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The New Leader

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of the Socialist and La-
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Capitalism's Scourge | Bloody Bulgaria Basic Industries in North West Hit | The Terrorism on Which this Creature Heavy by Unemployment | of Imperialism is Nourished

Continuing the survey of unemployment in the United States The New Leader offers another installment of the situation in the Northwest. Last week we considered the great section extending from the wheat belt to the Rocky Mountain region, including a few items from the upper Northwest along the Pacific Coast to the Canadian border. This week Emil Herman, Socialist Party organizer in this section, and who has traveled over it extensively, gives the results of his observations. When 4,000 children are fed on Christmas in one large city and charity organizations engage in a rivalry to provide for the "worthy poor," we may be certain that "Keeping cool with Coolidge" is a costly affair for the working class. We hope to present surveys of other sections as rapidly as the information can be gathered.—EDITOR.

By EMIL HERMAN

THE principal industries of western Washington and Oregon are (in the order given) lumber, mining, fishing, dairying and diversified farming. In the eastern part of the two States it is wheat farming and fruit growing. In addition to these the building industry has developed into considerable proportions in the industrial centers.

Since early last Fall unemployment has been acute and especially so during the winter. Logging operations were very slow during the winter, with several thousand men idle as a result—they are gradually resuming operation, but still far from full time. Wages in logging camps range from \$4.00 to \$9.00 per day. Board and lodging averages \$10.00 per week. The saw mills have been all winter, and still are, running five days a week. The minimum wage in these (for men) is \$3.50 per day—about 60 per cent of the men employed in the mills receive this wage. House rents range from \$25.00 to \$45.00 per month; other living expenses are in proportion.

From this it can be readily seen that the wages of the husband and father are not sufficient to meet the living expenses of the family; this makes it necessary for wife and daughter to also seek employment, and since these make good subjects for exploitation the lumber barons are introducing women into the mills of the Northwest. The Walton Lumber Co., near Everett, Wash., employ about sixty women in their veneer plant—they do the work formerly done by men and receive from \$2.40 to \$2.65 per day for their labor.

Two Ways of Cutting Wages
The coal miners in District No. 10 have, for almost a year, been averaging three days' work per week. Wages in the coal mines are from \$5.00 to \$8.00 per day. In 1923 wages in the coal mines were cut an average of \$1.50 per day. The miners hold their former president, Martin J. Flyzik, responsible for this reduction. Flyzik is now holding down a State job, with a fat salary, to which he was appointed by Governor Hartly, who in private life is a lumber baron.

Although illegal, a blacklist system prevails in the lumber industry. Before one may secure employment it is necessary to pass a satisfactory examination by the loggers' clearing association. The plan is similar to the permit system prevailing in the metal mines of Butte, Mont.

The unemployed have done nothing to alleviate their own condition and organized labor are not yet sufficiently conscious of their interests as workers to take up the matter, consequently the only relief offered has been through charity and some public work, at starvation wages.

Feeding the Hungry

Reference to the files of the Seattle Post Intelligencer—a Hearst owned morning paper, against which the printers have been on strike for about a year—shows one of their boasts of having fed 4,000 "worthy children" on Christmas day of 1924. Several other organizations claim a like record. Seattle has a population of a little over 400,000 people.

About six weeks ago it came to light that the Volunteers of America had secured a contract from the city of Seattle to do some work in one of the parks, they to receive \$3.00 per day for each man em-

THE WORK OF A FOOL OR A KNAVE

Warning!

A copy of a poster, nineteen by fifteen inches, which is reproduced here, has come to the attention of The New Leader. Who is responsible for it we do not know. It is evidently for display on May Day. The bad English used and the sentiments expressed clearly indicate that the poster is the work of either a fool or an agent-provocateur.

The point of view expressed in this document is foreign to that of the Socialist Party in whose name it is alleged to be issued.

The Socialist Party has not authorized the publication of any such poster. Moreover, the use of the words "Official Socialist Party" reveals the document as a forgery as the Party has never designated any of its matter in this way.

The poster is a fraud and we herewith give due notice to police spies or any others who have concocted this thing that the Socialist Party and The New Leader, its official publication, bear no responsibility for this transparent forgery.

What Is This?

MANIFEST

OUR HOUR HAS COME

The Proletariat ascends
to new conquests

AMNESTY TO DESERTERS

The Distribution of Land
among peasants has be-
gun. Industries are in the
Workmen's hands.

THE AGONY OF CAPITALISM HURRAH FOR BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA OFFICIAL SOCIALIST PARTY.

(In assessing responsibility for the horrible bomb outrages at Sofia, the following document should be of incalculable value. It is the text of a letter addressed to the British working-class movement by two rank and file Bulgarian workers, evidently Communist sympathizers. It was addressed to the British workers because of the knowledge that the Tsankoff's Bulgarian Government is a creature of British imperialism, having seized its power with British connivance. It confirms the view of The New Leader, that Bulgarian political action is normally a policy of violence. Despite its Communist sympathies, the document, on the whole, gives an interesting background to what is happening in Bulgaria.)

SOFIA, March 21, 1925.

To the members of the Labor party, Trades Union Congress, and all liberty-loving people in Great Britain.

THE terrorized and martyred people of Bulgaria appeal to you and through you to the millions of workers of your country to raise your voice in defence of our rights to life and liberty, and protest against the Government off Assassins, headed by Professor Tsankoff, who are destroying by daily shootings the flower of our intelligent workers and peasants.

Having most foully murdered Stambulsky and other leaders of the Peasants' party, killed their supporters, and disposed of the once powerful Peasant party, the military clique let loose its armed bands (Macedonian mercenaries and Wrangel troops) on the Communist party: in September, 1923, the Tsankoff Government provoked a premature rising of the peasants in several districts in order to have a pretext for completely smashing all opposition. Fifteen thousand peasants and workers lost their lives at the hands of Tsankoff's mercenaries.

As soon as the country has been "pacified" the Tsankoff Government of Generals suppressed the General Workers' Union, which had a membership of 40,000, and a bacchanalia of wages reductions took place, and the eight-hour day was abolished.

The Workers and Peasants' Co-operative Society, "Osvobozhdenie," having 70,000 members and hundreds of millions of francs in property, was declared illegal, and all its property confiscated. When Tsankoff thought he had succeeded in cowering the whole people, an election controlled by bayonets was held in 1924. The Social-Democrats and the bourgeois parties bargained beforehand how many deputies each party was to have. Despite all this the united Communists and Peasants received over 200,000 votes, and elected some 25 deputies. (This statement must be taken with a grain of salt. The Bulgarian (Continued on Page 4.)

AL SMITH, THE VOTE THIEVES FRIEND

By WM. M. FEIGENBAUM

NEW YORK is to continue to have crooked elections, with the machinery in the hands of Tammany Hall, past masters of election thievery.

For that we must thank the much bepraised "liberal" governor, Al Smith, product of the ward heeler system of Tammany Hall.

By his veto of the bill providing for the installation of voting machines in New York City, the "liberal," "progressive," "enlightened" Governor showed how much we can expect from even the best of the old party men if ever a vital matter comes before them.

Every year over one million voters are given paper ballots to cast at the election. Every year over one million marked paper ballots are placed in the hands of stupid, illiterate, vicious and often criminal election officials. Every year, the processes of a free election are made a farce by Tammany control of the ballot box.

From the days of Dick Croker and Bill Tweed and Fernando Wood, Tammany has made a farce and a mockery of elections. Every attempt to make our elections honest, every attempt to secure a system under which the vote will be cast as the people want to cast it, and counted as it has been cast, has met bitter opposition by Tammany, and its G. O. P. ally. It took what was nearly a political revolution to secure a

The Debs Dinner

Individuals and organizations wishing reservations for the Debs Dinner on Wednesday, April 29, should make these reservations at once. The dinner will be held at the Yorkville Casino, 210 East 86th street, New York.

Through the efforts of Herman Epstein, James Wolf, basso of the Metropolitan Opera House, and Sascha Fidelman, violinist, concert master of the Stat. Symphony, will give a musical program, and Herman Epstein will accompany these artists on the piano and render some piano solos.

Dinner will be served at 7:30 p. m. Those having reservations are requested to be on time and not delay the service.

This dinner promises to be a gathering of the Socialists and Progressive Labor organizations of New York.

If you have not made your reservations, do so at once!

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secret ballot. And even with the secret ballot, every election night is the scene of pitched battles and thievery that are a blot on any civilized people.

Voting machines will not cure any of the social evils of the day, but they will accurately record the vote as cast; they will prevent mutilation of ballots; they will prevent miscounting of votes; they will eliminate the long, agonizing struggles every election night with brutal ruffians of Tammany doing what they will with the votes of the people, sneering, if anyone objects, that they can take the matter "downtown," certain that nothing will happen to them.

Tammany doesn't want voting machines, because the machines are honest and Tammany wants no honest elections. Governor Smith wants no voting machines, because Tammany doesn't want voting machines, and without Tammany Hall Smith would be nobody. The hoodlums, gangsters, thieves and criminals who have stolen election after election in the past, whose beneficent operations have made it impossible for the people ever to know even approximately how the votes have been cast, can feel safe in their work as long as Tammany has such a loyal Governor in Albany.

"You are sneaking around a back alley," said the Governor, "trying to sandbag the city. You are establishing a very wicked precedent." These harsh words were used to an advocate of the voting machine

law; the ground for the hard language being the fact that the law as passed by both houses of the Legislature provided for the installation of the machines by the Attorney General, the cost to be withheld from the taxes due the city.

And now, after the Governor's outburst, for the facts:

In 1919, the elections of Aldermen Algernon Lee and Edward F. Cassidy were stolen by the joint enterprise of Tammany Hall and their G. O. P. side kicks. Other elections had been stolen in the past, the frauds year after year mounting into staggering proportions. In 1921, the Legislature passed a law—which was signed by the Governor—providing that voting machines might be installed in the City of New York. The law was calmly ignored. In 1921, the Claessens election was openly stolen. In 1922, a more stringent law was passed, providing that the city had to install the machines, one third of the districts to be covered in the first year; a second third in 1923, and by 1924, all districts to be covered. The law was explicit. It was mandatory. It was just.

Mr. Murphy's Tammany Hall, Mr. Smith's Tammany Hall, simply ignored the law. No pretext was needed. Election day came, and there wasn't a machine in the city—nothing but the same old paper ballots, nothing but the same old election officials, many of them with pencils to disfigure ballots, many of them prepared for the usual mutila-

tion and miscounting. That being so, Mr. Smith's indignation at the "sandbagging" of the city is comical, to say the least.

On the very day that Mr. Smith indicated that he would veto the voting machine bill, a jury in New York acquitted the chairman of an election board that had been arrested one election night, caught in the act of openly stealing votes. That acquittal can be—and will be—taken as a license for Tammany election thieves to go on stealing elections, safe from official molestation. Governor Smith's veto is notice of the fact that so long as Tammany has toe-hold on the State government, honest elections will be an unrealizable ideal.

Al Smith is a remarkable man, in every way infinitely better, finer, abler, decanter than the gang out of which he rose to leadership. Schooled by Dick Croker, Tom Foley and Charlie Murphy, a district captain in the days of unrestrained election frauds, he rose out of the class of his teachers by his superior energy, intelligence and understanding of human problems. Dick Croker and Labor legislation would have been understandable. But under the influence of Smith, Tammany has played the game of Labor legislation and humanitarianism.

But Smith has had to pay his price. As Speaker of the Assembly, he had to take a hand in the crime of the Sulzer impeachment, when Murphy insisted upon it. And today, when Tammany refuses to permit an honest election, he is loyal to his gang when he upholds Tammany in its calm defiance of the law that provides for voting machines.

Tammany is unsocial. Tammany is dishonest. Tammany can purr like a gentle feline cat when need be, but that purr deceives no one. Tammany is the same old thieving, plundering Tiger that it always has been.

Tammany understands nothing but force, the power of ballots. Drive Tammany out! Unite the working people, the honest, decent, self respecting people, behind the banner of Socialism! Redeem our community from the blight that has marred it so long!

Labor's Dividends

Accidents at coal mines in the United States in Feb. caused the death of 184 men, according to the United States Bureau of Mines. Fifty-one fatalities were due to the mine explosion at Sullivan, Indiana, Feb. 20. The accident rate for the month, including the Sullivan disaster, was 3.99 deaths per million tons of coal produced.

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THE DEBATE OF THE YEAR: Prof. Kirkpatrick vs. Prof. Seligman at Arcadia Hall, Halsey Street and Broadway, Brooklyn, Sunday Afternoon. Subject: Socialism. DON'T MISS IT.

THE MILITARISTS AT BAT

By A. I. HARRIS

THE setting for this story is the Chamber of the Minnesota State House of Representatives. The occasion is a public hearing on a bill introduced by Representative S. A. Stockwell to make military training at the State University optional rather than compulsory.

The militarists had the edge to begin with. Stockwell is a pioneer liberal and a single taxer. Naturally, any bill presented by him must have its origin in Moscow. But there was further evidence that this bill is the "entering wedge" in the program of the Third International to disarm the United States and make it easy to establish in America the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Moscow's province in America," Wisconsin, is the only State in the Union which has decreed against military conscription of her students as a condition of their education. This in itself should be sufficient to prove the point before any enlightened audience.

But that is not all. There is an organization of Bolshevik and internationalist women (witness their name if you don't believe the inference) known as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom which has gone on record as opposed to military conscription in colleges. This is no fantastic statement, because the printed program of these "international women" sets it down in black and white. The militarists, with these facts in their possession, came to the hearing with their guns loaded, their bayonets fixed, and tear bombs and poison-gas in abundance.

"Better Classes" to the Front

The militarists had still another and by no means minor advantage. They were all 100 per cent "superior race" as well as 100 per cent "patriots," although the purest of the Nordic stock, the Scandinavians, were lined up with the other side. There was not a Latin, Slav, or Semite among them. They represented the "better classes," prestige, dignity, and even "tradition." There were the heads of fashionable and aristocratic women's organizations who have been driven into the camp of the militarists through the Red scare. Spokesmen for the American Legion, ranting about "getting the slacker and the profligate in the next war," were lined up on the same side, as were the representatives of

PEACE: 1925 MODEL



the women's auxiliary of the Legion, which on that day had met and passed a fiery resolution against Bolshevik propaganda in the United States as a preliminary to the hearing on the bill before the Legislature. The Daughters of the American Revolution could not be expected to hobnob with the "slackers." The "better classes" remained true to their class in this artificially created alignment. The radical who asserts that the "respectable church" founded on the teachings of the lowly Nazarene invariably lines up on the side of the bayonet in such a contingency could have found not a little substantiation at this hearing.

A Perfect Lady Militarist

The "Big Bertha" of the opponents of the bill was fired by a woman, Mrs. Amy Robbins Ware, chairman of the International Relations Committee of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs, who announced herself as a "friend of peace, and I would go to as great length to achieve that ideal as any living person." Abstractedly, there is no question but that this woman believes in peace, but not at the expense of anybody knocking a chip off her country's shoulder. She was the authority about international affairs for the opponents of the bill. As was to be expected, she linked the bill under consideration with the Third International and that "dark, sinister, mysterious convention" held in Washington recently by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The convention, according to this worthy informant, acted under instructions from Moscow. Her flaring, blue eyes and clenched fists indicated that she may have believed what she said.

"These women," she shouted, "were the tools of the Bolsheviks, who seek to destroy the world. The abolition of compulsory military training in the State universities is

the starting point in the scheme to disarm America. The Third International is behind this bill! And then, to lend a touch of authority to her statements, she added, as if confiding a secret to her hearers: "And, friends, I know whereof I speak, because for several months I have had in my possession confidential information of the part that Moscow is playing to disarm America, which definitely links up the Reds with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom." Thus, her point having been proven conclusively, she sat down with a satisfied air.

Amused at Stupidity

Now, the effect of such an argument upon an intelligent person depends upon the nervous makeup of that person. Some it may amuse, but not very many. The majority find it exceedingly grating in various degrees, rubbing against the finer sensibilities. I noticed a group of women who belong to a liberal club in Minneapolis, and watched the effect on them. A few appeared outwardly amused, but a closer observation would show rather an admixture of amusement and pain. Others gritted their teeth and bit their lips. They again visualize an important matter of public policy, not being determined upon its merits. A few could not restrain giving vent to their emotions and hurt senses by more pronounced physical expressions. A little woman, of the nervous, fiery, idealist type, the kind who will go to Washington and parade before the White House with banners, could not restrain vocal gestures of disapproval, and even motioned with her hands for the speaker to sit down and cut out the trash.

A number of cadets at the University, the ones who take delight in parading before the co-eds in their neatly pressed military uniforms and who would regard a commission in the reserve army as the achievement of a lifetime, attended the hearing in their uniforms. They sat with more rigidity and military poise than their wont, not physical specimens, to be sure, but their lower jaws protruding unnaturally to affect a certain semblance. Unquestionably, there was a motive to their presence. Their patriotic blood seemed to rush to their faces as the speaker recited the diabolical machinations of the Reds, and one could almost picture them disemboweling the Bolsheviks and throwing the entrails to the dogs to feast upon. In the rear of the large room, a number of students in civilian clothing were gathered. A student of decided Semitic features chuckled as much as to say: "And people swallow such rot!" whereby two of his fellow students proceeded to solemnly assure him that the speaker was right.

The Clerical "Patriot"

In Minneapolis, there is a minister by the name of Marion D. Shutter. Every large city has its Rev. Shutter. One always finds him in the front ranks of the stay-at-home

patriots. He bears the brunt for the "big boys" in every attack and move of entrenched business against whatever smacks of "radicalism"—meaning any attack against their system. He is their official spokesman. He is a middle-sized, well preserved man in his late fifties or early sixties, giving the impression of a successful man of business rather than a preacher of the meek Jesus. There is a sleekness about his appearance which makes one feel that he is at least getting his full share of the fruits of Nature.

It was not surprising to find the Rev. Mr. Shutter, pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, Minneapolis, at this hearing leading the frontal attack on the "pacifists." To his credit, it must be said that he did not quote Scripture, although these pagan Christians have a habit of transforming the Prince of Peace into a Prince of War. He was not as blunt in his charge as was Mrs. Ware, but he was more suave, subtle, and even effective. If anything, the Rev. Mr. Shutter has tact and brains. When our business world buys brains it generally sees to it that it gets what it pays for, whether in the form of an executive or a minister of the Gospel.

Rev. Shutter Shudders

"Now," this minister said, pointing his finger calmly and significantly as if weighing something and trying on the face of the facts to be extremely fair, "I do not charge that there is a direct connection between those who are fathering this particular bill and that group of international women who are operating here in the interests of Moscow." Throughout his talk he laid particular and deliberative emphasis on the term "international women." "But," he continued, "it is a strange coincidence that this bill runs in parallel lines with the announced program of the international women and Moscow Reds. The purpose of that program is to assure that the destructive Red hordes in this country will not be halted by a single bayonet." It might be surmised that the Rev. Mr. Shutter is not the "turn to him the other cheek also" Christianity, but militant Christianity," as Billy Sunday expounds it.

The United States Government was officially represented in the person of Major Bernard Lentz, commandant of the students' corps at the university, and unofficially by Colonel E. E. Watson of the Reserve Army. Neither of these gentlemen painted a rosy picture of the future

prospects of peace, and the latter even significantly remarked that a third of this country's life has been spent in war and that the future holds no better prospects. Military training of university students, both emphasized, is the backbone of the National Defense Act, the Act being built around the R. O. T. C. Compulsory universal military training of every able-bodied man in the United States is the ultimate goal, Colonel Watson revealed.

Prepare War to Get Peace

You pacifists and foes of "preparadness" are all wrong when you say that a large and efficient army and navy is not the best guarantor for permanent peace, the lessons which you think you see in the last war notwithstanding. You looked at the World War with colored lenses. You did not get the right perspective. There never would have been a World War, in the first place, if America had a large and efficient standing army in 1914. Colonel Watson knows, because German officers admitted this much to him. The statement was repeated over and over again by the militarists to overcome the example of German preparadness. The militarists are always one step ahead of you.

Of course, there were the usual arguments about keeping faith with the Government; that only a Bolshevik State like Wisconsin could be capable of such ingratitude towards the United States as abolishing conscription of its students on the one hand and accepting Federal money with the other; that military training is good for you, develops you, makes for a higher type of citizenship, improves manners, and makes our manhood alert and unafraid.

If there was such a thing as real academic freedom among the faculty at the University of Minnesota, I have no doubt but that a few professors or instructors would have been found who would have made an intelligent plea against this military gush and nonsense which 90 per cent of the students abhor and detest. Unfortunately, however, such is not the case. The faculty members who spoke did not take the side of the student majority. They appeared, in the name of the university, in behalf of the militarists. But their silly and childish "arguments" stood out in striking contrast to the intelligent presentation in favor of the bill by a few of the students. The comparison might well have put the two learned professors to shame.

Professors Urge Training

These faculty representatives were Professor E. E. Nicholson, dean of student affairs, and Professor O. M. Leland, dean of the College of Engineering. Dean Leland engaged in statistics to show that graduates regard military training as beneficial. Only five out of 200 engineering college graduates declared, in answer to a questionnaire dealing with matters on the engineering curricula, that they felt they could have devoted the time they spent in military drill to better advantage in some other study, he said. He wasn't quite clear as to what questions were set forth in this questionnaire, or how they were set forth, as far as the audience was concerned, and my guess is that the question at point was not asked directly. Here was the arguments of the two deans in favor of compulsory military training of students:

Students require such discipline: Military drill comes in the same class as rhetoric or any other subject, and if one student objects to compulsory drill another objects to compulsory rhetoric.

The university authorities know what is best for the students, and the students must not be permitted to exercise their own judgment in the matter.

Abolition of military conscription at the university would place a great burden on the physical education department. The university would violate its moral obligation to the Government by making drill optional rather than compulsory, although there would be no violation of the letter of the Land Grant Act involved under which State universities receive Federal aid.

"The proponents of this bill think that they made a great discovery when they found out that compulsory military training is not essential under the land grant act," Dean Leland said with a gesture. "Do they think that we university authorities have been living in blissful ignorance these past sixty years?" We have not. But are we to follow a State like Wisconsin in legislation?" This marked the climax of his oratory.

You radicals and pinks are quite familiar with the arguments against militarism in our colleges as well as militarism in general. These arguments were forcefully and intelligently presented. But although you have logic, fact, history on your side, the militarists can spot you fifty yards in the race and finish first. Poison-gas is as effective in argument in this enlightened age as on the battlefield, and you cannot compete with them on that score. Matters of public policy cannot yet be considered altogether in the light of merit. The measure to make military training optional among the students of the University of Minnesota met the fate of every other "Bolshevik bill."

Lectures

The Community Forum

Park Avenue and 34th Street

Sun., April 26th—8 P. M.

DR. JAMES MELVIN LEE

"Newspaper Readers and Crime News"

11 A. M.—The Community Church

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL

"What Are We Living For?"

Special

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The People's Institute COOPER UNION

Friday, April 24

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

(The Great Mass Movements of History)

"The Role of the Mass in Social Advance"

Sunday, April 26

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"Creating Tomorrow"

Tuesday, April 28

S. K. RATCLIFFE

"The Conflict of Race and Color"

Eight o'clock Admission Free

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RESOLVED:

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PROF. G. E.

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PROF. E. R. A.

SELIGMAN

Negative

Chairman, Congressman F. LA GUARDIA

Sunday Afternoon, April 26th, 1925

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AN AMERICAN SNAPSHOT

A VIVID picture of a typical American mining community has been drawn by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

In a number of ways the mountain bituminous mining camp is like a country village or a frontier settlement. Many camps are literally in the wilds. Sometimes the mountain sides and narrow valleys do not offer much space for building and the houses are crowded close together—but with as little sanitation as if the nearest neighbor were a mile away. Drainage empties into the valley stream and from this stream comes drinking water—and sometimes typhoid fever. Houses are built with little difference in size to meet the needs of large families, and with even less variety of appearance. They are cheaply constructed and are soon in bad repair.

The schools in the camps are often of the rural type—one room, one teacher, offering only five or six elementary grades. The terms are short, the schools are poorly equipped, and the teachers are untrained. In the West Virginia camps which the Children's Bureau studied many of the teachers had had no education beyond the eighth grade, and two-thirds of their pupils were failing to make normal progress for their ages. One father in every eight was illiterate, and with the instruction their children are receiving one cannot hope that they will be much farther advanced when they grow up.

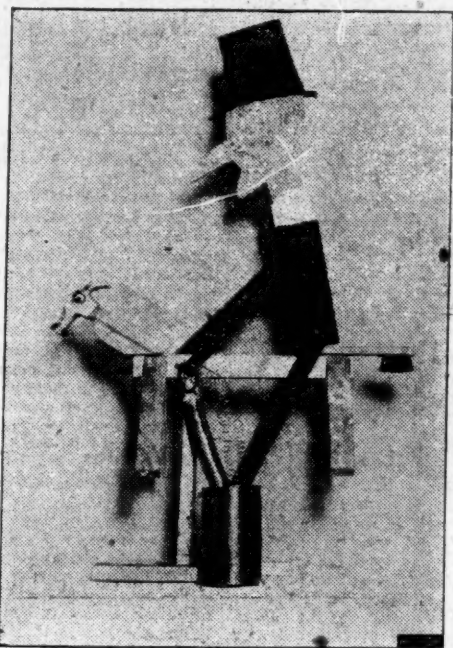
Babies With and Die

Frontier conditions seem to stay, in mining towns, even when they grow to have the populations of cities. The Children's Bureau studied an anthracite coal mining centre with a population of about 25,000 people crowded into half a square mile between hills. Nearly every foot of land was covered with houses. There were mines underneath the town, and where the coal had been taken out the workings were not always filled in to support the surface. One house after another was giving way as the land caved in. There was no more land for lease, so the people simply crowded more closely together. The settling of the land had a damaging effect on the sewers and the water supply. All of this obviously is not good for children. Out of every thousand babies born in this town one hundred and eighty-seven were dying in their first year. The death rates from bronchitis and diphtheria and croup were three or four times as high as in the United States registration area as a whole. The scarlet fever rate was twelve times as high.

The schools in this region for the most part were like the houses, small wooden buildings, frequently in bad repair. They, too, were undermanned, in more ways than one. Half the boys 13 to 16 years old had left school and gone to work in the mining industry. One-fourth of the girls of these ages were doing some kind of regular work. Several factories had located in the town to utilize the labor of the miners' wives and daughters. The lower the father's earnings, the more children went to work at an early age.

The Pennsylvania law said that

"Economy Nag"



Our Hobby-Horse Riding President as Pictured by an Artist at the Recent Exhibit of the Independent Artists in New York.

children below the age of 16 could not work in mines. As the law was being interpreted they could work "about" mines in such places as the coal breakers if they had reached 14. But accidents happen in the

breakers as well as underground. They tower above the towns, great barnlike structures filled with chutes and sliding belts and crushing and sorting machines. The coal is raised from the mine to the top

of the breaker and after being crushed it is carried down along a moving belt or incline and the boys pick out the slate and rock as the coal rushes past them. The black dust that rises fills the air and the lungs of the workers. Under the recent Federal child labor laws the work of children under 16 was restricted both in and about the mines, and therefore in the breakers. But the Supreme Court has decided, in effect, that the Federal Government cannot deal with child labor unless the Constitution is amended.

State Law Violated

Even the 14-year-age minimum of the State law was being violated and hundreds of boys had been employed in the mining industry before they reached that age. And over a hundred boys under 16 had done work underground. They usually began as trapper boys, which means that they sat or stood beside a door which led from one mine chamber to another, and opened the door for the electric coal cars to pass. Sometimes they worked in total darkness. Others turned the ventilating fans in the dangerous sections where the last remaining coal was being cut away, and where the roof sometimes fell in. It is hardly necessary to speak of other dangers in connection with underground work.

These inquiries of the Children's Bureau were made in certain areas only. But the census of 1920 found nearly six thousand children employed in the coal mining industry. The count was made while the Federal child labor law was in effect and since the tax has been declared unconstitutional the number undoubtedly has increased.

LABOR EDUCATING ITSELF

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

THE fifth convention of the Workers' Education Bureau, just held in Philadelphia, may be taken as an historical event. Like most incidents of deep and permanent significance, it was not heralded by trumpets and there was no spectacular flaring of fireworks to mark the incident.

But what happened was that the American Labor movement as a whole has taken the steps which mean its self-education. Not all the steps have been taken. And there is still much to learn as to what self-education means. But the change has been made.

It was evident, when the last convention of the American Federation of Labor placed itself on record as supporting the effort of the Workers' Education Bureau, that Labor nationally realized the need for a particular movement for enlightenment. The rest was bound to follow. It has followed.

Change in Last Year

The Workers' Education Bureau has been functioning in a very limited way, thanks to the energy and zeal of the handful of progressive-minded educators and Labor men and women who have been made the nucleus of its activity. Its possibilities always looked enormous and its practical effort, owing to lack of means and support, seemed all too restricted. Going along as it had been, there might have been slow and steady growth over a long period of time without getting very far.

In the last year a decided change did take place. The number of unions in various localities running the colleges doubled and tripled. Here and there extension work was done, notably by a field secretary in Pennsylvania, accompanied by Labor Chautauquas and correspondence courses. But the movement was making headway only in spots. There was no general stream.

As is always true in such cases, what the movement lacked in extent it tried to make up in the intensity of its active spirits. To the pioneers of the movement great credit is due for the advance made.

Assumes National Character
With the action of the last A. F. of L. convention the movement assumed a national character. This was evident in the gathering of the Workers' Education Bureau.

In addition to the educators and the individual Labor men and women who constituted the active agents heretofore, there were the large number of spokesmen for the big Labor unions, no less than twenty-five international Labor unions being now affiliated with the Bureau. There was no mistaking the fact that the American Labor movement was in an educational convention.

To that extent alone it was a historical event. For it was the recognition of the fact that the industrial struggle of the union was not all that could be done by Labor for its welfare. The strike by itself cannot suffice. The business of the union meeting does not exhaust the possibilities of Labor to help itself.

With the admission of the representatives of the A. F. of L. and the international unions into the executive board, they will dominate, having six votes out of eleven. Further, of the other five, only one may be said to be without practical

experience in the Labor movement. So that very distinctly the trades union movement has taken hold of the Bureau.

It was not to be expected that a gathering such as the convention of the Bureau just held would give undue importance to a declaration of principles. Rather the broad nature of educational democracy was stressed. It sufficed to contrast the aim of ordinary education in personal gain as against the workers' ideal of social service. Far and beyond that was the desire to form the organization. Let the work but gain headway on a large scale and it was bound to grow in scope and vision with the future.

Nor is it supposed that there will be a complete turnover of the mental attitude of many officers and much of the rank and file by the mere virtue of the official action taken. Unfortunately, the general run of people are not so readily stirred to go in a new direction. But a change there will be. Education will be regarded as a necessary part, and an important part, of the activity of Labor. That much is sure.

The movement is bound to grow by leaps and bounds. In each locality attempts will be made to build Labor colleges. Classes will flourish. American Labor is going to school—to its own school.

Such a movement shooting up

New York Socialists Plan Reorganization

WHEN the New York City convention of the Socialist Party convenes at the Rand School this Saturday afternoon it will have before it for consideration a plan for reorganization of the local Socialist movement drawn up by the Committee of Eleven elected at the last city convention.

The plan provides for a consolidation of the city-wide efforts of all branches of the movement. It was arrived at after a thorough canvass of the possibilities for increased Socialist activity.

The report follows:
Majority Report of the Committee of Eleven

The name of this joint and general committee to be City Committee of the Socialist Party.

Composition.—This City Committee of the Socialist Party shall be made up of representatives from the five Socialist county organizations, the Language Federation of the Party, the Y. P. S. L., American Socialist Society (Rand School), New Leader Association, Forward Association, and such other Socialist societies and organizations as the City Committee shall decide.

Basic Representation.—Party Locals: New York, 4 delegates; Kings, 4; Bronx, 4; Queens, 1; Richmond, 1; Y. P. S. L., 1; Jewish Verband, 1; German Federation, 1; Italian Federation, 1; Lithuanian Federation, 1; Finnish Federation, 1; American Socialist Society, 1; New Leader Association, 1; Forward Association, 1.

Each member of the committee shall be entitled to one vote.

Functions, Powers and Duties.—

1. To obtain and publish propaganda and campaign literature for all the locals.
2. To conduct general and systematic publicity work in behalf of the Socialist Party.
3. To promote, organize and supervise the educational and propaganda work of the Socialist Party; that is: (a) to arrange general demonstrations, mass meetings and debates, and in conjunction with the affiliated bodies; (b) to conduct forums, lecture courses and study classes; (c) to supply speakers to the affiliated bodies.
4. To devise plans for membership drives, collection of dues, conduct of business meetings and other organization activities, and to cooperate with the affiliated bodies in carrying them into effect.
5. To cooperate with the Socialist press, the Rand School and other subsidiary organizations of the Socialist movement in concerted plans for Socialist propaganda, education and propaganda.
6. To support the economic struggles of the workers, and establish contacts and harmonious relations and active cooperation with organized Labor.
7. The City Committee shall call city conventions of branch delegates at least once each year.
8. The City Committee shall have power to call city membership meetings whenever it may deem it necessary.
9. The City Committee during political campaigns shall act as the Campaign Committee, with functions and powers above enumerated.

Meetings.—The City Committee shall meet at least once each month.

Headquarters.—The City Committee shall establish and maintain

a central and permanent headquarters.

Staff.—The City Committee shall appoint a permanent Executive Secretary and such other officers, organizers and clerical help as it may find necessary.

Funds.—The income of the City Committee shall be derived from: (a) voluntary contributions; (b) proceeds from: 1, entertainments; 2, public affairs; 3, public meetings; 4, debates.

No general public appeals nor appeals to city-wide organizations for funds shall be made by the Party locals or branches. All public financial drives of the affiliated bodies shall be coordinated by the City Committee.

The City Committee shall be authorized to make money contributions to its affiliated bodies if its funds so permit. Except as modified by the above provisions, the local and branch organizations shall retain their functions and powers as heretofore. This plan shall be submitted to the locals and branches for a referendum vote; this vote to be complete within thirty days.

The delegates to the Socialist Party convention will adjourn in a body to reconvene at the Russian Village Fair of the Rand School, which opens Friday evening. The Arrangements Committee has issued a cordial invitation to all who attend the convention to remain afterwards and enjoy the varied treats which promise to distinguish the fair.

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From May 23-June 1st inclusive

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THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT

THE POLITICAL TRUST OHIO COMING BACK

By ROBERT LEEMANS

As a supplement to the recent article in the Leader on "Two-Party Dictatorship," by Alfred Henderson, the situation in New Jersey may be of interest. In that State, a political party, to be officially recognized as such and to be accorded a separate column on the ballot, must obtain 10 per cent of the total vote cast for Assembly candidates throughout the State. If a similar requirement obtained in New York the Socialist Party would not be an official party in the Empire State. The arrangement of the New Jersey ballot makes it difficult for a minor party to obtain 10 per cent of the Assembly vote, and only the Republican and Democratic parties are official parties.

They decide by lot which receives the first and which the second column on the ballot. In the third column, designated "Personal Choice," the voter is entitled to write any name not printed on the ballot. In the last column (or columns, depending on the number of candidates), known as the "chop suey" column, are grouped the candidates of all other minor parties as well as independent candidates, under the particular office for which they are running. Thus, under the heading "For Governor—Vote For One," will be found the names, with party designations, of the gubernatorial candidates of the Socialist, Socialist Labor, Progressive, Single Tax, Workers' and other parties, as well as of independent candidates, if there be any.

Two Old Parties in New Jersey Arrogate Election Privileges and Advantages to Themselves—New Parties Crowded Out.

ties, as well as of independent candidates, if there be any.

Easy for Old Parties

Then comes the candidates for other State offices, for county and, finally, for municipal offices. To vote a straight ticket for any minor party requires carefully picking out the candidates for the various offices and, even when this has been done, it often happens, in the careless counting of the vote of minor parties, that these laboriously cast ballots are only partly recorded on the tally sheet. The writer, in the district where he watched last November, repeatedly had to call the attention of the Election Board to such oversights. On the other hand, it is simplicity itself to vote a straight Democratic or Republican ticket—one simply marks X before every name in the first or second column, and, of course, the counting of the vote is also a simple matter. Therefore, while 10 per cent of the total Assembly vote is necessary for official recognition and a separate column, it is made as difficult as possible for a minor party to get such recognition and column.

This already bad situation has just been aggravated considerably. It is generally known throughout the State that Frank Hague, Mayor of Jersey City and Democratic boss of New Jersey, has decided on Commissioner A. Harry Moore, of Jersey City, as Democratic candidate for Governor this year. Of course, the Democratic voters will have to approve this choice at the primary elections, but there is no doubt of their doing so.

A New Arbitrary Law

No such unanimity prevails in the Republican ranks, where there are several candidates for the gubernatorial nomination, former State Attorney-General McCran being favored by the machine. With the primary election held in September, the Democrats, knowing their candidate in advance, would have an enormous advantage, in that harmony would prevail in their ranks and they would be able to campaign for their candidate all Summer; while the Republicans, not knowing their candidate until the middle of September, after the primaries, would be divided all Summer into the warring factions which always develop when several prominent politicians seek the same important nomination.

Confronted with the situation, the State Legislature, overwhelmingly Republican and able to override the veto of Governor Silzer, Democrat, deliberately changed the election laws and advanced the primary election from September to June 16, to put the Republican gubernatorial candidate on an even footing with the Democrat, and to reduce to a minimum the pre-primary fight within the Republican ranks. This political coup d'état will rather seriously affect the efforts of minor parties to put tickets in the field, as such minor parties do not enter the primaries, but nominate by petition, as do independent candidates, and these elections must be filed not later than June 11, five days before the primary election. (This is to prevent any individual defeated in the primary from running as an independent at general election.)

Crowding Socialists Out

The gubernatorial petitions must bear 800 signatures, the Assembly petitions 100 signatures in each county, and petitions bearing many signatures must also be filed for county and municipal candidates, and all this must be done in three months less time than in former years. The result will be that this year, in several unorganized counties, where the Socialist Party would have been able to arrange for an Assembly ticket by September, it will now be impossible to get petitions signed and filed in time. In subsequent years, of course, this difficulty will be overcome by starting earlier, but that doesn't help us this year.

A permanent result of the new law will be that no matter what issues may arise or what circumstances may develop during the five months between June and the November elections, it will be impossible for any independent candidate to qualify for a place on the ballot after June 11.

The new law will also reduce still further whatever slight opportunity an independent might have of winning a nomination in an old party primary, as the difficulty of making an anti-machine campaign, great enough at best, will be much increased by having to make it in the Spring.

New Jersey certainly offers abundant proof that the old party politicians manipulate the election laws for their own partisan advantage.

By JOSEPH W. SHARTS

Editor of the Miami Valley Socialist.

OHIO is waking out of long slumber. Something like a Socialist Renaissance is beginning here. The news that the Socialists had split with the "Progressive" forces and resumed the clear-cut class-conscious propaganda of ante-bellum days affected the rank and file like the sounding of an alarm clock. When on top of it came the word that Cleveland was to have the first Red Card Convention, May 30, and Gene Debs would call the roll of party members, it was like a call to breakfast. Everybody jumped up!

You know how the miracle-man from New York, Comrade Stille, dropped into Marietta the other day, and presto, a new Socialist local was born. This is more melodramatic, but not more true than that strenuous efforts are being made right now by a number of Ohio comrades to resurrect old and bring to birth new locals. And there are some splendid prospects. Two time-tried Socialists at Dayton, L. C. Coy and August Panschar, business manager of the Miami Valley Socialist, volunteered as a State organizing committee of two without pay, last week, and are

Old-Timers and Recruits Contribute to Socialist Party Renaissance in State of the Notorious Harry Daugherty Gang.

already working a comprehensive organizing campaign.

On Sunday I went to Cleveland to take part in an organization meeting. Most of the old wheel-horses of the party were present. The spirit was fine. Ways and means of handling the coming Red Card Convention were discussed and decided. There was no despondency or doubt. The determination was to make the "Two Days With Debs" the biggest event that had ever occurred in Ohio, and the means of drawing thousands of new card members to the party. God bless the Jews, Bohemians, Finns, and Slavonians!—they saved the Socialist Party here in Ohio, when the "Left Wing" betrayal and insanity had robbed us of our State office, State funds, State lists of names, State newspaper, and everything but the debts. Slowly our American Socialists have been rallying from that blow. And now the tide has visibly turned.

An hour ago I met an old-time

Socialist on the street, who had dropped away five years ago. He was glad to apply for membership again. Day before yesterday I wrote the application of another, who had dropped out in the old L. W. W. obsession—when they decided political action was too "slow." Experience is a grand teacher, though a hard one.

Our Miami Valley Socialist, State organ of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, is enjoying quite a brisk growth of its subscription list. New faces are beginning to appear at our local meetings in Dayton, and that should be typical of all the other locals. Springtime is in the air. Hope and enthusiasm are stirring. Socialism is on its way.

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Rand School Fair Offers Gala Program

THE program for the Russian Village Fair, the gala Spring festival of the Rand School, is now fully arranged and the keenest interest is expressed on all sides in the variety and number of attractions offered. On Friday evening, April 24, the doors will open promptly at 7 p. m., and Sam De Witt, as Master of Ceremonies, will conduct the program of the evening. A Russian Balalaika Orchestra, under the direction of Roman Silinsky, will play selections, followed by gypsy songs and romances by E. Khina and E. Mirayeva. The Dorsha Dancers will give a Russian Folk Dance, and Dorsha herself will give an "Invocation to the Sun." The Jewish Art Theatre is furnishing a monologue of unusual merit, and interspersed among the other numbers, the Balalaika Orchestra will be heard.

On Saturday afternoon a special program for children has been planned for which a reduced admission charge of 25 cents only will be made for the children. Sara Listengard will give a piano selection, pupils of Alys Bentley will dance to the pastoral Sonata, Opus 28, of Beethoven, while Murray Feldman, a celebrated young violinist of only ten years of age, will give selections. These will be followed by a pantomime by August Claessens, and Katinka from the Chauve Souris program staged by the Young Fabians, and directed by Gertrude Weil Klein. Finally, a number of games and surprises have been arranged.

On Saturday evening a cabaret

has been planned in the buffet under the direction of Sam De Witt, to consist of selections from the Balalaika Orchestra; an Oriental dance by Dhimah; special songs and stunts by Sam Friedman, Gertrude Weil Klein and others; a vocal solo by Augusta Lichtgman; Jewish folk songs by an artist from the Jewish Art Theatre, and a vocal solo by Leo Duski.

The Rand School Auditorium will be transformed into a Russian Village street decorated with gay booths and bright colored draperies, which have been planned and executed under the direct supervision of Louis Bromberg.

The bazaar is to be held under the auspices of the Rand School, the Women's Committee and the Fellowship. Mrs. A. A. Held will act as chairman of the Booth Committee, and will be assisted by an able corps from the Women's Committee.

Farewell Dinner Given Abramowich

An affectionate farewell was given to Comrade Abramowich Tuesday night at Beethoven Hall on the occasion of his return to Europe, at a banquet given by the Forward Association to celebrate the twenty-eighth birthday of the Jewish Daily Forward. About 300 guests, all members of the Forward Association and of the Forward news, editorial, business and mechanical staffs, enjoyed one of the most hilarious and good-natured evenings of the year.

The banquet had been arranged by the Forward Association to signalize the twenty-eighth anniversary of the first issue of the Forward, but inasmuch as Comrade Abramowich was to sail for Europe the following day on the Mauretania, a farewell to him was combined with the birthday celebration.

Meyer London was a delightful toastmaster, and the speakers were Abraham Cahan, editor of the Forward; Noah Portnoy, leader of the Jewish Bund of Poland; Morris Hillquit and Abramowich. The guest of honor outlined his purpose in coming to this country, and declared that his visit had been a remarkable success, both in its propaganda and educational work, and in its financial results in raising money for the Russian Social Democratic party to aid it in carrying on its underground work for Socialism and

BLOODY BULGARIA

(Continued from Page 1.)

Socialist Party held a national conference in February, 1924, and Dinko Kazassoff, who had entered the Tsankoff Cabinet, was instructed to resign because of the massacre of Communists in the previous September, unless the Premier accepted a minimum program of toleration and labor reform. In the following March the Socialist Parties of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Rumania, met in conference in Bucharest and the Bulgarian party reported that Kazassoff had resigned from the Trankoff Cabinet as a protest against its policy. The Bulgarian Socialists had welcomed the overthrow of the Stambuliski dictatorship and they have also consistently fought the Tsankoff regime. The party also demanded the release of all political prisoners and complete freedom of press, meetings and organization. Even the above paragraph admits that the Communists and peasants had sufficient liberties to poll 200,000 votes and to elect 25 deputies.

—Editor.

Tsankoff soon realized that these deputies were rallying the people to resistance, and he started to exterminate the people's representatives. The first victim was the fearless peasant leader, Petko Petkoff, in July, 1924; he was killed by an officer of the Bulgarian Army, friend of the Commander of the Sofia garrison, General Lazaroff. But the Government arrested an innocent man, Karakasheff, and sentenced him to death. Petkoff's mother at the trial openly charged the Government clique with the assassination of her son. The officer-murderer is still at large.

After Petkoff came others. In the latter part of August, 1924, the famous Macedonian mercenary leader, Todor Alexandroff, was killed in a feud as revenge for the murder of his opponent, Aleko Pasha; this gave Tsankoff another pretext to put out of the way a few more of his political opponents: Dinko Dimoff, member of Parliament; Athanasoff, Slavi Kovatcheff (judge); Iovkoff, Kantarjef—all leaders of the Macedonian Federalist Movement, and 200 of their best-known followers were assassinated as Bolshevik "agents" without trial.

One of the oldest Macedonian leaders, Peter Tchauffeff, succeeded in escaping from Bulgaria, but Tsankoff sent his agents, and they shot him in Milan, Italy. The as-

sassin admitted that he got his passport from the Bulgarian Government. Tsankoff's right-hand man, Stancheff, in his letter to the Bulgarian Charge d'Affaires in Rome, Stoiloff, openly boasts of this murder, and of others that he is planning:

I was overjoyed at the news of the death of the traitor Tchauffeff. I am sure that Dimitroff (leader of the outlawed unions) will suffer the same fate. He is now at Rome, and I shall not sleep in peace until he shall have perished. We shall get rid of Dr. Maximoff, as well as Kosturkoff (leader of the bourgeois opposition to Tsankoff's regime). Yesterday at Lazaroff's (Commandant of Sofia garrison) I heard about Vlahoff. We are going to send our men down there to settle their account, as well as Kolaroff's. Lambieff has left a fortnight ago for London to put away Kakovsky (Soviet Envoy in London, of Bulgarian origin, very popular among Bulgarian people). Don't worry about money, all will be paid. I am sending you to carry on your work 8,000 lire. Thousand greetings.

Stancheff.

During the month of January alone, 1925, 150 political murders occurred. Among the most well-known victims was the leader of the Teachers Union, Vulcho Ivanoff, who was enticed by detectives to a police station and the same day was found strangled with wire on the open streets of the capital. His blood had not been washed away when a young member of Parliament, Strashimiroff, brother of the well-known novelists, Anton and Dimitre Strashimiroff, was shot at midday in the busiest street, and the assassin was not apprehended. On Feb. 19, General Rousseff, Minister of the Interior, made an inflammatory speech in Parliament, pointing out specifically Deputy Stoyanoff, who was then editor of the legal paper Nashi Dni, as being implicated in the political murders. The next day Stoyanoff was shot dead while coming out of Parliament. He was the beloved leader of the railway workers—himself a railroad engineer. The whole of Bulgaria knows that these assassinations are the work of Professor Tsankoff and his clique.

Peter Stamankoff.

Parvan Gogoff, Peasant.

Song of Labor

I have builded dream castles that towered to an amaranth sky that was fair,
I have planted rose gardens that flowered like rainbows in roadways of air;
But all my great castles have tumbled to earth from each hyaline height,
And my red blooms have withered and crumbled in the scorch and the blast of Wealth's Might.

I have seen in the clash of the battle the Right ever conquered by Wrong,
The toilers all driven like cattle, with a good in the hand of the Strong.
I have fainted on roads of disaster and watered their ways with my tears,
And the rule of the robber, my master, has trampled and tortured my years.

I have labored in chains and have languished in prisons for love of the Right,
I have counted the years that I've languished in gloom that was born of the Night;
But I know that the hour of the dawning that heralds the Sun-burst of Day
Comes speeding on wings of the morning with promise of Freedom's great sway.

The battle-scarred, beaten, and broken, I shall burst all the bonds of the Past,
And, with strength of the world for a token, stand facing the dawn at long last.

For the hosts of the Wrong shall be scattered, the foemen of Freedom shall fly,
And the rule of Oppression be shattered, and Justice be lifted on high.

—H. E. Holland.

Who Made the Law?

Who made the Law that men should die in meadows,
Who spoke the Word that men should splash in lanes,
Who gave it forth that gardens

should be bone-yards,
Who spread the hills with flesh and blood and brains?
Who made the Law?

Who made the Law that death should stalk the valleys,
Who spoke the Word to kill among the sheaves,
Who gave it forth that death should lurk in hedgerows,
Who flung the dead among the fallen leaves?

Who made the Law?
—From a poem found on the body of a soldier killed in action.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Burning a Mortgage

LAST Wednesday, I went down to Collinsville, to see a mortgage burned. For the information of the poor devil who can't even afford a mortgage, let me say that a mortgage is the only animal in captivity which eats twenty-four hours a day, Sunday and legal holidays included. But that Collinsville mortgage, whose cremation I helped to celebrate, wasn't an ordinary mortgage. It was a sort of the species, as scientists say, when an offspring departs from the customary characteristics of the parents. However, it's no use trying to explain a great scientific problem in the abstract, so I might just as well go way back and start with the beginning of that Collinsville mortgage.

A long time ago, there was no union in the Belleville district; no checkweighman; no pay for dead work; and damned little pay for any other kind of work. But if the pay was short, the hours were long enough, and whatever a coal miner didn't have to say about his working conditions would fill a book bigger than the Bible. All the coal digger had to do in those good old days was work and exchange the script he earned for enough beans at the company's store to keep on working.

This sort of life didn't exactly suit the boys who were wide enough between the eyes to see the difference between a roast goose and a slab of swine's bosom. So they put their foxy heads together and organized the miners' union.

Now a labor union in those days was about as welcome in the respectable circles as a skunk at prayer meetings. So the boys, instead of asking for the use of the courthouse or the basement of the First M. E. church, used to meet out in the woods, under railroad culverts, tumble-down tanneries, and deserted barns. For further precautions, these union meetings were held at night. It seems the brothers were afraid the sunlight would spoil their fine complexions.

As the union grew in membership, confidence grew also. After awhile, there were daylight marches, strikes, battles, and union headquarters, and now the miners' union is so all-fired respectable that the other day the citizens of Collinsville decorated their sidewalks with flags, while the burgomaster, who is a sure enough banker, made the address of welcome in the Labor Temple.

Now in regard to that mortgage, some professor of economy could write a whole book upon it. But not being a professor of economy, nor of anything else, I will only pen a short sketch of the mortgage and pin a lesson to its tail.

About 1916, the miners of Collinsville arrived at the conclusion that there wasn't a building good enough in the town to house such an aggregation as organized coal miners. Somebody made a motion to build a Labor temple. It passed. A committee hot-footed to Springfield to borrow the small sum of \$60,000 from the union treasury. The hard heads on the board said: "Buy the land first, then employ an architect to draw plans and specifications; then come again." The boys did as they were told, and in due time the district loaned them the sixty thousand in accordance with Hoyle. Later on, when the war had raised the cost of building, they made another successful touch for \$45,000. All in all, the boys put about \$140,000 in their Labor Temple in the State of Illinois, but one of the most beautiful and pretentious in the whole country. However, it is neither the size nor the beauty of the building that concerns me; it is the spirit, the soul, and the revolutionary departure in finance-making that made the thing possible. Let's see if I can make this clear.

To start with, the Collinsville Labor Temple is the common property of the miners of that vicinity. In financing the undertaking, the boys sold neither stock nor bonds. They paid for the building out of their union treasury. They borrowed \$105,000 from their district treasury at three per cent. However, if they had paid ten or thirty per cent for the use of their own money, it would have been just the same. We can't rob ourselves by changing money from one of our pockets to the other. Then they assessed themselves one per cent of their wages to pay off the mortgage which went up in smoke the other day. Now the boys have their common house. Nobody is drawing interest or dividends out of the Labor Temple. There is no outstanding stock to be redeemed, watered, or increased. There are no deserving widows and orphans in New York, London, or Palm Beach to draw a rake-off from the Collinsville Labor Temple.

To make the point still more clear, let us examine the inner workings of a capitalist enterprise, such as a mine, for instance. The promoters in the case, sell, let's say, \$100,000 in stock. This money pays for developing the mine. Next they issue a \$100,000 of promotion stock. This wanders into the pockets of the promoters. The capital stock of the corporation is now \$200,000. To earn six per cent on this sum, the concern must make \$12,000 net per year. The new mine is fortunate, however, because it earned \$24,000 net which will pay six per cent on \$400,000. The capitalization is, therefore, raised to \$400,000.

Then comes a bad year. The earnings having been paid out in dividends on \$100,000 stock, and \$300,000 water, it becomes necessary to borrow a little money to tide things over. The result is a bond issue of \$200,000, which raises the capitalization of the mine to \$600,000. This policy is pursued indefinitely. Dividends are capitalized, and losses are covered by bond sales. In this manner, an original investment of \$100,000 becomes an investment of one million. By investment, I mean debt, a debt to be paid by labor. In addition to paying labor, the mine must earn \$80,000 per year in dividends and interest.

Neither is there an end to this yearly tribute exacted from toil and for the benefit of absentee stock and bondholders, most of whom couldn't tell a mine shaft from a prairie dog hole. Moreover, such a concern will only operate when it has a reasonable show of securing that \$60,000 yearly rake-off. When no such prospect is in view, the mine is closed down and the miners are thrown out of work. So it comes about that wealth created by Labor becomes a debt on Labor and when market conditions are such that Labor cannot pay its yearly tribute to Capital, wind and water, Labor is thrown on the dump.

Yes, the boys in Collinsville did a noble piece of working class financeering. They demonstrated to the world that great objects can be achieved with-

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MANUAL WORKER: "Why Don't You Use Your Brains for Yourself?"

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MANUAL WORKER

STRIKE

STRIKE

STRIKE

STRIKE

Town Planning: Housing and Transit "THE WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW"

By HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH

INTERNATIONAL and national societies of architects and city planners have been meeting in conference at the Hotel Pennsylvania this week, and an exhibition of their ideas in pictures and models will be on view every day until May 2 at the Grand Central Palace. No Socialist should fail to attend, and with thinking-cap on.

Housing, city planning, and transit form one indivisible question, if foresight is put into the solution. Hyman and McAneny are always at one another's throats as to when and where the dirt shall fly for new subways. Socialist men, up to now, have added another bone of contention, viz., how it shall fly, whether under Democratic control or for private profit. Few are those who challenge the wisdom of the dirt flying at all.

Socialist philosophers will argue, I imagine, that it does not matter when or where the subway is dug so long as we push our part in the transit drama and insist that ownership and control shall be in the hands of the people. Undoubtedly if more, and ever more, subways are built, the people's money will be poured into the project, and so control and management had better be secured to the city as well as financial responsibility. But, while advocating Democratic control and management, would it not be a broader, strict social philosophy to insist that zoning, housing, transit shall be dealt with as one knotty question, and in the sole interest of all the people?

HOUSING.—Oh, Adam, has not your idea been, from the days of the Garden of Eden, to get Eve well imprisoned within four walls and keep her there? And have you not sent Eve by the influence of environment, that her daughters almost unanimously accept the bars as Nature's own contribution to

their well-being? And you know, Eve, H. G. Wells accuses you of having done no thinking on the housing question for yourself. He truly says the home of today is quite antediluvian; and unorganized as it is, is the greatest handicap under which women struggle. Let us go to the Grand Central Palace, go with heads screwed on and courage in our hands, and study the proposals for our housing. Let us scrutinize them carefully, and criticize them if they contain no answer to our call to be set free. Women should criticize and make their protest heard. Housing?—why, do you realize, Eve, that brains have been put into the housing of every group except that of the mothers of men? Men and women get their clubs, dining rooms, social rooms, everything they need. And now one hears of a building to cost millions, the acme of many a preceding effort, bed room and bath, sitting room all to one's self, and assembly halls and lounges, manicures and masseurs, heavens knows what all. And who is it for, Eve—for you and your children? Not a bit of it. The row of gardens and recreation rooms are for single women! It makes me hot under the collar! Why doesn't it make you hot?

No one boasts such a home for young married people. The most the model tenement (God save the mark) offers in the way of cooperation is some washtubs and a drying room in a dark cellar. Eve, what do you need, what do you want? Speak up, for it is more important how and where you and the children live than how somebody gets to and from work.

ZONING.—That should be settled before transit. There's only so much room on this island. Manhattan is not like the liver of a Strasburg goose which grows bigger with cramming. We should chase people out of the city, rather than make it easier to get in. License fees to establish an industry could be graded, becoming higher as the cen-

ter of the city is approached. Many a workshop under such a system would disappear over the horizon and settle in the suburbs. And around that workshop the city could well afford to build a home for Eve according to her need.

TRANSIT.—I am not reading humanity a sermon, and giving it what I think it ought to want rather than what it does want. I am only urging that we resist having our tastes formed by the wide publication of the silly, half-baked plots and plans of transit boosters. Our men are like frightened moles already—they plunge down dark elevator shafts, peep out of the doors of their apartment house, and then skitter across a street as if afraid of the light of day and disappear down a hole in the ground, only to reverse the process at the end of their subterranean journey. Is it the act of sane people to try to draw more of their fellows into the rabbit warren? Streets and sidewalks are crowded to capacity; why, then, spend our money to dig tunnels through which additional sufferers can be shot into the turmoil?

Women, I am sure, would long since have put their minds on specifying the needs of a twentieth century home had they not been told again and again that housing, zoning and transit were all highly technical matters which only experts could grasp. As to experts, I got a decided jolt when the first subway opened in New York and it was found that our leading engineers had built stations on curves so that car exits and platforms were separated by yawning crevasses. In any case, experts are the servants of humanity, not its masters. And above all, Socialists who stand for orderly development, in contrast to individualistic competition and chaos, should insist that the many sides of city life must be studied as a whole and solved as one problem and not piecemeal. Housing, zoning and transit belong together.

CAPITALISM'S SCOURGE

(Continued from Page 1.)

played, presumably on the assumption that the men employed would receive that amount. What those employed actually received consisted of \$1.00 per day, three scant meals, and a "flop."

The "Millionaire Club," organized several years ago by one Johanson to provide relief for the "down and out" becoming jealous of the apparent opportunity to exploit the unemployed granted by the city to the Volunteers of America, evidently made a complaint, and, it seems, were about to receive a like contract from the city; but somehow or other a cog slipped. There was a leak and The Star and the Union Record, two evening papers, are exposing the proposed graft. It now seems likely that the proposition will fall through.

Good advice to wage-workers is—Stay where you are. There is nothing to gain by leaving bad conditions in one locality only to find them in another. The only real and lasting solution is to organize for the intelligent use of your economic and political power—in your Labor union for the former, in the Socialist Party for the latter.

Dairymen and farmers complain that their condition was never so

out the incentive of private profit. For the brothers who worked so faithfully honestly, and effectively for the erection of the Miners' Institute never asked a red copper for their service. Like their brothers of Staunton, they gave the weary hours after days of toil for no other pay than the conviction that they served faithfully the common good.

They showed that the same spirit which created the magnificent cooperative movement in the old world is also present in the body of American Labor. They showed that even in our money-mad age, there are still men willing to slave for great ends without thought of private gain, and for this display of loyalty and devotion they deserve the gratitude of the whole American Labor Movement.

Adam Coalidigger

bad as now. The condition of the wheat farmers of eastern Washington was so deplorable that they appealed to the State Legislature to make them a loan of \$400,000 with which to purchase seed wheat. This the Legislature did, but Hartly, the lumber baron Governor, vetoed the appropriation and it failed to pass over said veto. This act of the Governor was widely condemned, even by his friends. That the need of these farmers was a pressing one and that many thousands of acres would have remained unseeded had they not received relief is proven by the fact that the business interests of the State made the loan which Governor Hartly prevented the State from making.

An effort is being made to organize the saw mill workers, but the task is a difficult one. Out of about 1,500 mill workers in Everett, only about 300 have signed up in six weeks. Their wages are so low, their living conditions so bad, that they have not the energy to straighten their backs and look upward, to say nothing of the spirit required to look their masters in the eye and demand a living wage, thus proving the fallacy of the philosophy of misery advocated by Communists and other lip-service revolutionists as a necessary preliminary to the organization of the workers for the exercise of their industrial and political power.

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Bedtime Stories for the Bourgeoisie

NOW we know all about lunch-wagons. Surprising, the number of things you get to know all about in this business.

Just a short time ago we were groggy with information about the proper feeding for cows. And no-sooner had we dispensed this to a palpitating public than we were called upon to sing the praise of the modern "dinner-car"; for you must understand that just as real-estate sharks are "realtors" and undertakers "morticians" and advertising men are "counselors in public relations," so the "night-owl" of your youth has become a "dinner-car." No longer do despondent horses stagger feebly to the corner hitched to broken-down and notoriously smelly affairs where in one might obtain coffee of a Sampson-like strength and a sandwich that proved conclusively, judging from its age and state of preservation, that man had been on this earth for more than 10,000,000 years.

No, my friends, all that has been changed. The lunch-wagon's renaissance is here. Today, thanks to the beneficent force of modern sales methods, standardized "Service" and all the rest, we have the dinner-car, a thing of beauty and a joy forever, tiled like a Child's restaurant, with spic and span copper urns, a veritable restaurant on wheels, fourteen feet wide and forty feet long, whose proprietor can easily run up a profit of \$200 a week and more. Proudly, this magnificence is towed to its destination by a huge Mack truck to be left on a lot rented at incredible rates.

While duly impressed by all this grandeur, we are yet sentimental enough to shed a tear when fond recollections of the lunch-wagons of the past rise to haunt us.

There was, we recall, the James J. Donohue Good-Eats Wagon, wherein as a new reporter on the old New York Sun we were wont to linger in search of local color for those stories of the life of a great city that were to make us almost as great as the then idol of all young Sun men, Richard Harding Davis.

If it added nothing to American literature, certainly the James J. Donohue Good-Eats Wagon did much to color our vocabulary.

It was at the same time a rendezvous of truck-drivers, private night-watchmen, printers and drunken Yale students that we first became exposed to radicalism in its most insidious form.

To listen to a night-watchman's account of the goings-on of his wealthy patrons is enough to make anyone a radical, from sheer envy, if from nothing else.

The glorious contempt with which Bull McGafferty regarded his clients inspired similar sentiments in his hearers, and while Bull was a conscientious Democrat and solemnly believed that all Socialists were free lovers and Children of Darkness it was nevertheless impossible not to agree with Bull that it was a dom funny wurrld where the boobs gits all and the good guys nothing.

And, speaking of society, we are invariably intrigued (we believe that is the mot juste) with the accounts of its activities as elaborately set forth in that valet of journalism, the Evening Post.

What a kick one gets out of reading such an item as this:

"Mr. and Mrs. Ferdinand Kuhn of 14 East 60th street and Bernardsville, N. J., have returned from a four months' sojourn in southern Europe and will occupy their apartment in town for the next few weeks."

This is under the heading, "About People You Know," and we thought at first these might be the Kuhns of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. But we looked again and saw that the guy that wrote that heading had made a big mistake, for we hardly know the Ferdinand Kuhns at all. Of course, it is nice to know that they are both back in the old apartment as snug as two bugs in a rug. We had felt for four months that something was somehow missing and we had gone around singing, "What's this dull town to us, the Ferdinand Kuhns are not here?"

And then, my dear, wasn't it exciting to read all about that terrible mix-up over the two Embassy clubs? You read about it, didn't you? You know that Frank Crowninshield and Conde Nast of Vanity Fair and their boy friends wanted to get up a nice exclusive little club called the Embassy Club and keep it refined and snooty and not let the rougher drinkers in, and then what should happen but a serious split, with the Left Wingers standing out for Democracy and voting to let in anybody who had ten bucks and a dinner jacket. It all goes to prove that nowadays you just can't tell who you are going to fall under the table with. There was all that vulgar jeering at the Monday Night Opera Club when they decided to run a closed shop for the 400 and now this latest uproar! What is a patriotic and blue-blooded Son of the American Revolution who is pledged to defend the Constitution to his last butler, if necessary, going to do if he can't come into his club of an evening without having some rough-neck upstart try to borrow his hip-flask?

Fortunately, the whole affair was settled (much in the manner of Progressive Conferences) by having two clubs, one for the Left Wing and one for the Right. The Vanity Fair boys, sterling old New Yorkers all, who can remember how quaint the town looked back in 1910 when they first got here from Iowa, Indiana and points West, will play around by themselves in their own quarters and the Proletariat will herd by itself.

So put on your hats again, boys, another great crisis has been weathered.

Our present preoccupation with society matters gives us an idea for greatly brightening up this page. Why shouldn't we swap society notes with Adam Coalidigger over on the other side? We could keep him in touch with the latest doings among the clothing makers' 400 and he could come back with gossip about the more exclusive members of the younger coal-mining set.

How fascinating it would be for us here in New York to read something like this:

"A pleasant little party was given in the tastefully decorated shooting-gallery of the Herrin Beer and Athletic Club at high noon yesterday. Members were costumed in the conventional pearl-handled Colts. The Rev. Joshua Hiccup will officiate at the funeral of the deceased Klansmen. Kindly omit flowers."

McAlister Coleman.

IS BOLSHEVISM SOCIALISM?

By S. IVANOVITCH

IT is contended that the Bolsheviks have performed a Socialist experiment in Russia. The adversaries of the Bolsheviks argue that this experiment is a failure, whereas their friends, on the contrary, maintain that it is a magnificent success. They all, however, agree that a Socialist experiment it is. Again, the very word experiment is spoken by some with deference, and by others with scorn.

And even those who admit that all the Bolsheviks have failed in all their plans, that there is not a trace of Communism or Socialism in Russia, even those often declare that though the experiment has not turned out successful, it is nevertheless a fascinating and vastly edifying experiment.

There is also a third sort of people, who assume an intensely negative attitude towards the very idea of performing experiments upon a people, upon human beings, upon a land that grows and develops according to its inherent nature and laws. These men assert that it is a crime to turn a whole nation into material for laboratory experiments, manipulate them as rabbits and guinea-pigs, which are cut up and dissected and into whose bodies various poisonous fluids are injected in order to verify scientific researches and discoveries. As is well known, there has for a long time existed an extensive movement against vivisection, that is, the practice of cutting up living animals for scientific purposes. Even more does the human heart protest against the "social vivisection," against experimenting upon the live body of a nation.

I am not about to start a discussion as to which of the mentioned reasons holds good. According to my point of view they are all guilty of one error, a grave and harmful error. We will presently see of what sort the error is and why it is harmful.

Before everything else we have to take up the question: Have the Bolsheviks in Russia really performed an experiment, or whether beneficial or detrimental, successful or abortive? What if they have not executed any experiment at all? And what does "performing an experiment" mean?

In order to be able to reply to these queries, one must form a clear, definite idea of what an experiment is in the field where it is mostly applied, i. e., in the field of the natural sciences.

Science can nowadays hardly dispense with experiments. The natural sciences are inseparably associated with the experimental method. The savant is at every step confronted with riddles, problems, to which nature does not furnish a direct reply. Hence, he has to resort for a solution for his problem to an artificial linking and combining of separate elementary substances, or resolving a substance into its elementary parts, and in this manner force nature to yield a reply to the arduous and vexing problem over which the naturalist is racing his brains. In brief, the chief support of the experimental method is based on the

The Soviet Government Regime Considered as "An Experiment in Socialism"—Bolshevik Pseudo-Science

ground of combination or resolution of elements.

One, however, must bear in mind that one must not query nature at random in any fatuous way. The skill of the experimenter consists in his ability to advance proper questions and in the proper way. The experimenter had profoundly studied beforehand the properties of the elements and their tendencies to combine with and separate from one another; and supported by the history of his science, by the past successful and unfortunate tests, he undertakes the experiment with a certain assurance that the result will enrich humanity's knowledge and help men combat the power of Nature.

If, on the other hand, you know very little or nothing of chemistry, and you will nevertheless set out to mix and blend various substances at random, hoping that "something" will ultimately happen, then that will not constitute a scientific exercise but a specimen of crass ignorance. You will be fortunate if, as a result of this experimenting, you are not blown to atoms.

Of course, it is not impossible that the outcome of your "experimenting" should happen to be an anticipated combination hitherto unknown to science, which would advance science a great length over the road of progress. You, however, will not be accountable for it. You will be chasing after shadows, letting realities pass by. You will not be accomplishing experiments but only creating disorder and chaos.

And lastly, there is another thing

to be taken into consideration. An experiment is always limited by time and space. The experimenter does not perform his artificial combination on all the elements of a given species but only a small part of them. When an agriculturist desires to test the effect of a new kind of manure on the growth of some vegetable or plant, he naturally sets aside for it a small parcel of ground, but he does not fill up all the fields with the newly invented substance. The object of an experiment is to study a detail, to investigate part of the facts, and draw conclusions applicable to the whole, to all identical facts.

The artificial combination in the laboratory should as far as possible approximate itself to the conditions of life. However, no matter how near the combination approaches life, there still remains a colossal difference between them. The experimenter, therefore, should not apply even the most satisfactory results of his researches as a compulsory practice for all similar cases.

Now, contemplating all the Bolsheviks have done in Russia, we will in no way agree that they have performed an experiment. It is not a question of the failure of the experiment, but of its being an experiment at all. Neither in the separate acts nor in the whole policy of the Russian Bolsheviks was there any trace of a scientific attempt to inaugurate Socialism. They had immediately set out to execute their experiment all over the country, thinking that as long as they have all

the power in their hands they are sure of success. They turned the people into rabbits and guinea-pigs, and when these rabbits and guinea-pigs did not yield the desired results the Bolsheviks did not infer that their desired results were unattainable, that they were a contradiction of the laws of the development of the country. Their deduction was that these rabbits and guinea-pigs were all counter-revolutionists.

Bolshevik-Pseudo-Science

What would you say, for instance, if you saw a physiologist, endeavoring to improve the nature of some animals, imprison and shoot those animals only because under the effect of his experiments they did not improve but instead turned cripples. You would certainly say that the physiologist was demented and you would try to deprive him of the possibility of continuing his "experiments."

Precisely so is now the case of Russia.

It is absolutely evident that such an "experiment" is of no scientific moment: you can not draw any inference whether Socialism is possible or impossible.

The alchemists of the medieval ages expended vast efforts to create gold artificially. So gigantic a task was in those times a hopeless case. With their aspirations, however, to solve this problem, with their faithful and honest efforts, the alchemists succeeded in attracting to their excursions and experiments all the science of those times. They did not

find any gold, to be sure, but in their pursuit of it science was pressed forward, and who knows whether the present-day chemists would be in existence if it were not for the dogged searching quest of the medieval alchemists.

That scientific problem has since been solved. Today we know how to create gold artificially, though artificial gold costs a thousand times more than natural gold. This example demonstrates that the scientific importance of an experiment lies not in the successful results but in the way and under what conditions it has performed. The only thing the Bolshevik experiment has shown is that such experimenting must not be allowed, that in such a way crimes and not experiments are executed, and that there is a whole of a difference between an experiment and a crime. This, however, was known to humanity before Bolshevism.

Elephantine Experiments

In the literature concerning Bolshevism I often encounter such arguments as the following: "Bolshevism has illustrated that this and that is impossible." I am not altogether sure whether I myself had never an occasion to sin with some such dialectics. In reality, Bolshevism has proven nothing—neither for nor against. What can be proven by a man who enters a laboratory and, taking various substances at will, blends them together in the belief that something will eventually result? If an elephant should take a

dance through a room stocked with glassware, no inference could be made either as to the art of dancing or to the way of producing more sound articles. So preposterous an experiment as that of the elephant is entirely fruitless and not in the least edifying.

On the other hand, one must not say that the Socialist movement generally has no right to make an experiment. On the contrary, it is in duty bound to do so, to make experiments in Socialism, in the higher forms of collective economy and social life. The experiment, however, must be of a veritable kind, not a trial of impudence and crime. The experiments must first be strictly and carefully prepared and precisely gauged, and secondly, only in part and fragmentary. It is indispensable to set out to socialize some mature branches of industry, to create individual exemplary institutions, incessantly to diffuse the idea that Socialism is no more solely a theory, an ideal, but also a practical affair of every day life. The modern Labor movement has now turned upon this road. Many unsuccessful trials have been made and will be made, but the constructive scientific nature of all these social experiments is of immense import. Not always and everywhere does Socialism succeed in obtaining the desired reply, but it learns to put the question right. Socialism has to part with the error (Continued on Page 11.)

On The International Front

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

DENMARK

Gains in Municipal Elections
Material gains for the Social Democratic party were made in the March municipal and communal elections, despite the fact that in Copenhagen alone some 47,000 voters, nearly all workers, were stricken from the lists for having failed to pay all their last year's taxes. Although the results in the country districts are slow in coming in, the Berlin Vorwaerts puts the net Socialist gain at 10,000 votes, with four new city administrations captured and Labor's grip on the City Hall of the capital unshaken. The Radical party, which works with the Social Democrats in supporting the Labor Government headed by Premier Stauning, almost held its strength, while the Agrarians lost to the Conservatives.

LATVIA

Riga Communists Hard Hit
Details of the municipal election in Riga on Feb. 28 and March 1, briefly summarized in The New Leader of March 28, found in the news bulletin of the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, show that the Socialists won thirty-one seats, instead of thirty, and that the Communists, labeled Trade Union League,

lost six of their thirteen Aldermen, largely as the result of their disruptive tactics and their failure to recognize the service being done to the workers by the Socialists and the regular trade unionists in fighting the Latvian near-Fascists. The other seven seats gained by the Socialists were captured from the bourgeois parties, which retained fifty-two Aldermen, of whom twenty-five are Letts and the others members of various racial groups. There is one so-called Government Socialist in the new Board.

Dr. Paul Kalnin, a physician who has been an active Socialist worker for thirty of his fifty-three years, has been elected by the Latvian Parliament as its President, following the naming of its former head to the Ambassadorship in London.

FINLAND

25,000 Dues-Paying Members
In a country with a total population of about 3,500,000, the Social Democratic party of Finland has 25,000 dues-paying members, 6,000 of whom are women, according to data in a 316-page book put out by the party in connection with its recent celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding. A separate organization of young people has 3,000 members, half of whom are girls, and the party has much influence over an educational organization partly subsidized by the State and classified as independent in politics. The Socialists publish five daily papers, six tri-weeklies, one semi-weekly and a satirical weekly, in addition to a weekly published by the Yipels and a monthly by the women's organization. The Finnish trade unions, although still independent of the International Federation of Trade Unions, are practically Socialist in tendency. Of the two big cooperatives, each with about 185,000 members, one is largely Socialist in membership and character.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Polish Socialists for Unity
Another step toward the eventual unification of Labor in the Czechoslovak Republic was taken on March 1, when the annual convention of the Polish Socialist Party held in Teachen adopted a resolution urging the Executive Committee to get in touch with the other Socialist parties in Czechoslovakia and asking for the calling of a joint congress at which Czechoslovaks, Germans, Ruthenians, Poles and Hungarians could discuss the question of combining into a single Socialist organization. Delegates from the German and Czechoslovak Socialist parties spoke in favor of the resolution, as did Comrade Niedzialkowski, in the name of the Socialist Party of Poland and the Socialist International. In answer to some complaints by the Polish Socialists that the Czechoslovak comrades in Parliament were

not doing enough to assure equal rights to non-Czech workers, Dr. Winter, speaking for the Czechoslovak Social Democracy, pointed out that Comrade Bechyne, as Minister of Education, had carried out nearly all the wishes of the Polish Socialists in school matters and that cooperation among the various races in the Republic would in time settle the other troubles. The influence of the Polish Socialists in Czechoslovakia is considerably stronger than indicated by their dues-paying membership of 2,000.

Ruthenians In Convention

The recent annual convention of the Ruthenian Socialist Party in Czechoslovakia, held in Uzhore under the chairmanship of Comrade Ostapuk, was a notable demonstration of the Socialist pioneer work being done in that remote and backward corner of the Carpathians. Most of the 163 delegates reported Socialist gains in their districts and opined that the sudden jump in the Communist vote last year was only a temporary phenomenon due to disgust with general conditions and the alleged hostile attitude of the Prague Government. The Ruthenian Socialist Party has 6,400 dues-paying members and one Deputy in the Chamber.

Deputy Resigns to Guard Party
In order to avoid the slightest suspicion that the German Social Democratic party in Czechoslovakia was in any way responsible for the activities of a building cooperative which recently went bankrupt, Eduard Hausmann, Socialist manager of the institution, has resigned from the Chamber of Deputies. His seat is due to go to his substitute, Julius John, secretary of the chemical workers union in Aussig.

With the recent decision by the Czech Independent Socialist Party to unite with the Czechoslovak Social Democracy, that group passes from the political field, as a section of it had already voted to join the Communists.

Judging from results of a number of municipal elections held during the winter and spring in various parts of the Republic, the Czechoslovak Social Democrats are steadily recovering ground lost to the Communists at the time of the split in 1920, but the German Socialists are not doing so well, although in some instances they, too, have shown gains. In most cases the seats won by the Communists are not in proportion to their claims of big membership and popular following.

IRELAND

Complete returns of the election in Ulster show that the composition of the new Parliament will be three Laborites, 32 Unionists, four Independent Unionists, two Republicans, ten Nationalists and one Farmer. The net gains and losses are as follows: The Government loses seven seats; Labor gains three; the Independent Unionists gain three; the Farmers gain one; and the Nationalists gain four from the Republicans.

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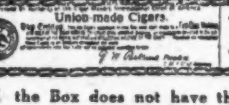
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Brooklyn—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Thursday at 8 P. M.
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

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NATIONAL

Comrade Birch Wilson is extremely busy preparing for the Debs' regional mass conventions and demonstrations. Two weeks in Ohio, in conference and cooperation with the Ohio State Committee at Dayton, in conference, planning, and general hustling with the comrades of Cleveland (for a week), and at Toledo and elsewhere, did much to make things begin to happen.

He spent more than a week in Minneapolis, cooperating with the Socialist group, Murray E. King regional organizer. His reports clearly indicate the comrades' great eagerness to make the Minneapolis convention and demonstration a triumph.

The correspondence reaching the National Office indicates that there is a strong general desire that the party resume its place, power and dignity of former years. Thousands are actually waiting—for you to line up. They will join you and rejoice.

OHIO

William Henry had a very successful get-together of the comrades in Toledo. The Toledo comrades are planning to stir up the very last Socialist in Lucas County and have a large and lovely company of happy Buckeyes go in a body to the mass convention and demonstration at Cleveland.

Comrade Lilith Wilson who has been working in Ohio reports: "The entire Socialist movement in Ohio has swung into line behind the preparations for the regional convention and mass meeting to be held in Cleveland, Saturday and Sunday, May 30 and 31. The State Office is lending every assistance to make these gatherings a huge success and to place the party securely on its feet to wage an active State-wide campaign. The Cleveland party branches, Finnish, Bohemian, Jugoslav, Jewish and English, are hard

at work. They have engaged the Public Auditorium for the mass meeting on Sunday, one of the largest and finest in America; and Carpenters' Hall for the Convention on Saturday. Thousands will be in attendance not only from Ohio but from neighboring States. . . . Comrade Wilson reports lively local and branch reorganization in Ohio. She held successful meetings also in Indiana, at Goshen and Elkhart, adding new members, and revived the joint local at South Bend and Mishawaka.

MICHIGAN

Comrade Henry's work in Michigan was successful. He will now give special attention to Ohio. Henry is a strong believer in team work; and the National Office, the Ohio State Executive Committee, the State Secretary and the Miami Valley Socialist comrades have in him a dauntless helper in the mass-convention enterprise.

ILLINOIS

Local Cook County (Chicago) has taken up the work for a membership campaign with energy. Walter Thomas Mills will give one-half of his time to an organization campaign and a drive for 1,000 new members. All that he asks is the cooperation of fifty members who will give not less than one evening or an afternoon each week to this work. He will furnish workers with supplies and names and addresses of Socialist voters and will meet these workers in conference once each week and consider reports. County Secretary W. R. Snow has

issued a call for these workers. As soon as fifty have responded the work will be organized.

The recent State convention of the Socialist Party also elected a committee on Organization, Press and Propaganda to cooperate in this work and the first circular regarding it has been mailed to all Party members in the State.

MINNESOTA

Murray E. King has been made regional manager for the Minneapolis mass convention and demonstration. A sustaining fund has reached over \$300; arrangement committees have been elected; they have selected places for the convention and mass meeting; and King reports that the "present Socialist Party drive, with the inspiring figure of Debs leading, has already begun to appeal powerfully to the propaganda motive which has never died out among Minnesota Socialists. They see in it an opportunity to lay the foundation in the Northwest of an enduring Socialist education. . . . Minneapolis comrades realize that they have undertaken to make the Debs' drive the success it should be. . . ."

CONNECTICUT

The State Executive Committee will meet Sunday, April 26, at 2 p. m., at Machinists' Hall, 99 Temple street, New Haven. Plans will be started for holding a State picnic this summer.
Karl Jursek of Hamden and Samuel E. Beardsley of New York City, will be the speakers at the May Day celebration held by Locals New

Haven and Hamden in conjunction with branches of the Workmen's Circle and some of the Labor unions of New Haven, Sunday evening, May 3, at Fraternal Hall, 19 Elm street, New Haven.

PENNSYLVANIA TO PENNSYLVANIA READERS

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

Debs' Dinner in Philadelphia
Local Philadelphia's reorganization campaign starts with the Debs' dinner at Mosebach's, 13th and Girard avenues, on Sunday, April 26, at 6:30 p. m. The 300 tickets were practically all sold by April 21. From the interest shown in it by comrades in Eastern Pennsylvania, it is certain to be one of the most enthusiastic Socialist gatherings ever held in Philadelphia. Requests for tickets still flood the Local Office and it now appears that the overflow banquet room will also be sold out. If you want to enjoy Socialist comradeship at its best, phone Locust, 4915 immediately, and make your reservations.

State Conference
As announced last week there is to be a rank and file conference of Pennsylvania Socialists in Harrisburg on May 10. It will be held in the Moose Temple, 3rd and Boas streets, and those who remain overnight can make reservations at the Governor Hotel, 4th and Market streets. All Socialist Party members resident in Pennsylvania are entitled to a voice and vote.

The purposes of this conference are:

1. To develop and further plans for rebuilding the Socialist Party in Pennsylvania.
 2. To further the success of plans developed by the National Conference held in February.
 3. To determine our future relations with the Labor party of Pennsylvania.
 4. To transact such other business as may properly come before such a conference.
- Here is an opportunity to show the people of Pennsylvania that the Socialist Party is all set for the great task of emancipating the working class. Let us crowd the Moose Temple to the doors with enthusiastic comrades. Take a vacation on May 10. Swarm into our State Capital by auto, train and trolley. Every comrade within 100 miles should consider it his or her duty to be present. Let us know each other better so we can work more effectively for our great cause.
- Your Committee is arranging a program that will be worthy of the occasion. James H. Maurer has promised to be present. His message alone will be worth the trip to Harrisburg, and we hope to have several other nationally prominent Socialists with us that day.
- The Pennsylvania Labor Party Convention is to be on the following day in the same hall and then the State Federation of Labor meets. Comrades who expect to attend these gatherings can take them all in on the same trip.
- Get in touch with every Socialist in your community and urge him to attend this conference, and don't forget to write the State Office and tell us how many are coming. This is not a delegate convention but a rank and file conference. We want to know what each of you thinks is best for our party. May we have the pleasure of greeting each and every one of you with a fraternal hand-clasp on May 10? Let us make this our May Day celebration.
- The comrades of Reading are out with a strong leaflet asking readers (Continued on Page 11.)

The Party Builder

National Problems

In organization native Americans are largely Anarchists. Discipline and solidarity are not among their distinguishing traits. Their tendency to "go it alone" or to segregate into small groups is notorious. It is a product of that intense individualism that possessed the millions who have advanced the line of settlement until they reached the Pacific Ocean.

Something of this individualist and separatist tendency has afflicted the Socialist Party. In the pre-war period speakers often bargained directly with locals for engagements in interstate tours, sometimes with the consent of State secretaries. The "free lance" worked his way from State to State, often charging heavy fees.

Socialist publications were started by individuals without any respon-

sibility to the Party. The Appeal to Reason was independent of the Party and became a power within the Party. It drew to it funds from thousands of Party members and sympathizers that should have gone to the Party. It ended its career by betraying the Party itself.

A publishing house in Chicago was built up by the support of Party members. It bore no responsibility to the Socialist Party. As early as 1908 it began to stray from the position of the Party, no matter what the decisions of conventions might be. Leaflets, pamphlets and books that should have been issued by the Party were issued by this house. Its magazine and other publications eventually became of the syndicalist variety, bringing confusion into the Party organization. Like the Appeal to Reason, we had nursed it and made it a power within the Party, a power that we could not control.

Thanks to our experience, the National Office plans to start a Party publishing business, and it is now the duty of all Socialists to discourage private publishing ventures. The same thing is true of a national Party weekly. This does not mean that in each case the Party must directly own a given publication or institution. The old New York Worker was not so owned. Neither is The New Leader, but in both cases the Party shared and is now sharing in determining policies. Both publications also have expounded the Party's declared position and not the position of some editor or a small group located in a particular locality.

Experience has proven that the ideal is between two extremes. The S. L. P. extreme was a central organ of the Party and discouraging the publication of any other. The result was bureaucratic control and expulsions of dissenters without number. The other extreme was the Appeal to Reason: type of paper. The ideal has proven to be the Party organ published by Socialist Party members and associating Party representatives in determining the policy of the publication.

In rebuilding the Party we must keep in mind the mistakes of the past and build on a more enduring foundation. No publication, speaker or publishing house should be encouraged unless they agree to some effective Party control and discipline that will insure that the purposes of the Socialist Party will be carried out.

We must avoid the individualist and separatist tendencies of the past. Reasonable discipline and effective solidarity must prevail. All our financial resources should remain available for Party institutions and Party work instead of going to build up institutions that we do not control and which turn against the Party in the end. Through this cooperative spirit we will be more effective, more united, and will build a more powerful Socialist Party.

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway. Phone: Orchard 6639
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.
M. GREENBERG, Sec'y-Treas.
PETER MONAT, Manager.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS

UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at 21 E. 14th St.
Melrose 7699
CARL GRABNER, President.
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union.
Office and Headquarters, 349 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 974
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.
M. REISS, President.
V. L. FRIEDMAN, Sec'y.
E. WENNER, Fin. Sec'y.
H. KALINKOFF, Bus. Agent.

FUR FLOOR WORKERS

UNION LOCAL 2, F. I. U. A. S.
Office and Headquarters, 349 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stage 5236
Regular Meetings Every First and Third Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Thursday.
FRANK BARROSI, JAMES CARUSO, President. Secretary

NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
2 E. 12th St. Stuyvesant 7678
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 8 P. M.
G. LEVINE, Pres. N. ULLMAN, Sec'y.
A. Melchior, Vice-Pres. Chas. Hanson, Treas.
LEO SAFIAN, Bus. Agent

N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
Headquarters: 631 BROADWAY (Room 823). Phone Spring 2558-2559
ALDO CURSI, Manager. H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer.
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.
Local 245—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union.

FUR WORKERS' UNION

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

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office: 22 East 22nd Street. Phone Caledonia 0350
Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office
H. BEGOON, Chairman. ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager.
ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, Sec'y-Treas. ADOLPH LEWITZ, Sec. Sec'y. BENNY WEXLER, Vice-Pres.

FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 22nd St.
A. SOFFER, Chairman.
L. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman.
H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR NAILERS' UNION

LOCAL 19
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 22nd St.
M. KLIEGER, Chairman.
R. WEXLER, Vice-Chairman.
ADOLPH LEWITZ, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS UNION

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

FUR OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 8
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 22nd St.
S. COHEN, Chairman.
H. BEGOON, Vice-Chairman.
E. TALL, Secretary.

FUR WORKERS — ATTENTION!

A Membership Meeting is called for SATURDAY, APRIL 25th, at 1:30 p. m., in COOPER UNION, 8th Street and Fourth Avenue.

Very important questions of the trade will be discussed. Every member must participate in this important meeting.

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNIONS.
Management Committee

UNIONS PREPARE FOR MAY DAY

Furriers May Day Celebration

International Labor Day will be celebrated by the members of the Joint Board of the Furriers' Union, Friday evening, May 1, at 7:30 P. M., in Debs Auditorium, the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street. There will be an excellent concert and speeches by prominent men and women in the Socialist and Labor movement.

Shirtmakers' Plans For May Day

The New York Shirtmakers' Union, affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, will observe May Day with a concert and meeting in Webster Hall, 12th street, East of Fourth avenue, at 9:30 a. m. Arturo Giovannitti, Abraham Shipley and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will be the speakers. General Manager Aldo Cursi will preside. Prominent artists will give a musical program. The Shirtmakers' Union, through delegates to the Joint Board, the members of the executive boards,

Cigarmakers Wage Big Union Drive

A vigorous campaign to round up the unorganized cigar makers of this city is being waged by the International Cigar Makers' Union of America.

In very few industries are the workers more overworked and underpaid as are the workers in the cigar industry, according to a statement issued by the union. The average hours of work in the open shops range from ten to fourteen hours a day and the highest paid workers earn about \$20 a week. As for sanitary conditions, the workers find them a constant menace to their health.

Brooklyn Bakers Locked Out

The workers of four bakery shops in Williamsburgh were locked out by their employers who broke their agreement with the Bakery and Confectionary Workers International Union which was to expire on April 30th, 1925.

The four employers are Bergstein, 225 South First Street, Dvoretzky, 114 Union Avenue, Kaner, 522

TRADE UNION TOPICS

and the shop chairmen, has adopted a resolution pledging itself "to help the American Civil Liberties Union in order that public opinion in this country be aroused so that Roger Baldwin and every other citizen may be permitted to assert their constitutional rights without going to jail, even if in doing so the privileges of the few who live on the labor of others may be disturbed or impaired."

White Goods Workers To Celebrate May Day

The White Goods Workers Union of New York City will celebrate May Day with a meeting and flower dance. The event will take place at Mansion Hall, 57 St. Marks' place. The meeting will start at 1:30 p. m. and will be addressed by prominent speakers in the Socialist and Labor movement. The dance will follow at about 3:30 p. m. All members of the union can get tickets at the union office at 117 Second avenue.

I. L. G. W. U.

Members to Hike

On Saturday, April 25, at 1:30 p. m., the members of the I. L. G. W. U. will assemble in the West Assembly Room of the Museum of Natural History, 77th street and Columbus avenue. There Dr. Sylvia Kopald will deliver a short talk to acquaint them with the objects they are going to see. From there the group will proceed under her lead-

ership to the various exhibits.

It need hardly be emphasized that this visit to the museum will be of educational value to the group. Dr. Kopald will also explain to the audience the meaning of the various objects of interest in the galleries.

Admission is free to the members of the I. L. G. W. U. and their friends. The way to reach the museum is by Sixth or Ninth avenue L or the West Side Subway. Get off train at 79th street station.

Look for the West Assembly Room upon reaching the museum. For additional information apply to the Educational Department of the International Union, 3 West 16th street.

Death Takes Marguerite Prevy

COMRADE MARGUERITE PREVY died of smallpox in Minneapolis in the early morning of Tuesday, April 14. The funeral took place in Youngstown, Ohio, Friday, April 17.

Comrade Prevy was an outstanding figure in the American-Socialist movement for many years. She was an unusually effective speaker, splendidly informed and convincing in manner and method. For nearly twenty years her home in Akron, Ohio, was a Mecca to traveling Socialist speakers and organizers. Hundreds of these men and women who have had perfect hospitality as they wandered to and fro across Ohio will be saddened by the news of Comrade Marguerite's death. She was unstintingly generous, kind, delightfully frank, and heroically loyal to the working class. In the great rubber-workers' strike she made a long list of powerful plutocratic enemies in the great wage-slave city, Akron.

When this country entered the war her enemies instantly decided to get revenge. A great mob came to her home, filling the street before it, led and violently urged on by a preacher whose mouth was actually frothing with anger. Comrade Prevy never flinched. With a heavy loaded revolver in each hand she stood in her open front door facing the brutes without fear, assuring them she would kill the first half dozen who dared to place their feet upon her veranda.

The mob yelled and cursed her, but this brave and gentle-hearted woman surely would have killed them—and they knew it. Mrs. Prevy laughed in their faces and ruled them. That was Marguerite

SEE THAT YOUR ENGINEER WEARS THIS BUTTON!

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

Meets every Friday at 8 P. M. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stages 3244. Office hours, 8 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 6 P. M. F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORT-FOLIO MAKERS' UNION

11 W. 18th St. Chelsea 5427 The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 151 Clinton St., N. Y. Chas. Gardiner, Org. Sec. B. Kwalwasser, Sec. Sec'y.

N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday. Board of Officers Meet 2nd and 4th Friday. 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY. Frank Walters, H. Kramer, President. A. Pugiotte, Wm. Dettelbach, Vice-Pres. M. Goldowsky, Vice-Chairman. H. Volk, August Schreiner, Treasurer.

United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY. Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board, Every Saturday, 12 Noon. M. ABRAHAMSON, Chairman. M. GOLDOWSKY, Vice-Chairman. M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer.

PAINTERS' UNION

LOCAL 392. Office and Headquarters: 216 E. 59th St. Tel. Regent 2625. Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. David Callanahan, President. Peter Goldie, J. J. Connell, Vice-President. Fin. Secretary.

WAITERS' UNION & Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS

Local 219, H. & E. A. & R. I. L. of N. Y. Office & Headquarters: 170 E. 30 St., N. Y. LENOX 1874. Regular meetings every Tuesday, 8 P. M. Meyer Schuchter, Chas. S. Lowy, President. Bus. Agent & Sec.

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 306 EIGHTH AVENUE. Telephone Longacre 5029. Day Room Open Daily, 8 a. m. to 6 p. m. JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GAA, President. M. McDONALD, G. F. BREHEN, Vice-President. Reg. Sec'y. Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.

MEETING HALL TO RENT

FOR LABOR UNIONS AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES. Seating Capacity 350.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 409, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS. Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Eve. at the Labor Temple, 213 East 84th St. BRUNO WAGNER, President. CHAS. KOENIG, Rec. Sec'y.

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. B'way. Orchard 5229. Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday at the Labor Temple, 213 East 84th St. AL GRABAL, President. L. KOEN, Manager. Sec'y.

Amalgamated Lithographers

of America, New York Local No. 1. Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 203 WEST 14th ST. Phone: WAT lins 7781. Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at ARLINGTON HALL, 19 ST. MARK'S PLACE. ALBERT E. CASTRO, President. A. J. Kennedy, Frank J. Flynn, Rec. Sec'y. Frank Sebel, Treas.

N. Y. Printing Pressmen's Union

Local 51, International Printing Pressmen's & Assistants' Union. Office: 22 WEST 16TH STREET. Phone: CHIE lins 10262-10263. Regular Meetings Every 2nd Thursday at I. L. G. W. U. Auditorium, 3 W. 16th St. PHILIP UMBSTADTER, President. PATRICK J. LYNCH, Vice-President. Edward Newy, John E. Donnelly, Chas. T. Stewart, Wm. Anthony, Sec'y-Treas. Bus. Agent. Sec'y-At-Large.

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL No. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK. Office: 10 Fourth Avenue. Phone: Sterling 9233. Regular Meeting every Monday evening, at 182 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn. Executive Board meets every Friday. Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M. CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

UNION DIRECTORY

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

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL 34. Office: 229 EAST 84th STREET. Telephone Lenox 4530. Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple. THOMAS CABILL, President. THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary. EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary.

BRICKLAYERS UNION

Local No. 9. Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stage. Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening. WILLIAM WENIGERT, President. CHARLES STEIN, Fin. Sec'y. VALENTINE RUMB, Vice-President. JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer. HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y. ANDREW STREIT, Bus. Agent.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488. MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St. OFFICE: 601 EAST 161ST ST. Telephone Metro 5074. THOMAS DALTON, President. HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y. CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent. JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL 385. 67-69 Lexington Avenue. Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month. MADISON SQUARE 5107. V. J. CASTELLI, President. WILLIAM GARDNER, Rec. Secretary. CHARLES FIESELER, Fin. Secretary. MICHAEL CURTIN, Vice-Pres. N. VILLACI, Bus. Agent.

Carpenters & Joiners of America

Local Union 366. 4215 3rd Ave., corner Tremont Ave. Regular meetings every Monday evening. WALTER ANDERSON, President. President Bert Post, Rec. Secretary. JAMES DULGANS, Fin. Sec'y. Victor Sault, Vice President Joseph Vanderpool, Treas. Chas Nobis, Business Agent. Board of Trustees—Jos. Hess, Louis Schmidt, E. Giew.

Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION NO. 808. Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue. Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone Stage 5414. Office hours, every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening. JOHN HALETT, President. SYDNEY PEARCE, Rec. Secretary. HENRY COOK, Treasurer. FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President. JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary. CHARLES FRIEDELL, Business Agent.

CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA

LOCAL UNION NO. 298, LONG ISLAND CITY. Office and Meeting Room at Volkart's Hall, 270 Prospect Street, Long Island City. Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. Phone: ASToria 0009. RICHARD DAMMAN, President. Wm. Pavlowich, Andrew Franspall, Chas. T. Schwartz, Albert F. Miller, Vice-President. Recording Sec'y. Financial Sec'y. Business Agent.

DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1456, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA. 67-69 Lexington Avenue. Madison Square 4992. Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday. CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President. ELI M. Olson, Fin'l Sec. Ludwig Benson, Christopher Gulbrandson, Charles Johnson, Sr., Ray Clark, Recording Secretary. Treasurer. Business Agents.

COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 63, I. H. C. & C. L. of A. Office, 12 St. Marks Place. 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday; closed all day. DRY DOCK 6963. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. JAMES MORAN, President. DANIEL HUNT, Vice-Pres. PETER FINEGAN, JOHN MCPARTIAN, JOSEPH MORAN, Rec. Secretary. Fin. Secretary. Bus. Agent.

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432. Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 213 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY. J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. MICHAEL J. O'LEARY, President and Business Agent. THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y. MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y. JOHN LEAVY, JOHN DOOLEY, JOSEPH LAMONTE, Business Agents.

Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76

Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283. Meets Every 2d and 4th Wednesday. Beethoven Hall, 210 East 6th St., 6:30 Sharp. H. VALENTINE, Vice-President. HERMAN ALPERT, Sec'y-Treasurer. PIERCE H. DEANER, Bus. Agent. S. BLOOM, Reg. Secretary.

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

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

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 106th Street. Telephone: Lehigh 3141. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office. Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street. ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNINGFIELD, Financial Secretary. Recording Treasurer.

N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y. Phone Watkins 9186. LEON H. ROUSE, President. JOHN Sullivan, Vice-President. John S. O'Connell, Secretary-Treas. Theodore F. Douglas, Organizer.

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York. Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City. Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M. MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President. WILLIAM PIOTTA, Financial Secretary. WILLIAM MERETENS, Recording Secretary. CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents.

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL UNION NO. 403, of NEW YORK CITY. Office 2034 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4878. Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 213 East 84th Street. MATTHEW J. MORAN, President. JOHN WALSH, Vice-President. FRED DEIGAN, General Secretary. TIMOTHY HOEKINS, Secretary. Business Agents: GEORGE NEANY DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN HASSETT, PAT DREW.

International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. JOHN P. BURKE, President-Secretary, 163 Broadway, Fort Edward, New York.

The New Leader Mail Bag.

What Price Nature?

Editor, The New Leader:

I note William Hayes' defense of Macfadden on the ground that the latter has promoted "natural methods of treating sickness." It would be interesting to know what is meant by the word "natural" in this case, and wherein natural methods are superior to artificial ones.

The methods used by most physicians, I take it, are to be condemned as not being natural. Well, is homoeopathy natural? Is osteopathy natural? Is the water cure natural? How about fasting? How about the use of electricity? How about the use of the X-ray? Or is it natural for sick folk to get cured by prayer, or by accepting the belief that there is no such thing as sickness, or by persistently declaring that they are getting better every day in every way?

Why should we assume that natural methods (whatever they may be) are better than artificial methods in the field of therapy, when we deny their superiority in any other field of human action? No one will maintain that man's natural ways of getting food are better than the highly artificial methods of modern agriculture. No one will deprecate the use of artificial fertilizers to increase the productivity of the soil. No one will advise us to rely on the natural falling of seed upon the ground, instead of planting or sowing it. No one will advocate the abandonment of such artificial methods of communications as writing, printing, the telegraph, the telephone, and the radio, and dependence solely on the natural human voice. No one will pretend that horses in their wild or natural state are as swift or as strong as those which man has developed by artificial selective breeding. No one will say that natural crude petroleum is as good a fuel as the various grades of oil which we artificially derive from it. In the field of music, in order to "get back to Nature," we should have to scrap all our pianos, violins, and so forth, and use dry gourd-shells and hollow tree-trunks, as our remote ancestors did—and I question if anyone will say that we should thereby get better music.

I sometimes think that this thoughtless habit of idealizing Nature, to which otherwise intelligent men so often succumb (even to the extent of writing the word with a capital N), and virtually personifying it, is almost as harmful a superstition as the belief in ghosts and

demons—a belief, by the way, which is in itself distinctly natural.

H. G.

New York City.

Debs, Our Greatest Citizen

Editor, The New Leader:

There has been much said about patriots dead, heroes gone, martyrs forgotten. My courage fails as I attempt to write these few humble words of gratitude to our "Greatest Living Patriot, Eugene V. Debs."

We have read recently of our effort to reinstate our "Gene" to full citizenship. Is there a man or woman, with soul so dead who could, or would, refuse to sign such a petition?

"Gene" in the very real sense of the word, has never, could never, lose his citizenship. He is our first citizen, ever really worthy of that name today. Is citizenship a special privilege? If it is, I fear "Gene" will have none of it.

Is it possible to grant a man that which, by all the highest and noblest virtues, he already possesses? Where is there a man, worthy of the privilege, qualified to declare our "Gene" a citizen of the great Republic he has nursed into vigorous life? As well deny the right of a man to be called the father of his son.

Let us, all, without fail, sign the petition that will place the name of our beloved "Gene" formally on the books as citizen. Let us never forget that, not for the fragment of a second, has "Gene," our greatest living patriot, ever ceased to be our "First Citizen."

JOHN E. HECKMAN.

West Reading, Pa.

A Card of Thanks

Editor, The New Leader:

Permit me the use of your columns to personally thank the Comrades

Structural Iron Workers

UNION, Local 361, Brooklyn. Office: Telephone Cumberland 0189. 571 Pacific Street. 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. Charles McDonnell, President. E. R. Calvert, Sec'y-Rep.

Paperhangers' Union

LOCAL 490. Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Meetings Every Wednesday Evening at 62 East 106th Street. Irving Heideinan, Meyer Cohen, President. S. Matlin, Vice-President. E. J. Snyder, Rec. Secretary. Joseph Rastbaum, Treasurer.

The Realm of Books

A Remarkable Book

A Review by JAMES ONEAL

THE NEWER SPIRIT. By V. F. Calverton. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.50.

WITH the appearance of "The Newer Spirit," a book of notable essays by V. F. Calverton, it can no longer be said that the United States has produced no original thinker. His work is one of the most important contributions to sociological criticism and analysis of literature and human society that has appeared in this country. He is doing a scientific work which Socialists should have done but have neglected to do.

The striking thing about Calverton is that he is a young man of twenty-five. However, he has had the advantage of an academic training at Johns Hopkins, taking especial work in philosophy and psychology. His work in economics, political science and psychology led him to consider the sociological and historical works of men like Buckle and Marx. In 1923 he founded the Modern Quarterly at Baltimore, with the idea of maintaining an objective attitude in the analysis of social and esthetic problems.

So much for the personal background. Now to the book. His fundamental point of view is that when we study the literature of any race or period we discover that "the dicta and shibboleths of creative and critical effort are but the outgrowths of the social system in which they have their being, and which in turn is the product of the material conditions of the time."

This is a challenge to the whole tribe of emotional, sentimental and impressionistic interpreters of literature. It is a scientific approach to an interpretation of the literature of any period and seeks to explain the literary output of any period by its social system and the standards established and maintained by ruling classes. Tragedy used to concern itself with noble characters, princes and the aristocracy. Comedy was concerned with the common herd who were portrayed as dunces incapable of culture and refinement. This was the literary standard of feudalism with its gradation of human beings into noble aristocrats and servile underlings. Shakespeare's *Snug*, the Joiner, and Bottom, the Weaver, are types to laugh and sneer at as "garlic eaters" or "rude unpolished hinds."

"The aristocratic conception of tragedy," writes Calverton, "was a feudal conception, and Shakespeare not only observed its regulations but believed as firmly in its accuracy as we in the twentieth century believe in its inaccuracy."

That this aristocratic concept declined was due to the decline of feudalism and the rise of the bourgeois (capitalist) class. As commerce expanded, as the towns developed and the merchant class increased, feudal tragedy was succeeded by bourgeois tragedy. The woes of the merchant and banker became a theme of tragedy. Human beings must be made to weep over their problems. Where is the reader who has not seen the shop girl simpering at a movie over the woes of the merchant prince or his son?

But with the rise of the working-class movement bourgeois tragedy in turn is challenged by proletarian tragedy, literature and art. Hauptmann's "The Weavers" and Hardy's "Tess of the d'Urbervilles," the dramas of Eugene O'Neill and the fiction of Anderson and Dreiser, all sound the note of proletarian tragedy. Even Whitman long ago began to "put the muffled music of the swelling proletariat into poetry." At an earlier period Emerson represented something of the mystic uncertainty of the transition period from the golden age of capitalism to its stark and vulgar reality. Compared with Emerson, Whitman "was expressing another phase of capitalism, another generation, another class."

Proletarian art signifies the "growth of a new esthetic" and it is the special product of modern capitalism. "The clash of class-psychologies has precipitated a revolution in art values and criteria. Tragedies formerly spun about the episodic futilities of royalty; the failures of gamblers and business men now include the disasters of the proletariat."

An illuminating chapter on the work of Sherwood Anderson carries the author into a keen and discriminating analysis of this writer and his art. Anderson is unthinkable and unexplainable except in terms of sociological analysis and understanding of a particular stage of the life history of modern capitalism. In Anderson's work the proletarian tragedy finds expression. "The effect of the organization of the proletariat, a result of industrial limitation and oppression, obtains vivid and unmistakable reflection in 'Marching Men.'" Anderson himself, upon reading this essay in the Quarterly, wrote that "it is one of

the few things I have read that has something to say."

Turning to the chapter on "The Impermanency of Esthetic Values," we have another excursion into fundamentals. Like those who talk of "eternal truths," there are those who hold to the theory of eternal esthetic values. If this were true, esthetic appreciation has no relation to the changing environment. It is a spook suspended in air and not affected by conditions of this carnal world. It is above and beyond evolutionary law. The same judgment is assessed in the matter of such attributes as "great" and "value" in art. All things are relative since "man's customs and ideas"—which include his tastes and inclinations—vary with every change in his environment. Consider the revolution which "The London Merchant" implied when it was first staged:

"At the time when 'The London Merchant' appeared, then, and during the year when bourgeois supremacy was undisturbed by the rise of the proletariat, and the science of esthetics had not made the advances that characterized its existence in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this play had a value we may say of 90; today, or in the last three-quarters of the century previous, with the changes in society that have followed the strengthening and organization of the proletariat, and the necessary esthetic changes flowing from this social change, the play has a value of only, say, 60."

But space forbids more than a bare reference to other chapters just as keen and stimulating as those already mentioned. In "Proletarian Art," from which we have already quoted, the author shows that when capitalism creates a proletariat it also brings with it the art that is ranged with the claims of the new class. In "Fragments From a Critique of American Criticism" he considers the critical work of Woodburn, Spingarn and Mencken. This essay is delightful. Spingarn's dictum that the esthetic standard "is not affected by the special conditions of society in space and time" is answered by the cutting rejoinder: "The critic seems to imagine that we paint before we eat, that men fought originally for art-expression and not for food. It was only when economic difficulties were lightened that art-creation could begin to grow." While conceding a certain merit to Mencken, that "very often we do not disagree with his conclusions, while we do disagree vigorously with the way he arrives at them," Mr. Calverton admits Mencken is "unique," only to follow this by observing that "so is a tight-rope walker or a hobo." Mencken's limitation, he continues, lies in the fact that while he rejects bourgeois morals he accepts bourgeois economics.

In "Morals and Determinism" will be found a thoughtful presentation of the theme, while "The Great Man Illusion" shatters a few idealistic pillars which sustain the sentimental and historical faith of many. "The Rise of Objective Psychology" carries the author into a related field. It is a striking example of scientific pioneering with certain revolutionary implications, and a very brief chapter on the "Trend of Modern Psychology" closes one of the most notable books in a generation.

What I have attempted is merely a fragmentary presentation of the more fundamental aspects of the author's work. It is a first book, only a beginning of other volumes that are to appear. The book must be read to be appreciated. To permit it to die because of neglect where it is deserved and possibly add certain conservative writers to kill a notable contribution to the literary arsenal of working-class emancipation.

Book Notes

"Destiny," a new novel by Rupert Hughes, will be published on the fifteenth of May by Harper. Mr. Hughes says that in "Destiny" he has given his own philosophy of life, a gospel of pity for the helplessness of the soul in the control of the body.

A new volume in their "Today and Tomorrow Series" is announced for publication toward the end of April by E. P. Dutton & Company. It is by Bertrand Russell and is entitled "What I Believe."

"Wild Birds," Daniel Totheroh's drama, which recently won the University of California prize for a three-act play, will be published by Doubleday, Page & Company shortly after the New York opening of the play at the Cherry Lane Theatre. The judges who awarded the prize to Mr. Totheroh were Eugene O'Neill, Susan Glaspell and George Jean Nathan.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Literature
POETS OF AMERICA. By Clement Wood. N. Y.: Dutton.
POEMS OF YOUTH. An American Anthology. Compiled by William Rose Benet. N. Y.: Dutton.

A Rebel Poet

DIONYSUS IN DOUBT. By Edwin Arlington Robinson. New York: Macmillan.

A Review by WILLIAM LEA

WHILE drama is generally a direct expression of the spirit of a time, poetry more often leaps ahead in imaginative glimpses of the future. The expressionistic plays of the German revolution accompanied the fact; poems of protest rang long before. We may expect, therefore, that the great poets, those who do not pander to or echo the prejudices of a set society, will sound an individual note of protest against the evils of the established order of the day. Shakespeare was primarily a playwright; but the poet Milton was secretary to the English revolutionist; Shelley and Byron were fiery rebels; Morris, a staunch Socialist. In America, Emerson and Lowell were champions of freedom. In "Dionysus in Doubt," Robinson (named after Lowell's revolutionary mouthpiece?) takes his place at their side.

The title poem, and a companion piece, "Demos and Dionysus," flay the present social system with a violence that rises from deep conviction and earnest feeling. Robinson sees that our experiment in democracy has gone sadly astray, that a tyrant in the mask of Demos is ruling the land. He pictures freedom spreading her claws for the infliction of more "liberty," "to moronize the million for the few." This is a country where a man

"... with one hand puts out
The flame that warms a fluctuating
brother,
And meritoriously with the other
Pours unpermitted oil upon his
own."

He hammers humbug with a heavy sledge; he sees three forces that allow the hypocrisy, the injustice, to continue—and so plain are the facts that ignorance is not even suggested; there are those who seek to profit at the expense of the many, accepting conditions for personal gain; there are the cowards, afraid to differ from their neighbors by frank protest and vigorous action; there are—here he slashes the parlor radicals!—the indifferent, the many who "are silent there because they are asleep." He pleads for a true freedom, a liberty of the spirit that can be realized only when men no longer exploit their brothers, a freedom that embraces and thrives on fellowship.

In addition to these main motives, these poems of protest, shorter pieces in the volume are psychological studies of the sort for which Robinson is best known, but they add nothing to his reputation. His new sonnets, however, are of rare, cold beauty; if it has been for a moment imagined that the poet died when the rebel was born, let "As It Looked Then" remove the fancy:

In a sick shade of spruce, moss-
webbed, rock-fed,
Where, long unfollowed by sagacious
man,
A scrub that once had been a path-
way ran

Blindly from nowhere and to no-
where led,
One might as well have been among
the dead

As half way there alive; so I began
Like a malingering pioneer to plan
A vain return—with one last look
ahead.

And it was then that like a spoken
word

Where there was none to speak, in-
sensibly

A flash of blue that might have been
a bird

Grew soon to the calm wonder of
the sea—

Calm as a quiet sky that looked to be
Arching a world where nothing had
occurred.

SCHOOLING. By Paul Selver. N. Y.: Albert and Charles Boni.

THE TREASURE. By Selma Lagerlof. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co.

THE GEORGE AND THE CROWN. By Sheila Kaye-Smith. N. Y.: Dutton.

THE MYSTERIES OF ANN. By Alice Brown. N. Y.: Macmillan.

THE MAKROPOULOS SECRET. By Karel Capek. Boston: John W. Luce Co.

Miscellaneous
BERNARD SHAW. By Edward Shanks. N. Y.: Holt.
H. G. WELLS. By Ivor Brown. N. Y.: Holt.

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Berkman's Russian Diary

A Review by EDWARD LEVINSON

THE BOLSHEVIK MYTH. By Alexander Berkman. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$3.00.

CAST out from America as an undesirable Anarchist in December, 1919, Alexander Berkman today finds himself no less an exile from Soviet Russia, the land to which, in the hour of his deportation from the United States, he turned as the "usher of the New Day"! "Nothing short of a miracle,"

With nothing less than the determination that "the remaining years of my life be consecrated to the service of the wonderful Russian people," Berkman, from the bleak decks of The Buford, viewed the years before him. Within two years he again took up his pen to make an entry into his diary, and this is what he wrote:

"High time the truth about the Bolsheviks were told. The whited sepulcher must be unmasked, the clay feet of the fetish beguiling the millions exposed. The Bolshevik myth must be destroyed."

"I have decided to leave Russia." Alexander Berkman's unflinching devotion to his ideals during decades of persecution and misunderstanding in the United States has won him a dearly bought reputation for reliability and candor. His Russian diary—the present book—gives numerous instances of his eagerness to work with the Bolsheviks to lift Russia out of the morass of war, revolution, counter-revolution, blockade and famine. To the end of his stay in Russia, Berkman cooperated with the Communist authorities as far as he could without completely forsaking his Anarchist beliefs. The ruthless crushing of the Kronstadt protest, preceded by countless trying incidents of Tcheka violence and capped by downright brutality in dealing with political prisoners, were too much. Further cooperation with the Communists, even in non-political matters such as the creation of a Kropotkin Museum, was impossible, he found.

Particularly valuable in Berkman's books are his chapters on Nestor Makhno and the Kronstadt incident. In the turmoil of the years during which the Allies and their mercenaries beset Soviet Russia on all sides, the name of Makhno was coupled by Bolsheviks with those of Wrangel, Denikin, Kolchak and Semyonov. "Counter-revolutionists" and "interventionists" were the common appellations. No one questioned the authenticity of these Bolshevik edicts. But it is in a vastly different light from that we know Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel to stand in that Berkman places Makhno.

Makhno, according to Berkman, was the idol of the Ukrainian peasants. Far from being a tool of foreign interventionists, bent on enslaving the Russian peasants, Nestor Makhno had a definite program for the Russian peasants, and particularly those of the Ukraine.

Sailing under the flag of Anarchism he organized the *povstantsi* who called for "autonomous com-

munes of free peasants; the negation of all government, and complete self-determination based on the principle of Labor. Free Soviets of peasants and workers were to be formed of delegates in contradistinction to the Bolshevik Soviet of Deputies; that is, to be informative and executive instead of authoritarian."

Forced by Nestor's great success in repulsing foreign invaders of the Ukraine to recognize his integrity, "the Communist Government proposed that his units join the Red Army, at the same time maintaining their autonomy, Makhno consented. . . . But the hope of the Bolsheviks to absorb the rebel peasantry in the Red Army failed. . . . Under various pretexts they (the Communists) interdicted the conferences of the *povstantsi* and outlawed Makhno."

Berkman's chapter on Kronstadt, which in the hazy days of "foreign intervention" and the consequent chaos was put down by the Bolsheviks as just another counter-revolutionary plot, is full of documentary evidence.

Goaded by cold and starvation, the workers in several of the large factories and mills in Petrograd went on strike. As Zinoviev met the demands of the strikers with a scornful, "Menshevik!" the strikers, in turn, gave a political turn to their protest. They demanded a "complete change in the policies of the Government."

"First of all," they declared, "the workers and peasants need freedom. We demand the liberation of all arrested Socialists and non-partisan workingmen; abolition of martial law; freedom of speech, press and assembly for all who labor; free election of shop and factory committees, of Labor union and Soviet representatives."

Arrests of strike leaders were the signal for more strikes. The sailors in Kronstadt, hitherto lauded "the flower of the Communist revolution," joined with the strikers in their demands. Kronstadt is declared by the Preto-Soviet "guilty of counter-revolution." Trotsky sends a "final warning."

As Berkman concludes the story: "March 7—Distant rumblings reach my ears as I cross the Nevsky. It sounds again, stronger and nearer, as if rolling toward me. All at once I realize that artillery is being fired. Kronstadt has been attacked!"

"Days of anguish and cannonading. My heart is numb with despair; something has died within me. The people on the streets looked bowed with grief, bewildered. No one trusts himself to speak. The thunder of heavy guns rends the air."

"March 17—Kronstadt has fallen today."

"Thousands of sailors and workers lie dead in its streets. Summary execution of prisoners and hostages continues."

"March 18—The victors are celebrating the anniversary of the Commune of 1871. Trotsky and Zinoviev denounce theirs and Gallifet for the slaughter of the Paris rebels. . . ."

Good Dramatist, Poor Novelist

A Review by MADELIN LEOF

PRISONERS. By Franz Molnar. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THE preface to "Prisoners" brings the glad tidings that this novel is the first of the Hungarian playwright's to be translated into English. After having read "Prisoners," we felt almost like wishing it were the last, for Molnar as a dramatist certainly surpasses Molnar as a novelist. To those who praised "Lilium" and enjoyed "The Guardsmen," and were amused at "Fashions for Men," "Prisoners" will be a terrific disappointment.

Molnar's forte is clever repartee. In "Lilium," in addition to clever dialogue, he has good character depiction and an idea. In "The Guardsman," he is clever and sophisticated. In "Fashions for Men," he is the giant playwright. In his sketches in Vanity Fair he is very often scintillating, although sometimes he forces his scintillation too far. In "Prisoners" he has abandoned this field of urbanity and suavity and has turned his attention to plot.

The plot is thin and unconvincing and unworthy of one with a sharp mind. The story is laid in a small town and revolves around a pastry shop where the Bohemians of the city hibernate. A pretty, white-aproned waitress, as fresh as the cream puffs she serves, comes to disturb the placidity of the students. She puts ineffectual love into the heart of a young and not-too-ambitious actor. She fills her own heart with passion for a young lawyer who is affianced to a sweet, simple, harmless country miss. The waitress has led a wicked life. She wants to start on a new leaf. But she must have her man. In order to get him, she steals. He is her defending lawyer. She is convicted for seven

months' imprisonment. But when she goes to her dark, grimy cell, she knows that at the end of seven months she will come forth to be his wife. The sweet, simple fiancée loses out and her simplicity is rewarded by her being left alone with her father and her maiden aunt at the end of the book.

She, the sweet, innocent one, is the only live character in the story. The lawyer's conversion from one love to the other seems improbable. Its unexpectedness is worthy of the cinema. The waitress' tenacity is forceful enough, but does not serve to make of her the unpolished intellect Molnar wants us to believe her to be. "Prisoners" is a story—but that is all. It is unworthy of a man who has produced clever and witty things.

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The Black Soul

THE BLACK SOUL. By Liam O'Flaherty. New York: Boni & Liveright.

A Review by RICHARD ROHMAN

THOUGH heralded as an achievement cut of holy fire, "The Black Soul" may be said to be a product that has fallen short of its sensitive conception. Here, at least, if not elsewhere in Liam O'Flaherty's work, we find a rush of feeling which to the end is mangled badly in articulation or is altogether a hollow echo of the man's soul. Save for a rare passage, now and again, only the choked tones of internal questioning shaking his hero are those the author succeeds in uttering. It is again, no matter how noble the enterprise, a case of words failing to match the thought. "The Black Soul" is the recurrent inner conflict of a sensitive individual reduced to melodrama.

It is the story of a beaten man who flies to a primitive life off the Irish coast to escape the imbecilities of a civilization his shattered nerves are no longer able to withstand. Fergus O'Connor, led to presume there is convalescence in Inverrara, determines on a purely animal existence as a sort of neurotic protest against a training and a culture that had failed him in his crisis. But, evidently, such training is not to be discarded by a mere exclamation, and we have the conflict between the old and the new attitudes, with first the one enthroned and then the other. The motivating force is Little Mary, a primitive woman made for love, who has denied herself, since her marriage, to a peasant husband. Fergus and Mary draw each other and, as the story goes, ultimately unite.

Mr. O'Flaherty has tried to relate the changing passions, hopes and fears of his characters to the swiftly changing moods of earth, sea and sky. I believe he has failed, for nowhere save in an occasional place do his frenzied adjectives fix anything resembling an image that has been conceived first in feeling and then articulately represented with the austerity and restraint so necessary in all artistic expression. It is in the latter aspect that Mr. O'Flaherty fails us (for the man has decent feeling, even though the nobler reaches are still beyond him); it is made painfully evident when he is forced to resort, time without number, to such trite, and sometimes amusing similes as "like a caged lion that dreams suddenly of a vast forest."

It is evident that, because of his use of ethical conflicts, the author intended a moral. There is none to draw from "The Black Soul," however, unless it is the absurdly chivalrous one that "the love of a clean woman, etc., etc."

But we need not go into that.

"Alas, Pain, Ever, Forever!"

TWO PLAYS. By Sean O'Casey. New York: Macmillan Co.

Is there more ignorance, stupidity, drunkenness, empty chauvinism, sorrow, hopelessness and poverty anywhere on God's earth than in Ireland! What price John Bull's Other Island a republic! Are Dublin and Limehouse worth the British Empire?

Whatever one thinks of O'Casey's two plays of the last three-cornered warfare in Ireland as plays, they are certainly as vivid a portrayal of the bloody days of 1921 and '22 and of the incredible levels of Dublin civilization as were ever printed. As drama, they may run to caricature too generously and be too speculatively of a passed-by period, but as dissections of the decadent, morbid life of Ireland, they are shudderingly unforgettable. Whiskey and ignorance and red-eyed pugacity, says O'Casey, these be thy gods, O Ireland!

R. F.

--- D R A M A ---

The Drama of Love and Hate

By JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

Those to whom power has been denied, in the early lists of life, turned soon and readily to find content in a cottage. Love scoffs alike at chains and crowns:

"If I have freedom in my love,
And in my soul am free,
Angels alone, that soar above,
Enjoy such liberty."

In the blind bliss of Cupid's bestowal man thus raises himself above earthly glory and affects to despise the material triumphs others more carefully reap. The lover would eternally thrive on the delusion that "two can live as cheaply as one"—if the hidden canker did not so soon devour the airy substance of his dream. For love alone seems not the key to happiness; neither love unrequited nor love shared from afar can satisfy the craving for possession that burns the wooer. Love is revealed as the offspring of power; power no longer singly sought, perhaps, but of two against the world. Yet in this doubling there is a duplicity that heightens the greed of love; for more than the miser his gold, would the amorous preserve his beloved from all others—whom, none the less, he would have him envious of because of the splendor of the woman who has trusted him with her fate. Jealousy, which, as old Gower tells is the avenger of love, looms as love's black companion, and through the ages the man who walks with him grasps a maiden (he hopes) with one hand and a bared sword in the other.

The greatest war of all antiquity (since Homer sang that beauty which is truth) was fought for love of a fickle charmer; more soberly it has been charged that the Great Betrayal was not at the price of thirty silver moons, but in hopeless love of the Magdalene. The isolation and complete analysis of jealousy, however, was re-

served for that dramatist who in his tragedies most deeply probes the lusts that prick men on, who in "Othello" has shown the searing power of the drama of love and hate. It must be noted that the quality of the hatred will be kin to the worth of the love: it is the meanness of Iago's spirit that bends him in the melodramatic plotting out of, yet in contrast to which, springs the tragic exaltation of Othello. Both are jealous: the one with cunning and despite wins condemnation; the other, with high hatred and unswerving deed, draws pity forth to weep on the tomb of love. For always jealous, child of love, slays its parent.

To steer, or even to bob from crest to crest, over the sea of the dramas of love would be a life-time's sailing. The crimson thread of love runs evident in almost every play, lightly or tightly drawing the characters on. It is the main color in many patterns: of love and hate, in simplest marking of the triangle; Scribe's "Woman's War," Gerald's "To Love"—for here the French are boldest; of love embattled on another field, matched against social, financial, racial, or moral forces; and winning through marriage or through the noble victory of sacrifice: Pinero's "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," Dumas' "Camille"; of love compounded and confused by the arrogant claims of greed or vanity or pride: Tarkenton's "Monsieur Beaucaire," Bernstein's "The Thief," Wilder's "S. S. Tenacity," of love—as in Dreiser's "The Hand of the Potter"—repressed and distorted into hideous insane lust. It is the minor note in all other sorts of play, adding a smile in the happy ending, deepening or dimming the sunset glow of sorrow. It is invariably a reason for coveting power, a challenge to pride, a stimulus to the deepest forces in man, which surge in the quest of happiness through love.



MARY YOUNG gives a brilliant performance as Mrs. Westcourt in "Dancing Mothers," at the Mazine Elliott Theatre. The three-hundredth performance was played last Monday.

"Social Satire" "Backslapper," Amusing Comedy of Go-Getter at the Hudson Theatre

Another of the tribe of "yesmen"—a kind of a first cousin to "The Show-off"—is the central figure in "The Backslapper," Paul Dickey's and Mann Page's comedy holding forth at the Hudson Theatre. The authors' conception, on the wide commendable, gets lost up all kinds of blind alleys and it is a question as to whether, with the heavy coating of humor, it is worth while to dig through to the real meat of the matter.

"The Backslapper" presents two types and suggests you take your choice. First there is the backslapper himself, Bob Alden, "hale-fellow, well met," is the favorite of the younger set. Self-educated, self-made, he yet retains a completely democratic spirit, not ashamed to recall and talk about his "former" low rank. He has loads of friends.

Then there is John Trainor, more sedate and retiring as far as social life is concerned. His strong forte is his devotion to a business which has been left in his charge by the father of Beth Lang, the heroine of the play. Trainor finds himself ill at ease in young, frivolous company. He can't join in the singing. In the midst of a party, he finds it more to his liking to pore over business accounts. As an alternative to Bob Alden's abiding ambition to some day enter that Hall of Immortals, the United States Senate, Beth Lang chose Trainor who envisages the highest form of idealism in his slogan, "Loyalty to the Firm."

Beth Lang chooses Alden first, much to the liking of her younger brother, Douglas. Douglas is an employee of Bob Trainor and has fastened on him the title of "Old Treadmill." Alden's superficiality of character is soon revealed. Overflowing with a pleasing personality, there is no trace of a real backbone of essential honesty. His relations with his wife soon degenerate into a series of vulgar, cruel incidents. In the course of time, just as he faced the brink of a seat in the Senate, Alden's amours with the wife of one of Trainor's salesmen comes to light. Bob Trainor moves out of the picture as the curtain falls, leaving the suggestion that "loyalty to the firm" will march in where "the backslapper" failed.

Mary Fowler is the Beth Lang in a cast that is unusually competent. Harry C. Browne is the slapper of backs, and John Trainor is portrayed by Charles Townridge. About as good a piece of acting as any in the play is that of Malcolm Duncan as Dave Kennedy, the salesman.

"Taps"

Lionel Barrymore in
F. Beyerlein's Military
Drama at the Broadhurst

It is difficult to see just why Lionel Barrymore should have chosen to act the part of Sergeant Volkhardt in this revival of a twenty-year-old play, "Taps," at the Broadhurst, for it affords neither him nor Irene Fenwick an especially good opportunity for the display of talent, and it is melodramatically very old and creaky. Staged with quiet power and suggestiveness, the piece has moments of tension and strength, but on the whole carries no message nor pleasure.

The basis of the play is the love of a sergeant's daughter for a lieutenant, and his toying with the girl, despite the fact that her father had a record of thirty years of most faithful service. Loyalty to the company makes such an amour unpardonable, especially as the officer cannot wed the girl, for fear of what his noble family will think—and as the sergeant cannot shoot his daughter's ravisher, because he is a superior officer. The one suggestion of philosophic depth in the play is the old man's reflection that he has been a soldier so many years he seems to have lost his capacity to function as a father and a gentleman. The problem of the lieutenant, who would perhaps marry the girl if she were of his class, is developed in a style that seems oddly out of date. One continues wondering why the play was produced, and may conclude that perhaps the secret is that it is a war play, and like the season's greatest hit, has only one female character, for whom two soldiers fight. But that cannot explain why Lionel Barrymore should strap his flawless technique to work sterility into the semblance of life.

W. L.

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"Playing With Souls," Fowler and Tamara, at Moss' Colony

"Playing With Souls," pictured from the novel by Countess de Chambrun and described as a gripping drama of Parisian life, will be the chief screen attraction at B. S. Moss' Colony, beginning Sunday, Jacqueline Logan, Mary Astor, Clive Brook, Buster Collier and Josef Swickard are in the cast. "Playing With Souls" was directed by Ralph Ince.

The stage act will be Fowler and Tamara, dancers, who are held over for a second week. They will present a new act, "Tia Juana," assisted by Spanish singers, dancers and musicians. Spanish folk songs and dances will be introduced the coming week. The orchestra will play as the overture "Symphonies," arranged by Louis Katzman and directed by Dr. Edward Kilanyi.

Broadway Briefs

This Friday night, the performance of "Sooner and Later" and "A Legend of the Dance," at the Neighborhood Playhouse, will be given in honor of Mikhail Mordkin, who will bring a party of singers and dancers to the theatre. Sunday night will conclude the present bill.

Lillian Gish in "Romola," by George Eliot, at the Capitol Theatre, will be held over for a second week.

Maurice Swartz and the Yiddish Art Players will present H. Sakler's drama, "Yishur" (Thou Shalt Remember), this Friday night, Saturday and Sunday matinee and evening.

Anne Nichols, author and producer of "Abie's Irish Rose," has purchased and taken over "White Collars," the comedy by Edith Ellis, now playing at the Cort Theatre.

This Saturday afternoon, Elsie Janis will give a theatre party to Borrah Mineevitch's harmonica orchestra of P. S. No. 61 to see "Puzzles of 1925," at the Fulton Theatre. There are twenty-six musicians in the orchestra, twenty-four boys and two girls.

Palladium Amusement Park—above the heights of Fort Lee—opens for the season this Saturday night.

"Mercenary Mary"

Speed and Gaiety In
New Musical Show
at the Longacre

A great time was had by all, if you want the honest truth about "Mercenary Mary," the new musical comedy at the Longacre. Coming on the heels of "The Mikado" and "Princess Ida" you would think a mere trifle like this tossed off by a daring manager would fare rather ill, but you have another guess coming. The music of "Mercenary Mary" isn't much; the "book" is feeble, the jokes are hardly enough to throw you into a delirium of laughter. But oh, boy! the audience enjoyed every minute of it. And that goes for me, too.

It was a good nature, the speed, the gaiety of the thing as a whole, that gets you. Every character and every member of the chorus seemed to be having the time of his and her gay young life. The prettiest and the liveliest chorus in town. Likewise one of the least clad. They pranced and laughed and kicked all over the place, and then, just near the end, each one of the girls gave a specialty, each one good enough to be the whole works of many a musical comedy.

There's a story in it, but who cares about that? The plot—if one may call it that—is about a fellow and a girl who want to marry and who can't because the fellow hasn't enough money, and the girl's father says, "Show me that you can make good!" So he takes his \$10,000 and buys oil stock. And just before the curtain falls, it turns out to be worth millions of dollars, thereby proving the young man's worth as a clear-headed business man. Oh, yes, there's another plot, too. There's another bird who is a boob, but he has loads of money supplied by an uncle. His beautiful young wife is Mercenary Mary. For deep and mysterious reasons, they want to get a divorce, get their hooks on a lot of money, and remarry.

Louis Simon as Chris, the fat-head who wants to get rid of his wife for a while, is an excellent comedian. Winnie Badwin is beautiful and shapely as his wife. Allan Kearns is a handsome and convincing Jerry, and Sam Hearns makes the audience roar in his Grandpa part. There isn't a really good voice in the cast, but who cares? The much-catered-to Tired Business Man has something here to smooth the corrugations of his troubled brow.

W. M. F.

"A Bit o' Love," by John Galsworthy, Next

Actors' Theatre Play

The Actors' Theatre announces "A Bit o' Love," by John Galsworthy, as its next production. It will be presented as a special matinee attraction at the 48th Street Theatre in early May with a cast headed by O. P. Heggie. The play was produced in San Francisco several years ago for a few special performances by the Henry Miller company, at which time Mr. Heggie acted the role of the parson.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"THE POOR NUT," a comedy of college life by J. C. and Elliott Nugent, will open Monday night at Henry Miller's Theatre, presented by a new producer, Patterson McNutt. The cast is headed by Elliott Nugent, one of the authors.

TUESDAY

"THE GORILLA," a mystery farce, by Ralph Spence, will be presented by Donald Gallagher, at the Selwyn Theatre, Tuesday night. The production has been staged by Walter F. Scott and the cast includes Frank McCormack, Clifford Dempsey, Betty Weston, Robert Strange, Frederick Truesdell, Frank Beaton, Stephen Maley, Harry Southard, Joseph Guthrie, Harry Ward and George Spelvin.

THURSDAY

"ROSMERSHOLM," by Henrik Ibsen, will open Thursday night, at the 52nd Street Theatre—the second offering of The Stagers, with Margaret Wycherly playing the part of Rebecca West. Warren William will be the Rosmer. Others in the cast will be J. M. Kerrigan, Carl Anthony, Josephine Hull and Arthur Hughes. Edward Goodman directed the production. Cleon Throckmorton designed the sets and Fania Mindell the costumes.



WALLACE FORD plays the ambitious young chap in John Golden's production of "Pigs" at the Little Theatre.

Labor Backing Theater Venture

SACRAMENTO organized Labor has launched a theatrical venture which may prove a landmark of its sort. The project is backed by the local organization of 7,000 members, in forty-three craft unions. It is the purpose of this group to encourage the legitimate drama in the community. The following is quoted from Equity:

A semi-community theatre sponsored by organized Labor which will cost approximately \$250,000 and which is hoped will attract to Sacramento clean dramas and stock shows is the aim of the Argonaut Theatre, Inc., for which articles of incorporation were filed today with Frank C. Jordan, Secretary of State.

The new venture is headed by A. C. Sullivan, President of the Federated Trades Council, who will also act as president of the theatre company. The other officers and directors are Labor leaders and business men.

The site and the building will cost in the neighborhood of \$250,000, the amount for which the company was incorporated. The building will be fireproof, of concrete and steel, with a seating capacity of between 1,500 and 1,800, and will be constructed more for comfort than splendor.

"The Right of the Seigneur," by Thomas W. Broadhurst, will be known by the simpler name of "Flames." It opened Monday night and received a good reception. The cast includes Curtis Cooksey, Edith King, Isabel Lowe and Clarence Derwent. The play is due here in a week or so.



JO WALLACE plays a leading role in the Gleason-Taber comedy, "Is Zat So?" now in its third month at Chanin's 46th Street Theatre.

THEATRES



HELLS BELLS
4th Month
GEO. M. COHAN THEATRE
MATS. WED. & SAT. 5:30. EVS. 8:30.

LIFE, LOVE AND ADVENTURE!

MYRON C. PAGAN'S NEW MELODRAMA

"MISMATES!"

with CLARA JOEL

A THRILL A MINUTE!

TIMES SQUARE THEATRE
EVS. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

CAMEO NOW

BWAY & 42nd ST. | Noon to 11:30 p. m.

DOING BUSINESS WITHOUT
ADVISING
is like winking at a girl in the dark. You know what you are doing, but nobody else does. So that is why we are devoting this space to

Charley's Aunt

now at the Cameo, who begins tomorrow, Sunday, the twelfth week of her run on Broadway. Since "Charley's Aunt" came to town three months ago, many rivals have come, been discarded, and forgotten.

"ENOUGH TO MAKE A CAT LAUGH"
OTHER REEL ATTRACTIONS
FAMOUS CAMEO THEATRE
ORCHESTRAYIDDISH
ART
THEATRE27th STREET
& MADISON AVE.

MAURICE SWARTZ

Original Stage-Drama
"YISKUR"
(This Shall Remember)
(Not a Moving Picture)
FRIDAY, SATURDAY &
SUNDAY EVENING
SATURDAY & SUNDAY
MATINEE

B.S. MOSS' BWAY

Where the crowds all go.

ALL NEXT WEEK

Love, Mystery and Drama

"RAFFLES"

from the stories by
ERNEST WILLIAM HORNUNG
with House Peters, Miss Dupont,
Hedda Hopper and Walter Long.Toto and his company
in "REVUE A LA MINUTE"
Bobby Higgins—Evans & Flint
and other
B. F. KEITH ACTS

Bronx Amusements

BRONX OPERA HOUSE

149th ST., E. of 34 AVE.
POP. PRICES | MATS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT

The Season's Laughing Sensation

America's Newest Star

JOE LAURIE, JR.

In The Musical Comedy Hit That
Won The Heart Of New York Last
Spring, Summer And Fall.

"PLAIN JANE"

Broadway Cast, Chorus & Production

Week of May 1st
The Sensational Play—
"SIMON CALLED PETER"

Vaudeville Theaters

MOSS' BROADWAY

A new photoplay, entitled "Raffles," the Amateur Cracksmen, will be the screen attraction at B. S. Moss' Broadway, beginning Monday. The vaudeville will be headed by the clown Toto and his company in "Revue a la Minute"; Bobby Higgins, lately in "Wildflower"; Bobby Folsom; Bevan and Flint; Ethel Parker with Eugene Costello in "Bits of Personality"; Louise Drake and Company, and other acts. "Raffles," by Ernest William Hornung, is adapted from the famous stories. House Peters plays "Raffles." Other players include Miss Dupont, Hedda Hopper, Frederick Emmetson, Walter Long, Winter Hall and Kate Lester.

PALACE

Laurette Taylor in the second set of "Pierrot the Prodigal," with Galina Koperak, Clarence Derwent, Jack Thornton and Blair Neal. Armand Vasey with his Rita-Carlton Orchestra; Johnny Dooley and the "Tip-Top Revue," by Paul Gerard Smith; Harry Fox; Stella Mayhew; Fenton and Field; Wallace and Cappel, and Joe Fenton and Company.

HIPPODROME

Clifton Webb and Mary Hay with Dave Bernie's Club Circle Orchestra; Florence Mills with Will Vodrey's Orchestra; the Avon Comedy Four; Willie West and McGinty; Joe Mendel, the chimpanzee; Jack Rose; the Kikutas; "The Japanese Dancers"; "Crystal Fountains," with Perry the Frogman, and Hammer and Hammer.

DRAMA

"WILD BIRDS"

Dan Totheroll's Prize
Play from the West,
at the Cherry Lane

As Susan Claspell, Eugene O'Neill, David Belasco and George Jean Nathan comprised the committee that awarded Dan Totheroll's "Wild Birds" the prize in a California competition two years ago, we may take for granted the presence of considerable merit. The play is indeed very well constructed, with a number of clever scenes, and much action that rings true. In its basic elements, however, it suffers from the same faults that characterize the novels of Dickens, from whom—save for the unhappy ending—the plot could well have come. Sentimentality is too strongly evident, and coincidences too frequently employed. There is, for example, one George Marshall, who might have been named, who is the father of orphan Mazie. He strolls across the prairie just after Mazie and Adam have run away; again, he stands at the farmyard gate watching the murderous farmer, without saying a word to betray his presence, until Mazie has plenty of time to leap into the well. If the author had managed to work this figure into a grim symbol, his appearance and acts would have been justified. In several such ways the action is too neatly arranged; in many other respects the emotion is overplayed. Mazie and Adam are both so good; she so innocent, he so anxious to do the right thing; and the Slags are well, their very name means "scum." (This also is a touch of Dickens.)

Elements of the play remind us of the good old Alger books; one episode, when Adam is beaten to death, recalls the thrashing of Uncle Tom; not a consecutive ten minutes keeps hold of reality. Yet we are held, even as Dickens holds us, though not so much by the exuberance of feeling as by the restrained skill of the presentation. The camp-meeting tent, with its voices and shadows, and the young runaway's night-fire on the prairie is effective drama and quiet beauty. Sandy Roberts, the crazy neighbor, is added, suspiciously, just enough to be effective in egging on the children, and just sane enough to give information and help; but he is otherwise so well-conceived, with two splendid scene-endings, and he is so well acted by George Farren, that the part stands forth. All the acting, indeed, is competent; Mildred MacLeod, as Mazie, is an appealing little caged "wild bird," in innocence and beauty, and in her part, as Adam is made to cringe too much before the brutal farmer, while still suggesting honesty and courage, yet the actor rises to deep emotional sincerity in his closing scene. It is quite likely that the "Wild Birds" will soon find themselves caged on Broadway, instead of in out-of-the-way Cherry Lane.

J. T. S.



BERTRAM PEACOCK

gives a flawless performance in the seldom seen "Princess Ida," Gilbert and Sullivan's most tuneful operetta at the Shubert.

Wedekind's Frank
"Erdgeist" Coming

FRANZ WEDEKIND, one of the weirdest dramatic geniuses which Germany ever fathered, is to have another trial on this side of the ocean when one of his frankest plays will be acted in English for the first time. This is the famous "Erdgeist," which has been re-christened "The Loves of Lulu," and which will be presented at a Broadway theatre in a fortnight, with Margot Kelly, the young English actress, playing the leading feminine role. The last time New York saw a Wedekind play in English was the production of "The Awakening of Spring," at the 39th Street Theatre, nearly ten years ago. The play was put on for a series of special matinees and was promptly suppressed through the activities of certain moralists who contended that the play was unfit for presentation, although it can be purchased in published form at any book store and is known to thousands.

"Erdgeist" is likewise published under its original title of "Earth Spirit." The inevitable comparison will be made to "The Affairs of Anatol," inasmuch as the story of Wedekind's play is almost the reverse of "Anatol," in that it shows a young woman in various stages of her life having love affairs with six or seven men. Ulrich Haupt will stage it.

Broadway Briefs

Alfred Goodman is again conducting the orchestra at the Winter Garden, where Willie Howard is starring in "Sky High."

A testimonial dinner to Major S. L. Rothfels, "Roxy" of radio fame, will be given on May 9, at the Hotel Biltmore, by the Sojourners' Club, Chapter No. 18.

David Belasco is the latest recruit of the Jewish Theatrical Guild of America.

At the Morosco Theatre, Monday evening, "The Firebrand" will begin its twenty-eighth week.

"The Love Song," based upon the life and music of Offenbach, is now in its sixteenth week at the Century Theatre.

The Ninth Anniversary will be celebrated at the Bialto Theatre next week. Dr. Hugo Riesenfeld has arranged a program to fit in with the occasion.

"Charlie's Aunt" will start its twelfth week at Moss' Cameo Theatre, beginning Sunday. The music program includes "Excerpts from the Fortune Teller," by Victor Herbert, a cello solo by Edward Turk, and Organ Impressions by C. A. R. Parmentier.

A production department has been installed at the Colony Theatre, under the personal supervision of B. S. Moss.

MUSIC

Gatti-Casazza Announces
Novelties and Operas
for Next Season

General Manager Giulio Gatti-Casazza announced that during the coming season of 1925-26 he will present at the Metropolitan the following operas which have never been given in America:

"La Rosignol," by Igor Stravinsky; "La Vida Breve," by Manuel de Falla; "Le Cenerentola," a musical setting of Sem Benelli's famous play known here as "The Jew," by Umberto Giordano; "La Vestale," a classic opera, by Gaspare Spontini.

There will also be performed the ballet "Skyrappers," by the American composer, John Alden Carpenter. The following operas will also be added to the repertoire:

"L'Heure Espagnole," by Maurice Ravel; "Don Quixote," by Jules Massenet; "The Jewels of the Madonna," by Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari; "Gianni Schicchi," by Giacomo Puccini; "The Barber of Bagdad," by Peter Cornelius; "The Bartered Bride," by Friedrich Smetana.

Mr. Gatti also announced that he has commissioned an American composer to write an opera expressly for the Metropolitan, but that this work cannot be ready until the following season.

Music Notes

Janet Adamson, contralto, will make her debut appearance on Monday evening, at Aeolian Hall.

The University Choral Clubs of Rutgers College and the New Jersey College for Women will give their annual concert Friday evening, at Town Hall.

The Young Men's Symphony Orchestra completes its twenty-third season with a concert at Aeolian Hall, Sunday afternoon, May 3. Paul Henneberg, the musical director, will conduct. Ethel Best, soprano, will be the soloist.

The Artists' Choir, an organization of eighty mixed voices with Mme. Clara Novello Davies, founder and conductor, will give a benefit recital on Sunday evening, at the Manhattan Opera House.

Wayland Echols, tenor, will give a recital in Aeolian Hall, Wednesday evening.

Micha Elman gives his final concert of the season Sunday afternoon, at Carnegie Hall.

This Sunday evening, April 26, Dr. Dezzo Gal, popular Hungarian tenor-baritone, will conduct a concert at the People's House Auditorium. Dr. Gal will be supported in this music feat by Edna Odwade, famous soprano, and Bert Holland, pianist. Miss Lillian Toback will render a few classical dance numbers.

Dusolina Giannini will sing for the fifth time in Washington on Monday evening, and will sail on the Aquitania Wednesday to fill European engagements.

The Art Theatre of the Dance, at 116 West 65th street, Dorsha, Paul Hayes and the Dorsha Dancers, will present their fourth subscription bill this Saturday night.

Royal Dadmun, will give a song recital at Aeolian Hall, on Tuesday evening.

The Socialist Party at Work

(Continued from Page 7.)

to sign the accompanying petition to be sent to President Coolidge, urging him to remove the wrong against Eugene V. Debs in his being deprived of his citizenship. Send a stamp to the Labor Lyceum, 628 Walnut street, Reading, for a sample of the leaflet and the petition blank.

TEXAS

Richard Potts writes from Dallas that at a meeting of Socialists recently held in that city the old Local was reorganized. Texas was hard hit by the war mania and later by the Ku Klux Klan and it became impossible for Socialists to maintain their organizations. The Klan is rapidly dying and Comrade Potts writes that "there is no other movement in America that offers any hope to the exploited workers."

NEW JERSEY

Local Hudson County held a special nominating convention April 20, and selected candidates for the Senate, the Assembly, Sheriff and the Board of Freeholders. The Campaign Committee will act as a Committee on Vacancies in case any of the nominees decline.

About 200 signatures are still required for each of the five candidates for Commissioner of Jersey City. Every Jersey City comrade who has any signed petitions is urged to turn them in at once, so a check-up can be made. Blank petitions for securing additional signatures can be procured at headquarters, 256 Central avenue, any evening. The petitions must be filed in a day or two, and unless every Comrade does his bit we will have no candidates on the ballot.

NEW ENGLAND
DISTRICT

The news that Comrade Debs will be in Boston for May Day has struck fire in the hearts of the Comrades throughout the district. It is expected that every Local in the district will send a delegation to the banquet. Robert R. Davidson, Secretary of Local Amesbury, writes: "We are far back in the woods here, and it is quite an undertaking to get to Boston, but you can expect us, nevertheless. The party members in Amesbury want to meet Comrade Debs." The banquet in honor of Debs will be held at the American House, Friday, May 1, at 7 p. m. The committee advises all those planning to attend to send in their reservations at once, as the number that can be accepted is limited. Price is \$2.00 per plate. Cash or check should accompany all orders. Reservations should be made to the New England District Office, 64 Pemberton square, Room 206.

MANHATTAN

Great Abramovich Meeting
The entire lower floor of Carnegie Hall was sold out and the four balconies were filled to greet Rafael Abramovich at his final meeting as a representative of the Russian Social Democratic party last Sunday. He received a tremendous ovation and \$600 were contributed by the audience for the relief of Socialist political prisoners in Russia.

Besides Abramovich, who was the principal speaker, Abraham Cahan and B. Charney Viadeck of the Jewish Daily Forward, James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, N. Chaimin, Secretary of the Jewish Socialist Verband also spoke and David Einhorn, Yiddish poet, read one of his inspiring poems.

BRONX

Laughter, joy and merry-making are on the bill of fare for Saturday night, April 25, at 1187 Boston road. The Y. P. S. L., Circle 1, is on deck with an entertainment and dance. If you are old, come and feel young. If you are young, waste no time, hurry up and share the pleasure of the evening.

On Thursday, April 30, Dr. Anna Ingerman, well-known lecturer, will

deliver a lecture at 4215 Third avenue corner of Tremont. The subject will be "Socialism and the Social Revolution."

On May 9, the may festival and dance at the 7th A. D., 4215 Third avenue, will surprise comrades and friends. An elaborate program has been prepared for the occasion. The arrangement committee is determined to make this affair a memorable one. Bear in mind the date, May 9.

Bronxites, remember April 29, the Debs' dinner. Send your reservations to Comrade J. Gerber, 7 East 15th street. Your reservation will be placed on the Bronx list, and tables will be arranged accordingly. We will not see Debs for many months to come, and you cannot afford to be absent. Seats are going fast. Act at once.

The outdoor propaganda campaign in Bronx County begins on Monday, May 3. Six street corners have been selected in various parts of the County for an intensive membership drive. Comrade August Claessens has been engaged for this work and will deliver a series of eight lectures on each of the following corners: Every Monday evening at 148th Street and Willis Avenue; every Tuesday at Simpson Avenue and 163rd Street; every Wednesday at 180th Street and Daly Avenue; every Thursday at 165th Street and Prospect Avenue; every Friday at Wilkins Street and Intervale Avenue.

Platform committees have been selected and the new crop of Bronx orators and Rand School students will be broken in as chairmen at these meetings. Attention Bronxites! Cut this notice out and paste it in your hat. Watch us grow. Your help is wanted!

May Day will be celebrated in Bronx County at the McKinley Square Garden with a concert and several speakers. An unusually good program is provided. The musical talent includes Sol Perlmutter, a brilliant young violinist and Florence Perlmutter at the piano; a singer and a well-known pianist. The speakers are Professor Galatsky, Samuel A. De Witt, Samuel Orr and August Claessens. The celebration will be held under the joint auspices of the Socialist Party branches of Local Bronx, the Jewish Socialist Verband and the Y. P. S. L. All Bronx Socialists and sympathizers are urged to attend this gala affair on Friday evening, May 1. Admission is 25 cents. Concert begins at 8:30 sharp. Hall near McKinley Square, 169th Street and Boston Road.

BROOKLYN

This Friday evening, April 24, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street August Claessens will conclude his series of lectures on "Sex and Society" with the topic "Are Men and Women Equal Mentally?"

Monday evening, April 27, Morris Paris will continue his series of lectures on religion, speaking on "Protestantism." The public is cordially invited. Admission is free.

A big May Day rally and concert will be held by the Socialist Party and trade unions on May Day in the main auditorium of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

The monthly entertainment and dance of the Brownsville Socialists will be held on Sunday evening, May 3. Watch for further particulars.

William Wildman Oldfield, of the British Labor party, former Councilor at Barrow-in-Furness on the Labor ticket, will speak on "The Rise and Progress of the British Labor Party" at the meeting of the 5th A. D. on Sunday night, April 26, at 14 Howard avenue.

Samuel H. Friedman will also speak on "Labor Political Action in the Thirties," in his series on the "History of Labor Unionism in the United States."

Is Bolshevism Socialism?

(Continued from Page 6.)

that the Bolsheviks have, so to speak, brought about a Socialist experiment. This error is being utilized by the enemies of Socialism. If we ourselves are of the opinion that a Socialist experiment has taken place in Russia, then the enemies of Socialism have a right to say that Socialism in general is an impossible thing and the proof is: The Russian experiment has yielded only negative results: or, Socialism is terror, dis-

integration, destruction and decay. It pays the adversaries of Socialism to keep alive the legend of a Socialist experiment in Russia. We, however, must repudiate this legend, annihilate it, because in reality there is not an inkling of a Socialist experiment in Russia. There is only an attempt to retain this usurped power.

The Bolsheviks have shown that it is possible to gain and keep power over a people that is ignorant, disorganized and exhausted by wars. The people, on the other hand, will manifest that the despotism that has been established around it will break down and vanish. But this has been demonstrated by history hundreds of times. Hence, even this experiment of usurping power and instituting a despotism is not new.

The art of manipulating power and enslaving peoples was extensively developed a long time before the rise of the Bolsheviks, so that even here no new word was uttered by them.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"Raffles," by Ernest William Hornung, with House Peters, Hedda Hopper, Frederick Emmetson and Walter Long.

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

CAPITOL—"George Elliot's 'Romola,'" with Lillian Gish.

COLONY—"Playing With Souls," with Jacqueline Logan, Olive Brook and Mary Astor.

RIALTO—"The Crowded Hour," with Bebe Daniels, from the Selwyn-Pollock play.

RIVOLI—"Gloria Swanson in 'Madame Sans Gêne.'"



CYRIL MAUDE

is back on Broadway in "Aren't We All," Frederick Lonsdale's delightful comedy at the Globe Theatre.

THE NEW LEADER

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Editor JAMES ONEAL
Assistant Editor EDWARD LEVINSON
Manager U. SOLOMON

Contributing Editors:

Eugene V. Debs Morris Hillquit
Victor L. Berger Algernon Lee
Abraham Cahan Norman Thomas
Harry W. Laidler Lena Morrow Lewis
Joseph E. Cohen Wm. M. Feigenbaum
Clement Wood G. A. Hoehn
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Saturday, April 25, 1925

DOLLARIZING THE WORLD

"GREAT U. S. Loans are Dollarizing Trade of Europe." Thus reads the headline reporting increasing American financial domination of European industries. The details are furnished in a bulletin of the Department of Commerce reporting the export of American capital for foreign investment abroad. It is estimated that this foreign investment will reach a total of eleven billion dollars by the end of the year. Moreover, while American investments abroad are increasing, those in the United States are decreasing.

What this means is that the building of the economic structure of capitalism is nearly completed at home and our great masters of finance and capital are turning to the same job abroad. Since the dawn of the twentieth century scattered industries have been drifting into the great combinations. Old plants are scrapped and modern ones are used. This process of rooting out the survivors of the competitive era and building the mammoth industry is far advanced in many fields. The more efficient and more productive trust production heaps up more surplus capital while the investment field at home narrows. Naturally, our benevolent oligarchs look for other worlds to conquer.

European industry now has their attention. There are those who say that "we" wanted nothing out of the war. Not at all. "We" simply expect to gather in the property of the world and to make the masses of Europe pay economic tribute to the ruling classes of the United States. When Europe has been annexed Asia may look forward to the same blessing.

Moreover, with these dollars invested abroad we may be sure that American foreign policy will be shaped to protect them while the army and navy will inevitably be employed as a police force of this overseas expansion of American capitalism. Shall the future be one of world capitalism under American leadership or a Socialist commonwealth? It must be one or the other.

COOLIDGE DULNESS

DURING the campaign of 1920, one weekly journal, commenting upon some of the speeches of Warren G. Harding and amazed at their lack of sense, logic or consistent ideas, observed that the man could not think. Perhaps President Coolidge does not want to or is incapable of departing from the Harding standard.

In all sincerity we wonder what he meant by a number of sentences included in his address last Monday. We can understand the feeble reiteration of the opinion that there should not be any "intrusion of the Government through legislation into business." We can also understand the variations he offered on this theme.

But when he drifts into abstraction and observes that it "is for the people to adopt a correct course of action, to provide the proper standards of conduct by their own motion," we begin to feel groggy. Then we are informed that we can secure the ideal "by adopting a thorough system of individual self-government," and if we do not want government "imposed from without, we must ourselves impose it from within." By this time we are in a stupor and wonder if the Northampton prodigy does not share our bliss.

Really, it must be a unique experience to know not what to say, to pretend that we are saying something important, and to have newspapers assume that it is anything more than solemn dullness. And the Coolidge vote was nearly sixteen millions!

DEMAGOGY

SPEECHES of Democrats high in the councils of the party devoted to the memory of Thomas Jefferson all stressed the necessity of returning to his views. Considering that Jefferson was associated with Madison in formulating a political creed that evolved into the State secession doctrine which in turn brought civil war, are we to understand that Democrats would return to this view? Jefferson wanted no cities with a factory population, he wanted society to rest almost exclusively on agriculture and small farmers. Would modern Democrats have us go back to the fundamentals of Jeffersonian Democracy?

Not at all. They either do not know what they are talking about or they do. If the first, then they should take an elementary course in political and party history. If the latter, then they urge what they know to be impossible and convict themselves of demagoguery.

But Democrats do not have a monopoly of this ignorance or deception. Republicans indulge in it on every return of the anniversary of the birth of Lincoln. The early Republicans of the Lincoln era had to wage a bitter struggle for civil rights against the partisans of slave owners in the northern states, yet their modern successors, in and out of office, connive at the suppression of civil rights. Recently the Washington bureaucrats placed a gag in the mouth of Karolyi which they received from Horthy. In mining and other industrial centers they display the same autocratic fears of Labor organization that the agents of King Cotton displayed against their ancestors.

These professionals who worship at the shrines of Jefferson and Lincoln know little of history and it is because so many know no more than they do that they can market platitudes as wisdom and hackneyed phrases as the last thing in political philosophy.

CAPITALISM AND WAGES

RETAINERS and apologists of modern capitalism contend that in the past one hundred years the standard of material comfort for the working class has witnessed a marked improvement. This is only partly true. In many industries there have been marked advances, but these have been obtained not because of any inherent tendency of capitalism to improve conditions but because the workers

have organized and won better standards. Every such conquest of the workers has been obtained over the strenuous opposition of the employing class. But even in the case of these advances the material conquests have not kept pace with the enormous gains of the capitalist class. What is more, there are still survivals of working class standards that are little above those that prevailed in the early days of capitalism. Indeed, there are industries where the income of the workers is below a decent standard of living.

A recent study made by the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in the cotton industry reports some gains in hours and wages, and yet these advances still leave the workers with a wage insufficient to live on. In no State are wages of cotton workers as high as \$25 a week, while in Alabama and South Carolina wages are as low as \$11 and \$13 a week. These figures are reported by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The

Estimates of the continental population of the United States made by the National Bureau of Economic Research places it at 114,311,000 on January 1 of this year. The increase from immigration is lower by 100,000 than the average annual gain of the past five years. The estimate of the total population exceeds by 1,000,000 the estimate made by the United States last week, but the reason for the discrepancy between the two estimates is not stated. The filling up of the continent, clearing the wilderness, and extending civilization to the Pacific is an epic of American history. It has had a profound influence in shaping American psychology and retarding the development of the trade unions and the Socialist movement. However, escape from the wage system is not the easy matter that it was down to the dawn of the twentieth century, while class lines have certainly grown sharper in the last two decades. Our masters of soap, steel, coal, railroads and other industries themselves have been stupid enough to act in accord with a class psychology since 1917 and the expansion of capitalism to every niche of the United States will in the end promote class consciousness and a more effective and enlightened Labor movement.

Portugal has been afflicted with militarist and political cliques ever since Manuel was deposed and the republic was proclaimed. The recent revolt appears to have been well planned; but rumors of it having reached the Government, the mutineers were cornered by loyal troops who got the upper hand. If the attempt at revolution had succeeded it would have simply installed some militarists in power and it is likely that its organizers had in mind a regime like that in Spain. The censorship has been rigidly enforced and it may be weeks before we know some of the more important aspects of the revolt. Naturally, Communists have been credited with participation in the movement, but as nothing reliable on this score has been reported it is probable that correspondents have jumped to conclusions. Of course, Moscow is equal to working in temporary alliance with reactionaries as some German history shows, but whether any such understanding existed in Portugal is something that cannot be decided from the information at hand.

The suit of the United States Government for the recovery of a few million dollars from the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and the counter suit filed by the company for nine millions alleged to be due it should furnish interesting reading. Mr. Charles M. Schwab, as one of the "dollar-a-year men" serving the Government during the war, is the chief figure in this litigation. He is charged with

VIGNETTES of "CIVILIZATION"

By CORALIE HOWARD HAMAN

1.—IMPORTANCE

A man strides slow amid the press
Of lowly folk. His paunch is great;
His eyes are as a fish's, cold;
His face is hard and bold.
He moves along in massive state,
As though he said, "You stop and wait;
Make way for me. I'm Some One." Yes!

2.—ADS

"Do your eyes hurt? You cannot see?
Your teeth are bad? You cannot chew?
You're never sure of what to do?
For anything that's wrong with you,
Just come to me. I'll fix you."
Yes, that's true!
"Buy from us, do!
And you shall have—
A pianola, given FREE!
A box of Cure-All, Our Own Salve,
A Buddha, with a pound of tea."

3.—COLOR

A big man, in blue overalls,
Stands on a cart, against blue sky,
Where fleecy whitest clouds float by—
A strong black man, shoveling black coal;
The heavy, grievous load he hauls!
But could we see within his soul,
His secret heart lay bare,
What a surprise for us, bewildered there!
"God has made some mistake, we find.
Or have we now gone color-blind?"
If, as I say, we saw into his soul—
Suppose now, friends, we try—
Would see the man as God sees, as a whole:
Doubtless he were as white as you or I!

lowest wages are found in the South, but even in Massachusetts the average hovers around \$20 a week.

This data confirm what we have said above. Modern capitalism is not entitled to any credit for improvement in conditions. Where the working class have organized and fought for higher standards they have obtained them. Where the working class have not organized, as in the southern states, conditions remain as bad and in some cases may be even worse than they were in the early days of the capitalist system.

All of which indicates that the Socialist point of view is sound. What the working class get out of the capitalist system they must fight for inch by inch and day by day and final emancipation from the domination of a ruling class will eventually crown their work and sacrifices.

We understand that the Woozies held a solemn mass meeting to try Rafael Abramowich as a "counter-revolutionary." The prosecution, the defense, the witnesses and the jury were all Woozies. We had hoped for a hung jury but the verdict was one of guilty. Abramowich is sentenced to read every "thesis" that comes from Moscow, but considering that the Constitution in the United States bars "cruel and unusual punishments" we hope that he will be spared this fate.

Mr. Walter Mockler writes in the Commercial that "America is the ideal capitalist nation." Should this come to the notice of the unemployed who are warming park benches they may start a guessing contest to determine who put the mock in Mockler.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Women's Division for War Relief will soon award a scholarship established at the University of Pennsylvania. "How to Get Wealth Without Producing It" would be an excellent theme.

We understand that some big capitalist organizations are making a drive to wipe out credit crooks. We presume that the drivers do not like competition in their particular field.

Now comes the report that New York City is the world's greatest fur center. This is rather belated news, considering that it is an old story that Wall Street has skinned more hides than any other capitalist tannery in the world.

THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

French cabinets have had a precarious existence since the dissolution of the "sacred union" and although Painlevé has succeeded in organizing another one the vote he received on Tuesday, 304 against 218, shows that he holds power by a majority that will likely fade away in the next few months. The Clericals and Royalists spewed their venom upon Caillaux whom they succeeded in exiling during the war by one of those "frame-ups" that have been too common in France. The fact that he has been able to come back is evidence that the reactionary war maniacs have lost much of their influence.

Although it was reported last week that a few Socialists might enter the Ministry and it was certain that they were approached, Painlevé did not select any. Leon Blum, Socialist leader in the Chamber, declared on Tuesday that while the Socialists could not accept some parts of the Government's program they would give their support because the attacks aimed at Caillaux show that the Government's efforts at reconciliation were fruitless. Although the tendency of the Government program is away from that of the Herriot Cabinet it compromises on the matter of relations with the Vatican and Alsace-Lorraine, relations with the Vatican to be maintained by a "qualified representative." The whole policy is vague and is due to the unstable balance of parties in the Chamber.

Sen. Wheeler Faces His Enemies

The star witness against Wheeler, George B. Hayes, a New York lawyer, was relied upon to establish definite relations between Wheeler and the Department of the Interior in support of certain oil interests. Mr. E. S. Booth, former Solicitor of the Department, testified that his talks with Hayes had nothing to do with negotiations ascribed to Senator Wheeler. Moreover, a ruling of Judge Dietrich ordered the prosecution to place before the court certain letters that passed between Hayes and Booth which strongly supports the latter's testimony. The Government had withheld these letters when Hayes was on the stand. Testimony by Thomas Scott, a Montana newspaper man, also went to show that Senator Wheeler consented to represent the oil interests only with the understanding that his work was to be confined to the State courts. Meantime, 48 prominent men and women have organized a "Wheeler Defense Committee" to insure that Senator Wheeler will lack no funds for his defense "arising from the double indictment in court 2,500 miles apart on charges originally inspired by the desire to halt Senator

THE Chatter-Box

Prize Poetry Contest

At last we have come to the long-sought-for decision as to the awards for the first quarter of the year 2 of ye Chatter-Box! First Prize of \$15 awarded to Clement Wood for his poem, "Election," that appeared in the issue of March 14.

Second Prize of \$10, awarded to M. Julian Funt for his "Sonnet of Revolt," appearing in the issue of Dec. 13, 1924.

Special, most high and honorable mention is given to V. Karapetoff for his "Lighthouse Ode"; to Leone, for her "Sorrow's End"; to Henry Harrison, for his "Work Song," and to Goody, for his "Boatyard" poem.

Our next poetry contest ends July 1, 1925. The poetry prize of \$25 still holds good. We hope our bank balance will, by then.

The winners will please send us stamped self-addressed envelopes for checks which await them here. We hate to address envelopes, and above all, buy stamps. Bally bother, don't you know.

Poets of America

So that all our readers and contribs may know the whole truth about our granting first prize to Clement Wood, let us say that the award was made against our own vicious prejudices. The outstanding excellence of his poem forced us to down outraged feelings, which even now obsess us, after reading the scant page of mention and quotation he gives to our immortal lyrics. We poured through 300 odd pages devoted to the lesser minstrels of American song, by Clement Wood in his new book, "Poets of America," published by E. P. Dutton & Co., and only after he had most fascinatingly elaborated on Poe, Sidney Lanier, Whitman, Sandburg, Massfield, Elinor Wylie, Vachel Lindsay, Ed. Robinson and Frost, he found time to give us a sort of honorable mention. We fumed, stewed, and bit our Mandarin-like finger nails with poetic frenzy, and swore never to publish any of Wood's poetry so long as we conducted the Chatter-Box. And as for awarding prizes—he stood as much chance with us as the proverbial snowball, etc. But poetry is holier than thou—with us at least—so we forgot ourself and made an impartial award. Here we throw the chest forward with self-congratulation on our own sense of fair play.

But, aside from levity, let us say here that "Poets of America" is a book worth preserving by any student or lover of song. Clem can write criticism for us. For while we cannot agree with his summing up of such poets as Whitman, whom he eulogizes, or Bodenheim, whom he lacerates, yet we like his positivism, his balance of judgment at all times, over and above the rest of the self-quoting critical experts on poetry everywhere. Clem shows especially fine judgment in leaving himself and his work out of the book entirely. His own poetry is better than a great deal of the verse he makes so much of in others. It is a point he puts over splendidly against Louis Untermeyer's "Anthology of American Poetry," and that of the Munroe family of Chicago.

There are chapters of criticism and exposition that just sing to you with a prose of polyrhythmic poetry. There are judgments of men and their work that ring like gold with their truth.

If we say much more in the same strain about Clem's book, everybody will say we're logrolling it, so that the author will reconsider his first evaluation of our work and put in a special chapter on us in the succeeding editions. So we'll just let you go ahead, buy the book and review it for yourselves.

Epitaphs

For a Columnist

In life he ran a daily column,
That others might forget the solemn
Grind. In death a daily column
Runs him. He is far from solemn.

For a Magician

To extricate one's self from cuffs or chains
Is not so arduous if one takes pains.
But freeing one's self from the giant sod
Is quite a feat for even God.

For a Street Lamp-Lighter

He used to light the lamps at night,
And make the streets a little bright.
We wonder if he lights the lamps
To brighten Hell's nocturnal camps!

Henry Harrison.

To a Flat-Flower

I can only water you,
That is all that I can do.
Perhaps—it may not all seem right
That you must learn to grow by night,
For you will sleep the hours away
In the cool darkness of the day,
Forget the sun of golden light,
And grow beneath Electric light.

Leah Kaufman.

S. A. DE WITT.

Wheeler's investigation of corruption in the Department of Justice, George Lockwood, formerly Secretary of the Republican National Committee, and Blair Conn whom he sent to Montana to "get something" on Wheeler, are yet to appear at the trial. The testimony and cross-examination of this precious pair will be especially interesting.