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# The New Leader

A Weekly Newspaper  
Devoted to the Interest  
of the Socialist and La-  
bor Movement.

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## Karolyi Breaks His Silence BLACK MAN'S BURDEN "I AM A SOCIALIST"

Harlem Doctor By Color  
and m

Truth of Horthy Regime, Suppressed  
by U. S., Told In Canada

By FRANK CROSSWAITH

TO the enterprising young hunter of literary laurels and the profit propelled publishers of modern journalism, Negro Harlem has suddenly loomed upon the journalistic horizon as the Klondike appeared to the gold seekers a generation or so ago.

From near and far they come, pen in hand, to uncover before a gasping and gullible world the hidden secrets of black Harlem. They assume—these scribes—the pose of a Howard Carter or a Lord Carnarvon about to unearth Tutankhamen's buried treasures and tickle the flickering fancy of their readers. Most of what they write about Harlem is misleading and much is false. Many of them approach Harlem with a sympathetic attitude. They mean well, but they come expecting to find countless curios of cave-dwelling days; they hope to discover that long-looked-for, but never-found "thing" which makes the Negro in one instance the victim of savage hostility and again the object of sympathy and benevolence; in other words, they enter this "city in itself" to prove the old claim that the Negro is "different"; that he reacts differently, lives differently, worships differently, and that there is a great "difference" and "distance" between life in Negro Harlem and life in the rest of New York City, all of which is not true.

### Negro Harlem Typically American

Negro Harlem is a typical American industrial community containing all of the evidences of such a community. In Harlem one finds—as one finds in other working-class centers—a plethora of churches; some of them are attractive and compelling, others are repelling and grotesque. One is tempted to say that every known religious faith has its faithful followers in Harlem. Here, as elsewhere, religion is a lucrative profession for the leaders. Many who fall in other callings finally claim the Bible as a means to secure an easy and profitable existence; these are usually without the necessary training to fit them as competent expounders of that much expounded book. There are some cultured and educated preachers in Harlem.

Harlem is superstitious and patriotic; Babbitt is rampant here. On national holidays, Harlem, like any other working-class section, celebrates with its unfurled flags, its parades, dances and picnics. In war-time, Harlem, too, hates the "enemy" and subscribes willingly to war loans. It supports the Red Cross, it furnishes its quota of volunteers; it has its "uplift organizations," its Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. There is a local Chamber of Commerce and a home for fallen girls. Harlem is honeycombed with secret societies—not of a subversive nature—which hold tightly to "long ago" and are dedicated to "yesterday"; any intelligent consideration of "today" and "tomorrow" is firmly opposed by them.

"Intense and Pathetic" Gullibility

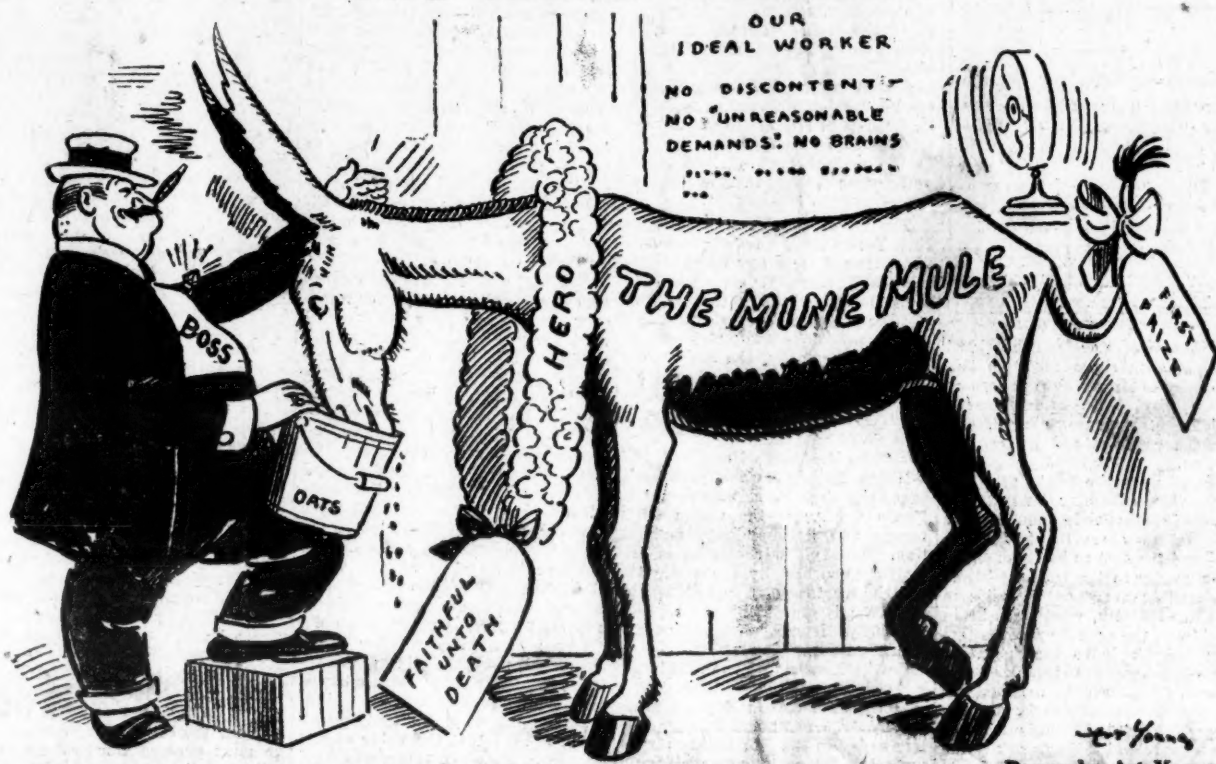
### Babbitt Rampant

Not unlike the average working-class community, Harlem's gullibility is intense and pathetic. Proof of this is plainly evidenced by the response to movements such as the Garvey movement and Sister Harrell's spectacular campaign of "healing."

Garvey holds, in common with the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, that this is a white man's country; he opposes the election of Negroes to high political office and accepts as true the assertion that Negroes are inferior to white men; he justifies Jim Crowism on the grounds that Negroes never built any roads and do not own any. Nevertheless, Garvey is reported to have collected over \$2,000,000 from Negroes for the purpose of building an Empire in Africa, with himself as Emperor, President or Potentate—whichever title suits his particular fancy at the time he is speaking—and transporting all Negroes thereto.

Sister Harrell (white), with a  
(Continued on Page 2.)

### THE IDEAL WORKER



By MICHAEL KAROLYI

Upon his arrival in Montreal, Michael Karolyi, whose lips had been sealed by order of Washington while in this country, for the first time on this side of the Atlantic, spoke of the issue between him and the Horthy bands that rule Hungary. The following is what the Coolidge Administration did not want us to hear:

THE question I wish to discuss is whether the Admiral Horthy regime was good for Hungary and the peace of the world in general. To both parts of this question I must answer in the negative.

"The people in the United States, perhaps, do not realize, because the truth is camouflaged by the Horthy Government, that those who are running Hungary now are the very same reactionary die-hards against whom the American people fought during the war. There were and still are two important camps in Hungary—one the conservative, reactionary, semi-feudal group, an infinite minority with tremendous wealth and political power; the other the great masses of the people, about 75 per cent of whom are peasants; in addition, there is a very slim strata of the middle class.

The reactionaries have always been for the union between Austria and Hungary and for the alliance between Austria-Hungary and Germany. These were the people who wanted the war, and who wanted it to go on to the last man, up to a final victory. These people wanted the anti-democratic Government of Austrians and Hungarians; they wanted the oppression of all the non-German and non-Magyar nationalists, who composed the majority of the population.

### Fought the German Alliance

Before the war I fought against the German alliance in a way shown by the first volume of my memoirs. I did this openly and was made an object of persecution throughout the whole war. They spread the rumor that I had received money from the Allies for carrying on my campaign against the Germans in such an obstinate and violent manner.

My other crime was that I was a pacifist. I not only was against war in general, but was especially against this war fought on the side of Germany.

But perhaps the greatest crime in the eyes of my own class was that I wanted democracy, and wanted to introduce a radical land reform for the purchase of the land by the Government and its sale to the people. One month before the war I was campaigning in Austria on these lines, explaining to the people why I wanted to break off from the German alliance, why I wanted democracy, why I wanted land reform and why I wanted to have Hungary separated from Austria.

### Demande Land Distribution

I believed—and I still believe—that as long as the land is unfairly distributed, as long as there remains such semi-feudal institutions as the entailed property of the aristocracy and of the Roman Catholic Church, there is no hope of Hungary becoming a modern State. Even democracy alone is not sufficient without justice in land distribution.

In vain did I argue that it was raving madness for us to enter the war, and pure folly for us not to get out of it as soon as possible by trying to make a separate peace and thus getting rid of the German alliance. The war to us was fatal, either way. We were not fighting for ourselves, but for purely German interests. Our role was that of the colored troops in France. We were the mercenaries of the Germans.

It was easy to see that if we lost we would suffer the catastrophe that we did suffer. If we had won, however, we would not have been much more than a colony of Germany.

Frederick Naumann wrote a book during the war which was widely read and very popular in die-hard  
(Continued on Page 3.)

## SOCIALIST CABINET PROBABLE IN BELGIUM

BRUSSELS.—A gain of 11

Deputies in the Chamber and of 138,000 popular votes by the Belgian Labor party, bringing its totals up to 79 and 810,000, is the net result of the magnificent Socialist campaign brought to a victorious end last Sunday. Compared with the Chamber elected in November, 1921, the dividing line between the Right and the Left is drawn much more sharply in the new Parliament, as the Liberals (a group wavering between reaction and progressivism) have had their forces cut from thirty-three to about twenty-two, while the Clericals (whose Catholic faith serves as a strong binding tie, despite some internal differences over Labor legislation) have lost a couple of seats and now number seventy-eight. The few odd seats in the Chamber of 187 Deputies went to the reactionary pro-Flemish Front party, which had four members in the old body.

The election has thus installed the Socialist Party as the strongest Party in the nation and it is only logical that Comrade Emil Vandervelde will be asked by the King to form a Cabinet. Asked if he would

### Mussolini Bribe Ended Metal Strike

The settlement of the Italian metal workers' strike, hailed as a triumph for Mussolini, showed, on the contrary, the palpable weakness of the dictator's regime, authoritative advices from Rome show.

The fact that the Government, alarmed at the development of events, offered the employers what can only be described as bribes in order to induce them to negotiate with the Fascist unions.

Mussolini, it has been publicly stated without contradiction, promised the steel manufacturers to insist on a high tariff against German steel in the pending negotiations with Germany.

And at the critical moment of the strike a Royal decree announced the exemption from taxation of the reserve funds of joint stock companies—a concession which, it is estimated, will cost the State something like \$2,500,000 a year.

The gift of \$2,500,000 a year (at the taxpayers' expense) and of a high tariff (at the consumers' expense) are a pretty fair indication of the dangers which the Fascist Government saw threatening it if the strike went on.

agree to such a course, Vandervelde declared the formation of a Socialist Cabinet is "up to the Congress of the Labor party."

The Communists have entered the Parliament for the first time with two members.

The question of who will be asked by King Albert to form the next Government—Vandervelde, the So-

cialist leader, or some Clerical—may be answered according to the attitude of the Liberals, who still hold the balance of power. In view of the fact that the voters have shown that the Socialist program of maintenance of the eight-hour day, no wage reductions and a possible levy to lighten the war tax burdens has no terrors for them, it is possible that the so-called radical wing of the Liberal party may conclude to support a Socialist Cabinet, which they know would do something toward cutting down the State contributions to Clerical schools, which have risen since the war to nearly 100,000,000 francs (at about five cents apiece) per year. If, on the other hand, the business elements among the Liberals are in the major-

ity, the new Government will be Clerical, with Liberal support, and the status quo will be maintained, with the solid Socialist opposition much stronger and the big interests suffering from a scare that may do much toward halting their drive against the eight-hour day and their attempts to cut wages, especially in the mining and metal industries.

The outcome of the campaign was a triumph for whole-hearted cooperative Socialist propaganda. Long before the Chamber was dissolved on Feb. 10, the Socialists were at work for the coming election, with their 635,000 dues-paying members, their tens of thousands of "Yipsels," their Labor unions, their cooperatives, their educational institutions and their sport organizations. Eight powerful daily papers, supplemented by scores of weeklies and monthlies, carried the message of Socialism to every corner of the little kingdom and it is safe to say that not a single one of its some 7,660,000 inhabitants able to read failed to see some Socialist propaganda in print.

The Clericals, made desperate by the prospects of losing their grip on the Government, fought tooth and nail, with the one-time universally honored Cardinal Mercier taking an active part in slandering the Socialists. The Labor party came back vigorously, pointing to the need of freeing the people's minds from the grip of the Church and demanding that politics be rid of religion.

The defeat of ex-Premier Theunis by a Socialist in the Mons district has probably eliminated him from active politics for a while.

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## BALDWIN MUST NOT GO TO JAIL!

As we go to press news arrives that Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment by a Paterson, New Jersey, judge. Baldwin's "crime" was to hold a public meeting in defense of the right of union men to meet in a public hall to consider their problems. Six union men were also fined \$50 each. Mr. Baldwin has appealed the case to a higher court.

Roger Baldwin must not go to jail! His sentence is a call to every section of the trade union movement to rise to a defense of civil rights even up to the doors of the textile masters of New Jersey. If this sentence and these fines stand, trade unions may as well close their doors in Paterson.

New York unions are also affected. This tyranny may easily spread to other union centers. We must sweep back this tide of reaction. Roger Baldwin must not go to jail!



# THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN

(Continued from Page 1.)

Negro spokesman, came to Harlem. Of course, she came at the command of God to "heal" the crippled, the halt and the blind—the three dominant types found today in every industrial center—at one dollar or more per "heal." Business was exceptionally good. She "healed" them going and coming, right and left (departed). Of course, all who desired could not be "healed." Some did not have the price, which was of prime importance in one's being "healed," and besides, her mandate from God was to "heal" only Jews and Negroes. Having witnessed the remarkable success (financially) of these two movements, one confidently awaits the day when Harlem will be honored by a "raiser up," i. e., one who will raise up the dead; what a fortune awaits such a thrifty genius!

## Main Street Papers

There are published in Harlem four weekly newspapers. These are truly Main Street; the news that they see "fit to print" mainly considers murders, divorces, fights, court decisions, scandals, etc. Naturally, they are all successful and some of them even exercise political influence. There are four or five monthly magazines which are concerned, in the main, with chronicling Negro achievements in the field of literature and business.

Negro Harlem differs from any other industrial center in two aspects only. Firstly, it is a veritable human rainbow; every possible shade of color between the extremes of white and black is represented; thereby giving the concrete negative answer to the late President Harding's assertion that there is "a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference between the races." There are some Negroes here who can pass the Nordic rigid inspection and qualify for the Ku Klux Klan. One only regards these as Negroes because they themselves insist upon being so classified, at least, while they are in Harlem. And the second difference is, the degree of exploitation to which Harlem is subjected.

## The Economic Layer

The overwhelming majority of Negroes in Harlem are workers, and during the period of industrial activity Harlem reflects this fact in a large number of weddings, gorgeous social functions, theater parties, elaborate and costly funerals and the spontaneous rise of petty business, etc. When the industrial pace slackens, bringing with it inevitable

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unemployment, poverty and hard times, Harlem again registers this change by contributing its share of holdup men, beggars, schemers, bootleggers, business failures, employment agencies and installment peddlers.

When unemployment sets in, Negro workers suffer longest and severest; it is unfortunately too true that they are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. This is due partly to the race prejudice evidenced in every walk of life in the United States, whether it be in the church, the school or in the factory; and partly to the fact that Negro workers are largely unorganized. Contrary to common belief, the absence of any large number of Negroes in the unions of the industries in which they work is due not to the Negro's failure to grasp the significance and importance of

Unionism in the life of the modern worker, but to the failure of organized labor generally to realize that the Negro is simply a worker whose skin is black.

## Unions and Race Prejudice

Most of the trade unions are saturated through and through with race prejudice; many of them covertly bar the Negro from their ranks, others openly deny him entrance; all of them show practically no desire to unionize the Negro worker except during the period of a strike when he is used by the employers against the union. Whenever he has been able to force his way into the trade union movement, we find that he is not accorded all of the rights and privileges exercised by other union men; in some cases, the union is fearful of the Negro. They dread the thought that if permitted in the union in large numbers he will dominate the organization and perhaps monopolize the jobs. As a result of this attitude, there is a growing conviction among Negroes to believe that, while they deplore the necessity for such action, the only way of escape is for Negro workers to form a colored Federation of Labor. Some Negroes oppose this idea and hope that organized Labor will soon see the folly of its ways and change its attitude before the Negro worker is driven to this extreme, perhaps to the mutual hurt of both black and white labor in the United States.

The lot of the Negro worker in New York City is a harder one, perhaps, than it is in any other industrial and financial center. New York boasts of no basic industry like the packing industry in Chicago or the automobile industry in Detroit, consequently, the great bulk of Negro labor is unskilled, and we find him employed here today, there tomorrow, and God knows where the next day.

## "The Profiteer's Paradise"

Negro Harlem is the profiteer's paradise. Due to segregation, the Negro worker is the victim of a savage and double-edged exploitation. Like all workers, he is exploited generally by the white industrial masters, and in addition to these, he is gouged by the capitalist-minded Negro, who makes his appeal on the basis of race.

In the kingdom of the profiteers, a Harlem landlord is king. The shortage of homes in Negro Harlem is an ever present and serious matter; owing to the restrictions placed upon the Negro tenant, and being unable to move where he can find a vacancy, he is compelled to remain within the pale. The landlords of Harlem take advantage of this condition to bleed him most mercilessly. The practice usually is to replace white tenants with colored ones and in the process increase the rent of the latter anywhere from 50 to 100 per cent.

The supreme tragedy of this is better grasped when we bear in mind the fact that the Negro worker receives far less in wages than his white brother. There are any number of Negroes whose rent far exceeds their wages. Having to choose between paying the high rent or be without a home, they decide to pay; to do so they resort to the

## N. Y. Will Greet N. E. C. and Debs At Dinner the 29th

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will meet in New York on Tuesday and Wednesday, April 28 and 29. The locals in Greater New York have arranged a dinner on this occasion. Among the speakers will be Comrade Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman of the Party.

The dinner will be held on Wednesday evening, April 29, at the Yorkville Casino, 210 East 86th street, New York City.

Comrades desiring reservations should get them immediately. Price per plate is two dollars (\$2.00).

Reservations accompanied by check or money order should be sent to Julius Gerber, Room 505, 7 East 15th street.

established custom of taking in "lodgers"; in most cases these "lodgers" are total strangers to the family with whom they lodge; a lodger's character may be shady and low and his habits loose, vulgar and harmful to the morals of the children in the home. This matters not, however. All that counts is to get the big rent for the landlord.

## The Vicious Circle

But while the morals of the children in the home may be corrupted, while the home itself may be broken up through clandestine love affairs, in the final analysis it is the lodgers who pay most of the rent; for whenever the landlord increases the rent of a tenant, say, \$10 per month, said tenant in turn distributes this increase on the weekly rental of the lodgers—lodgers pay rent not monthly like tenants, but weekly—and by so doing realizes in most instances much more than the additional \$10 per month. One may find a family today occupying the status of a tenant, tomorrow that same tenant becomes a lodger, and so the vicious circle goes on and on.

There is an old tradition which still survives, to the effect that whenever Negroes move into a community the property value decreases; like many another fable, this one is not true. Negroes maintain that while the assured and steady income from ownership in a certain piece of property is great, it is then that the value should be high. But, say those who hold the former opinion, "while we are receiving more income from the property when occupied by Negro tenants, we find, when compelled to secure loans, that the lenders of money demand a higher percentage of interest and more security than when the property is occupied by white tenants, because the former do not take as good care of property as do the latter."

To which Negroes make this reply: "Granting as true what is said about loans, the question thereupon comes down to a class basis. A Negro worker has as much or as little appreciation of property as his white brother in the same class. The reverse is also true; a white person of leisure, culture and refinement will treat property in the same manner as does the colored brother with similar culture and refinement."

finement will treat property in the same manner as does the colored brother with similar culture and refinement."

## Merciless Exploitation

Nevertheless, the Negro tenant is the victim of a brutal and merciless exploitation by both black and white landlords, and the tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that there is no escape for him. White tenants may move unhampered from one end of the city to the other. Not so the colored tenant; while segregation continues, Negro tenants will continue to be offered up on the altar of greed and profit, to the glory of gold and the benefit of real estate sharks.

Politically, Negro Harlem is reactionary. Until very recently Harlem "en masse" went to the polls and voted as "my grand-daddy did." The old tradition of the Negro in politics as voiced by Frederick Douglass, viz., that "the Republican party is the ship and all else the sea," was for a long time accepted by Negroes here and elsewhere as "Gospel truth." Of late, however, a decided change has taken place in the political life of Negro Harlem. Negroes no longer blindly follow the Republican party, but have gone over to Tammany Hall. Last year Harlem was represented both in the State Legislature and in the Board of Aldermen by Negro Democrats.

## Radicals Make Progress

The Negro radicals in Harlem have done splendid work, which can hardly be realized and appreciated by those out of touch with conditions within the black belt. From the day the Negro radical began his agitation in Harlem he was made to realize that between the great mass of white workers and the bulk of Negro workers, in so far as understanding and serving their own interest was concerned, there was absolutely no difference. The two groups are alike in their opposition to anything new; they glorify the past and are fearful of any departure therefrom.

Encouraged by a reactionary leadership, they have set their faces stubbornly against radicalism and change; whether it be in religion, politics, economics or in any other field. The general attitude of Negro Harlem towards a change in our economic system was tersely voiced by a recognized leader of the race who said: "The Negro, just out of slavery, cannot afford to agitate for the abolition of capitalism; he must protect and prolong capitalism until he has had a chance to taste the sweets of private property."

## Meetings Broken Up

The street meetings of Negro Socialists have on numerous occasions been interrupted and broken up; their speakers assaulted, just as white Socialist meetings have been broken up, and their speakers assaulted in other sections of the city and country. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that the amicable relationship observed between the races in Harlem is due largely to the influence of the persistent propaganda of Negro Socialists. Of all the groups propagandizing in Harlem, none have done as much to remove suspicion and hatred and to

## Lectures

### The Community Forum

Park Avenue and 34th Street

Sun., Apr. 12th—8 P. M.

CAPTAIN PAXTON HIBDEN  
"The Reconstruction of Russia"

11 A. M.—The Community Church

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL  
"Easter: The Symbol of Eternal Hope"

Special—10 A. M.  
DR. HARVEY DEE BROWN  
"Psychoanalysis"

### The People's Institute COOPER UNION

Friday, April 10  
NO MEETING—EASTER HOLIDAYS

Sunday, April 12  
NO MEETING—EASTER DAY

Tuesday, April 14  
H. V. KALTENBORN  
"The Press—Propaganda or Profiteer?"

Eight o'clock Admission Free  
OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION

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

Sunday, April 12  
DR. WM. DURANT

"The German Drama—Hauptmann and Sudermann"

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COMMUNITY NIGHT  
Music—Movies—30 Minutes Discussion from the Floor.

7:15 P. M.—American International Church, 239 East 14th Street  
Special Easter Service

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FRIDAY, APRIL 17, 8:30 P. M.  
LOUIS UNTERMEYER

"Poetry and Propaganda"

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## VOTE THEFT TRIAL BEGINS

AFTER almost four years of delay—during which a large part of the vital evidence has been lost or destroyed—the trial of the Tammany men who stole August Claessens', Socialist, election to the New York State Legislature in 1921 finally began this week.

Daniel Platt, chairman of the Election Board, one of the four Election Board members arrested and indicted by the New York County Grand Jury, was the first to be placed on trial in General Sessions, before Judge Rosalsky. The District Attorney's office prosecuted Platt, while former Judge Leonard Snitkin and State Senator Joseph appeared for the defense.

The trial has progressed to the point where Hyman Marcal, one of the Socialist watchers in the Harlem polling booth, and Patrolman John O'Hara, who was present during the count, have recited the story of Platt's irregular methods of counting the votes. Marcal declared, despite his numerous protests, that Platt and his lieutenants on the Election Board had falsified the votes cast for member of Assembly. Votes for Claessens, by the dozen, were tallied for Murray Felenstein, his Tammany oppo-

nent. Pleas for an honest count were met only with threats of "funny work."

Both Marcal and O'Hara testified that about midnight someone entered the polling place and engaged Platt and his assistants in a conversation in a rear room of the barber shop where the voting had taken place. Meanwhile, the ballots were on the table, Upon

### A Child's Song

ONE winter morning early  
I rose an hour too soon,  
And found the air all silver  
With stars about the Moon.

The Moon herself was waning,  
O such a withered thing!  
A sheaf that fell unheeded  
In heaven's harvesting.

The sky was like an orchard  
Where good Saint Michael goes,  
With endless blossom blanching  
Along the starry rows.

A star for every blossom,  
With angles in each tree—  
Ten thousand times ten thousand  
To shake it down on me.

WILFRED THORLEY.

### Rand School Notes

On Saturday, April 11, at 1:30 p. m., Scott Nearing will discuss the question, "Must We Fight Japan?" in his Current Events Course at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

On Tuesday evening, April 14, at 8:30 p. m., Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg will lecture on "Guiding the Child's Leisure."

On Thursday, April 16, at 8:30 p. m., Dr. Margaret Daniels will continue her lectures on Psychology.

On Friday, April 17, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Louis Untermeyer will give his last Talk on Modern Poetry. His subject will be "Poetry and Propaganda—Giovannitti, Oppenheimer and others."

At 7:00 p. m. (Friday) Dr. Morris H. Kahn will discuss "The Influence of Environment and Heredity" in his course on Heredity and Eugenics.

### For Statue to Hardie

A number of Labor M. P.'s, including George Lansbury and Tom Johnston, are taking steps for the presentation of a request to the First Commissioner of Works to have a statue of Keir Hardie erected in the Members' Lobby of the House of Commons.

It is thought that in view of Keir Hardie's eminence as a Labor pioneer, and the fact that he was the first chairman of the Parliamentary Labor party, now the second party in England, the request should secure ready assent.

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# "WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT"

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

When public utilities fall out the public gets a peep behind the scenes. This is happening while the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company and the Philadelphia Electric Company are accusing each other's management of being brutish.

It is a battle of bullion. As in every pugilistic scrap, the spectators foot the bill while the principals divide the swag. Similarly it is in the more or less edifying dispute between the two financial crowds in the City of Brotherly Love and intense graft.

Both crowds accuse each other of mismanagement, wholesale looting and sundry other malpractices. Both prove their case.

Curiously enough, each makes its appeal for support in the public press upon the contention that higher dividends will be forthcoming should such support be voted. Each modestly abstains from pointing out that bigger returns can come only with reduced value to the consumer. Their slogan could very well be: Less service, more dividends!

The Philadelphia Electric Company boasts that its net income has increased 256 per cent in six years. It claims that the better-

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## Railroaders Appeal for Eugene Debs

St. Joseph, Mo., Lodge 43 of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen have adopted a set of resolutions asking for the restoration to Eugene V. Debs of his civil rights. They recite the malignant unreason of the times in which Debs was indicted, the flagrant injustice of his incarceration for three years, the nobility of his life, the absolutely spotless loyalty of the man for the working class, the significance of his great life in this country; and they point out the meanness of depriving such a man of his citizenship. The lodge caps its resolutions with:

"We do hereby petition our worthy International President, Brother D. B. Robertson, as well as our National Legislative Representative, Brother Arthur J. Lovell, to act in conjunction in using their best efforts and influence, directed through the proper channels, to prevail upon Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States, to restore Eugene V. Debs to full citizenship. . . ."

Every organized Labor body in the United States should duplicate this action and do so at once.

ment with the Philadelphia Transit Company has been but 17 per cent in the same time.

Only a financial acrobat can tell how well these figures have been juggled. Possibly the Public Service Commission will be stirred into examining these figures, as well as those offered as counter by the traction trust.

**Super-Power Gang Action**  
The interest of the public is really more than local. So far as the transit company goes, little need be said. It has been salvaged from financial ruin by sharp curtailment of service and steep increase in fares. It is far behind in passenger requirements. The city had to use its money to build the last elevated road and is constructing the new subway. That is the only way it could be done.

What matters more is the status of the Philadelphia Electric Company. This is a Drexel-Stotesbury-Morgan subsidiary. As such, it is promoting a super-power development on the Susquehanna River at Conowingo. The bankers are to tap the waterworks to the tune of several million dollars. Naturally, the consumers will foot the bill when they purchase current.

This is a grave danger in several respects.

To foist the load of such excess charges against the power system is bad enough. But to let the elec-

tric company dam the river and the development there for its own selfish monopoly is much worse.

And a monopoly it will have. Thus, the Philadelphia Transit Company threatened to build its own power generating plant. To this the spokesmen for the electric company replied: "The Public Service Commission pursues the wise policy of refusing to permit competition in a territory where the existing company provides adequate service at reasonable rates."

**Commission Aids Monopolists**  
Unnecessary to say, the Pennsylvania commission has been very liberal in allowing the utilities to set the rates.

But if the commission is here accurately reported, then the electric company is now a trust with monopoly privileges. Better than that, the commission actively connives with it to restrain competition and limit trade.

Needless to say, the hour has long gone when the Sherman Anti-Trust Law can be invoked to any useful public purpose. It has teeth only against Labor.

But trustification having been consummated in the electrical light and power field, there is imperative need for drastic public action. Of this there can be no doubt.

Such is the finding of Governor Pinchot, in submitting to the Legislature the able report on giant

power of his board of survey. Says he:

"The development of the network of interconnected lines is so rapid that a delay of even five years in establishing effective public control will bring Pennsylvania and the Nation face to face with the immediate threat of an overwhelming and almost uncontrollable electric monopoly. If co-operation is withheld or impossible, then the next and the inevitable appeal is to Federal regulation. If here again the co-operation of the companies toward securing really effective regulation in the public interest should be refused, then the companies themselves may force the people in self-defense to turn to the only remaining possibility, which is public ownership."

### Dream of Engineers

Now, it is evident that such interstate corporations as the Philadelphia Electric Company, tapping the Conowingo project in Maryland, and supplying current in several states, cannot be effectively dealt with by a Pennsylvania commission. Federal action alone would suffice. The emergency is here. What will happen?

The dream of the engineers is to empty all coal and water-made electrical energy into a common pool, from which consumers can draw at will. This is what is meant by giant power, as against the super- or extra-power of individual companies concerned only with their selfish earnings. Giant power also implies service at such reasonable rates as to make electricity as accessible to the small home as to the large industry for purposes now done by manual labor. The dream of the engineers is sure to be realized.

But is it not clear that the time has passed for dallying with the evil? If there be remedy short of public ownership, this is the time for the Governor to propose it and for the Legislature to adopt the measure. Will anything be done?

On the other hand, what is wrong with the conservation policy of keeping and making the natural resources of the nation the property of the people? Why must electrical energy run the gamut of evils paralleled with other industrial enterprises before it is rescued in the

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# KAROLYI BREAKS HIS SILENCE

(Continued from Page 1.)

By COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI

I am not a Bolshevik; although I would not be afraid to say so if I were. I am a Socialist. The trouble is that public opinion, especially in the United States, does not always differentiate between Socialists and the Bolsheviks. I am an evolutionist. My land reform is based on private ownership, which is proof that I am not a Bolshevik. I am a theoretical Socialist, but I do not think Socialistic views can be applied everywhere at the same time to the same extent.

What is good in Europe is not necessarily good in America. What is good for one country is not always good for another. These things are graduated and shaded by historical and economic possibilities. In a densely populated continent like Europe, these social reforms must come quickly. In a country like America, more thinly populated, these questions are not so acute.

I do not think that parliamentary democracy in its old stage is tenable any more. It must be readjusted to meet modern views of life. Even under democracy the will of the masses cannot always express itself. I am inclined to think that a kind of recall system will probably be one of the corrections of democracy. Another may be a system of special parliaments, one for economic affairs, one for foreign policies, one for hygienic and social problems, etc. These would have meetings like conferences or conventions. I would also have much local government, on one hand, and economic centralization on certain big lines on the other hand. I wish to emphasize, however, that while I think all these things would be good for Europe, with its great overpopulation and its war losses, I do not think them necessarily applicable to the United States.

must first take a pledge from him that he will not gamble any more. If you are to give a country a loan, you must not have material security that it will not follow a breakneck policy.

Now, what are the safeguards America ought to demand before she gives a loan? She should demand real democracy, freedom of support and real liberty—and then you can be sure of the will of the people having a way to express itself. Ninety-nine and nine-tenths of the population of any European country would be against wars of revenge and wars in general.

Before the international loan was granted to Hungary last year I suggested several conditions which were rejected because they would have broken the back of the Horthy Government, but the loan should never have been granted except under those conditions.

### What Hungary Needs

These conditions were: The Allies should demand that Hungary should decide under universal suffrage what kind of government she wanted—republic or monarchy. Under the present regime nobody knows what kind of government Hungary has. Second,

establishment of freedom of speech and the press. They pretend they have an unmuzzled press, but the fact is that the Government has a monopoly of the paper supply and will not furnish newspaper to a newspaper that doesn't suit it. Third, the prisoners' camps should be closed. These are used for a disgusting sort of persecution. Nobody whose liberty is an inconvenience can be thrown into prison, not for crime, but merely for suspicion, generally on the vague charge that he is a Bolshevik. Fourth, Jews should be allowed to inscribe themselves in the universities. Fifth, the Fascist organizations should be disbanded. These are not regular troops, but bands that march around under Awakening Magyar banners. They are sometimes like the Ku Klux Klan.

If these conditions are not met, and if Hungary is supplied with more and more foreign money, it will simply mean the fanning of new flames of war in Central Europe. This money that has gone and may go into Hungary is being used to rebuild the old imperialistic machine, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the German alliance, which is bound to break out in a war of aggression

against the Little Entente that probably will involve the whole of Europe.

### Prevented From Telling Truth

This is what America must understand. This is the personal reason why the Hungarian Government has done everything to prevent me from speaking of these plain truths which have raised the curtain and which would have enabled the American public to see behind the scenes instead of through the smoked glasses of official statements.

I must say that, although I feel it very unjust, I am pleased that I was prevented from speaking while I was in the United States. My words probably would have been only a call in the desert, but the fact that I was stopped from expressing myself drew the attention of the public toward me. I think that the publicity which my cause received in that way will outweigh all the efforts and millions spent on the mean, stupid and lying propaganda against me.

Of course, they will be asking for another loan in six months or a year, and after that probably ten more loans. Economic conditions in Hungary are frightful. Just before I left New York a returned traveler told me that conditions in Budapest now are worse than they ever were in Vienna.

If America pours her money into Hungary under the existing conditions, and if there is another war in the next few years, America will have financed it. I can understand the attitude of the Horthy Government in trying to keep me bottled up but I cannot understand why America should fall in line with it. I cannot understand why Washington should have treated me as it did, merely because Gladys Vanderbilt married Count Szechenyi.

### A Vision

On, happy earth! out of the blood of generations  
Life will yet blossom, innocent  
And will, we  
And thou, my planet, shall be  
cleansed of lamentations,  
A jade-green star in the moon-silvered skies.  
—Lunacharski.



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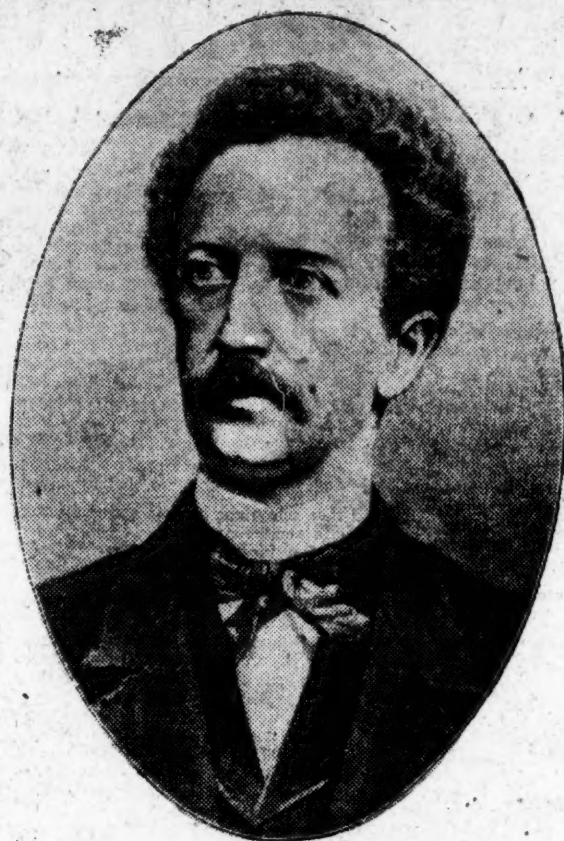
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# LASSALLE'S LIFE AND DEEDS

By JACOB BERNSTEIN

## The Accomplishments of One of The Pillars of German Socialism, Whose Centenary Is Now Being Celebrated



Ferdinand Lassalle, 1825-1864

ONE of the great truths established by history is the common aphorism that the age produces the men it requires. It is not the man that makes the time, but the time that makes the man. A new era requires help at its birth, and those who render such aid are spoken of later in history as its heralds. The middle period of the nineteenth century saw in Prussia, during the reign of Frederick William IV, and that of his successor, his brother, William I, growing political unrest followed by revolution; industrial development, widening the gulf between the classes and intensifying the dependence and the uncertainty of life of the workers. Then came the great industrial crisis of 1857, lasting a few years, with poverty and untold misery in its trail, followed, a few years later, by the great constitutional conflict of the early sixties, between the Crown and the Parliament. It was, therefore, a period of great political upheavals, and still greater social and economic unrest. A great leader who could arouse, inspire and enthuse large masses was the great need of the hour, and such a man was the now immortal Ferdinand Lassalle.

Lassalle was born on April 11, 1825, in Breslau, the son of a prosperous Jewish silk merchant. A loving and inspiring child, he received a good deal of care and attention from his parents, particularly from the mother, who gave him constant thought and love. Already in his early youth he displayed unusual mental strength and independence, so that he soon incurred the displeasure of his teachers at school. Bad marks, followed by worse reports, led Ferdinand to forge these reports with his mother's signature. The school was getting too uncomfortable for him, with the result that, at the age of 15, and contrary to the wishes of his father, who intended for him a university training, he insisted upon a transfer to the Commercial School at Leipzig, where he remained for about a year, when he realized that the life of a tradesman would be distasteful to him. Neither did he care for the professions, since "the doctor and the lawyer are both tradesmen who traffic with their knowledge." He studied at the universities of Ber-

lin and Breslau, giving his main attention to philosophy and philology. In 1845 he visited Paris to study and see the world-city. Among other prominent persons he met here was Heine, who, subsequently christened him "the Messiah of the nineteenth century." As to whether he met Marx, who had been living in Paris at this time, is not definitely known.

Upon his return home, Lassalle met the Countess von Hatzfeld, who was engaged in an uphill fight, against the Count, for a divorce and the restitution of a fortune. Lassalle, a bare youth of twenty; the Countess, almost 39, cultured and still attractive. She accepted his offer to conduct her litigation, although Lassalle was not a lawyer, and had never studied law. The Count referred to him as a "stupid young Jew" after he had heard of it. This fight took the better part of ten years of Lassalle's life. Eventually he brought the Count to his knees, securing to the Countess her freedom and a fortune, and to himself, under an agreement with her, an income of some twenty thousand marks per year for life.

When the Revolution of '48 broke out, Lassalle's activity in the Hatzfeld case had almost condemned him to political inactivity. It was only after he was acquitted on the charge of "inciting to the theft of a casket" that he found some leisure, and at once he threw himself into the fight on the side of the Radical Democrats whose official paper was the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, of which Marx was the editor. Marx was also a member of the District Committee, with which Lassalle frequently communicated. Lassalle contributed occasional articles to the Rheinische Zeitung which brought him to the editorial office. He thus had frequent opportunities to get in close touch with Marx, and through such associations Lassalle was probably thus converted to Socialism. A warm friendship thus ensued between the two men which thereafter led to frequent correspondence, when Marx had gone to London, and to occasional meetings. An intimate friendship, however, never developed. For that their characters and temperaments were fundamentally different, besides differences in points of view on some theoretical and practical questions. Marx, outside of the agitator and revolutionist, was the quiet, reserved thinker, and system builder; Lassalle was temperamental, emotional, a born agitator, a natural leader of men, possessed of an indomitable, unbounded, unlimited and arrogant will-power and supreme self-confidence.

When, in November, 1848, the Government proclaimed a state of siege, and the reaction broke loose, Lassalle, like Marx, and the party behind them, took an attitude which in the eyes of the Government amounted to treason. On Nov. 22 Lassalle delivered a speech for which he was indicted on a charge of urging the people to armed resistance and to refrain from paying taxes. After spending six months in jail the trial came up before a jury, and Lassalle was acquitted, as was also Marx.

Upon the completion of the Hatzfeld case, Lassalle devoted himself to literary and scientific work. He was an ardent disciple of Hegel; the latter recognized the ancient Greek philosopher, Heraclitus, as his forerunner, and so it would be quite natural for Lassalle to have his interest aroused in this ancient thinker. The fact that he was difficult to understand, that his own contemporaries and the later Greek philosophers were never sure whether they understood him correctly, and by reason of which difficulty and uncertainty Heraclitus was nicknamed the Obscure, did not at all keep Lassalle from an undertaking to write a treatise on "The Philosophy of Heraclitus the Obscure," which was completed and brought out in 1858.

In commenting upon this undertaking, Edward Bernstein says: "That he (Lassalle) should have chosen this thinker of all others as the subject for his researches... is strikingly characteristic of Lassalle. And what attracted Lassalle even more than the teaching of Heraclitus... was the conviction that here only by brilliant achievement could laurels be won. And with this longing to dazzle all men by some extraordinary achievement... Lassalle was convinced that he was equal to any task he might set himself. This boundless self-confidence was the bane of his life. It helped him, indeed, to undertake and to carry through things from which thousands, even though with Lassalle's intellectual gifts, would have shrunk; but, on the other hand, it was the cause of many fatal mistakes, and finally of his unhappy end" (Ferdinand Lassalle, as a Social Reformer). The principal work by Lassalle, brought out in 1861,

is his "System of Acquired Rights," the sub-title of which gives the key to its scope—"A Reconciliation of Positive Rights with the Philosophy of Law." It is an attempt to apply the historical method to legal ideas and institutions. The great jurist and founder of the historical school of law, Karl-Friedrich Savigny, pronounced it the ablest legal work written since the sixteenth century.

Herman Onken, in his Biography of Lassalle (Vol. 2, "Politiker und National-Oekonom"), speaking of Lassalle's "Philosophy of Heraclitus," says: "It was still just a time when a profoundly erudite philosophic-philological work would assure its author a place in Berlin society." Lassalle had been aching for some time for a wider sphere of life than the Rhenish province could afford him; he wanted intercourse with notable personalities. Through the instrumentality of Humboldt, who admired, and on one occasion referred to him as "the wonder-child," Lassalle obtained permission to settle in Berlin, whose aristocracy of culture and intellect opened its door to him.

The threshold of a period is now approaching when Lassalle was about to enter his career as an agitator, the results of which made him famous the world over.

At this time the workers in Germany were almost completely disorganized; the constitutional struggle had been going on, and the condition of the masses had been appalling. Most of the workers supported the Liberal party, but it lacked backbone to take and maintain a militant attitude towards the Government. There were scattered, here and there, individuals and

cost of production, the replacing of local by world markets; the enormous increase in productive wealth, due to the revolutionary progress of industry, gradually brings to the fore a new economic class. The power which the ownership of land bestowed, with all its concomitants, is gradually, but steadily, pushed to the background, sinking the owners, the lords and barons to a subordinate position, now replaced by the third estate—the bourgeois class. A revolution in the actual conditions of society has already taken place which now requires external recognition and legal sanction; this is what the French Revolution meant. This is, generally, the case with all revolutions; that revolutions cannot be made, and to try to make one "is the folly of undeveloped people who have no conception of the laws of history." The growth of this third estate the capitalist class, carries with it the germs of a new class—the fourth estate—the proletariat. This class eventually, due to its class condition in modern society, must develop into a revolutionary class destined to place civilization on a new basis. "The high honor of this, your universal-historical, mission will now require your best thoughts. The vices of the oppressed, the idle indifference of the thoughtless, and even the harmless frivolity of the petty-minded, no longer behoove you now. You are the rock upon which the church of the present must be built."

This masterly speech, which may be regarded as an introduction to the realm of Socialist philosophy, resulted in a prosecution on a charge of inciting the propertyless

sumers; therefore, to improve their condition permanently, they must start large, voluntary productive associations, for which the State should furnish the necessary capital. "The art of practical success consists in concentrating all forces upon the most important point."

Don't look either to the right or to the left, be deaf to all that is not called universal and direct suffrage, or that is not related thereto, and may lead to it."

The committee invited Lassalle and Schultze to appear before the District Workers' Congress at Frankfurt-on-Main. Schultze refused the invitation, and so Lassalle had the field to himself. He spoke for four hours at this gathering on May 19, 1863. A resolution was adopted by a vote of 400 to 1 to form the General German Workingmen's Association along his lines. This was actually formed at Leipzig on May 23. The organization, according to the by-laws prepared by Lassalle, was strictly centralized, giving the president almost dictatorial powers with a term of office for five years. Lassalle was elected president and thus became the leader of the new movement.

Lassalle now carried on a most vigorous, fiery and stormy propaganda in Berlin, Frankfurt, Dueseldorf, and in the industrial centres on the Rhine. In these latter, as missionary of the new gospel, his carriage would often be followed by many cheering thousands with flowers, wreaths and flags resembling triumphal processions. However, it was apparently a personal tribute; the enthusiasm was short-lived as the practical results were insignificant, the workers being apathetic and indifferent. And during a short period of a little over two years he had to resist about a dozen criminal charges.

It is impossible to point out the varied and manifold activities of this remarkable man, nor to indicate some of his theoretical and many tactical mistakes. While in his ultimate goal Lassalle was, of course, a Socialist, his practical programme, as well as his iron law of wages, will bear no critical analysis. Despite his mistakes, and he undoubtedly made many, history has never yet brought forth a great thinker, or leader, in any line of human endeavor who was free therefrom. George Brandes, in his book on Lassalle, well says: "That a distinguished scholar should have made occasional mistakes is nothing to the purpose. The stream of time sweeps away the errors and leaves the truth for the inheritance of humanity."

On Aug. 28, 1864, Lassalle fought a duel with Count von Rackowitz, in a suburb of Geneva, for the hand of Helene von Denninges, receiving a mortal wound, of which he died three days later. His premature death caused a veritable consternation among his followers, and for years to come gave birth to a Lassalle cult, if not a religion. His "Workers' Programme," "The Open Reply," "The Workers' Reader," and other pamphlets, it has been said, have converted hundreds of thousands in Germany to the cause of Socialism.

It is idle to speculate as to what he might have accomplished were it not for his early death. One thing is certain, Lassalle was one of the most unique and extraordinary men, a real genius, the type of which probably only one in centuries is given to mankind. To him, for many generations to come, will belong the laurels of having done great things for the German workers. By training them to understand their historical mission, by drilling and disciplining them; by his knowledge and understanding how to bring about a Labor movement where none existed; by arousing the workers, imbuing them with independence, strengthening their sense of honor, and inspiring them

with confidence in their own interests, he laid the basis out of which subsequently grew the German Social Democracy. In these undying merits lay his great historical significance and because of them his memory will forever be cherished and his virtues emulated.

\*The writer will lecture on Lassalle, on April 16th, 8:30 p. m., at 4215 Third Avenue, corner Tremont Avenue, for a fuller and critical exposition of the subject.

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## A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Bedtime Stories  
for the  
Bourgeoisie

Well, boys and girls (sure, the girls are allowed to read this stuff; it just goes to show how tolerant we are getting toward the weaker sex, let them read the same things as we men and go to lectures with us and even smoke), we have just found out how to get awfully rich.

Some years ago, when we decided to get awfully rich, we subscribed to one of those correspondence courses where the guy reads all the little books about success and how to get to be president of the company, and then one night he comes dashing in to neck his wife and holler: "My dear, congratulate me! I'm vice-president of the Herring Fertilizer Company, and it's all because I took that course."

But while we read all the little books that the feller in Scranton sent us and answered all the questions he could think up, nobody but the City of New York figured out that we were filthy with jack.

The city told us that we owed them \$750 for personal taxes. Personal taxes, you understand, mean taxes on yachts, pianos, oil paintings, polo ponies and grand organs.

When they broke the glad news to us that we were officially much better off than we had imagined we went down to the Municipal Building and said all the personal property we had was a second-hand Remington typewriter and Isabel, our black cat. We really cheated about Isabel, because at the time she was in her usual condition and we had reason to believe that the stork or whatever bird it is that brings kittens was hovering in our neighborhood. But if we had to pay taxes every time the stork came to Isabel we might as well pick out a nice cool cell in the Ludlow-street jail and surrender ourselves to a life sentence.

However, they said that no matter how hard we swore, we couldn't swear off the \$750, because we should have come down there and done it in person when they sent us the notice. Even when we explained that we were in Herrin, Illinois, working for the miners, and had taken all our yachts and oil paintings and polo ponies and grand organs out there, they continued to be snooty about the business and said they would sue us.

So now we got a suit. Just in time for Easter, too.

But if you want to get unofficially rich, here's how. Hold your hats and we will let you in on the Secret of Success.

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Sounds simple, doesn't it? Well, it is. First you get a plot and then you sit down at a typewriter, practically any make will do, and write 5,000 words about the plot.

Just to get you started we will show you how to go about it.

"Worumski!" the voice of the tall, blonde young American cut like a whip-lash through the fetid atmosphere of the low dive, "you have insulted my country and her institutions. You have vilified my flag. Now take your punishment like a man."

At these words, Mortimer Arnold kicked back his chair, his blue eyes blazing with righteous anger, and strode towards the beer-stained table where Worumski, the cowardly little Russian who but a moment before had been loud in his criticism of the Interstate Commerce Commission, sat gibbering with fear. The next instant Mortimer had the miscreant by the collar and was dragging him to his feet. Crack! Crack! Like pistol-shots the blows of the tall, blonde young American fell flush on the jaw of the trembling anarchist. "Take that and that!" cried Mortimer, so that all in the room might hear; "I will teach you to join the Committee of Forty-eight and criticize the Federal Reserve Act and our other glorious institutions." In a death-like silence, the stricken Worumski went tottering from the room. It was evident to all present that by his actions the intrepid, blonde, young American had not made a friend of the seditious Russian.

From now on, you see, it's easy. Worumski slinks back to his den, vowing revenge on Mortimer. Mortimer suspects that Worumski is a member of a seditious gang of Reds, plotting to overthrow Fred Marvin of the New York Commercial, and, with Fred's assistance, Mortimer trails Worumski to the head den of this gang in a building on East 15th street, which is disguised as an educational institution.

From the moment that Fred and Mortimer step into the elevator all sorts of things begin to happen. First, the elevator breaks down. Mortimer, suspecting a fiendish plot, gets off and walks up five flights.

Fred goes back to the New York Commercial and writes a five-column story about the plot.

On the fifth floor, Mortimer comes to the den of the Black Panther. He discovers that the Black Panther is the den name used by Eddie Levinson. (Hats off, the gag is passing by.)

Mortimer and the Black Panther engage in a life-and-death struggle, swaying precariously on the edge of Joe, the Penman's, desk.

Just as it looks as though it were all up with our hero, the Black Panther gets a telephone call from his wife in the Bronx, who wants to know what the hell is detaining him.

The Black Panther releases the tall, blonde young American and Mortimer discovers the significant and alarming fact that upon the wall over his head is a picture of Karl Marx.

The Black Panther speeds to the Bronx in a taxicab, which he pays for from the latest consignment of Moscow gold, and Mortimer calls up Archie Stevenson and tells him to come a-running, that he has found the headquarters of the Reds.

Archie, however, falls down on the job, having been there before and not being much interested in these matters any more, now that Helen Gould has cut off her contributions, and Mortimer is left alone to face the ferocious Joe, the Penman.

Now we don't want to make this too easy for you. So we won't tell you what happened to Mortimer, except to assure you that he got out of the den all right and married Chauncey Depew's niece and lived happily ever after.

Next week we will show you how to use this

(Continued in Last Column, This Page)

## THE RADICAL



—Drawn by Hendrik Willem Van Loon

## "AND HE TURNED THE TRICK"

By HENRY FRUCHTER

WE in the Socialist movement are too prone to give our entire measure of appreciation to the leaders, ignoring the fact that with a Eugene V. Debs at the head there are many young Debs's in our midst hungrily in need of a slight share of our esteem. The veteran in our movement is generally strengthened by a deep, inner idealism that is mature and independent of external forces; it is the young man, who is new and enthusiastic, who needs the stimulation that comes from encouragement and appreciation of his fellow-comrades. A little bit more of praise and less of cynicism and derision—these will go a long way toward keeping aglow the idealism and interest of our youthful adherents.

I am led to these observations by a recent performance of one of our younger Socialists that deserves the highest credit.

Warren Fitzgerald, a member of the Y. P. S. L., was suddenly promoted to the position of organizer of the New England section of our movement. It was a big job, involving great responsibility. Warren was determined to make good. With resolution, self-confidence and a rich fund of ideas, he set about the task of giving Boston a big affair, something to arouse the hopes of the comrades and inject new spirit into its local movement. He had heard about some big debates being held in New York. "I want

to arrange a big debate," he telegraphed to the National Labor Forum of New York, "a debate in Symphony Hall, Boston." The Forum wired back: "Symphony Hall is a big place, where is the money, what are the chances of success, who will be responsible?" "I will be responsible!" answered Warren.

Well, Symphony Hall was rented, the debate took place, and Boston was treated to one of the most dignified, excellently managed, intellectual discussions in years. Warren earned some money for the party, enhanced the prestige of the movement a hundred-fold and placed himself immediately in the foremost ranks of local organizers.

Of course, successful affairs of this type have been arranged before. But what stands out, however, was the splendid manner of arrangement, the system and efficiency that marked every move, the enterprise and resourcefulness that enabled him to literally "turn them away" by the thousands! And I am sure it will not be detracting from the credit of Fitzgerald's co-workers to say that had it not been for him the calendar of activity of Boston for the month of March would have been marked by a zero, instead of being credited with a performance of great importance and success.

And as if to reward this young enthusiast, I just learn that the only Socialist organizer in the United States who will have Eugene V. Debs for May 1 is Mr. Warren Fitzgerald of Boston!

## Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society

Notice is hereby given to all the members that the assessment amounts to 10 cents for each hundred dollars of insurance. Assessments will be received at the following places:

**NEW YORK - MANHATTAN**  
In the office of the Society, No. 241 East 84th Street.  
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From April 13-16 inclusive

**WEST HOBOKEN, TOWN OF UNION, WEST NEW YORK, etc.**  
In Nepirodas Hall, No. 420 Bergenline Avenue, West Hoboken, New Jersey.  
From April 17-23 inclusive

**BROOKLYN, N. Y.**  
In Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, No. 949 Wiloughby Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.  
From April 24-May 18 inclusive

**LONG ISLAND CITY AND VICINITY**  
In Klenks Hall, 413 Astoria Avenue, corner 13th Avenue, Long Island City.  
From May 18-21 inclusive

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In E. Ploetz's Echo Cafe at Northern Boulevard and 102d Street, Corona, L. I.  
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**BRONX, N. Y.**  
At 4215 Third Avenue, Northwest corner of 3rd Avenue and Tremont Avenue, Bronx, New York.  
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All these offices will be closed on Sundays, also on May 1st (being a holiday of the working-class), and on May 30th, Decoration Day).

The office hours for all places are from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M., Saturdays to 1 P. M.

THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT

Charlie  
the  
Terrible

THE other day when I was working, my buddy was off and the turn was coming slow. Nobody else was around and while I was drilling a hole—I got to studying and thinking, for company—like a fellow will do, you know. Now, if I had hit a sulphur or a black-jack in that hole, I would have had my hands full, which would have kept my head empty. As a result of the placing of that sulphur and the black-jack several million years ago, I got the chance to speculate about Charlie, the Terrible, that new Vice-President the country's got. I got to wondering what brand Charlie uses, anyway. You've heard the story of the rabbit, haven't you, that got one drop of corn liquor on his tongue and then hunted up a bull dog to spit in his face? Well, I thought of that and then just kept on speculating.

I began at the beginning of Charlie's career, at that first great deed of his, when he stationed himself well behind the lines, pulled a fierce face, swore lustily at the Germans, and thus won the war. They made him a General for that. After the war was over some people thought some other people had been careless in spending some of the billions gathered in by the sale of Liberty bonds. That struck me as queer at the time, for money never is wasted or stolen in war time. But anyway, a committee from Congress was appointed and sent for witnesses. And right away in walks Charlie. He sits down, throws that fierce look at the committee members, the stenographer and the reporters, and everybody was uneasy from that minute on. They asked him his name, age and occupation, like they do at a coroner's inquest over a coal digger, and they asked him if any books were kept about that money. And right here is where he got his reputation as a he-man. He let loose that terrible, scorching, blistering oath that he had used on the Germans. "Hell and Maria! We didn't have time for such business!" The result was something awful. I got this straight from a fellow whose wife's cousin is a stenographer in the Agriculture Department at Washington. In the rush to get out, three Congressmen got a broken leg apiece, one newspaper man broke his collar-bone rolling down the Capitol steps, and they all lost their hats and heads, and I guess none of them ever went back because that was the last of the hearings. Which explains why Charlie was chosen to run for Vice-President—after Borah and Lowden wouldn't have it.

Then Charlie found himself on the trail of Battling Bob and he wore his fierce face every day. He swore at the farmer, he swore at the workman, he swore to save the Constitution. And then on Inauguration Day he went into the Senate to introduce himself to the bunch that he's to preside over, and he swore at them, with the fiercest face he had ever worn and with his mouth pulled down at the corners something awful. He stamped his feet, waved his arms, shook his fists and might-nigh outdone Billy Sunday.

Now after having this picture of Charlie, it's hard to believe what I've found out, that he was raised in velvet pants, with a velvet blouse, with a big broad collar that lay over his shoulders. You know the kind of kid that Briggs, the cartoonist, says needs a friend. Never sold rags and old iron to get money to buy tobacco—never shot a snipe when a kid. Why, he learned to smoke that funny pipe just a few years ago in the army! Seems like the Daweses thought little Charlie's talents ran to music so they put him at the violin. Now Charlie ranks as a composer—he has written one little piece. You'd expect from Charlie, the Terrible, regular Hell an' Maria music, where all horns blare as loud as possible, but it's not, it's just a gentle little piece of music, almost a lullaby, real sentimental-like. When I heard it on the radio I wondered and wondered, but when I found out about the velvet pants I understood.

Now, it may have struck some folks as awful strange that when Cal needed Charlie to untie that Senate vote to put the Sugar Trust man over for Attorney-General, Charlie was sleeping in his hotel room. It was in the middle of the afternoon, the time for a nap for babies and grandfathers, but the energetic, vociferous Charlie—what could explain it?

All the Sherlocks in the country have been trying to solve the mystery—why the afternoon nap? No one seems to have figured it out—that is, no one but me, and I hereby announce it to a waiting world:

By nature Charlie was endowed with an angelic countenance. He is not the stern, grim, fierce he-man he looks to be. His mouth is one of those nice little Cupid's bow affairs, as one fellow said, one that any pretty girl would envy. Now this sort of a face and mouth were not in line with the sort of career Charlie craved. To make of himself a stern-faced capitalist, he put on that fierce face and pulled down the corners of that pretty mouth. And when he got in the war the face was made to appear fiercer and the corners of the mouth were pulled down more than ever. Now you try holding your face in an unnatural position all morning and see if you won't be obliged to rest it during the afternoon if you want to screw it back for the evening. The wearing of this fierce face of Charlie's cost the Sugar Trust its defeat. Simple, isn't it? But historians tell us that Rome was once saved by the cackling of geese.

No, folks, Charlie is not the hard character that he looks. It's another case of looks being deceiving. Charlie is a gentle soul. When he let out that outburst in that committee hearing, it was simply Helen Maria—not Hell an' Maria. He would dash his mouth with soap if the faintest little damn happened to slip out. He just don't. The only natural role for our Charlie to play in politics would be to serve as Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Attired again in the velvet pants, gentle Charlie could cease that tiring effort of trying to look terrible!

Adam Coaldigger.

plot in a Western setting, with bandits in place of Reds.

Just as a hint of the treat that's in store, we'll tell you the opening paragraph.

"Worumski!" the voice of the tall, blonde young American cut like a whip-lash through the fetid atmosphere of the Two Gulp Saloon, "you have insulted my girl friend. You have vilified my aunt. Now take your punishment like a man."

McAlister Coleman.

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## ON PARTY BUILDING

By JUDGE JACOB PANKEN

THE Socialist movement is confronted with important problems and with very fine opportunities. The abandonment on the part of Labor, at least for the time being, of the idea of an independent Labor party places the Socialist Party in the position of going forward, as the only political expression of Labor's cause. It will not serve any purpose, in this article, to discuss the whys and wherefores of the policies of the party in the recent few months.

The enthusiasm upon which our party lived must be revived. The apparent swing to more radical political views by Labor needs crystallization and organization.

It is peculiar, but true, that in any attempt to solve a problem, the most circuitous road is usually sought and employed. The open road ahead is not seen; the obvious overlooked. Put a searching mind to solve any question, and it will go in quest of something that others cannot see. I believe that most people will attempt to find their solutions of problems in the unstaked and unfrequented road.

What we really need is a simple plan of action. The Socialist Party to perform its duties to the Cause, carry on the propaganda, education, political campaigns and organization work, needs a large membership.

## Two Kinds of Recruits

There are two general sources from which the party can recruit its membership: the Trades Unionists and the enrolled Socialist voters. The most likely source is the body of enrolled Socialist voters. There are upward of 50,000 such enrolled Socialists in the City of New York alone.

In outlining my plan let me take a concrete case. In New York County there are a little more than 14,000 enrolled Socialist voters. These are not potential Socialists; they actually are Socialists. They have so declared themselves. Of course, a Socialist is not one in the true sense of the word until he is an active member of the organized Socialist movement. But these thousands have openly avowed their adherence to the Socialist cause.

Many thousands of the enrolled voters, I am sure, can be drawn into the party organization. The only question is, how? The simplest method, it seems to me, is the best.

There are, I am told, in New York County at least 1,000 in good standing in the party. These are scattered all over the county. Divide the 14,000 enrolled Socialists among the 1,000 Socialist Party members and you will find that there are fourteen enrolled Socialists to each party member. Every party member should be willing to have assigned to him fourteen enrolled Socialist voters. It should be obligatory with membership to take that assignment. That means that each party member will look after fourteen enrolled Socialists, get acquainted with them, make friends of them if possible, get on a personal basis with them. In a word, be answerable to the party for the enrolled Socialists assigned to him.

## Classifying Prospects

A card index would indicate the

progress made and act as a check on the efforts necessary to bring these enrolled Socialists into close contact with the Socialist movement.

It would be quite easy for each of us to prepare our index cards, if the county office were unable to do that. These index cards may be for each enrolled Socialist or for each member as the plan in its working out require. With reports on the work made at stated times, plans for the ultimate recruiting of these enrolled Socialists could be evolved and brought to fruition.

The branch and the city organizers should keep in touch with the members on this question and call for these reports if there be any lagging.

It seems to me that this plan is not only simple but absolutely workable with little effort. It will distribute the duties among all. What is more, it gives each of us a job, a job that none of us can not perform or should escape.

## Course Lectures Necessary

In connection with this plan the following should be considered. Instead of the haphazard lectures, unrelated, to one another, planless as they are being carried on now, courses should be organized and given consecutively by one lecturer.

These courses may be repeated in different parts of the city. In a city like New York it is quite possible to run several courses. We would need several lecturers. That can be done in cooperation with the Rand School.

I believe that these lecture courses can be made to be self-sustaining. Even if the price is put as low as one dollar for a course of eight lectures, they can be made to pay, if the enrolled voters, through the efforts of the comrades, are drawn to the lectures. If only a few of the fourteen in charge are induced to attend our finances are taken care of.

The work must dovetail. It must be systematized. Every effort

must coordinate with other efforts. A plan such as this will have a double purpose. It will add members to the Socialist Party and fit them for the Socialist activities they are gifted for.

## Winter Forums

I realize there are other and better suggestions, but they involve financial burdens that are at this moment beyond the party. This plan will help the party financially with no outlay. It is a work that each man can and ought to undertake.

In addition we ought to plan for the winter public forums. In New York we should have at least four such forums centrally located. While the speakers should come from all walks of life, the forums should be stamped as Socialist institutions.

These few suggestions are not very ambitious, but I think they have the merit of not being involved. They are workable and can be carried out immediately. They give us our next job, definite and possible.

I admit they are not extraordinary. Add to these few suggestions the distribution of properly prepared leaflets, including literature for trade unionists, or where possible personal contact, and we have a comprehensive plan that is workable.

I have taken New York as an example for this suggested work. With some modifications to suit local conditions it can be made effective everywhere.

## Naturalization Aid League

The Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Naturalization Aid League will be held next Sunday, April 12, at 2 p. m., at the Forward Hall, 175 East Broadway.

The new immigration laws, the more severe measures regarding naturalization, as well as the threatened laws on alien deportation—these have brought about a situation, according to the league, where the alien worker must seek naturalization without delay. The Naturalization Aid League has, during the year 1925, served almost 20,000 workers, the largest percent-

ONE HUNDRED years ago, April 11, 1825, Ferdinand Lassalle was born and to the workers of Germany was given one of the most gifted men that ever served the Labor movement. His intellectual attainments were so remarkable that he towered above his German contemporaries. Even Bismarck, who hated everything in politics for which Lassalle stood, could not withhold his admiration for the scholarship of the man who more than any other helped to found the German Labor movement.

Wilhelm von Humboldt called him "Das Wunderkind"—"The Miraculous Child." It seemed to his contemporaries that Lassalle had traversed the whole field of human knowledge. History, law, economics, jurisprudence, philosophy and other sciences were an open book to him. He was the greatest orator Germany has produced, his power over his audiences, his logical exposition of any theme and his mastery of detail swept great audiences with intense conviction.

One reason for the early development of the Labor and Socialist movement in Germany was that at its very inception it had this gifted man to inspire the workers and to interpret the historical role of their class in history. Indicted and im-

prisoned for a short time because of his address on "The Workingmen's Program," his speech in court was, to quote Veblen, "in point of literary quality a masterpiece of forensic oratory."

By JAMES ONEAL

Lassalle indicted

He was indicted on the ground that he had incited the workers to rise against the ruling classes. His answer was that in the address that offended his prosecutors he had presented a scientific view of the necessity of fundamental change and that revolution no more implied violence than reform did. He challenged his enemies to permit the most eminent scholars of Germany to pass judgment upon the character of the address, a challenge that was not accepted. He presented to the court a view of reform and revolution which is as sound today as when he uttered it. He said:

"What, then, is the scientific meaning of this word 'revolution,' and how does revolution differ from reform? Revolution means transmutation, and a revolution is, accordingly, accomplished whenever, by whatever means, with or without shock or violence, an entirely new principle is substituted for what is already in effect. A reform, on the other hand, is effected in case the existing situation is maintained in point of principle. Here, again, it is not a question of the means. A reform may be effected by means of insurrection and bloodshed, and a revolution may be carried out in piping times of peace."

But the cards were stacked against Lassalle, and, like all ruling classes, his enemies thought they would silence him by imprisonment.

## His Great Merit

It is the merit of Lassalle that he had come to certain fundamental conclusions that agreed with those reached by Marx and Engels. "Nothing is more calculated to impress upon a class a worthy and moral character," he said, in "The Workingman's Program," than "that it is called upon to raise

the principle of its class to the principle of the entire age, to convert its idea into the leading idea of the whole of society and thus to form this society by impressing upon it its own character."

In his open letter to the National Labor Association of Germany in 1862 he clearly defined what course the political struggle of the working class should take. "The working class," he said, "must constitute itself an independent political party, based on universal equal suffrage: a sentiment to be inscribed on its banners, and forming the central principle of its action. The representation of the working class must be a fact in the legislative bodies of the nation. Nothing less will satisfy the awakened demands of the working classes."

One factor which he stressed was overdrawn. He believed that wages under the capitalist system were determined by an "iron law" which condemned the working class to a bare subsistence. For this reason he minimized the value of trade unions and did not recognize their great importance in raising the standard of living. Had he lived longer there is little doubt that experience and further study would have induced him to modify this view.

Lassalle was one of the greatest gifts to the working class of modern times and affection for him by the workers of all countries will deepen as his remarkable services to the Great Cause become better known.

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## On The International Front

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## THE INTERNATIONAL

**Changes on the Executive.**  
The Socialist Party of Argentina has appointed Eugenio Etchegoin, resident in Paris, as its representative on the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International. The Armenian Socialist Party has replaced Comrade Varandian by A. Isahakian as its member of the executive.

## SWITZERLAND

## Victories Justify Party's Policy.

Sweeping victories in municipal and cantonal elections in several parts of Switzerland in March are taken by political observers there as justifying the middle-of-the-road policy followed by the Social Democratic Party. Swerving neither to the Right—in the direction of the Gruetlians (a semi-Socialist organization), nor to the Left—in the direction of the Communists, the

Swiss Socialists now have the satisfaction of recording material gains in votes and representation, while not only their bourgeois opponents, but also their competitors for working class support, have suffered losses.

In Zurich, where the fight was bitter, the Socialists elected 55 aldermen, a gain of 11 seats, while the Communists fell from 13 to 9 and the Gruetlians from 5 to 1. The bourgeois parties had a net loss of three seats, bringing their total down to 60, and leaving the workers' representatives in a clear majority. As the Berner Tagwacht put it, Zurich is red! Due to nominations by the Communists and Gruetlians for the so-called Narrow City Council, a sort of Executive Committee for the city, the Socialists made no gains there, merely holding their three seats, against three Liberals, two Democrats and a Gruetliar. As was reported in The New Leader of March 21, the Zurich Socialists turned down a Communist proposal for an electoral pact.

In the cantonal election in Aargau the Socialists increased their representation from 51 to 61, at the expense of the bourgeois parties and the Gruetlians, who lost three seats they formerly held. The total bourgeois strength in the council is 139. In Winterthur the election to the Main Council did not change the relative strength of the Left and Right groups, the bourgeois parties holding their 31 seats, against 29 for the working class parties, but the Socialists in-

creased their representation from 24 to 27, while the Communists fell from 4 to 2 and the Gruetlians lost their sole seat. Even in the Canton of Vaud, where the party row over tactics resulting in the expulsion of Dr. Jeanneret as a "disguised Communist" last fall caused considerable hard feelings, local elections have shown no material falling off in the Socialist vote, and in some cases notable gains have been made. Compared with some of the other Cantons, the Vaud is rather weak in a Socialist sense.

That some of the Gruetlians are beginning to see that there is no more room for half-way working class parties is indicated by the fact that the Interlaken section, one of the strongest in the country, voted on March 14, to dissolve and join the Social Democratic Party.

## GERMANY

## More Gains at the Polls.

What the Berlin Vorwaerts called a good curtain-raiser for the Presidential election, occurred on March 22 in the Saxon city of Zeitz when the Socialists increased their vote in the municipal contest from 6,746 on May 4, 1924, to 7,730, although the total vote was 10 per cent less, while the Communist vote fell from 2,594 to 2,277, and the bourgeois vote from 9,984 to 9,168. The new city council consists of 14 Socialists, 4 Communists and 17 members of the bourgeois bloc that includes everything from the Demo-

crats to the "radicals." The bourgeois bloc and the Communist party each lost a seat.

On March 15, Dr. Heimerich, the Socialist candidate, was elected Mayor of Kiel by a vote of 29,384, against 20,736 for the People's Party (Big Business) nominee, and 16,814 for the Democratic contender. In Hamburg the Board of Aldermen elected a Senate (the city executive body) of seven Socialists, four Democrats and four People's party men, by a vote of 97 to two blanks. The Nationalists and the Racialists did not come to the session at which the election took place and the Communists made such a row that they had to be ejected before the ballots were cast.

## HUNGARY

## Socialists' Immunity Lifted.

Further evidence that the Horthy regime in Hungary regards the Social Democrats as its most dangerous foes, although they do not talk as wildly as some of the emigres living in safety abroad or the few remaining followers of Bela Kun, is found in recent happenings in the land of the White Terror. On March 20 the National Assembly, upon the request of the Attorney General's office, voted to suspend the Parliamentary immunity of Johann Vanczak, responsible editor of Nepszava, Budapest Socialist daily, so that he might be tried on twenty charges of violation of the press law, in addition to one for which he had already been sentenced to six months. On the same day the Assembly lifted the immunity of Deputies Emil Pikler and Stephen Farkas, Socialists, and Vincenz Nagy, Republican, so that they, together with Comrade Vanczak, might be prosecuted for the heinous offense of having at a dinner together dared to drink toasts to the Republic, Michael Karolyi, Oskar Jaszi and Martin Lovassy. While some radical bourgeois papers are occasionally fined and their editors jailed for alleged press crimes, which generally consist of telling the truth, Nepszava has the honor of being the special object of the attention of Horthy's minions.

## CUBA

## Socialist Club in Havana.

The first definite step toward a Cuban Labor Party was taken on March 20, when the Socialist Club of Havana was founded, under the presidency of Francisco Domenech, Cuban Labor delegate to the last general conference of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations.

## Undertakers

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Local 584, I. B. of T.

Office: 585 Hudson St. City.  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ANTHURIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.  
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East Broadway, Room 2  
F. J. STERNHINSKY, Pres. & Hon. Agent.  
NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

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MARTIN LAWLER, Secretary

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If the Box does not have this Label, the Cigars are NOT Union-Made.

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Of course not.  
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Well, that depends who you are.

If you are thoughtless and selfish, you wouldn't mind. If you are considerate and interested in the welfare of other people, you would avoid such food as if there were poison in it.

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THIS UNION LABEL

THIS UNION LABEL

**YOU HELP THE GREEDY BREAD TRUST AND HARM THE BAKERY WORKERS AND THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN!**

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Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union of America  
Organization Committee of Locals 87, 100, 162, 169 and 385



# UNION DIRECTORY

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

## The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President

ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

## The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.

Office 231 East 14th Street

Telephone Lexington 4180

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION

DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

## DISTRICT COUNCIL MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION  
Office: 3 WEST 16TH STREET  
Telephone Chelsea 2148  
The Council meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday.  
The Board of Directors meet every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.  
H. GREENBERG, President. S. LEFKOVITS, Manager.

## Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 46, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 231 E. 14th Street

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

Section Meetings

Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.

Brooklyn—167th St. & Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thursday at 8 P. M.

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

Bklyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—78 Montgomery St.

SAVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary.

## SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 5, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 23rd St. Madison Sq. 147

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY

TUESDAY AT 8 P. M.

D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

## United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11014, A. F. of L.

7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7082

Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday

night at 7:30 o'clock, at the office.

LOUIS FELDHEIM, President.

ED. GOTTESMAN, Secy-Treas.

L. D. BERGER, Manager

LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

## WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U.

117 Second Avenue

TELEPHONE ORCHARD 7106-7

A. SNYDER, Manager

MOLLY LIFSHITZ, 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, 8 West

21st Street. Telephone 7148—Watkins

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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

130 East 23rd St. Madison Square 1984

Executive Board meets every Monday

at 7 P. M.

D. GINGOLD, Manager

A. WEINGART, Secy-Treas.

## AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y.

Suite 701-715

Telephone: Stuyvesant 6300-1-2-3-4-5

SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Secy-Treas.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Telephone: Spring 7000-1-2-3-4

DAVID WOLF, General Manager

ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

## CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

700 Broadway, New York City.

Telephone: Stuyvesant 4330, 9510, 9511

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 5506.

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, Secy-Treas.

## PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Office: 178 EAST BROADWAY.

ORCHARD 1357

Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.

MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager.

HYMAN NOVODVOR, Secy-Treasurer

## Children's Jacket Makers

of Gr. N. Y., Loc 10, Sec. A. C. W. A.

Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8381

Executive Board meets every Friday

at 8 P. M.

MAX B. BOYARSKY, Chairman.

A. LEVINE, Rec. Secy.

M. LENCITZ, Fin. Secy.

## Lapel Makers & Pairers

Local 161, A. C. W. A.

Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3809

Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.

ALBERT SNYDER, Chairman.

KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary.

ANTHONY V. PROISE, Bus. Agent.

## Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10.

Office 535 Bushwick Av. Bkn. Stagg 10180

Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 P. M.

Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.

J. Berowitz, Chairman.

L. Fritelson, Rec. Secy.

J. Portner, Bus. Agent.

## Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.

Executive Board Meets Every Thursday

at the Amalgamated Temple

11-27 Clinton Pl. Bkn. N. Y.

LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman

H. TAYLOR, Rec. Secy

LEON RECK, Fin. Secy

## INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

GENERAL OFFICE:

62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y.

Phone Stuyvesant 4408

CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman

OSIP WAINIKY, General Manager

## PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Mark's Place.

Executive Board meets every Wednesday at 8 P. M.

LOUIS SMITH, President.

MORRIS WADMAN, J. KNAPPER, ANNA MUSICANT.

HERMAN WIENER and JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

## MILLINERY & LADIES' STRAW HAT WORKERS' UNION, Local 24

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America

Up-town Office: 50 West 37th Street. Phone Pittsby 6784

Down-town Office: 210 East 5th Street. Phone Orchard 1042

Executive Board meets every Tuesday at the Up-town Office

SAUL SCHULMAN, Chairman Exec. Bd.

J. JULIAN, Rec. Secy.

FIN. Secy-Treas.

ORGANIZERS: NATHAN SPECTOR, I. H. GOLDBERG, M. GOODMAN

## NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.

7 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7079

Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month

at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.

G. LEVINE, President.

A. SCHWARTZ, Rec. Secy.

CHAS. BAZZO, Vice-Treas.

LEO SAFIAN, Bus. Agent

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Comrade Sharts of Dayton, a member of the National Executive Committee, writes under recent date: "Our local workers are thoroughly awake to the significance of the Cleveland convention and demonstration, and our State Executive Committee will go the limit to make the thing a success. . . . There are many signs of coming success. . . ."

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Local Washington, D. C., wants one of the regional conventions and demonstrations, if you please, and calls for a list of names and addresses of all the speakers who might be available for use in Washington.

## COLORADO

State Secretary C. A. Bushnell of Colorado writes most interestingly of the revival spirit in the State. The State Executive Committee wants a mass convention and demonstration in Denver for the Inter-mountain district. They "want all the speakers coming this way, and hope to hit the ball in good shape from now on."

## PENNSYLVANIA

From Reading, Pa., through comrade James H. Maurer, of the National Executive Committee, comes the news that local Berks County (Reading) had a very successful get-together meeting on the evening of March 29. A lot of old-timers were there and many filled out application cards and are pledged to firing-line service in the manner well known to the men and women who put the Reading movement on the map.

Demand Citizenship for Debs. At the regular monthly meeting of Local Berks it was decided to co-operate with the national office in a campaign to restore to Eugene V. Debs his citizenship, which was taken

from him by the Harding administration. Thousands of petitions will be sent to Socialists and sympathizers of the party in Berks County calling upon President Coolidge to restore the aged champion of the working class to his full standing as an American. The fact that the war is over and that the statements which sent Debs to the penitentiary were afterwards repeated by President Wilson will be pointed out to President Coolidge. There is no longer any need for the tyranny which marked the days of war hysteria and justice demands that Debs be placed upon the same plane as all other Americans. Petitions will be issued as soon as possible. Watch for yours and prepare to get signers.

## State Office Notes

Reports from all over the State indicate greatly increased activity. The State Office will put an organizer out to do work similar to that of Comrade Shille in New York. A Comrade in Crawford County has volunteered to canvass registered Socialists in that and adjoining counties and try to get them back into the party.

The State Office deficit is being steadily reduced. In addition to those previously acknowledged, the following contributions have been received: C. W. Broomall, \$2.50; John Page, \$1.00; Marie Wannemacher, \$2.00; Walter F. Kern, \$5.00; Robert Kerlin, \$2.00; Henry Hufnagel, \$1.00; and Debs' Branch, Pittsburgh, \$15. At this rate we shall soon be out of the mud and ready to go up the hill on high. Who's next?

Branch York is coming back. They just held their first meeting in three months, and Comrade Shay asks for organizers and speakers.

Local Westmoreland has organized a new branch and they are now try-

ing to reorganize the branch at Manor.

Comrade Llewellyn of New Castle sends in the branch report with a new member added. How can the masters ever keep down a movement with workers like these?

Bill Adams out in Pittsburgh writes: "Debs Branch met Sunday afternoon, April 5, with thirty members present. We reinstated six old members, admitted seven new applicants, contributed \$15 to the State fund, and appointed a committee to assist the Local in organizing a speakers' class. The Branch arranged to meet on the first Sunday of each month at Walton's Hall on Stanwix street. I am elected Branch Secretary and will dig up a branch report soon."

Bill is also secretary of Local Allegheny and says the Local is running a boat excursion to Jefferson Beach on July 4. The trip will be made on the Verne Swain which will leave Monongahela Wharf at 9:30 a. m. This flourishing local is waging a very successful membership drive, and has committees looking up all ex-members.

How in the heck would you go about discouraging a comrade like that? Come on, you young bucks, step lively, or you won't be in the race at all. Pennsylvania is coming back, and comin' fast.

## INDIANA

The State Committee of the Socialist Party of Indiana and Local Indianapolis have planned for an all-day conference of Socialists and a banquet at Indianapolis on May 10, at the Hotel Lincoln, with Eugene V. Debs as guest of honor and principal speaker. The conference will be held in County Headquarters, 49 1/2 South Delaware street. The committee will also se-

cure other speakers. Reservations may be made with Mrs. Emma Henry, chairman of the Banquet Committee, 411 Holiday Building, Indianapolis.

## NEW ENGLAND

A City Central Committee consisting of seven branches and one Yipsel Circle has been organized in Boston. This was made possible by the recent organization of new branches in Dorchester, Revere and Chelsea.

The report of due stamps rendered to the General District Committee by District Secretary Fitzgerald showed a substantial increase in membership for the first three months of 1925. The financial report showed the district to be on a sound financial basis for the first time since its organization.

District Organizer Alfred Baker Lewis presented an outline of contemplated organization work for the summer, which includes special work in Boston, Lynn, Salem and Springfield. Comrade Lewis recommended that agitation be carried on for unemployment insurance in Massachusetts, as it would have a direct appeal to the workers of the State. A committee was appointed to gather data on this matter, and it was decided that the Socialist Party sponsor a bill on unemployment insurance to be presented to the Legislature of the State.

The committee decided that the district convention be held June 7, place to be decided upon at the next meeting.

The District Committee adopted appropriate resolutions on the death of Comrade J. J. McVey, of Haverhill, one of the veterans of the Socialist movement in Massachusetts.

## MICHIGAN

Detroit Socialists wish to finance William H. Henry's campaign in the city to build up the local and boost the Cleveland convention and demonstration. They had a banquet on April 4 to raise money. They plan to finance their local campaign and to send a handsome remittance to the National Office.

## MINNESOTA

The comrades of Minneapolis are busy arranging for the mass convention and demonstration set for June 6 and 7. Logically they make the first order of business the selection of an organizer and the financing of the work to be done in preparation for the enterprise.

## NEW JERSEY

The State Committee meets Sunday at 2 p. m. at State Headquarters.

The Hudson County Campaign Committee meets at 8 o'clock, Monday evening, April 13, with the five Socialist candidates for Commissioner of Jersey City. It was erroneously stated in these columns last week that 300 signatures were needed for each candidate. Nearly 3,000 signatures are required for the five candidates, or nearly 600 for each. Slightly over 150 have so far been secured. All signed petitions are to be turned in at the meeting on Monday night. Blank petitions are obtainable at headquarters, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City, any evening.

State Secretary Leemans calls attention to the changes made in the election laws by the recent Legislature. The advancing of the primary election date from September to June 16, has advanced the date for filing of petitions of independent candidates accordingly. All Socialist nominating petitions for the November elections must be filed with the various county clerks not later than June 11. This is the last date. Locals and branches throughout the State will therefore proceed at once to nominate candidates for the Assembly and for county and municipal offices and obtain the necessary signatures. The petitions for Governor will be sent out from the State Office as soon as the nominating referendum has been concluded.

## NEW YORK

Comrade Stille writes from Yonkers, N. Y.: "I start in the morning at 10 o'clock and work till 11 at night; then I study usually till 2 a. m. My correspondence is very heavy. I keep in touch with all the new members. My mail averages nearly 500 letters per month. . . ."

Friday night at 8 p. m. there will be a joint meeting of the 6th and 8th A. D. to be held at the 6th A. D. headquarters, 257 East Fourth street. The question of amalgamating the two branches will be discussed.

A meeting of the City Campaign and Organization Committee will be held this Saturday afternoon, at 2:30 p. m., in the office of Local New York.

Manhattan SUNDAY, April 12. — August Claessens will lecture on "Race Prejudice—The Economic and Social Factors," at the East Side Socialist Centre, 204 East Broadway. WEDNESDAY, April 15.—August Claessens will lecture on "What Can We Do With Human Selfishness," at the Harlem Educational Centre, 62 East 106th street.

## THE BRONX

The membership drive is now in full swing. At the last meeting of the 2nd, 4th and 5th A. D., when the call for canvassers was issued, each one present answered "ready." The old spirit gripped every Comrade.

The Bronx will celebrate May 1 in the beautiful McKinley Square Gardens, 1258 Boston Road. A very interesting and appropriate programme has been arranged. The entertainers will be announced next week.

The 7th A. D., 4215 Third avenue, continues its lectures every (Continued on Page 11.)

# The Party Builder

Borough Problems

AT the recent New York City convention of the Party fears were expressed of amalgamation of the borough organizations. There are those who favor and those who oppose it. It is not our purpose to discuss its merits or demerits, but to consider some present defects of borough organization.

Besides the borough and branch Party organizations there are other institutions and organizations that are close to the Socialist Party. We may enumerate The New Leader, the Jewish Daily Forward, the Rand School, the Workers' Circle, the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, the Jewish Socialist Verband and many sympathetic trade unions.

Do the borough organizations and these institutions work in unison with each other? They do not. They have drifted into activities isolated from each other. One does

not know what the others are doing. The result is confusion, weakness, and sometimes a conflict of activities.

One incident will illustrate what is meant. The Rand School and the Brooklyn comrades decided to hold a theatre benefit. Acting independently of each other both chose the same play. Brooklyn comrades sold tickets in the school and competition ensued where cooperation should prevail. Brooklyn should sell tickets in the school and the school should sell tickets in Brooklyn, but both should not sell tickets for the same play. Neither would do what was done if both were aware of the plans of each. Neither is to blame for what happened, for the responsibility lies with the Party and its related institutions.

The Jewish Socialist Verband arranges a lecture route for Comrade Abramowich across the country. The New Leader does not get the list of dates or reports of other activities of the Verband. Other important work of the Verband is not known to English readers. Several times it has arranged affairs in New York that came into conflict with other things arranged by the Party. Is it to blame? Certainly not. Conflicts are inevitable so long as the present loose relations between the Party and related organizations prevail.

Consider the looseness in the relations between borough organizations and between them and the State organization. At the city convention Comrade Thomas complained that last year he never knew from one day to another where he was to speak. Manhattan might arrange for a night which Brooklyn claimed and which State Secretary Merrill had given to Yonkers. Branches applied to Merrill, to their borough organizer and to Thomas himself for dates. There was no unity, no cooperation, in that campaign.

One may cite incident after incident to show the necessity of tying all our Party institutions into a working and harmonious solidarity. The matter of publicity itself is of vital importance. We can reach thousands of people with publicity in the newspapers, especially during a campaign, but no one borough or Party institution can undertake it. If we had a publicity bureau there were many matters before the State Assembly in the past few months upon which the Party could have spoken effectively through the press.

Space will not permit mention of more instances which show the need of restoring order out of chaos. It is not a matter of amalgamation or of anti-amalgamation. No matter what form of organization we have, to let the present state of



# Another Union Wins Health Agreement

## Another Workers Health Agreement

A significant victory in the fight for workers' health is reported by the Workers' Health Bureau, New York City, which states that the second trade union health agreement in the United States has been made in Rochester, New York.

The first trade union health agreement, made between the painters of New York City and the employers, went into effect less than a year ago. The Rochester agreement, which also affects the painting trade, went into effect April 1.

According to the Workers' Health Bureau, which acted as the Union's scientific adviser in negotiations with the Rochester employers, "Painters are poisoned by breathing lead dust, or by inhaling overpowering fumes such as turpentine, benzine, naphtha and gasoline. In the case of wood alcohol and benzol, painters are poisoned either by inhaling the fumes or absorbing these poisons through the skin." The terms of the agreement, the Bureau states, "should do much towards minimizing these occupational dangers."

The Rochester health agreement is as follows:

### HEALTH AND SAFETY

1. Journeymen are to care for and inspect all ladders, scaffolding and planks used by them for the protection of their own safety and in the interest of the employer who provides and maintains the equipment;
2. Damp rubbing down and sandpapering shall be substituted for the dry method on all paint surfaces;
3. Adequate toilet facilities within easy access shall be provided on all painting operations;
4. All hand mixing of dry lead, other leads or lead paints and any process involving the mixing, crushing, sifting, grinding in oil or any other manipulation of lead or lead color, causing dust on the job, shall be prohibited. Lead or products containing lead shall be given workmen only in the form of paste or ready-mixed paints;
5. To offset the injurious effects of paint fumes on the health of the men, windows shall be kept open to assure a sufficient supply of fresh air. In the painting of area-ways, elevator shafts, kitchenettes and other confined places where there is no possibility of fresh air, rest periods of ten minutes in each hour shall be allowed;
6. In order to remove poisonous paint from the hands and face men shall be allowed five minutes before the end of the morning and afternoon shift for the purpose of washing up.

"This agreement, which went into operation April 1, will be effective for one year," G. A. Gordon, secretary of the Rochester painters' local states. "If no notice in writing of alteration is given before January of next year, the agreement will automatically be extended for the period of a second year."

## TRADE UNION TOPICS

### Anthracite District Convention Called

The week-end of June 29 has been selected by members of the executive boards of districts 1, 7 and 9 of the United Mine Workers for the annual tri-district convention. The convention, which will frame demands for a new agreement covering wages and working conditions to supplant the agreement which expires August 31, will meet in Scranton. Christ J. Golden was elected to succeed Thomas Kennedy as chairman of the tri-district board.

A convention of District 1, in which there has been much disturbance in recent months due to several "unauthorized strikes," will be held in July. District President Renaldo Cappilini has refused the request of numerous locals for a special convention. The July convention will be the regular annual convention.

### Pennsylvania Miners Evicted

Five hundred miners employed by the Traders' Coal Company, living in the company houses at Laffin, Pa., have been ordered to vacate their homes and move from the miners' settlement there. The order comes as a climax to a dispute which has been hanging fire between the men and the company for nearly a year.

Ten months ago the company demanded the miners agree to a reduction in wages and the men refused. The company then ordered the workings be closed. Following this the miners obtained employment elsewhere but continued to live in the company houses. Because of the scarcity of homes in the neighborhood none of the miners ordered to leave can find new quarters there and they may finally decide to establish a tent colony.

### Laundry Workers' Resolutions

The Laundry Workers' International Union, Local 28, has adopted resolutions pledging support to the Grocery Clerks' Union and urging its members not to patronize stores that do not employ union clerks. The union has also started a campaign among its members against non-union made bread. D. Gowan is President of the local and H. Drucker, secretary.

### Fur Workers' Concert Sunday

The Educational Department of the International Fur Workers' Union will hold a concert this Sunday afternoon, April 12, at the Debs

Auditorium, the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, New York. The artists will be Miss Lillian Gennis, pianist; Miss Mathilda Present, soprano; Charles Lichter, violinist; Daniel Saydenberg, cellist; Theodore Saydenberg, pianist. In addition to the concert, August Claessens, former assemblyman, and one of the most popular speakers in the Labor and Socialist movement, will deliver an address on "Easter."

### New Victories for Amer'n Shoe Workers' Protective Union

The big Organization Drive of the American Shoe Workers' Protective Union is meeting with success. As a result of two weeks' strike at the Elco Shoe Co. the lasters have won an increase of from 5 cents to 8 cents per pair, while the entire shop crew gained recognition as an organized body

affiliated with the American Shoe Workers' Protective Union, Inc. An agreement has been stipulated between the Elco Shoe Co. on one side and the shop chairmen and the President of the Union on the other side. This agreement provides for recognition of the shop chairmen and committee in each department, the right of the American Shoe Workers' Protective Union to collect dues in the shop, the principle of 4 1/2 hours per week and a clause relating to "no discrimination against any employee for Unionistic activity."

The Union has scored another victory at the Premier Shoe Co. This firm, which is one of the largest independent shoe concerns in Brooklyn, has agreed to recognize the Union granting union conditions in all departments and an increase of 3 cents on every pair of shoes for the lasters. The membership of the Union is elated over these conquests. The Organization Drive is being pushed forward with great vigor by the officials of the Union and more victories are expected to come.

### Russian Village Fair at Rand School

All roads lead to the Russian Village Fair in the Debs Auditorium and the Rand School cafeteria on Friday and Saturday, April 24 and 25.

A Russian Balalaika Orchestra will play Russian airs. Russian folk-songs will be sung. Russian folk-dancers and dancers from other lands will exhibit native dances. Professional vaudeville artists will entertain. A cabaret program will be offered in the cafeteria, and general social dancing will take place in the auditorium. All guests are invited to come appropriately costumed for a Russian fair. Sam De Witt, editor of the Chatter-box, will be Master of Ceremonies.

And the booths—the Russian Novelty Booth, the Cross-Word Puzzle Booth, the Fortune Teller's Booth, the Book Booth—are in charge of the Rand School Women's Committee. Mrs. Adolph Held is chairman of the Booth Committee. The Bonnaz Embroiderer works' Union, the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union, the Neckwear Makers' Union, the Furriers, the Children's Clothing Workers, are also planning interesting booths. And the kiddies! They will not be forgotten. On Saturday afternoon there will be a special program for their delight.

Keep those dates open—Friday and Saturday, April 24 and 25—for a jolly, rollicking good time.

SEE THAT YOUR ENGINEER WEARS THIS BUTTON!

**I. U. S. and O. S. Engineers' Local 56**  
Meets every Friday at 4 P. M. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stage 5344. Office hours, 9 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 5 P. M., Room 14, F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

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62 University Place, New York 23. 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 161 Clinton St., N. Y. Chas. Garfinkel, Org. Sec. H. Kaplan, Sec.

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Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stage.  
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.  
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**Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.**  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 166 East 56th Street.  
Telephone Plaza-4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

**PAINTERS' UNION No. 261**  
Office: 62 East 106th Street Telephone: University 2818  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.  
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 115 East 104th Street.  
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**N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6**  
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Office and Headquarters, 230 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.  
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**International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers**  
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## The New Leader Mail Bag.

Movie-Oil-Government Propaganda Editor, The New Leader:

The articles in The New Leader bearing on governmental expenditures for propaganda attacking Government ownership of electric power utilities remind me of similar propaganda. I have not written previously, as I had once directly by mail turned this information over to Senator La Follette (but received no answer) and had hoped to get some action. I also wrote the same to the Progressive party leaders in New York and Brooklyn, and also to the Nation. It is now seven to ten months since the letters were written. I am at a loss to explain the silence of these champions of public rights and Democracy.

The matter in question deals with the propaganda connected with the moving picture, "World Struggle for Oil," which was exhibited at Moss' Cameo Theatre last April (1924). My complaint is that, being produced by the United States Department of the Interior with the cooperation of Harry F. Sinclair, Inc., and suggesting that the United States Navy be used to put possible new oil fields under the United States flag, that this picture is a piece of Government Oil Imperialistic Propaganda.

In October, 1918, the New York Times published some account of a controversy between Democrats and Republicans over this, the former charging that it was propaganda to show what a good man Harry Sinclair was, with all the wonderful work he did to get oil purely in the interest of service to humanity. It was alleged to be propaganda to clear the air of the stench of Teapot Dome. Secretary Work countered quite artfully that this could not be true, for in June, 1923, Secretary Fall had arranged for the production of the picture!

The only struggle in the picture is this: a map showing those portions of the world politically controlled by the big powers; then the map again showing the present location of the fields of the big oil companies: Standard, Sinclair, Texas, Royal-Dutch, Anglo-Persian, etc.; then a map of the world showing areas where oil was not now

being obtained, but which were "possible" oil fields. Following immediately upon the showing of these maps were these titles: "Where Will Possible New Fields Be Developed?" (change) "and Under What Flag?" Scenes followed titles showing the United States Navy steaming out to sea! This concluded the showing of the "World Struggle for Oil." Naturally the orchestra, or organ, played the "Star Spangled Banner" as the fleet scene was shown.

My request to you is that you demand of the Senate an investigation of the conditions which brought about this picture, that you demand information as to the whereabouts of the film and that it and all copies be destroyed. I suppose that all that can be done is to publish this letter and any other information that might be obtained by you. At any rate I pass this information over to you, citing governmental imperialist propaganda and the indifference of radical politicians and a magazine to public need. Incidentally, I am charging La Follette, his friends, and the Nation; and also the New York Times (to whom I wrote last October), with the suppression of news vital to the public welfare. I have copies of my correspondence to these parties. Last Spring the New York World was courageous enough to print the exposition and denunciation of this picture as I have given it to you. However, they did censor my reference to "Capitalistic Imperialism."

For many reasons, if any private or public use is made of this letter or contents, I do not wish my name divulged. In a year or two I shall not be so timorous.

A SUBSCRIBER.

Brooklyn.

### State Control of Parties

Editor, The New Leader:  
I was much interested in your introduction to my letter on the legal control of political parties as appearing in the current issue of The New Leader.

I think, besides, that as advocates of an independent Labor party we would immensely gain if this avenue of the open primary was closed to our friends of the non-partisan

persuasion, those who believe in working through the old parties.  
ALFRED HENDERSON.  
Cincinnati, Ohio.

### A Question

Editor, The New Leader:  
I respectfully ask the following vital question: "Shall the subways (present and future) be provided, operated and maintained with the untaxed ground rent of \$500,000,000, or with the wages of Labor?" I hope the Transit Committee of the Socialist Party will answer that vital and fundamental question.  
GEORGE LLOYD.

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CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

**Structural Iron Workers**  
UNION, Local 361, Brooklyn  
Office: 571 Pacific Street. Telephone: Cumberland 0189  
Open Daily from 7:30 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.  
Meetings Every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at Columbus Hall, State and Court Sts.  
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**Paperhangers' Union**  
LOCAL 490  
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Meetings Every Wednesday Evening at 52 East 114th Street  
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E. J. Snyder, Rec. Secretary Fin. Secretary  
Joseph Hasbbaum, Treasurer



# The Realm of Books

## Changing Russia

A Review by JESSICA SMITH

**THE REFORGING OF RUSSIA.**  
By Edwin Ware Hullinger. New  
York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.00.

FOR one fundamentally out of sympathy with the idea of revolution and the ultimate aims of the Soviet State, Mr. Hullinger gives a remarkably fair and accurate account. This is the more remarkable, since Hullinger himself came into rather sharp conflict with the censorship department, as a result of which he was expelled from Russia, and ordinarily such experiences color the whole outlook of the person who has been through them. This experience does perhaps account for Mr. Hullinger's tendency to exaggerate the amount of espionage and suspicion to be found in Russia, which he takes for granted still persists in the same degree as when he was there. But since Mr. Hullinger has been away from Russia for over two years he has not been able to keep entirely abreast of the changes that have occurred since that time. There are, for instance, a number of such inaccuracies as his statement that there are no post-war telephone directories in Moscow. Apart from these considerations, Mr. Hullinger's attitude toward the revolution is far more tolerant than that of many people professedly more in sympathy with the idea of revolution, but less realistic in judging the actuality of revolution. Mr. Hullinger moved about Russia freely and saw much. There was no attempt, he states, to hamper his movements. His testimony is worth listening to, but would have been more valuable had he published the book immediately on returning to this country.

"A revolution in the final analysis," says Mr. Hullinger, "is simply a hurry-up phase in the general scheme of human evolution. It is a terrible phase, and during its heat it is often difficult to see a clearing ahead. Revolution is often an exotic thing, and may change its course repeatedly several times before merging back into the slower current of evolution. But sooner or later every great revolutionary movement has thrown off the hysteria of its initial fanaticism and entered a period of reorganization and construction."

He then points out that the Russian revolution is simply passing through a normal stage of development, the unusual feature of it being the continuance of the same leaders during the period of revolution and the present period of reconstruction. Mr. Hullinger considers the Kerensky collapse inevitable as a result of internal dissensions and the fact that Kerensky attempted to set up a political democracy in a country which for centuries was used only to the ways of a feudal empire. The Bolsheviks succeeded because "... they had the genius of organization. They were well disciplined. They knew exactly what they wanted." He sketches the development of the civil war, the White Terror, the Red Terror, the establishment of political dictatorship and of an economic dictatorship modeled on the Communist pattern. At this point Mr. Hullinger fails in his logic. He points out that the Soviet experiment was initiated under the abnormal conditions of civil war, that it never, in fact, had a real chance, and then proceeds to attribute the failure of production to the failure of the Communist program, and accepts it as the failure of communism.

But in considering the progress of the rebuilding that followed he remembers, as so many others have failed to do, that Russia had to begin her reconstruction program with her energy drained by one of the worst ordeals that any modern people have ever survived. He describes the operation of the Nep, the gradual getting into motion of the wheels of industry and the normalization of life. And he asks us to remember that Russia has behind it a background of centuries of despotism and force, in addition to the immediate emotional background of the years of revolution and terror. Mr. Hullinger feels that there is no communism left in Russia. That the Communists are now trying their best to be good capitalists. And that the Communist party rules Russia because it is only force that can rule Russia. "... this must be the underlying motif of Russia's future until education (plus opportunity) has time to substitute some other motive force in the minds and hearts of Russia's millions of moujikhs who can neither read nor write."

Mr. Hullinger has a rather confused idea of the present economic organization—or rather no idea at all. He says that the Communists are in business for personal profit—a statement hardly to be borne out by the treatment accorded such Communists as Krashochekhov, who have been imprisoned for trying to make personal profit out of their positions in industry. But while

censuring the Communists for their supposed eagerness for profits, he sees at the same time the hope for Russia's future in the greater opportunities along this line ahead. "The minor tone," he says, "is still the overshadowing note of Russian life today. But into the tragic symphony the first strains of the melody of hope and happiness are beginning to steal." He lays the improvement to the abandonment of Communism, rather than to the fact that for the first time Russia is at peace and free to begin to develop her program. And when he talks of living conditions, he tells of the princes and princesses he visited, and under what miserable conditions they have had to live—he does not tell how the workers are living—of their clubs, their theatres, their day nurseries. Cultural life, he says, has been stifled. He does not tell how for the first time cultural opportunities are being opened up for thousands of workers and peasants.

He rightly stresses the importance of peasant Russia, which had to make its start after the famine literally from death's door. The peasant, he declares, knows little of his legal status "... he does know that there the land is—that the old estate owners have been driven away, and that he is now using the land as if it were his own. In his eyes, it is his, and he intends to keep it." The peasant is in physical possession of the soil, and selling his products freely. "... the peasants are at work again. They have been producing, and have a chance to improve their lot—most of all, they have the use of the land. Tractors will revolutionize farm methods."

The real awakening of the peasant masses can come only through education. "Certain it is that the revolution has stirred the peasant masses as they never were stirred before. It has confused them, perhaps; it has not enlightened them, nor has it given them the ideals originally promised. But it has nevertheless awakened in them a human self-consciousness which they had not dared articulate before. It has aroused them to the fact that they are human beings, not dogs, and that they can have an influence on their own destiny if they only will think hard enough. When education is established on an effective universal scale, and freedom of expression comes to Russia, popular educators will find far more receptive and sensitive ears because of the fact of the revolution."

Summing up, Mr. Hullinger believes that the revolution has prepared the way for a far better development than would have been possible if its rough kiss had not awakened Russia from her long slumbers, that Russia will develop a more wholesome, unified Government than without the shakeup, and that she is bound to continue her artistic and cultured development—"for Russia has the human timber of which greatness is made."

"The Treasure," Selma Lagerlof's sixteenth-century tale of the little maid, Elsalil, whose heart was torn to pieces between the living and the dead, will be published by Doubleday, Page & Company on April 10.

## Notes On Books

For early publication the Duttons announce "Poets of America," by Clement Wood, a volume of criticism and comment surveying the whole body of American poetry from Colonial times to the immediate present. Among its unique and especially interesting features are its study of the contributions to American poetry made by Indian songs and by Negro verse, the being the first extensive and careful treatment of either of these subjects. Some hitherto neglected figures in American poetry are also considered and given their due.

A new book by W. L. George, "The Story of Woman," will be published by Harpers early in April. The first half of the book is devoted to woman in the ages before Christ, her life, mental and physical growth, and her position in the created order as it changed from period to period. Mr. George later shows woman's emergence into fuller power and influence in the Renaissance, and reviews the political story of woman in the end of the eighteenth century, the nineteenth, and the early years of the twentieth. The last section of the book deals exclusively with the feminist movement and the future.

The latest venture in publishing is the founding of The Viking Press, Inc., by Harold K. Guinsburg, formerly of Simon & Schuster, and George S. Oppenheimer, who for the last three and a half years has been advertising and publicity manager for Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

A new Huebsch reprint is "The Conscious Objector in America," a war record with special validity in time of peace. Its author is Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Governor of New York in the last election. The preface was written by Robert M. La Follette.

Bernard Kellermann, author of "The Sea," Robert Nathan, author of "The Puppet Master," Elmer Davis, author of "I'll Show You The Town," Eric Maschwitz, a newcomer, Gilbert Collins and Isabel Ostrander are represented on Robert M. McBride's spring fiction list.

## Recent Poetry

A Review by RAYMOND FULLER

**THE BEST POEMS OF 1924.** Anthology Compiled by L. A. G. Strong. 1924. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$2.00.

**THE WANDERING EROS.** Marjha Dickinson Bianchi. 1925. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co.

THERE is almost nothing one can say about an anthology in reviewing it. If you like it, the better you; if you don't, the better the anthologist—at least one feels this is what all controversy about it would eventually come to. Also, if you like much of it and disdain the rest—well, what of it! "If you don't like my selection of 'best' poems, go publish one yourself," the affronted anthologist can rejoice—unanswerably. Thirdly, no two inhabitants of this oblate spheroid would ever agree on 'principles of selection'—hence all (to yourself) presumptive omissions and paranoid inclusions can be justified suavely by any one bold enough to get out an anthology.

We can, however, say that we have read most of the work in this "Best Poems of 1924" (the fiscal year), scanned thoughtfully and judiciously its list of British and American poets, and we have found it just what we expected it would be—good stuff! That is, though, not to say that the aforesaid presumptuousness and paranoia is not detectable—but we know that we shall not get out as good a collection in 1925. As we have remarked once on this page, all anthologies are good—but some are better than others. This appears to be one of the better ones.

But when we come to our book table and seize upon an "anthology" of one poet's writing (say like Mrs. Bianchi's delectable looking little red volume), we can be much more pointed—and disappointed. Mrs. Bianchi has a Hound of Heaven all her own. This book presents a sort of rhapsodic laureate of Love, the which, one gathers, so dogs and worries at her that she scarce thinks of anything else. The constant symbolism expressed by capital-lettered Love becomes monotonous to me—and well-nigh undecipherable in meaning. The poetess strums on this taut string Love, Love, Love, till one is maddened to know whether her every emotion, every experience, every memory, every friendship, every natural beauty is "Love." However, toward the end of the book the theme enlarges to take in eight "war poems" of somewhat temporary value.

In some of her poems there is something of a lack of fibre—though some are truly deep. Unevenness marks the book. This is not her first published volume of poetry. If I quote a typical page here, I will lay before readers a fair sample of the author's style and treatment; it is of quotable length, and not as good as some others.

"While the incurious stars burnt on—  
And Night as weary caravans the hours led,  
I asked of God, in dreams your soul to keep  
Till morning wake you glad—then comforted  
I fell asleep,  
While the incurious stars burnt on."

"The Treasure," Selma Lagerlof's sixteenth-century tale of the little maid, Elsalil, whose heart was torn to pieces between the living and the dead, will be published by Doubleday, Page & Company on April 10.

Clement Wood's forthcoming survey and critical discussion of the American poetical product, "Poets of America," is announced for publication on April 15 by E. P. Dutton & Co. The same house announces that some of the verses in A. A. Milne's "When We Were Very Young," some fourteen of the poems, have been set to music and is ready for immediate publication under the title, "Fourteen Songs," the volume containing the verses and music. Among these poems are "Happiness," "Has Anybody Seen My Mouse," "Lines and Squares," "Market Square," "The Three Foxes," "Half-way Down," "In the Fashion," and "Vespers."

"Raint," Hatcher Hughes' new play which opened this week at the Provincetown Theatre, will be published, shortly in book form by Harpers.

The Dial Press announces for immediate publication "Men Seen," by Paul Rosenfield, an interpretation of the younger generation of artists; "How to See Modern Pictures," by Ralph M. Pearson; "Memoirs of a Napoleonic Officer," by Jean-Baptiste Barres; and "XLI Poems," by E. E. Cummings, and a second edition of "Observations," by Marianne Moore, which received the Dial Prize award in 1924.

"Life in Mediaeval France," by Miss Joan Evans, is a book the intention of which is to present a clear picture of the background against which the history of mediaeval France unfolded itself, for those who cannot read the original sources. The volume is arranged in sections each dealing with a feature of daily existence such as: Town Life, Monastic Life, Feudal Society, Pilgrimage, etc., and will be published by Oxford University Press.

## READ

"The Evolution of Public Ownership," or "A Prophet of the Near Future and Why?" 10 cents prepaid. Address—J. N. YOUNG, ALBION, MICHIGAN.

## Jew Into Goy

A Review by CLEMENT WOOD

**GOD OF MIGHT.** By Elias Tobenkin. New York: Minton, Balch & Co. \$2.00.

THIS is the story of Samuel Wasserman, son of a Russian ghetto, who came to America to avoid religious persecution. In a small, mid-Western city he settled and built for himself a place in the esteem of the natives; flourished in business and took unto himself a Christian wife. This step has the backing of his Jewish uncle in Chicago, but not of the uncle's wife, and of course alienates him from his father in the Old World. Samuel Wasserman—this was his American name—was at first the only Jew in the City of Lincoln; when others of the peddler class, rather than of the merchant class to which Samuel belonged, arrived and pursued their humble and odorous existence, the distinction between Jew and goy grows patteable. Samuel's children are raised as Christians, and he does not know what to do to be accepted wholeheartedly by "Christian" Lincoln. A wise Jewish friend, who has tried the other course, advises Samuel to turn goy. The story ends as Samuel goes into a Jewish synagogue in Chicago and prays for strength to remain Jew—and himself.

There is nothing unreal nor impossible in the plot. The theme of racial mingling, in the case of white and Negro, is handled with exquisite beauty by Leonard Merrick, himself a Jew, in "The Quaint Companions." But Merrick's characters live and breathe, and are not mere puppets set kicking by the finger-twitches of their creator. The characters in "God of Might" never emerge from the mist into human reality. The story is thin, sketchy, unemotional, lacking in poignancy. As a novel, it does not impress. Abraham Cahan, in "The Rise of David Levinsky," showed how magnificently material not entirely dissimilar might be treated. Elias Tobenkin gives here at best a sketch which a competent novelist might transmogrify from its sodden clay to veritable life. The theme of the book is important, for all the unimportance of the finished product before us. It is possible that nowhere in the book is hinted the way out. At best, the Christians shown are professing Christians, not essentially believing Christians. Samuel is a believing Jew, while not a professing Jew. Happiness in marriage is a gamble, with life holding the bank, and the odds figured carefully against the players. Add to this element of uncertainty a difference in race and culture, and the chance of happiness in general is further minimized. But if the two concerned can escape from the superstitious clouds of Judaism and Christianity alike, and face life together believers in man, and not in man's wraith-like deities, there is more chance of happiness. We are coming into a culture where more and more moss-backed adherence to the illusions of the past is not required of forward-looking men and women; where honest dissent carries no stigma. This is more true of the city today than of the country; but a country that laps up Hal-deman-Julius's "Little Blue Books" furnishing homeopathic doses of Voltaire, Darwin, and other anti-god specifics, is marching toward an acceptance of dissent.

For the believers all consideration should be felt. The man or woman of clarified scientific vision today says to the Jew: the world's best thought holds that your religion is all based upon illusion. To the Christian he says the identical thing. To both he says: Go your way, believe as you will, if you must; the world's best thought may conceivably be in error. But, as I respect your belief, respect my lack of it. And more quietly he continues: There may be more happiness in seeing toward truth as it is, rather than through venerable glasses stained with a religious light, whether the red glare of the Christian hell or the muddy false dawn of a Messiah still to come to Jehovah's admittedly chosen people. Take your choice: deal gently to the beliefs of others, and luck go with you in your passage toward that universal goal, toward that reunion with the scattering substance of the earth that is at once our source, our nutriment, and our future.

## Cultured Babbitt

A Review by WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

**THE FAITH OF A LIBERAL.** By Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

**THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES; Yesterday, Today—and Tomorrow!** By James M. Beck. New York: George H. Doran.

IT is inevitable, I suppose, that the President of America's largest university and the Solicitor-General of the United States should be invited to deliver public addresses. And it is likewise inevitable that such addresses should be prepared in advance and the manuscripts preserved in the expectation that in the course of time they may appear in book form. And behold, in time they do so appear and have their day when they are reviewed in the literary publications, and sections are promptly forgotten, their names to be preserved only on the title page, in future books and in the list of their works in the annual editions of "Who's Who." Indeed, I suspect that the two gentlemen referred to (and a whole raft of other gentlemen of similar standing) privately think of their addresses as "Papers."

Dr. Butler's volume consists of addresses delivered upon various occasions before various organizations all over the United States and in Europe—including a Senate committee and a high court in Paris. Mr. Beck's is his series of lectures on the Constitution delivered before the Benchers of Gray's Inn, London, and repeated in Paris and New York. Neither, I venture to guess, will be remembered for a single year.

Both Dr. Butler and Mr. Beck are able men. Both are well informed, not only in their own lines, but likewise in general culture. Dr. Butler is a brilliant educator and a remarkable

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## The Unity of Life

**LUCIENNE.** By Jules Romains. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.50.

Lucienne is a young Parisian who goes to the provinces to make her living as a piano teacher, and comes in contact with a family and with life. Presenting her ideas and observations in the first person, the author is enabled to slide from one event to the next with a semblance of continuity and even, natural blending. Life to her is one long merging; all things are essentially one. The Barbelenets have, beneath their surface differences and hostilities, a family feeling that gives them power, a way of working out their separate problems as a family unit, that carries Lu'enne and the distant cousin whom she loves along the unyielding family way. Clear-eyed as she is, Lucienne foresees no such disposal of herself, no such singleness as comes to bind her with that provincial family in a tie of union.

In his foreword, Waldo Frank, who has given a sympathetic and sound translation, declares that the author belongs to the school of "unanimism," of those who feel a sense "of the actual organic unity of life beyond the conventional unity of individual things and persons." This tendency of the moderns to find new names for themselves, to find themselves as exponents of new theories, founders of new schools, should not blind us to the fact that an underlying unity in life has been seen by many writers, nor to the equal fact that Romains is a genuine artist. "Lucienne" is replete with observation of life and with keen analysis of moods and motives; it flows in a prose that is round and vigorous and at ease. The story is moving, in its portrayal of the three—four—women involved, and revealing, in Lucienne's survey of the life around her.

William Lea.

can cheerfully recommend Mr. Beck. But it's a well written book, and no doubt the Benchers of Gray's Inn had a great time listening to the lectures.

Now for Dr. Butler. I have read the lectures carefully, as one should who is preparing to write an honest review. I note with interest many opinions on Prohibition, Socialism, a Federal Budget, the Constitution, Democracy, and I see nothing in the book from end to end that is worth a second thought. Excellent for commencement day orations, but absolutely of the moment and of the moment alone. Dr. Butler's opinions are absolutely correct; 100 per cent, without rancor and roughness. Socialism is "refuted" by an old, old chestnut about the Irishman who was a Socialist and who would be willing to divide up everything if he had it; but who wouldn't divide up his two pigs because he had two pigs. (Gentle laughter.)

But this statement of opinion is worth quoting because it shows what passeth for understanding of public matters among the White Haired Lads of the Plutocracy:

"Radicalism is not a form of liberalism. Occasionally there is to be found a radical who is really a liberal; but most radicals wage war upon liberty with any instrument upon which they can lay hands. At one moment they are Socialists, at another Communists, at another upholders of class government, at another despots, using, when they can, the law-making power to annoy, to harass, and to restrict men in their just and proper activities."

Now, another volume of constitutional mythology, containing no new arguments and no new facts, another volume of conventional blather, aren't worth a column of ridicule. But the fact that Butler and Beck are held up as the leading spokesmen of things as they are, of conventional ideals, conventional history, conventional "liberalism," makes it worth while to spend a few moments, if not analyzing, at least examining the nature of that much-praised intellectual support of erudite, cultured, well-bred Babbitt.

## DEBATE

### RESOLVED:

**"That the Socialist Movement Represents the True Interests of the Masses"**

PROF. G. R.

KIRKPATRICK

Affirmative

PROF. E. R. A.

SELIGMAN

Negative

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## DRAMA

### The Drama in Central Europe

#### I.—PRAGUE

THEATRICAL fare in the Czech capital is varied and most interesting, writes J. B. in the Manchester Guardian. In Prague, the week's plays in the National Theatre may include Shaw, Shakespeare, a Czech opera or a new play from Belgium.

Prague is a city with less than three-quarters of a million inhabitants and it has fourteen theatres; the three chief Czech theatres are the National (Bohemian State), the Municipal, and the Old. The National was built by popular contributions. This was under Austro-Hungarian rule; it is now established, and has public aid, which it needs to include the expensive operatic productions in its repertory. Its prices are cheap. Its audience is gigantic, punctual and attentive.

The fare has quality and quantity, and is essentially international. Barrie has been translated. Shaw is there. "Saint Joan" was not the best of the productions recently visible in Prague, due no doubt to the scanty rehearsals that repertory allows.

Moreover, the leading producer of Prague, Hiller, has been absent through illness, and the work of one of his assistants, Dostal, himself an actor of the first quality, was better seen in a new piece from Belgium, "The Other Messiah," by M. Henri Soumagne. This is a play of furious tempo in which a drunken man in a Polish tavern argues the case against religion, fights four rounds with a believer, mixing fist-cuffs with word of mouth, and finally falls in a series of visions. The play mocks bitterly the gods of all the creeds, but not the idea of God, and some of its delirious fantasy suggests the influence of James Joyce. Prague has a censor who permitted one trial performance and the play has not been played since.

Of the presentation of this extraordinary piece one can only speak in terms of highest praise. The lurid vehemence of the acting and the nightmare quality of the picture made a poignant unity of intellectual distress. "A Midsummer Night's Dream" at the Municipal Theatre showed the lightest and most dexterous fancy. In the former play one saw a devil-haunted

tavern; here as a fairy-haunted wood. The producer, M. Nademlejinsky, had worked mainly in black-and-white with silvery semitones, and the effect of a world bewitched was gained thoroughly and without labor. The foursome of mortal lovers were boys and girls touched by the moon, and Oberon was king of a castle whose architect was pure imagination.

Russia was to be seen in the production of Gogol's "Revisor," known to us as "The Inspector General." This jolly, rattling farce is about a young nobleman who stays on at a village inn because he cannot pay his bills; the village gossips decide that he must be a peculiarly subtle police inspector, and the local dignitaries are persuaded to make all manner of obeisance. There is opportunity here for the routine of obvious fooling, but the producer, M. Serey, lifted it right out of the obvious rut by giving it a touch of circus technique. Fantasy tinged the farce without destroying its essentially robust quality or giving entrance to the feebly whimsical. It was easy to recognize the impress of the Moscow Art Theatre in the exquisite team-work of the villagers and the delicate delineation of the social flourishes and alarums. No one after seeing this performance could deny the Czech's ability to escape from the tense discussion-theatre which he loves to the other stage of fancy-free.

A performance of Karel Capek's "R. U. R." in Prague, where it is still played at intervals, shows that our English version was far too pink at the nether lip. The ending in the native production stresses far less the emotional escape from an intellectual dilemma, but what most strikes the English mind is the comparatively ordinary presentation of the Robots, who represent normal factory workers, their uniform a stiff blue overall. But Prague is still a country town, and it has been so long the battle-ground of races that it is without a racial type, despite its keen national impulse. But then, the Czech stage likes the strength of simplicity, be it in Smetana's jolly rustic operettas or Shakespeare's fairy-land, as much as it likes to grapple with "H. Furioso" in the more violent dramaturgy of "expressionism."

### Gilbert and Sullivan Jubilee in London

ON the eve of two Gilbert and Sullivan revivals—"The Mikado" opens tonight at the 44th Street Theatre and "Princess Ida" opens at the Shubert on Monday—word comes from London town that a jubilee was held at the Metropolitan celebrating the advent of the first Gilbert and Sullivan opera, "Trial by Jury," produced at the Royalty Theatre, March 25, 1875, which brought a new influence into the theatre.

This operetta has been more popular since then with amateur societies than on the professional stage, for in music, as in drama, people demand a single piece that occupies the night. Nevertheless, in detail and in form, "Trial by Jury" was very near perfection.

The history of "Trial by Jury" is interesting. When W. S. Gilbert was on the staff of Fun he wrote and illustrated the first version of this burlesque for Tom Wood, and Carl Rosa offered to set the piece to music with a view to his wife, Mme. Parepa-Rosa, appearing in the leading part. Mme. Parepa-Rosa, however, died before things had gone very far, and Gilbert re-wrote the piece, and at D'Oyly Carte's suggestion Sullivan composed the music.

Everyone knows how the Gilbert and Sullivan operas made social history and how many people date their conscious experiences from the production of this or that one of their operas.

### THE NEW PLAYS

#### MONDAY

"CAESAR AND CLEOPATRA," by Bernard Shaw, will open the new Guild Theatre on 52nd Street Monday night. The Theatre Guild has gathered a cast headed by Lionel Atwill, Helen Hayes, Helen Westley, Albert Brunning and Henry Travers. Philip Moeller staged the production.

"PRINCESS IDA," a Gilbert and Sullivan operetta, little known in America, will be revived on Monday night by Lawrence J. Anhalt, at the Shubert Theatre. In the cast are Tessa Kosta, Virginia O'Brien, Rosamond Whiteside, Bernice Mershon, Robinson Newbold, Detmar Poppen, Sunworth Frazier, Bertram Peacock and Scott Welch. Staging by Edward Royce. Scenery by John Wenger.

"MISMATES," a melodrama by Myron C. Fagan, will be presented by the author Monday afternoon, at the Times Square Theatre. The cast includes Clara Joel, Minor Watson, C. Henry Gordon, Fred L. Tiden, Leona Hogarth and Beatrice Nichol.

"TELL ME MORE," a musical comedy by Wm. K. Wells and Fred Thompson, librettist, George Gershwin, composer, and B. G. De Sylva and Ira Gershwin, lyricists, will be offered by Al. Aarons at the Gaiety Theatre Monday night. The principals include Lou Holtz, Esther Howard, Emma Haig, Alexander Gray, Phyllis Cleveland, Claude Allister and Dorothy Wilson.

"THE FOUR-FLUSHER," a comedy by Caesar Dunn, will be Mack Hilliard's initial production, opening Monday night at the Apollo Theatre. Russell Mack heads the cast.

"MERCENARY MARY," a musical comedy, will be presented by L. Lawrence Weber, at the Longacre Theatre, Monday night. Wm. B. Friedlander and Isabel Leighton are responsible for the book and lyrics, with music by William B. Friedlander. The cast includes Allen Kearns, Winnie Baldwin, Louis Simon, Madeleine Fairbanks, John Boles and Margaret Irving.

#### TUESDAY

"TAPS," a drama by the German playwright Franz Adam Beyerlein, will open Tuesday night, at the Broadhurst Theatre, presented by the Messrs. Shubert, with Lionel Barrymore and Irene Fenwick heading the cast. Others include McKay Morris, Ulrich Haupt, Egon Macklyn and Hilton Stiefel. Lawrence Marston staged the play. Settings by Nello Wayne.

"O NIGHTINGALE," a comedy by Sophie Treadwell, opens at the 49th Street Theatre, Tuesday night. Martha Bryan Allen and Ernest Lawford head the cast.

#### WEDNESDAY

"THE SAPPHIRE RING," by Laszlo Lakatos, adapted from the Hungarian by Isabel Leighton, comes to the Selwyn Theatre, Wednesday night, offered by George Choo. The cast includes Helen Gahagan, Frank Conroy, Kenneth MacKenna, Mildred Florence, Milano Tilden and Elizabeth Holman. Staging by Lester Lonergan.

#### THURSDAY

"THRILLS," a comedy by William Frances Dugan, will be presented by the Dugan Producing Company, Thursday night, at the Comedy Theatre. The cast is headed by Elizabeth Risdon and Ramsay Wallace.



TESSA KOSTA

in the revival of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Princess Ida," opening at the Shubert Theatre Monday

### Satiric Dancing

"Sooner or Later" and "Legend of the Dance," at the Neighborhood

After "Exiles," anything is likely to seem a let-down; the directors of the Neighborhood Playhouse were wise in selecting a variety of performance radically different from the tragedy of Joyce. Whatever they present, even when they leave us dissatisfied, the actors and staging forces of the Grand Street theatre are strong and pleasantly suggestive. The new bill consists of "The Legend of the Dance," a medieval interlude—so says the unblushing program—by Agnes Morgan; and "Sooner or Later," a dance-satire by Irene Lewisohn.

The first of these bade fair to give us a picture of heaven that, through the naïveté of a religious drama given at a medieval castle, might gleam with modern reverence and satire. Unfortunately, Miss Morgan was unable to blend what seemed part reverence, part sentimental miracle and part burlesque, into anything more than a series of colored rhythmic movements. The dancing, too, was uninspired, almost as though the participants did not like their parts—save for a contrasting few, the acrobats, and especially the children of the Junior Festival Players.

In this piece, and in the first act of "Sooner or Later," the Neighborhood Playhouse displayed that Mid-Victorian attitude toward costume that has occasionally helped to mar their pictures. The nine Muses enter heaven in hellish garb, red from head to foot—but, notice, fully clothed in long red robes from head to foot—the Muses! The first scene of the second play presents a group of tribesmen, at some far-off early stage of civilization (its three acts are dim past, bright present, and dimmest future); after the day's toil the men and women join in recreation. The measures to which they step with increasing speed and vehemence are obviously those of a mating dance, leading to re-creation of man and women are blanketed from neck to ankles! Such modesty seems to cling to the Neighborhood Players, except in moments when they wish to satirize the display they avoid.

In Part II, for instance, the entertainment after the day's labors consists in a burlesque of a typical Follies (Broadway, not Grand Street variety); the dancers in this, in their excessive subterfuge or deliberate awkwardness of display—though still posed and carefully portioned—made the best moments of the evening: Lily Lubell, Anne Schmidt, Sadie Sussman, Paula True-man, and the faithful Albert Carroll, whom Broadway should have carried off. The geometric crystalline puppets of the future, in Part III, were so remote from one's conception of the present state, that their slow movements drag us away from the vivid and delightful swing of satire that ended the picture of today. This was helped by scenery and curious masks that recalled yet effectively varied the methods of recent expressionistic plays. In the last part, the Clavilux was employed for the scenic background, but its color designs were no special addition to the section, unless perhaps to indicate the author's belief that future scenery will spring from this really effective device, which should be a permanent motif, and which has a value far beyond its accessory equipment in a play. W. L.

### "The Dunc Boy"

Lulu Vollmer's New Play With Gareth Hughes At Daly's 63rd Street

Gareth Hughes, as Tude the "dunc boy" of the lumber region of the North Carolina mountains, gives an excellent and capable performance in Lulu Vollmer's new play at Daly's, and makes us wish that we could see more of this great actor. But, alas! that is all that I can find to say about the play, sympathetic as I was to see the newest piece of the author of "The Shame Women" and "Sun-Up."

Tude, the son of Buck Huckle of the sawmills, is a little less than a half wit, mentally marred from birth. His father simply does not know how to handle an idiot, and his mother, woe heart is filled with love for her ill-born child, gropes feebly trying to find out just what to do with him. Mr. Hughes gives such a beautiful performance that for a while he seems like a child with a mind full of music rather than a loathsome imbecile. But in spite of his transfigured face, when he hears music in the droning of the sawmill, in spite of his feeble attempts to break through the walls of his dwarfed mind, in spite of a manly aspect so unlike the drooping and unkept appearance of most imbeciles, the onlooker cannot forget that after all he is looking at an

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idiot that no prettyfying can make other than loathesome.  
The story of the love of Rosie Pierce, the school teacher boarder at the Huckles, and Buck's purchase of a sawmill that burned up two days after he had enclosed a check for \$2,000 in a letter, together with the levent-hour discovery that the latter and Rosie's letter breaking off her engagement were not mailed by Tude, is a feeble one.  
The mental gropings of an imbecile are not fit stage material. They are important, of course, but they should be kept in the asylum and the clinic where they belong. It cannot be said that the play is a picture of folk life of a certain section of our people as other mountain plays have been. It is not a story of degeneracy resulting from social conditions as "Desire Under the Elms" is. It is a study of a degenerate in a conventional story that has neither dramatic value nor a social message. W. M. F.

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Tuesday Evening, April 21



**VIOLET DUNN**, the Flapper in Barry Corner's amusing comedy, "Hell's Bells," now settled for a run at the Geo. M. Cohan Theatre.

**BROADHURST THEATRE**, 44th W. of Broadway. Even. 8:30. Matinee Thurs. & Sat. 2:30.

OPENING TUESDAY NIGHT  
The MESSRS. SHUBERT Present  
**LIONEL BARRYMORE**

in **TAPS**  
by FRANZ ADAM BEYERLEIN  
with  
**IRENE FENWICK**

And a Distinguished Cast Including  
McKay Morris, Robert Thorne, Herbert Standish, Ulrich Haupt, Egon Brecher, Frederick Macklyn, Paulow Bergen, Edwin Maxwell  
Play staged by LAWRENCE MARSTON.

**JOLSON'S THEATRE**  
59th Street and Seventh Avenue. Even. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

THE STUDENT PRINCE  
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN  
Symphony Orchestra of 40  
Singing Chorus of 100  
Good Seats at Box Office

**CASINO**  
Broadway and 39th Street. Even. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30  
7TH MONTH

ARTISTS MODELS  
50 MODELS FROM THE STUDIOS  
and  
A GREAT CAST

**ELTINGE THEATRE**  
42nd Street, West of Broadway. Even. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30.

THE COMEDY TRIUMPH!  
THE FALL GUY

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

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

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

HOW CAN YOU GO ON LIVING WITHOUT  
**AIR**  
FOR THREE YEARS  
REPUBLIC THEATRE 147 5th Ave. SAT. 2:30

THE FUNNIEST SHOW IN TOWN  
"PIGS" at the LITTLE

"Proud Flesh" and "Sultan of Sulu," At Capitol Theatre

"Proud Flesh" from the pen of Lawrence Rising, has been translated to the screen by King Vidor for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. The screen version of the novel, which comes to the Capitol Theatre Sunday, deals with the San Francisco earthquake and fire and the subsequent re-creation of the great city. Eleanor Boardman, Pat O'Malley and Harrison Ford head the players. Impressions of "The Sultan of Sulu" will be one of the musical presentations next week. In this operetta the famous comedian, Frank Moulton, reached the apex of his success. Mr. Moulton will appear in his old role of the Sultan, assisted by Gladys Rice and the Capitol Ensemble. The incidental dance numbers will be done by Doris Niles and the ballet.



## THEATRES

**HELLS BELLS**  
German Gantvoort presents Barry Conner's  
Hilarious Comedy of Youth, Love and Laughter  
MATS. WED. & SAT. 8:30. EVS. 8:30.  
**GEO. M. COHAN THEATRE**  
SPECIAL EASTER MATINEE MONDAY  
3d Month

TONIGHT AND EVERY EVENING (Except Mon.) MAT. SATURDAY  
TWO UNIQUE DANCE DRAMAS  
**"SOONER AND LATER"**  
Music by Emerson Whithorne—and  
**"THE LEGEND OF THE DANCE"**  
Music by Lily Hyland.  
Cast of 50 includes entire Playhouse Company of Dancers  
Thomas Weir's Clavins or color organ used in "Sooner and Later"

**CAMEO** 10th WEEK  
in NEW YORK  
BWAY & 42ND ST. Noon to 11:30 P. M.  
**Charley's Aunt**  
She came to town for a single week.  
And look at her. The longer she stays  
the more popular she becomes. The  
laughter-loving public has flocked to see  
her at the Colony. When you get ac-  
quainted with "Charley's Aunt," care  
takes wing and joviality reigns in its  
place. She is irresistible—the world's  
funniest screen comedy.  
"ENOUGH TO MAKE A CAT LAUGH"  
OTHER REEL ATTRACTIONS  
**FAMOUS CAMEO THEATRE**  
ORCHESTRA

**FAMOUS AS A BOOK AND PLAY FOR 25 YEARS**  
NOW A SIDE-SPLITTING SCREEN SCRAM!  
**The Wizard of Oz**  
A Gaudy Picture  
Also a brilliant program including  
50 ALBERTINA RASCH GIRLS  
in greatest dance novelty of the year  
**"PASTELLE BALLET"**  
MISS EVA CLARK  
Musical Comedy Prima Donna.  
**B.S. MOSS COLONY** BWAY & 53 ST.  
BEGINNING TOMORROW

**YIDDISH ART THEATRE**  
31TH STREET  
& MADISON AVE.  
**MAURICE SWARTZ**  
Abraham Goldfaden's  
Comedy with Music  
**"THE WITCH"**  
Music Rearranged by Josef Chernovsky  
FRIDAY, SATURDAY &  
SUNDAY EVENING  
SATURDAY & SUNDAY  
MATINEE

**Bronx Amusements**  
**BRONX OPERA HOUSE**  
140TH ST., E. of 84 AVE.  
POP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.  
BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT  
MESSRS. SCHUBERT Present  
The Sweetest Story Ever Told  
**BLOSSOM TIME**  
Franz Schubert's Own Music  
—His Romance  
Incomparable Acting and  
Singing Chorus

Cyril Maude In  
"Aren't We All?"  
At the Globe Monday

Cyril Maude, the English artist, returns to the city in Frederick Lonsdale's comedy, "Aren't We All?" which will reopen at the Globe Theatre Monday night. The last metropolitan run of the play was interrupted by the sudden call of Mr. Maude to England by his sick wife.

Charles Dillingham, under whose management Mr. Maude is appearing, announces the following cast: Alma Tell, Geoffrey Millar, Marguerite St. John, Harry Ashford, Hugh Huntley, Cynthia Brooke, Isabel Ramon, Timothy Huntley, F. Gatenby Bell and Olive Reeves-Smith.

## Broadway Briefs

Ibsen's "The Wild Duck" reaches its fiftieth performance at the 48th Street theatre Wednesday afternoon.

Horace Braham, now playing the title role of "The Rat," will be featured in a new play by Earl Carroll.

John Cort's production of "China Rose" reached the century mark on Wednesday evening at the Knickerbocker Theatre.

"Siegfried," Fritz Lang's production for UFA, will have its American premier in Rochester Monday night, under the auspices of the University of Rochester.

"The School Maid," the Shuberts' latest musical production, opened Thursday night at the Majestic Theatre in Brooklyn.

A new ballet from Offenbach's opera bouffe, "La Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein," was introduced Friday night in "The Love Song," at the Century.

"Harvest," a new play by Kate Horton, will be produced by the Messrs. Shuberts in association with John Cromwell.

**CAPITOL** BROADWAY  
AT 51st ST.  
World's Largest and Finest Motion Picture Palace—Major Edward Bowes, Manager Director.  
BEGINNING SUNDAY  
**"PROUD FLESH"**  
—starring—  
**ELEANOR BOARDMAN**  
Metro-Goldwyn Production  
Famous CAPITOL Program  
CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA  
BALLET CORPS AND ENSEMBLE  
Presentations by BOTHAFEL "ROXY"

**MADISON SQ. GARDEN**  
NOW DAILY EXCEPT  
SUNDAY 2-8  
DOORS OPEN HOUR EARLIER  
RINGLING BROS. and  
BARNUM & BAILEY  
**CIRCUS**  
3 HOURS OF UNFORGETTABLE, UN-  
PARALLELED ARENIC MARVELS—  
800 WORLD PREMIER AERIALISTS,  
BARRECK RIDERS, GYMNASTS,  
350 TRAINED HORSES, 5 BIG RINGS.  
Originating and Stupendously Presenting  
World's Biggest Amusement Figures.  
ADMISSION TO ALL Inc. 50c-43  
(incl. tax) Children under 12 at re-  
duced prices at all matinee performances,  
except Saturday, to \$1.10 seats and over.  
Branch Ticket Office (No Advance)  
GIMBEL BROS. R. H. MACY & CO.

**B.S. MOSS BWAY** at 41st  
"Where the crowds all go"  
ALL NEXT WEEK  
A Spectacular Adventure Romance  
**"WHITE MAN"**  
With ALICE JOYCE,  
Kenneth Harlan and Walter Long  
Ruth Roy—Ed. Healy and  
Allen Cross—George Mc-  
Kay and Otis Ardine.  
and other  
**B. F. KEITH ACTS**

**FRANK CONROY**  
plays a leading role in "The Sap-  
phire Ring," by Laszlo Lakatos,  
the Hungarian playwright, which  
opens Wednesday night at the  
Selwyn Theatre.

John Golden will start casting "The Straight Shooter," a new drama, by George Abbott, scheduled to open in Atlantic City on May 25.

Abbott, last seen in "Processional," is also co-author of "The Fall Guy."

"Man and Wife," a comedy by the Hungarian playwright Laszlo Lakatos, will be presented by the Charles Frohman Company next season. Lakatos is the author of "The Sapphire Ring," which opens at the Selwyn next Wednesday.

The Rivoli will change its policy next week, "The Code of the West," closing on Thursday to permit preparations for the premiere of Gloria Swanson's "Madame Sans Gêne" on Friday evening. The theatre will remain closed through-out Friday until 8:30 p. m.

## DRAMA

## "Love for Love"

Congreve's Comedy  
Revived at Greenwich  
Village Theatre

In the period which followed the Puritan Revolution in England, attention was turned more and more to conduct, to manners, to external manifestations of conformity. In courtly circles, this attention, which was a compromise between Puritan severity of living and Cavalier license, grew to the code of gallantry, to that decorous reveling in the fashionable preliminaries of love, that play of fan and hand and eye and word, of shepherds veiled allusion and silk-gloved innuendo which was caught and carried to heights of artifice in the comedies of Congreve. This land, where the favorite bird was the quaver little cuckoo, where the favorite beast was horned, where every son tricked his father out of the fortune that he would ultimately have received but he could not wait for in dutiful patience, where every man was honest—who had never been trusted, and every woman a virgin—who had never been tried: this land lives in the pages of Congreve and on the stages where he is revived. "Love for Love," while not the most famous, is perhaps the best knit of his stories, with all the complications worked out that every Restoration drama reveals. Its dialogue catches every rung on the ladder of love, with unhesitant steps running up and down; unendingly through every character the theme of love recurs; the entire play, with its unreal life and its pleasant "god-from-the-machine" type of ending, exists to remind an artificial society that behind its play and pretending one thing at least, love, is real. Even today that story can be told; the play loses nothing if its flavor, and gains a deal through the fact that time has graced new artificialities upon us, in the shape of censorships and taboos and respectabilities of unspoken words through which "Love for Love" breaks boisterously.

The Provincetown Players give a competent performance of the comedy, with many figures well presented. Walter Abel, Sir Sampson; his sons, Stanley Howlett as Valentine, and Ivins as Ben; Edgar Stahl as Tattler; E. J. Balantine as Foresight; and Cecil Clovelly as the servant, are all old friends and welcome. Helen Freeman and Rosalind Fuller are likewise gracefully in evidence, with Eve Balfour and Adrienne Morrison joining hands. Songs in the spirit of the piece make pleasant interludes, and another excellent production of the Provincetown group is complete.

J. T. S.



DORIS KEANE

will move her new comedy, "Starlight," from the Broadhurst to Wallack's Theatre Monday night.

Five changes in the cast of "White Collars" at the Cort Theatre take place Monday. Charles Ruggles will succeed Clark Silvernail as "Cousin Henry," Catherine Dale Owen will essay the leading feminine role now in the hands of Mona Kingsley; Rea Martin will be succeeded by Lillian Ross; Edna Brothers by Louise Carter, and Donald Mc-Clelland by Leward Meeker.



HELEN HAYES

will play Cleopatra to Lionel Atwill's Caesar in Shaw's comedy, "Caesar and Cleopatra," opening at the New Guild Theatre on 52nd Street Monday night.

"The Wizard of Oz"—  
Albertina Rasch Girls  
At the Colony Sunday

L. Frank Baum's "Wizard of Oz" will be shown at B. S. Moss' Colony Theatre, beginning Easter Sunday, in connection with other features including the Albertina Rasch Girls, in a dance novelty, "The Pastelle Ballet," created and staged by Albertina Rasch. Eva Clarke will offer a song cycle. "The Wizard of Oz" has been familiar for the past twenty years. Montgomery and Stone gained their fame in the musical comedy version. Larry Semon portrays the role of the "Scarecrow" originated by Fred Stone. Others in the cast include Bryant Washburn, Charlie Murray, Virginia Pearson, Dorothy Dwan and Mary Carr.

"The Makropoulos Secret,"  
A New Capek Play,  
To Be Produced Soon

Herman Gantvoort, producer of "Hell's Bells," announces that within a few weeks he will present "The Makropoulos Secret," a new play by Dr. Karel Capek, whose "R. U. R." and "The Insect Comedy" caused quite a sensation a season or two ago. "The Makropoulos Secret" has been adapted by Randall C. Burrell, formerly of the Harvard "40 Workshop," and the "Jitney Players." It was originally presented at the Opera House in Prague, following "R. U. R." and "The World We Live In."

## Vaudeville Theatres

**MOSS' BROADWAY**  
B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, will celebrate N. V. A. week; special features will be offered at each performance in addition to the regular show. The Keith acts will include Ruth Roy, Ed. Healy and Allan Cross, George McKay and Otis Ardine, Wilfred Clarke and Company, Douella Phillips and Harriet Hill, Henry McArthur and other acts.

The feature picture will be a new production, "White Man," from the novel by George Agnew Chamberlain, starring Alice Joyce, Kenneth Harlan and Walter Long.

**PALACE**  
Clara Kimball Young in "His Adorable Wife" by Tom Barry; Sophie Tucker, Kitty Doner, with Eddie Fitzgerald; Toto, Jack Benny, Jack Haley and Helen Eby Rock; Chevalier Brothers; Galetti and Koklin.

## HIPPODROME

Eddie Leonard and his Minstrel Bunch, the Balalaika Symphony Orchestra with Alex Ivanoff; Rae Samuels, Roy Cummings, Joe Mendi, eighteen months old chimpanzee, "The Venetian Masqueraders" and special N. V. A. Week features.

## MUSIC

## State Symphony

Ernst von Dohnanyi  
and Eugene Goossens  
Engaged for Next Season

THE State Symphony Orchestra announced recently the engagement of Ernst von Dohnanyi and Eugene Goossens, as conductors for its third season.

Mr. Dohnanyi, a native of Bratislava, Pressburg, now living in Budapest, is one of the outstanding figures among contemporary Hungarian musicians, and is conductor of the Budapest Philharmonic Society. His compositions include orchestral works, operas, songs and solo and ensemble instrumental pieces. Mr. Dohnanyi will be in charge for the first part of the season beginning Oct. 21st.

Mr. Goossens, son of a Belgium conductor, was born in London, and has had a wide experience as conductor, both of opera and symphony, in Great Britain, notably with the London Symphony Orchestra and the British National Opera Company. He has an important place among modern British composers. As conductor in this country, most of his activities have been in Rochester as leader of the local Philharmonic Orchestra. He will conduct the remaining performances.

A feature for next season, which will have twenty concerts, at Carnegie Hall, are ten special rehearsals to aid American composers. At these special rehearsals compositions can be tried and their merits judged by the composer. Music lovers will have a large increase in the number of low-priced seats next season.

Gnomar Novas gives her final piano recital this Saturday afternoon at Town Hall.

Harry Farberman will give his violin recital at Aeolian Hall Sunday afternoon.

"Boris Godunoff," With  
Chaliapin—Final Week  
of Metropolitan Season

"Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci" will open the last week of the opera season Monday afternoon; the former with Easton, Delaunoi, Tokatyan and Ballester; the latter with Mario, Martinelli and Scotti. "Pellaea et Melanthe," Monday evening with Bori, Howard, Johnson and Whitehill. "Boris Godunoff" as a matinee on Wednesday with Delaunoi, Bourskaia, Chaliapin and Rothier. "Traviata," Wednesday evening with Bori, Egner, Lauri-Volpi and DeLuca. "Der Freischütz," Thursday evening with Rethberg, Dalossy, Tachet and Bohnen. "Aida," Friday evening with Rethberg, Branzell, Lauri-Volpi and Bohnen. "Boheme," Saturday matinee with Mueller, Hunter, Johnson and Scotti. "Il Trovatore," Saturday night with Easton, Telva, Martinelli and Danise.

Sunday night's Easter concert will be for the benefit of the Metropolitan Opera Emergency Fund.

## Music Notes

Sophie Braslau gives her recital in Carnegie Hall on Thursday evening.

Syni Mandell will give a costume recital for children and adults at the Princess Theatre on Sunday afternoon, April 19.

The third concert of chamber music by Mischa Elman and his string quartet is scheduled for Wednesday evening at Town Hall. Quartets by Haydn, Mozart and Brahms will be presented.

Feodor Chaliapin will give a song recital at the Metropolitan Opera House Sunday afternoon.

The announced Busoni Memorial concert will take place at Aeolian Hall Monday night. Bachaus, Carreras, Gabriell-witsch, Hutcheson and Schelling will take part in the recital.

## Artificial Childhood

By UPTON SINCLAIR

THE reader who shares the art beliefs now prevalent in the world will be quite certain that the ideas here being expounded are fantastic and absurd. Among those who thus differ is a friend of mine, a very great poet, who is patiently reading the manuscript and suffering, both for himself and for all poets who will follow him. He writes: "There is and should be such a thing as the enjoyment of what we are pleased to term 'pure beauty.' And again: 'You must believe either that we have a right to play, in which case the poet-who-doesn't-preach is justified, or believe the contrary, with its corollary of a coming race of solemn scientific monsters.'"

I do not want to gain an argument by the easy device of omitting everything that does not help me; therefore I take up this friend's contentions. Manifestly an element of play is essential to all art; it is what distinguishes art from other forms of expression, essays, sermons, speeches, mathematical demonstrations. If we do not emphasize this play element, it is not from failure to realize the difference between a work of art and essay, a sermon, a speech or a mathematical demonstration; it is merely because the play element in art is recognized by everyone, to the exclusion of the element of rational thought and purpose which is no less essential.

Let us ask: what is play? The answer is: play is Nature's device whereby the young train themselves for reality. Two puppies pretending to bite each other's throats learn to fight without having their throats torn in the process. So all young creatures develop their faculties; and this function is carried right up into modern art products. From many new novels I may learn, without risking the fatal experiment, what will happen to me if I permit the wild beast of lust to get me by the throat.

Let us have another principle, to guide us in our analysis:

Art is play, having for its purpose, the development of human faculties, and experiment with the possibilities of life.

But notice this distinction. Two puppies, leaping at each other's throats and dodging away, do not reason about what they are doing; they are guided by instinct. But a modern novelist knows what he is doing; he is thinking ordered thoughts about life, and making a deliberate record thereof. So we have a second principle:

Art is play, to the extent that it is instinctive; it is propaganda when it becomes mature and conscious.

Manifestly, art can never be entirely play, because no human being is entirely instinctive; nor can it be entirely propaganda—if it is to re-

main art, it must keep the play form. Moreover, the play element must be real, not simply a sham; the work must be a representation of life so skillful that we can pretend to take it for actuality. Wilkie Collins gave his formula for success as a fiction writer: "Make 'em laugh, make 'em cry, make 'em wait." In other words, make 'em do just what they would have to do if they were taking part in actual life. This is the one indispensable element: the artist, by whatever trick, must persuade us that this is no trick, but reality.

The function of play in adults has been ably studied in Dr. Patrick's book, "The Psychology of Relaxation." We humans have only recently developed the upper lobes of the brain, and cannot stand using them all the time; it is necessary occasionally to let them rest, and to live in the lower centers; in other words, to go back into childhood and play. To my friend the Poet, who asks if I believe in play, I answer by pointing to my tennis racket. But what shall we say about adults who play all the time? Modern science has a name for such people: it calls them morons.

If you are a moron artist, producing for a moron public, it will not avail to argue with you. But we have to inquire: how comes it that the art of morons is glorified and defended as "true" and "pure" art? How comes it that the quality of enjoyment without thought, which is characteristic of puppies and infants, comes to be considered a great quality in adults? In the fields of industry and education, we know that pitiful thing, the mind of a child in the body of a grown man. How comes it that such defective mentality is glorified in the field of art?

The answer is what you will expect from me. There's a class which owns and runs the world, and wishes everything to stay as it is. As one of the functions of ownership, this class controls culture and determines taste. It glorifies the scholar, the man who walks backward through life; and likewise it glorifies the art-moron, the man who has emotions without brains.

The so-called "purity" of art is thus a form of artificial childhood. Just as the Chinese bind the feet of their women in order to keep them helpless and acquiescent, so ruling-class culture binds the imagination of the race so that it may not stride into the future. And if you think that those who run the world's thinking for the ruling class are not intelligent enough to formulate such a purpose as this, my reply is that you are as unintelligent as they would wish to be, and you justify all the contempt they feel for you.

John Cort is building a theatre at Kingsbridge and Fordham roads, which will be named The Windsor. It will open in October.

## The Socialist Party at Work

(Continued from Page 7.)

second and fourth Thursday of the month. The attendance is increasing, and this branch, noted for its activities, will not be outclassed. Its drive for membership is on. Every Saturday night they have dancing, games, and other affairs. For a good time, comrades and friends, visit this branch. The feverish impatience for the Debs dinner is now testing the patience of the local secretary. Comrades are asking, "When does it take place? Where?" Tickets for the Debs dinner will be on sale next week at 1167 Boston Road. April 29. Remember the date.

## BROOKLYN

The Central Committee will meet Saturday, April 11, at 8:15 p. m., at party headquarters. Preceding the Central Committee meeting, there will be a meeting of the Executive Committee in the office of the Secretary.

Kirkpatrick-Seligman Debate  
The debate between George R. Kirkpatrick of the National office of the Socialist Party and Professor E. R. A. Seligman of Columbia University promises to be the most interesting party event in Brooklyn this year.



DOROTHY DWAN

in "The Wizard of Oz," a screen version of the famous spectacle, at Moss' Colony Theatre Sunday.

The subject is: "Resolved, That the Socialist Movement Represents the True Interests of the Masses." Each debater is a notable exponent of his point of view. The debate will be held in Arcadia Hall, Sunday, April 26, at 2 p. m. Admission is 50 cents, reserved seats one dollar. Tickets may be obtained at the Rand School or at 187 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn.

6th A. D.  
James O'neal will lecture on "Socialism, Past, Present and Future," at the 6th A. D., 187 Tompkins avenue, on Friday, April 10, at 8:15 sharp. Admission free.

FRIDAY, April 10. — August Claessens will lecture on "The Housewife and the Social Revolution," at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn.

13-19th A. D.  
13th-19th Assembly District has moved to 41 Debevoise street, and meets every Thursday evening. The clubhouse will be open every evening. The first meeting will be held Thursday evening, April 17.

Monday evening, April 13, Morris Paris, B.A., L.L.B., will deliver a lecture on "Religions," at the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, under the auspices of the Socialist Party. Admission is free.

## At the Cinemas

BROADWAY — "White Man," from the novel of George Agnew Chamberlain, with Alice Joyce, Kenneth Harlan and Walter Long.

CAMEO — "Charley's Aunt," with Syd Chaplin.

CAPITOL — "Proud Flesh," by Lawrence Riving, with Eleanor Boardman, Pat O'Malley and Harrison Ford.

COLONY — "The Wizard of Oz," with Larry Semon, Dorothy Dwan, Mary Carr and Charlie Murray.

RIALTO — "Adventure," by Jack London, with Pauline Starke and Tom Moore.

RIVOLI — Zane Grey's "Code of the West," with Owen Moore, Constance Bennett and Mabel Ballin.



## THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, April 11, 1925

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress, August 24, 1912, of

THE NEW LEADER  
Published weekly at New York, N. Y., April 1, 1925.  
State of New York, County of New York, ss.:  
Before me, a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Usher Solomon, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the New Leader and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, circulation, of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager, are:  
Publisher—The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.  
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2. That the owner is:  
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3. That the known bondholders, mortgages and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders, bondholders and security holders, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee, in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation by whom such stock, bond or other security is held, and also the address of such person or corporation.

5. That the full and complete name of the publication is: THE NEW LEADER, published weekly, except on legal holidays, at New York, N. Y., by The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

6. That the issue of this publication for the week ending March 31, 1925, was: OUR MAY DAY NUMBER.

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## THOMAS JEFFERSON

THE Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, preparing for a nation-wide celebration of the 182d anniversary of Jefferson's birth on April 13, offers a glowing eulogy of the author of the Declaration of Independence. As a revolutionary for whom tradition had no appeal, it will be interesting to observe professional 100 percenters paying tribute to his memory.

Yet, Jefferson, despite his broad tolerance for all views, really belonged to the old order. He believed that agriculture was the basis of a virtuous and enduring social order. He hated factory production and the stinking cities that grew around the factory and was firm in his belief that capitalist production made the working class vicious and corrupt. He wanted to preserve the simplicity of rural life, the dominion of small farmers, but without foreign control.

In these respects Jefferson resembled William Cobbett who grieved at the passing of the power, prestige and traditions of rural England and fought to the day of his death the banking and capitalist cliques and the enclosure measures that transformed agricultural England into ragged beggars. Cobbett lived long enough to know that capitalism had come to stay and the last decade of his life was devoted to supporting the claims of the workers of both rural and urban England.

Jefferson lived long enough to know that manufacturing was displacing agriculture as the dominant force in American life, but there is no indication of his full acceptance of the new order. A nation of farmers apparently was his ideal to the day of his death. His democracy also was not of the militant type that demanded the extension of the suffrage to the working class. It was largely theoretical. Jefferson was a revolutionary in the sense of throwing off British rule, but not in the sense of transforming the old order and bringing a new one.

## ELECTRIFYING FARMS

POSSIBLY one of the great developments of super-power will be to electrify farming. Owen D. Young, chairman of the Board of the General Electric Company, urges this for New York State, and he estimates that 1,000,000 horsepower will be sufficient to electrify the 193,000 farms in this State.

One comment on this proposal is that it would also check the tendency of farmers to move to the cities and that it will tend to relieve farming of much of its drudgery and long hours.

This is probably true, but it would also serve to develop capitalism in agriculture and produce a large wage-working population in rural areas. This transformation would make for the development of a Labor movement in rural life with strikes and struggles between owners and laborers. Power machinery, as it improved, would become too costly for the poor farmers and the tendency would be to reduce the small farmer to the status of a wage worker. Another tendency would be the development of large farms and the appearance of the absentee capitalist owner.

In other words, the earlier history of capitalism in industry would be repeated. The worker at handicraft in the small shop or in the household saw his hand tools displaced by the machine and the latter pass into the hands of the capitalist owner. The same tendency in the matter of land and power-machinery in agriculture would be repeated.

This uprooting of a class and its transformation into dependent wage workers is not considered by those who propose to electrify farms. The class struggle followed by a Socialist movement are its special products.

The New York State Assembly has voted in favor of installing voting machines in every city having a population of 175,000 or more. Now if we can throw out the Tammany and Republican machines everything will be lovely.

## TWO SAVAGE SENTENCES

MANY who thought that the brutal sentences assessed against war offenders during the World War were the product of an abnormal situation may now contemplate what our bureaucrats are capable of doing in peace time. One young American soldier in Honolulu has received a sentence of twenty-seven years' imprisonment and another one forty years because of some foolish attempt to organize a revolutionary league. It appears that both soldiers had become impressed by Communist propaganda.

We do not believe that the most reactionary monarchies of the pre-war period ever handed out such savage sentences as these. These verdicts are compounded of hate, ignorance and military foppery consistent with a society in a low stage of civilization. One of the victims will be an old man when he is released, if he does not in the meantime die of his confinement.

The utter silliness of trying to organize a secret revolutionary league among young men who volunteer to serve in the army would warrant nothing more severe than a hearty laugh at the expense of youngsters who propose it. But our military junkies can only take advantage of it to glut their appetite for cruelty. Had these young chaps offended the former Prussian military caste the worst they would have received would have been a year or two in a prison barracks. Words fail us in expressing resentment at this revolting cruelty.

One of the items in Governor Smith's program fought by the Republicans and which they finally conceded was a plan for abolishing grade crossings throughout the State. Nothing could be more stupid than to make this a party issue. Probably the Republican clique reasoned that grade crossings would be abolished for Democrats by the Smith plan while Republicans would be left to the mercy of trains.

## THE Chatter-Box

April

Under the snow  
We buried October's love—  
Nothing but stone below,  
Nothing but air above.

There it would lie—  
So we both sadly planned,  
Like a lost memory,  
Like a vanished land.

But now it lies  
A cold naked shame  
To our own frightened eyes—  
Since April came.

We should have known,  
Who have lived love so,  
To build tombs of stone—  
And not out of snow.

We see by the papers that our contemporary critic confrere, Herr Mencken, has taken a wallop at that Windmill of all Quixotic windbag punchers—Greenwich Village. In an article under the heading, "Hiring a Hall," in last Sunday's World, he reviews Alf. Kreyenborg's "Troubadour," an autobiographical novel that in itself very interestingly reviews the Village for almost two decades. At the same time Mencken spills ten buckets of celluloidal tears over the passing of the old landscape, bemoaning in his own fashion—where are the blokes of yesterday?

His complaint seems directed against the personnel that makes up what is commonly termed the Village today. Says he, the artists and poets have migrated to outlandish parts, and the coarse bourgeois has moved in—making for Philistia out of Parnassus.

In our own vehement manner may we suggest that such is not the case. True, the garrets have been turned into \$200 per month studios, the Purple Pups into prosaic Coffee Pots, with cleanliness and comfort instead of bacteria and back-breaking furniture. The starving poets and Bohemians of a decade ago are the successful business men, playwrights, novelists and publicity men of today. We hear that old boy Eddie Mayer, of the sworn-ago overcoat, has been spotted in deag-old Lunnon, y'know—top-hat, soup and fish, cane and all—only a month or so ago, a calm flame turned Firebrand, so to speak; and that even Max Bodenheim has been seen with a new suit, hat, and briar pipe. . . . If these be signs of the mutability of American literature—then let us have more of it. There are more real poets, novelists, and artists inhabiting the environs of Washington Square than ever before in its variegated history.

It seems to be a sort of religious belief with most of us that literature, music and art find greater impetus and fire in filth and poverty. Even he, Mencken, the great anti-boob, found his whole contention on that superstition of the boobs. He weeps over Kreyenborg's bald head and income from his now successful mandolining and his present respectability in having arrived at one legally married wife. We dare say the Kreyenborg's novel, "Troubadour," written as it was on a full stomach and a head free from creditors, is a splendid piece of literary effort as compared to the aching, troubled stanzas composed during the garret, pot-boiling days.

And to wax dogmatic for a moment, that only proves the Socialist contention that, given a world of creators, each one free from economic stress and stomach yearnings, creation would burgeon like a garden in the sun and rain.

April

April is a fairy child  
With a warm, wet mouth,  
Who drinks the early dewdrops on wood-  
violets—  
Whose breath the drowsy bees revive,  
Who makes the earth to come alive!  
April is a fairy child  
With a warm wet mouth. . . . Leone.

The Lorelei

"Come with me!"  
You follow.  
You think you have found it at last—  
Love:  
It is not Love;  
It is the Lorelei,  
The call of the unknown,  
The spell of the exotic—  
And then you crash  
On the rocks of familiarity.  
Leah Kaufman.

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, copy of "Loring's Rhyming Lexicon," from E. P. Lutton & Co., which we find to be quite an excellently arranged compendium of rhyme for all dabblers in the Homeric art. We heartily recommend it to every embryonic Byron, Swinburne, Poe and Irving Berlin, as a distinct aid toward immortality. Pretty hard, fellow bards, at times to get the swift elusive rhymes, especially when April's hoyden wink lures you away from where you sit and think. Note—Rhythm pretty bad, but the rhymes can be found in "Loring's Rhyming Lexicon."

8 a. m. Place—4th avenue and 28th street. Persons—200 or so lads from 14 years to 46, all trying to crowd into a doorway. Reason—Want ad.: "Shipping Clerk needed; salary, \$18.00; honest, industrious, well recommended; must have at least four years' experience. Apply 8 a. m." Few of them have overcoats; all of them have newspapers and hungry looks; most of them looked chilled in the penetrating April morning air.

We understand now what the election slogan of the Republican party last November meant. Great stuff—this KEEP-ING KOOL WITH KOOLIDGE.

S. A. DE WITT.

## THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

### The Crisis in France

France faces another crisis and Herriot may be out of office any day. He had to let his Finance Minister go and appointed M. de Monzie as a sop to the Right. But de Monzie is opposed to a capital levy which Herriot has urged to save the sinking franc. De Monzie is also opposed to severing relations with the Vatican and Herriot has had to compromise on this issue. An amazing feature of the financial crises which the Government faces is that J. P. Morgan & Co. appears to be running the French Government. The former Finance Minister consulted the House of Morgan, the heavy loans of the latter making it an upper Diet for France. Only a capital levy will save the situation, and French capitalists and bankers not only are opposed to the levy but are investing funds in foreign securities. Thousands of post-war profiteers have become rich out of the reconstruction of northern France, and this new rich gang seek evasion of taxation by foreign investment. The Socialists insist on a capital levy of 10 per cent. For a few days Premier Herriot wavered on the capital levy, but later advices indicate that he will demand the levy as the only way to avoid the financial abyss that yawns and that threatens France with bankruptcy. In the meantime, Millerand, the arch-enemy of Herriot, has been elected to the Senate, and that reactionary will fight for all the reactionary classes. Herriot has inherited the sins of the Poincare clique and he faces an almost impossible situation.

### The Booze Problem

A bulletin of the Commercial News of San Francisco carries two tables of figures which apparently show the relation between crime and the liquor problem. One table gives the figures of arrests in 100 cities for the fourteen-year period of 1910-1923. The other gives the record of eleven years in 300 cities for 1913-1923. In each table comparisons are made between wet years with saloons, wet years with regulation, and the dry years of the Volstead Act. The results in both tables are strikingly similar and the second one will be considered. It shows that arrests for all offenses, except intoxication, have steadily increased for the entire period, but arrests for intoxication alone showed a marked variation. The wet years with regulation show a marked and continuous decline of arrests for intoxication, but with the passage and enforcement of the Volstead Act there is a sharp and continuous increase of arrests. Arrests for all causes, including intoxication, show a still more marked increase during the Volstead era. The Commercial News claims that the charts are accepted as correct by the Anti-Saloon League. Of course, it would be folly to trace these arrests to one factor alone. A man may become intoxicated for a reason not related to a desire for drink, and allowance must be made for this in accepting the figures. Nevertheless, the charts confirm the general experience that booze not only retains its lure but that drunks steadily increase in number. On the whole, the data confirm the Socialist contention that the liquor question is a social and economic problem, not a moral one.

### The German Election

The German electoral situation has cleared. Dr. Wilhelm Marx will be supported for President of the Weimar Coalition, which includes the Socialist, the Center and the

### Democratic parties.

For a few days it was uncertain whether the combined reaction would accept former Field Marshal von Hindenberg, who was ready to throw his hat into the ring if he received any encouragement. He is now the candidate of the Right. The contest is now between him and Marx. Meantime the reaction is not a solid unit. It is divided into the extreme monarchists who desired von Hindenberg and the moderate conservatives, who want no return to monarchy, but who fear the increasing strength of the Socialists. Then there are those who favor monarchy, but would not support any foolhardy challenge to a majority of the nation who are recorded in favor of the republic. Unless some unforeseen change should occur in the next few days the alignment and issue for the election on April 26 are now clear.

### The Ulster Election

When North Ireland sends three Socialists to the Ulster Parliament the hope for working class progress is not a barren one. This was accomplished in the recent Ulster election. Nowhere has the antagonism between Catholic and Protestant been more bitter than in Ulster, particularly in Belfast. In the latter city only a few years ago this bitterness culminated in brutal mobbing of Catholics. Many were killed and injured and still others were driven from their homes. The pity of all this is that Belfast has some big capitalist industries and their owners and servile politicians have fanned the fires of religious hatred and kept the workers divided to some extent. The election of three Socialists is a good example of Labor solidarity and is a forecast of fraternal relations between Catholic and Protestant workers against their common enemy, the capitalist exploiters of Ulster. Premier Craig has had his majority cut in Parliament, but not sufficient to prevent him from carrying on.

### Radek to Follow Trotsky

If press reports are reliable, the Cheka has executed thousands since the Autumn revolt in Georgia and the population lives in a state of terror. Production and trade have declined, prices have soared, enormously and economic conditions in general are bad. In Russia proper it is reported that Radek has followed Trotsky into retirement, thus narrowing the struggle for control within the dictatorship to Stalin and Zinoviev. It appears that Radek has been denied the right to participate in the Communist International, or to interfere with the German Communist movement, and has been censured for violating the discipline of the Russian party. Moreover, he is warned to keep out of the affairs of the German party or he will be excommunicated. Should Radek prove obdurate it will be necessary for Communist movements in all countries to revise their opinions of Radek, as they did of Trotsky, and probably add another "counter-revolutionist" to their gallery of notables.

### Oil Gang Victors

Thanks to a technicality, the oil indictments against former Secretary of the Interior Fall, Edward L. Doheny and Doheny, Jr., and Harry F. Sinclair have been quashed by Justice McCoy of the District of Columbia Supreme Court. It appears that the indictments were thrown out because an agent of the Department of Justice was improperly before the Grand Jury when the indictments

### Expanding the Monroe Doctrine

Just what is meant by the thirty draft conventions for codification of American international law is difficult to fathom. They are to be considered by the International Commission of Jurists this year in Rio Janeiro and are supposed to expand the Monroe Doctrine and to prevent wars among American republics. One clause condemns acquisition of territory by "a non-American power," this being explained as expanding the Monroe Doctrine into an all-American agreement. What of an American power—the United States, for example? On the other hand, no nation is permitted "for any reason whatsoever, directly or indirectly," to occupy "even temporarily any portion of the territory of an American republic in order to exercise sovereignty therein, even with the consent of said republic." The United States has occupied Haiti and San Domingo and has denied any intention of exercising sovereignty, yet its might has reshaped these little nations to serve American banks. Simultaneously with the announcement of these conventions comes the news from Uruguay that Dr. Molina of Chile, in a public address in Montevideo, said that Latin-America is skeptical of Pan-Americanism because it is corrupted by the commercial tendencies of the United States. Latin-Americans had better lock up their valuables when Uncle Sam offers any of his "idealism."

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