Great News—Mount Everest and the Woolworth Building arguing over ye Columbian?

The Nation, the Dial, Haldeman-Julius Co., the C. P. A., and Boni and Liveright, Inc., are respectfully advised that Comrade Engels advertises in the columns of this here weekly, that he is the "recognized undertaker for all progressive organizations." Why patronize the conservative undertaking trusts?

### Post Office Pens

8 a.m.—A porter at the post office placed a new, shining steel pen in the holder. A moment later, a bricklayer came in, and, laying a big, grimy hand upon the pen, pressed heavily upon it, and laboriously wrote a post card to Sicily.

8:10.—A sweet young lady took the pen, put all the emotion of her heart into it, and wrote a flaming, impassioned letter to her great, wonderful shipping clerk.

8:15.—A boy loled in, tortured the pen in addressing a heavily wrapped package, then left it sticking on end in the wooden desk.

8:20.—A woman came in, wrote an irate letter to her ex-husband to come across with last week's alimony, then left her baby to play with the pen while she went to throw her letter down the chute.

8:30.—A business man came in and found that the pen would not serve. Hurling it down the whole length of the post office, he shouted:  
"Damn this cursed Public Ownership!"  
Goody.

Now that our Macfadden article has made such a furious sensation, and our mail box just flooded with requests for a whole series on the various other Princes of Bunkdom, we have decided to continue writing More Sonnets to a Dark Lady, and other lyrical puffings of a tired business man.

We would very much like to expose in our own classic and inimitable manner all the bacteria that feed upon the body economic and politic, and Heaven knows—it has not been done at all; for all of the hosts of trenchant and vitriolic talents that crowd our Grub Streets. Truth is, the most of them cannot afford to antagonize an arch fakir who happens to be an influential component of half a dozen newspapers and publishing concerns. Who can tell but that a week or a month later the erstwhile satirist may be seeking a job at the hands of the man he had just lampooned. There is always that great fear following all writers whose souls shout protest and whose tongues dare not sound anything but praise.

As for ourself, we hope the day never dawns when we shall be pressed to the bawdy houses of American journalism for a livelihood. Rather the sordidness of tools, steel, bills payable and receivable, bills of lading, shipments, customers, salesmen, warehouses, and the like for twelve hours a day, so that we can spend four hours a week telling the world what we really think about it.

Which reminds us that we are preparing now a brochure on American Doctorhood, Specialists, Surgeons, Internes, Family Physicians, Prescription Druggists, and the rest of that newly arrived tribe of Bunk and Parasitism who came with the influenza epidemic—and who remain—a worse plague than the one that brought them.

Try and get sick with something more than indigestion—have a specialist call on you; let him send you his bill for services—if you can afford being billed—and you will understand what we mean.

Of course, if you cannot afford more than the charity physician or the dispensary, whatever we mean does not matter. Nothing matters to a dead man.

S. A. DE WITT.

will or can save them. Our experience of all leaders is they know just as little as other people and nearly always lead in the wrong direction." Considering that Lansbury is considered a forceful leader himself, we are at a loss to understand just what situation in England prompted him to write this. The contents of the first issue indicate that the editor and his associates desire a more aggressive policy by the Labor party and in this they probably represent the views of a large section of the party. In any event the Labor Weekly is certain to render valuable service to the Labor movement of Great Britain as a forceful educational journal.

## THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

### The German Election

The German election shows that seventy per cent of the total vote was polled, with the monarchist reaction and Communism suffering marked losses. Thaelmann, the Communist candidate, received 1,870,000 votes as against 3,700,000 last May in the Reichstag election and 2,700,000 in the election of last December. The Ludendorff Fascists received a pitiful 284,000 votes. This is a knockout for the extreme Junker clique. On the other hand, Jarres, representing the Right bloc—Nationalist and People's party—received 10,388,000. This bloc represents many moderate monarchists and big industrialists but it undoubtedly received many anti-monarchist votes because its candidate expressed his opposition to any attempt to establish a monarchy at this time. The bloc is a compromise of conflicting elements and is not likely to continue as a party. The Socialists again appear as the strongest party in Germany, and Vorwärts, the central party organ, is reported as saying that the Socialists will likely agree to support a strong candidate who favors the republic. It is probable that the Socialists, the Centrists and the Democrats may agree on Marx as the candidate and whoever is chosen by these parties will be the next President of Germany. The next election, to be held on April 26, will be watched with intense interest all over the world.

### Some Big Mergers

Consolidation of giant forms of capital either through amalgamation, "benevolent assimilation," or purchase proceeds with the logic of natural law. Sale of the Dodge Brothers Automobile Company to Dillon, Read & Co., is reported, with the Goodyear Rubber interests chief movers in the deal. Edward L. Doheny, one of the vulgar new rich oil magnates and crony of Albert B. Fall of Teapot Dome fame, becomes one of the lesser fry in the empire of oil. A combination of Sinclair, Standard Oil and British interests has acquired control of Doheny's Latin-American field. Only a few years ago Sinclair was an obscure druggist of the Babbitt type of the interior provinces. Now he ascends the oil throne with the greater Babbitts of American capitalism. Doheny evolved from a laborer to an industrial adventurer, and Babbitt, reached for the heights, and now is consigned to a smaller

niche in the hierarchy of capitalism. Organize, gentlemen. Some day we will have the sense to take your enterprises over and use them for human welfare.

### Suffrage in Japan

The fight for general manhood suffrage in Japan has been won. This will come as a surprise to many who have watched the evolution of Japan. When the nations shifted to a capitalistic basis universal suffrage became a matter of gradual installments, not the huge concession made by the Japanese Diet. This measure increases the number of voters from 3,000,000 to 14,000,000, giving the vote to every male of 20 or more, excepting those who are dependent upon public or private charity. There is talk of declaring April 28 a national holiday to celebrate the event. No national election will be held until 1928 unless the Diet is dissolved in the meantime. Thus Japan repeats the evolution of the modern industrial countries. It remains to be seen whether the electoral laws will permit an independent political movement of the working class. If so, and a party representing the workers appears in the field, the first election will be of unusual interest to the Labor movement in all countries.

### Decline of Communism

The heavy decline in the Communist vote in Germany merely emphasizes the general decline of the Communist movement in all countries. The New Leader has published accounts of the decline and the numerous "splits" that have afflicted the brethren during the past six months. Recently Zinoviev himself wrote in Pravda that "the present position of the Communist International is extremely difficult. We are witnessing the recession of the revolutionary wave and lack of faith and desertions to the enemy. The Communist International must not close its eyes to the real state of affairs." Zinoviev himself may claim a good share of the credit for the gradual liquidation of the Communist movement. A bumptious meddler who oozes egotism from every pore, he and his immediate clique have imagined that they could drive workers like cattle into the Communist pen. What is happening is not "desertions to the enemy" but desertion of a sinking ship. The Labor movement of the world will be more powerful when the "desertions" leave

Zinoviev nothing but his failures to contemplate.

### The Tory Party's Principle

The London Daily Herald carries important sections of the debate on the Labor bill that proposed to deprive the Labor party of financial contributions from the trade unions. The debate shows that Premier Baldwin, who intervened against the bill because it was too important for a private member to introduce, favored the bill in principle. "We believe in the justice of this bill," he said, "but we are going to withdraw our hand, as we are not going to push our political advantage home at a moment like this." In other words, political expediency and nothing else induced Baldwin to intervene. The New Leader has already carried the story that under the present law members of trade unions may be exempt from contributions if they desire, but since 1913 only sixty-six genuine applications for exemption had been made out of the millions of trade union members. Greenall of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation, with a membership between 80,000 and 100,000, said that in thirteen years, despite Tory appeals to miners to sign exemption papers, only thirty-three had signed. In 1921 the Tory party printed thousands of exemption forms but only eighteen miners had signed them. The "principle" of the Tory party appears to be to prevent trade unions supporting their own party while Tories and Liberals may accept any sums from capitalists and the aristocracy.

### Lansbury's Labor Weekly

The first number of George Lansbury's Labor Weekly to hand from London proves to be a very attractive and forceful publication of twenty pages. "What We Stand for" is a leading article by Lansbury in which he outlines the purpose of his weekly. It will "stand all the time for working class freedom," he writes, "freedom from wage slavery and the degradation which comes from the domination of landlordism and capitalism. Our remedy for these evils is Socialism—a society based on mutual service and within which there will be neither masters nor serfs. Our methods of attaining this end are, first, education. We have no faith in those who teach the workers that leaders