

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One Year.....\$2.00
Six Months.....\$1.25
Three Months.....\$.75

The New Leader

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

Vol. II, No. 23.

SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1925

19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York,
New York, under act of March 3, 1879.
Entered as Second Class Matter, January

Price 5 Cents

In Darkest America—Two Jungles

WEST VIRGINIA

Miners Are Target For Blow At All Organized Labor

By NORMAN THOMAS

IN West Virginia a grim conflict is being waged of which the rest of the country hears only an occasional echo. Yet on the results of that conflict may hang two issues of enormous importance to us all. First, if the union is defeated, and its morale is broken, the United Mine Workers generally will be put on the defensive. More and more will the non-union mines be able to handle the demand for soft coal. Such a blow to the United Mine Workers would affect the whole Labor movement. Second, if the present methods of the operators in fighting the strike are sustained, a way will have been found whereby aggressive employers can make illegal even peaceful methods of organizing workers.

Rank and File In Gallant Fight

The first of these points requires no special explanation. One can only record the fact that the rank-and-file unionists are making a gallant struggle for the preservation of collective bargaining and the union scale at a time when economic conditions are adverse. Even so, the operators are so afraid of them that they have unscrupulously employed all the usual tactics of mine guards, machine-guns and searchlights. They have also brought into play the injunction power of the courts. That is where the second vital issue in this struggle comes in.

It will be remembered that some years ago in the famous Hitchman case the Federal Supreme Court by a majority decision seemed to hold that wherever miners had signed contracts promising not to join the union, the attempt to organize them could be enjoined and organizers who persisted in trying to unionize the men could be imprisoned for disobeying the injunction. Of course, no man signs a contract promising not to join the union except under duress of unemployment or hunger. Such agreements are well called "yellow dog" contracts.

Peaceful Picketing Is Injoined

When this year's attempt to organize non-union mines was begun, lawyers for the miners thought that despite the Hitchman decision there were legal ways of organizing non-union men "by peaceful persuasion" and by the use of pickets, so long as the pickets abstained from all violence. At first Judge Baker seemed to sustain this position and great was the rejoicing in union circles. Later, however, when the matter was put before him in a somewhat different way and certain technical points had been met by the operators, Judge Baker held that under the Hitchman case and other precedents he must enjoin even peaceful picketing. It is this issue which now must be fought out in the Supreme Court and it is rumored that Charles Evans Hughes will appear for the union. It is quite obvious that if the present injunctions issued on application of the operators are sustained it will be possible by imposing "yellow dog" contracts and otherwise to make every effective form of organizing the workers illegal. The Hitchman case may then come to rank with the Dred Scott Decision and like it it may prove a prelude to a more violent means of struggling for freedom.

Meanwhile, the time of union leaders is tied up in costly legal proceedings. The jails in all the strike districts are crowded with miners. Even their wives are under injunction. In Fairmount the operators went so far as to bring about the arrest of the attorney for the miners and McAlister Coleman, a New York newspaperman, on false charges of picketing. Their cases come before the Grand Jury the first week in June. The story of this momentous struggle will be continued with the development of events.

U. S. GUNS KEEP SHANGHAI WORKERS IN SLAVERY

CHINA again is the scene of disorders which reveal the growing pains of modern industrial capitalism. For a week thousands of workers in Shanghai have been on strike and sixteen have been killed. Machine guns have been used to clear the streets. United States Marines have landed and have joined forces of other Powers to "maintain order." Moscow is credited by inspired correspondents with being responsible for the demonstrations by strikers and students. If Russian "agitators," we are assured, were suppressed the Chinese workers would be happy with their masters.

The fact is that, despite the domination of China by the imperialist Powers who have followed policies intended to keep China weak so that she may be easily plundered, modern industry has made some strides in the past decade. Masses of former journeymen of the guild organizations have been transformed into wage workers. The countryside has been affected and peasants have also been drawn into the big textile mills.

China is still an agricultural nation on the road to modern capitalism. But its capitalism is an alien one. Japanese, British and French investments are building most of the modern industry and cheap labor is the lure of the foreign exploiters. Wages range from twenty cents to one dollar a day. Women and children are cheaper than slave labor and fortunes are being made out of the terrible exploitation of the Chinese workers.

But alien capitalism cannot build modern industry without creating a modern working class, and the masters cannot have a working class without it organizing to raise itself to the status of human beings. The workers strike against their alien masters, and they are joined by students who resent the insolent domination of the upstarts of Europe who have so ruled China as to keep her weak

and the prey of numerous military bandits, some of them financed by foreign interests.

Added to these complications is the extra-territorial power established by the Powers. Certain large cities have sections where the police, civic officials and judges are European and where British, French or Japanese law has superseded Chinese law. The imperialists have thrust their own institutions into the heart of China and their administration is maintained on the ground that China is too weak and disorganized to "maintain order."

That China is weak and disorganized is obvious, but the Powers have not helped her to be strong. They do not want a strong China, for the very good reason that a strong China would get rid of the alien upstarts and take charge of her own affairs. China cannot determine her own tariff laws. These laws are determined by a coalition of the Powers and the rates are so arranged that they tend to make China a colonial dependent of her exploiters.

With this background of history there is no need of charging this strike of Chinese workers and demonstrations of students to Moscow. The latter may have her agents on the ground, but without them Chinese workers and students would strike and demonstrate. The new generation of young men and women in China have demonstrated before and will demonstrate again against the shameful rule of China by Western capitalists and imperialism. The former peasants and handicraftsmen, now wage workers caught in the system of an alien capitalism, will organize and strike to make their capitalist masters disgorge some of the surplus values which they extort from wage workers.

This is the story of what is happening in China and "free Americans" have the knowledge that the United States participates in the shameful policy of sending forces to break the spirit of the Chinese workers and to suppress the student demonstrations.

As for us, our sympathies go out to the Chinese masses. They belong to us and we to them. They are a part of the world-wide Labor movement that will eventually conquer modern capitalism whether it is alien or native-born.

By JAMES H. MAURER

President, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor

WE hear a great deal about dictatorship—how Russia, Italy, Spain, etc., are governed by dictators and that, in these countries, democracy does not exist. Of course, we know that the dictators are usually figureheads—something the people can see—but, officially, the invisible government, above them, is the real dictator. Pennsylvania, a little different from European countries, is also governed by dictators, not exactly as in Europe, by one dictator, but by five, who receive their instructions from an invisible government.

In the lower House of the Legislature there are 208 members; about one-half of them vote as the dictator who controls them tells them to vote and the dictator gets his instructions from the invisible government which is composed of the Manufacturers' Association, railroad and coal interests, Chamber of Commerce, and other organizations of Capital.

The Five Dictators

Many of the other half of the legislators, not directly under the control of the invisible government, are often influenced by it. Only one of the five dictators is a member of the Legislature and he is the political boss of one wing of the Republican party of Allegheny County. Another, a millionaire, is the political boss of the other Allegheny County wing. The third dictator, and more powerful than the two to whom I have already referred, holds down a job in the State Senate, besides being King Kleagle of the State Republican machine. The fourth is a Congressman of Philadelphia and Grand Gossamer of the Philadelphia machine. The last, but not least, is the fifth dictator, the Imperial Gizzard of the Manufacturers' Association.

These five men picked the Speaker of the House and carefully filled most of the committees, besides. Most everything that took place, or failed to take place during the legislative session of 1925, these five men and the financial and industrial interests they serve were responsible for. No imperialist ever ruled over his Government with greater absolutism than did the five dictators, above mentioned, rule over the Pennsylvania Legislature during the session just closed. In Pennsylvania, therefore, like the governments of Europe where dictators rule, Democracy does not exist and all that is left of representative government is the form.

An Inadequate Compensation Law

Everybody knows, even "hard-boiled" employers, that the provisions of the present Workmen's Compensation Law are inadequate; that \$12 a week, now, goes no further toward the support of an injured worker and his family than what \$6 did when the law was passed, and that twenty-six other States pay more than Pennsylvania. Only three States pay less than Pennsylvania. The waiting period in thirty-six States is seven days. In Pennsylvania, it is ten days. Ever since 1919, organized Labor has tried to have the law amended and has failed. This year we introduced the same bill that came so near passing two years ago. The bill, to say the least, was a very modest one. It provided that the maximum rate of compensation be raised from \$12 to \$15 a week, and the minimum from \$6 to \$7 a week, and the waiting-period to be reduced from ten to seven days. If incapacity should extend beyond a period of four weeks, compensation should begin the day of the injury. The maximum rate for widows to be increased from \$8 to \$10 a week, and orphans also were to receive a slight increase.

Our difficulty was to find some one to introduce the bill. Of course, there were a few members of organized Labor in both Houses. You may wonder why our bill was not (Continued on Page 11)

3,000 AT CLEVELAND CONVENTION

By G. R. KIRKPATRICK

IN spite of capitalist cunning and nature's special favor serving plutocracy's purpose, the first Regional Convention—Demonstration was a triumph.

Three thousand people, present in the magnificent city Auditorium, and many times ten thousand in five states served by the crowning achievement of modern times the radio-broadcasting device, were delighted, stirred to new vision and high resolution for the revolution, under the spell of the fiery message delivered by Eugene V. Debs. The enthusiasm in the Auditorium was inspiring; and messages came into Cleveland, Monday, from four states, rejoicing: "We heard Debs! Yes, we heard him! Splendid!"

Nature served plutocracy with the first fine warm day in more than five weeks—May 31. Plutocracy confessed its alarm at the prospect of a vast audience in the Auditorium under Debs' electric influence, and planned to play with marked cards against the Socialist Demonstration, by teasing the people away.

Here are the facts: The Press was silent till Debs arrived, but actually played up a monster circus for May 31, alluringly boasting and boasting it thus: "A show hauled into the city in a four-section train a mile and a half long, composed of 150 huge, special cars; a show with 350 trained horses; fine herds of performing elephants, fine circus rings, eight stages, 800 performers in the circus rings; a show with more than 1,000 animals and over 1,500 employees."

A special show was also cunningly staged by the city at the "grand Zoo opening, where more than 100 new animals were shown." One Cleveland paper boasted, June 1: "This new Zoo exhibition, May 31, drew 100,000 visitors." Another loaded card was an all-day wild-and-woolly automobile race—boosted as "absolutely free—with splendid prizes." This drew over 70,000 people; and a special baseball game drew nearly 50,000 people, so the Cleveland papers said. The railways—for the first time in many years—offered round-trip excursion tickets for Chicago, for only

Radio Carries Debs' Message Through Neighboring States

\$5.00; and lake excursions were thrown at the people, \$2.00 to-and-fro from both Buffalo and Detroit. The railways, the steamers and the inviting highways for the automobiles—first fine day in five weeks—teased tens of thousands from Cleveland. "The heaviest unemployment Cleveland has known in years kept thousands away" was heard on all sides. Nature conspired with plutocracy's loaded dice against us—but the masters lost the battle.

Victory By Radio

The Socialists won—by radio. By broadcasting, a multitude was added to the very fine audience in the Auditorium. Debs had his greatest audience in fifty years. Sunday night he slept perfectly for eight hours, and Monday morning he is ruddy with health, light of step, and full of fight. In his thrilling, powerful speech, he threw the hooks into Chief Justice Taft. The Plain Dealer reproduced this portion of Debs' speech, in a lengthy writeup. If Taft had been present, the fat on him would have caught fire.

Over 400 copies of "Debs in Prison," a new book, were sold in the Auditorium; in the Convention, and Demonstration, \$7,855 was given in cash and pledges for subscriptions for the American Appeal. Assuming a quota of 10,000 subscriptions to be secured in the Fourth Organization District, it is manifest that the comrades were certainly inspired to a magnificent exhibition of zeal and determination to have a powerful propaganda paper for the national fight. The Convention voted overwhelmingly to recommend that only the American Appeal subscription be sold at all regional mass meetings.

The Convention was called to order at 10 a. m., Saturday, by Eugene V. Debs, followed by an address of welcome by John Willert of Cleveland. Lilith Wilson was made secretary. The calling of the roll showed 150 delegates from five states. This was followed with a spirited address by Comrade Debs on the purpose and significance of the convention. The four main

themes for attention were announced, propaganda, organization, the American Appeal and Finance. Discussion from the floor contributed much data on the local conditions of the movement and its problems, methods, and outlook for party building. An Agenda Committee was appointed—then adjournment from 12 to 1:30. After a short memorial tribute by Debs to our late Comrade, Marguerite Prevry, the Agenda Committee reported.

Vivid in the minds of the delegates and in discussion made clear as the judgment and findings of the Convention were: First, that the reconstruction organization work must be intensive, direct and personal solicitation; that every delegate pledge himself—as he did—to go his limit in a cash investment in American Appeal sub-cards, reinvesting the same money again and again, promptly on selling the cards; that, following the regional conventions, Comrade Debs, as his health permits, be routed for lectures on an American Appeal subscription basis, and that, as soon as practicable, distinguished comrades from abroad be toured in the same way; that the country be sub-divided with district quota allotments made for the systematic promotion of the Appeal; that State and local organizations co-operate materially with the National Office in building up the Organization Maintenance Fund; that the National Office prepare a reading-and-study course in Sociology and Socialism, with bibliographies, for use by individuals and locals desiring to make use of them.

The Convention justified itself. There was great renewal of courage and clearing of the realization of the present situation, its problems and opportunities, requiring each and all of us to take up the work of reconstruction, as never before. Adjournment was set for five o'clock, but the busy and earnest delegates hung on till six o'clock.

The banquet given in honor of Comrade Debs at the Winton Hotel was a pronounced success. Two hundred guests were present. Com-

rade Kirkpatrick, as toastmaster, introduced Mrs. Anna Van Easen, of Pittsburgh, who captured the audience with two vocal solos; and Miss Sach, of Chicago, who delighted the audience with a piano solo. A later musical number was by Comrade Charles Schreiber, of Cleveland, who charmed the banqueters with a vocal solo. John W. Slayton; Edmund Vance Cook, the poet; Mrs. Lilith Wilson and Master George Gimplin, each made brief and stirring addresses. Birch Wilson led the religious exercises of the occasion by securing \$550 in cash and \$200 in pledges.

The programs closed with a powerful address by the guest of honor, Comrade Debs.

Sunday forenoon, the Ohio delegates held a profitable convention, a part of its work being the nomination of candidates for State Secretary. Comrade John Willert, of Cleveland, and August Panschar, of Dayton, were nominated. The election will be by referendum at once.

The Cleveland events were an inspiration to the five states represented. Cleveland has captured Leo Harkins for city organizer, who is now on the job. The Cleveland comrades will have, also, the services of District Organizer Joseph F. Viola for a week; and he is busy now in cooperation with City Organizer Harkins.

The Organizing Director, Comrade Kirkpatrick, and acting State Secretary Panschar have laid out the first circuit in North Central Ohio, for District Organizer Viola, who will go systematically over this circuit twice, beginning when he has closed his Cleveland work. Forty-five applications were made for the services of District Organizer Viola. He has a car, enabling him to make calls and do much personal solicitation and organizing work in the manner proved to yield the best results. Comrade Viola wants cooperation, hearty cooperation—just such as he pledges to render himself. Comrades everywhere in the Fourth Organization District, are urged to communicate immediately with the National Office, pledging cooperation, sending all possible names, addresses of lapsed Socialists, and others likely to be good prospects for re-organization. Doubly XX the names of the very best prospects. Let's go on. We've started splendidly at Cleveland.

THE GROWING ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED

By ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

THE industrial situation in Massachusetts is not quite standing still. It is slowly going from bad to worse. The recent report of the Department of Labor and Industry shows that employment as a whole was about 3 per cent worse in February, March and April of this year than in the same period last year. And in 1924 the employment situation was rotten.

Nor does unemployment tell the whole story. Of those working, 44 per cent are on part time.

The average weekly earnings are slightly less than a year ago and are still decreasing. They went down by 56 cents a week in April of this year compared with March, and are now only \$23.64 a week. In every city but three, there was a reduction in weekly earnings during April.

Needless to say, such a low figure results from union weakness. The building trades are well organized and are in fact the backbone of the Central Labor Unions in practically every city. Their success, of course, is principally due to the fact that they are fighting a large number of competing employers.

Shoes and Textiles

The operating men on the steam and electric railroads are also tightly organized. The shoe workers' unions are strong, though they are hurt by inter-union struggles, and the unions among the clothing workers are still vigorous. But in the metal trades and the textile industry the unions are woefully weak. In Worcester, for example, a big metal trade center, barely one per cent of the machinists eligible for membership in the International Association of Machinists are members. Not one important shop is

Industrial Depression in Massachusetts Makes Serious Inroads on Workers and Their Organization

organized. The same is true of Springfield. In the textile trades, the situation is slightly better in regard to the proportion of union membership. But there the unfortunate element of division of the field between the American Federation of Textile Operatives and the United Textile Workers is present, and helps to keep both rival unions weak. The American Federation of Textile Operatives have influence in New Bedford, and generally have the loom fixers organized; but in Lawrence and Lowell, the biggest textile centers in the State, neither union is of real importance.

The textile workers throughout New England have nearly all been given a dose of the Republican-Democratic brand of prosperity by being forced to take a wage cut. The bosses generally put off wage reductions till after election, in order to deceive the workers with the promises of prosperity held out by the Democratic and Republican spell-binders. But as soon as the defeat of La Follette was certain, wage cuts of at least ten per cent became the order of the day. Practically every textile worker saw his or her meagre family budget reduced still further to satisfy the rapacity of the textile barons and add more diamonds to the necklaces of the wives of the mill owners.

Trust Not the Bosses

The argument generally used by the mill owners was that a reduction in wages would help business to pick up, and if the workers would accept it meekly they would get steadier work. As usual, these promises proved to be lies. Busi-

ness has improved in Fall River, but taking the State as a whole the cotton industry for February, March, and April is only three per cent better off than at the same last year, and the woolen industry is actually five per cent worse. Despite its slight improvement the cotton industry is still fifteen per cent worse than it was in 1922. "Put not your trust in bosses' promises" is evidently the American version of Shakespeare.

Not merely is unemployment general in the textile trade, but part-time employment is even worse. In New Bedford, Lawrence and Lowell, less than thirty per cent of those workers who are employed are on full time. And the workers were promised better times if they would vote for Coolidge and accept a wage cut.

The mill owners have reduced wages nearly to rock bottom. In the cotton industry the wages average less than \$20 a week even for men. Women get less than \$18. Yet even this does not satisfy the bosses. Though defeated in the last Legislature, they are still clamoring for abrogation of the laws protecting women and children from night work and overwork.

Unemployment and Short Time

The bosses are trying to play the same game in the clothing industry. There, too, unemployment is rife. But owing to the strength of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, wage cuts have been forced.

In the shoe industry, too, the employers are throwing men out of work and on short time. In unemployment and part-time shoe workers are ever harder hit.

(Continued on Page 11.)

By LENA MORROW LEWIS

UNEMPLOYMENT is a logical by-product of the Capitalist system. It varies in intensity from time to time. Its minimum was reached during the war period when "everybody worked but the soldier." Judging from the reports in different parts of the United States, unemployment is becoming more and more serious and every section of the country suffering from this disease has its own peculiar conditions that produce or aggravate this situation.

Los Angeles and Southern California are no exception to this rule. Indeed, there are some features pertaining to this problem that probably have no parallel in any other part of the United States.

The industrial life or opportunities of the city have not kept pace with the ever increasing population. Real estate boosters and climate vendors have inveigled many thousands to the southland of our State, and already the census taker promises that Los Angeles is soon to reach the 2,000,000 mark.

What Is the Industrial Situation Confronting Los Angeles?

What is the industrial situation confronting Los Angeles?

The Chamber of Commerce claims that the city and immediate environs produce something over \$1,000,000,000 worth of products. Of this \$250,000,000 is credited to the oil industry, \$250,000,000 to the industrial products (clothing, etc.), \$200,000,000 to the building industry, \$178,000,000 to the movies, \$60,000,000 to agriculture, \$70,000,000 to furniture, \$58,000,000 to the canning industry.

The industrial policy of the city is dictated by real estate men and merchants and manufacturers. The movies and oil and canning indus-

125,000 Trudge the Streets Jobless and Hungry in Los Angeles—Railroad Operating Forces Reduced

tries have very little, if anything, to say in the matter.

Los Angeles is known the country over as the stronghold of the open-shop idea. Employers are concerned primarily in keeping union men out of their service—hence they are looking for men averse to unionism rather than efficiency and ability to do good work.

According to investigations made by competent Labor officials, the average shop in Los Angeles employs twenty as compared with Eastern shops, with from twenty-eight to forty. The labor turnover is much greater in Los Angeles than in the East. In spite of the cheaper rent and labor in Los Angeles, manufacturers cannot compete with Eastern products. For example, furniture manufacturers send out about 150 cars per annum. The better part of their trade is local. In the past year and a half some 200 furniture stores have failed. The needle trades have a 28-week year and are asking for a 40-week year. Approximately 400 machine shops that are operating may be listed as repair shops to serve the auto trade, while the Llewellyn shop is doing contract work to supply material for skyscrapers. In fact, there is no real machine industry, except that related to the oil industry.

50,000 Unemployed

The movie industry is very irregular in furnishing employment. It is claimed that somewhere between 12,000 and 15,000 girls are trying to get into the movies, and the employment agencies rob them outrageously in the commissions charged for securing jobs. Prostitution always goes hand in hand with unemployment of girls and here there seems to be no exception.

Both the Chamber of Commerce and Central Trades Council agree that the number of unemployed in Los Angeles now averages about 60,000 and in the neighborhood of 125,000 men and women and children are out of work and have no providers or prospect for bread.

The State Labor Bureau claims that about one-third of the unemployed are floaters. That the open-shop tactics has had a direct bear-

ing on the Los Angeles unemployment problem is quite evident.

In the railroad industry the application of "big power" has reduced the employing force in certain lines fully 50 per cent. More men are out of work on the Union Pacific line than in many, many years. Nothing like the business that was carried on two years ago is being done now. The Southern Pacific line presents a little better situation owing to the large fruit district it covers. California is an all-year-round fruit producing State, and the coming summer months will require heavy fruit shipments which will mean employment for many in the railroad industry. Union Pacific employees recently received a 5 per cent increase in wages, retroactive from September, 1924. This in a measure, partially overcomes the 10 per cent reduction the men submitted to in July, 1922.

Power for Production

Generally speaking, population and production have no adequate relationship in Los Angeles. To overcome this, the open-shop policy must give way to the efficiency of organized Labor and thus in a measure reduce the unemployment problem. But more than this is the problem of furnishing power as an incentive for Eastern capital to establish manufacturing plants.

Lack of power is a big factor in keeping industrial capital out of Los Angeles. This with the open-shop tactics constitute the peculiar factors that produce the unemployment problem in Los Angeles. The solution is the abandonment of the open-shop idea and the developing of hydro-electric power, which latter is possible through the Boulder Canyon Dam project. Efficiency in labor, opportunity in the way of more jobs through the development of greater power, is the program that will at least relieve the situation and in time pave the way for the social ownership and democratic control of public resources in the interests of the producers of wealth.

Let us have more power for production. Let this power be socially owned, and in time unemployment will disappear.

N. Y. C. SOCIALIST CONVENTION TO CONVENE ON JUNE 20

SOCIALISTS and progressive trade unionists will close ranks for a united fight on Tammany, Hyman and their Republican counterparts in New York City this Fall. Saturday, June 20, has been set as the day for the convening of a large representative Labor Fusion Convention. At this gathering a platform will be adopted embodying the demands and principles of the Socialist Party and all other Labor elements who believe in independent political action by the working class.

The convention will also designate candidates for Mayor and a full city ticket. The field is being combed for the best candidates available and an unusually strong roster of candidates can be expected with assurance.

The convention call has been sent out by the Joint Conference of the American Labor Party and the Socialist Party, whose headquarters are at 7 East 15th street. The convention call follows:

"Dear Sirs and Brothers: The coming municipal campaign offers at once an opportunity and a challenge to the Labor movement and all truly progressive forces in New York. We are the people of this great city, we are those who crowd its houses and subways, we are the workers with hand and brain who create its prosperity. Collectively we do much and yet have little.

"We can, if we will, build a political movement and create a spirit which will remake this city, give us decent houses, better schools, more tolerable transit.

"It is idle to expect social progress from the Republicans or the Democrats. They are body and soul the parties of the interests. Hyman, whether as Tammany's candidate or Hearst's,

has nothing to offer but four more years of incompetence, graft and brutal police force in times of strike.

"The time is ripe to act together politically in Labor fusion. If we do not win this first election we can learn to work together, educate ourselves and the city, put the agency of fear in the hearts of our enemies. And the day of victory will come.

"If this plan of Labor fusion interests you, will you not appoint delegates to a Labor Fusion Convention to be held at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street, New York City, on SATURDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 20, 1925, AT 2 P. M.

"To this convention the undersigned, representing the Socialist Party and the American Labor Party, are inviting unions branches of the Workmen's Circle, independent fraternal bodies and other progressive organizations. The convention will adopt a platform and nominate candidates. Participating groups, however, must agree to support the ticket as a whole without trading for endorsements with the old parties or any alleged "independent" movement.

"This is a call to action on the political field by the workers and progressives of New York for the sake of our city and our children.

"Please elect the two delegates to whom you are entitled and return the enclosed credentials properly filled in.

Fraternally yours,

JOINT COM. ON CONVENTION.

Norman Thomas, Joseph Cannon, Louis Waldman, Edward Cassidy, G. August Gerber, James O'Neal, Jerome De Hunt, Ben Howe.

HENRY FRUCHTER, Sec'y.

Manumit Associates to Meet, June 13 and 14

The annual meeting of the Manumit Associates will be held at Pawling, New York, Saturday and Sunday, June 13 and 14.

The opening last fall of the Manumit School at Pawling, New York—first resident boarding school primarily for the children of the Labor movement—brought together over seventy prominent Labor men and women and educators, who organized themselves into the Manumit Associates, the group which is responsible for the maintenance and control of the school.

The meeting on June 13 and 14 will combine the first annual meeting of the Manumit Associates with a two-day conference on the general subject of "Interpreting the Significance to Labor and other Groups of the Manumit Type of

Education." Saturday evening will be given over to the psychological and environmental aspects of the problem, and the discussion will be led by Harry A. Overstreet, Professor of Philosophy of the College of the City of New York, and Horace Kallen, lecturer at the New School for Social Research.

Sunday the Labor side of the question "Can Modern Education of the Child Help Labor to Solve Its Problems of Organizing the Workers?" will be discussed by James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; A. J. Muste, Dean of the Faculty of Brookwood Labor College.

Keep Cool and Contented

It's going to be hot this summer—darn hot! You're going to sweat and fret. You're going to feel disagreeable and uncomfortable. That is, you're going to if you wear your heavy winter suits.

But, if you're wise you won't. You'll get yourself a light-weight or a feather-weight suit.

We've just gotten them from the tailors—Genuine Palm Beaches, Farr's and Benn's Mohairs. And something new in Imported Tropical Worsteds, all wool but light enough to sail in the wind. As for style, we have them in the new as well as the conservative models.

If you've ever worn a summer suit we can stop right here. But if you haven't, all we can say is—try one this summer and you'll be cool and contented.

We've priced them right, they'll fit you right, and when you wear one you'll feel right.

HERE THEY ARE—

Palm
Beaches,
Farr's
and
Mohairs
Suits

\$12.50

Imported
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Worsteds and
All Wool
Light-Weight
Suits

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S. E. Corner 84th Street and Third Avenue

Remember the Address!

Just Off the "L" Station

For the Convenience of the Working Public: Our Store is Open Daily to 9 P. M. and Saturdays to 11 P. M.

THE CRISIS OF 1928

By SIDNEY E. JOHNSON

A Review of the Events that Led to the Impending Crisis of 1928.

THE accession of Marshal von Vunderdorf to the Saxonian Presidency marked the beginning of a new Hundred Days for Europe and led to and ended in a second Waterloo—a Waterloo for conquerors as well as conquered, of victors dragged in spite of the fulness of their triumph into a general mutiny.

All this, as we know, had been gathering and generating for a long time. Alarmed by the Slovic Revolution, a culmination of the mighty armed conflict of capitalistic interests, the forces of capitalism, still supreme in many parts of the world, especially in Unita, the great capitalistic republic, and though shaken still powerful in most European nations, had gathered their resources and used all the means in their power to destroy any further Collectivist advances at their very inception. Their efforts had apparently been successful, but the strength of the capitalistic Inner Circle had been tried to the uttermost.

Many could see, therefore, that the efforts of the Collectivists were really gaining ground rapidly. But it appears that only one individual foresaw the thing in its entirety and grasped the nature of the great danger the Collectivists faced and which they must surmount were they to succeed in saving the masses from the slavery of a complete Capitalist triumph.

Before the Upheaval

Writing in a Collectivist publication some four years before the beginning of the great upheaval he so clearly foresaw, he says: "When Collectivism begins at last to really dominate the affairs of Continental Europe, Unita and Anglican capitalism will resort to sterner measures to defeat its ends than the Slovic leaders seem to realize. . . . They are not likely to use such foolish and futile measures as commercial and naval blockades. It is not in their nature to let the great movement grow and spread unchecked. It is easy to conceive that they will meet a revolution on the Continent of Europa as, long before Anglica met the Gallician Revolution of 1790—with armed force, with whatever combinations they can gather—Pajna, the South Vespuician states, and with refugees from disaffected Europa—the emigrants."

"But Pajna had not the money and Anglica has revolutionary elements of her own these days. The only hope lies in the resources and the youth of the great capitalistic Republic of Unita. Will its rulers be able to use the precedent established by its former President, Nelson? Will they be allowed to draft boys by the millions as they did before when Saxonian militarism

CARD HOUSES



Drawn by ART YOUNG.

The statesmen build their card-houses and the old giant, Economic Necessity, blows them over.

ures to defeat its ends than the Slovic leaders seem to realize. . . . They are not likely to use such foolish and futile measures as commercial and naval blockades. It is not in their nature to let the great movement grow and spread unchecked. It is easy to conceive that they will meet a revolution on the Continent of Europa as, long before Anglica met the Gallician Revolution of 1790—with armed force, with whatever combinations they can gather—Pajna, the South Vespuician states, and with refugees from disaffected Europa—the emigrants."

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was crushed? Can the capitalist press, pulpit and schools again deceive the people in another crisis? On these questions hangs the crux of the whole affair; and whoever can answer them can solve the problem of Europa's destiny."

A partial answer to this prophetic inquiry was shortly forthcoming. The ex-War Lord, von Vunderdorf, attained the Saxonian Presidency with no occurrences of note; but interferences with the first measures of his administration from several quarters, chiefly from Gallicia, were immediate. This was, of course, to be expected; in all probability it was part of the prearranged program. Though deprived of the support of most of her former allies, Gallicia believed she was still in position to place her terrible commercial and military rival in a subordinate position for all time to come.

There is little need to linger over the ensuing short but terrible conflict. Rushed unprepared into battle

and aided only by uncertain allies (Slovica did not come in other than to engage Gallicia's allies on the East Front; while the assistance of Iberia's conscripted soldiers proved of little value) the armies of Saxonia were crushed in a few battles which were little more than butcheries. This was to be expected. Even the general mutiny which followed, the dissolution of the Saxonian armies, the desertion of the Iberian soldiery, and the great political smash-up of Saxonia, Iberia and many other states, brought no surprise. The seizure of the various Governments by the Collectivists proved but an historic repetition of the overthrow of the Tzuric regime of old Slovia. But the sudden refusal of the victorious Gallician armies to move against and crush the spreading Collectivist revolution was not expected, and against this contingency the capitalist Inner Circle has made no provision.

Drafting Conscripts

Nothing remained for the Inner Circle but to draft and drive the reluctant hosts of Anglican and Unita youth into the conflict; for the Slovic armies had swarmed to the aid of the Collectivists in Saxonia and the Inner Circle could only hope to stem the tide before it crossed the Rhine River. This hope was not realized. Such of the Anglican conscripts who were transported to Gallicia at once joined the revolt. But no conscripts and only a few adventurous Capitalist enthusiasts from Unita reached Europa's shores. The drafted soldiers of Unita simply refused to go! They refused to have either part or parcel in the Capitalist-Collectivist quarrels of Europa. The thing was without precedent and without parallel in history; and strangely enough it was immediately backed up by that vast mass of common people upon whom the Inner Circle had always depended to further their ends. A new public opinion arose, and the Inner Circle was left demoralized.

By the simple process of refusing in a collective body to fight in force (Continued on Page 11.)

THE CLEVELAND RESURRECTION

By JOSEPH W. SHARTS

EVER since Gene Debs compared me to the "Sweet Singer of Michigan" who got by with that poem about the bullfrog raising his tail on high and bounding o'er the plain, I have felt within me the birth-pangs of immortal verse. When the Red Card Convention at Cleveland on May 30 was followed by a wonderful Love Feast that evening at the Winston Hotel, I was delivered of the uncatalogued mental offspring, beautiful but nameless, which is here acknowledged:

They took away our Red Flag,
And thought that struck us dead;
But they can't kill the Party—
We still have Gene's Bald Head!

We'll follow that to victory,
As through the storms of war
Men followed the white plume
Of old Henry of Navarre.

Behold our Jewish comrades,
To Christ they do not pray;
So they'll lose out on Heaven
When comes the Judgment Day.

But they don't seem to worry;
They'll get their money's worth;
They're banking on the Socialists
To build a Heaven on earth.

We're Americans, Bohemians,
Slovenians and Finns,
Slavs, Irish, Dutch, and God knows
what,
With all the faults and sins.

But when we get together
In a feast and flow of soul,
We know we're all just Socialists—
One blood, one heart, one goal!

Taking it by and large, it was the biggest event that ever happened to Cleveland. It was like the coming of a soul to a dead body. Socialists trooped in from all sorts

of forgotten holes, by train, traction, bus, flivver, and foot. There were comrades there who hadn't been seen or heard from for ten years and more. How and why they had buried themselves would make interesting material for a 40-volume encyclopedia. Some had come off the I. W. W. blind alley before the War, had learned to sneer at political action and to talk about the General Strike until that folly flickered out and left them, lanternless. Some had quietly dropped off because their nationalistic instincts, at the outbreak of the World War, revolted at our Party's anti-war attitude. Others had gone crazy with emotionalism over Soviet Russia and imagined Red Revolution was galloping in this country in Russian whippers and boots, and had followed Ruthenberg and his associates "underground" to plot and pretend and to take orders from Moscow, until the ridiculousness of their position gradually dawned on them and they had quit in disgust. The call sent out to come to the Cleveland Convention was like the trumpet sounding for the Resurrection Day. They crawled out of their intellectual graves, brushed off the dirt and mold,

blinked around, stretched themselves—and came.

Debs was there to meet them—a Big Brother to every one. Debs, who, after half a century of battle for the cause of Labor against the System that exploits it and chains it to ignorance, poverty, and vice, still flames with the white-hot ardor of a young crusader. His unquenchable courage, his tireless strength and power, were over the assemblage like the power of Sir Galahad—because his heart was pure. He struck a responsive fire in thousands of hearts. He was at the Red Card Convention of Saturday at Jewish Carpenter's Hall, at the Banquet at the Winston Hotel that night, at the mighty mass demonstration at the Public Auditorium on Sunday; and whenever he spoke, his eloquence and, even more, his love of all mankind shines in his face and bubbles from his heart, wrought transformation in his hearers. The Socialist movement of Ohio and Michigan sprang up reborn and renewed.

How may we thank enough, for this grand Renaissance, the loyal comrades who for weeks beforehand

worked steadily, quietly, persistently, molding the apathetic clay into a vehicle fit for the potter's hand? The Jewish Branch most of all, Weinstein, Hanford, Weintraub, and the rest; the few but unflinching comrades of the English-speaking Local, Kullman, Dr. and Mrs. James, Claire, Willert, and the others; the Bohemians, the Finns the Jugo-Slavs. Leo M. Harkins of New Jersey as commander-in-chief of this little band, coming at call of the National Office to take charge of an almost impossible situation, flung himself with fine spirit into the work and brought the thing through. A "Distinguished Service Medal" ought to be pinned upon the breast of every one.

Out of the mass demonstration of Sunday was secured a great array of names and addresses which will be a rich mine to be worked systematically and persistently for months to come by District Organizer Viola and by State Organizer Panschar. From this wealth of raw material will be developed Socialists, Branches, and Locals as surely as the United States Mint transforms the rude ore into the minted coin. That is the finest achievement of all.

THE WORLD WE MUST HAVE

By JOHN M. WORK

A MAGAZINE asks the question: "What is your idea of the world as it will be tomorrow?"

It is a large and roomy question. I should not want to undertake to answer it in detail—not without writing a book, a la Edward Bellamy or William Morris.

But I can easily sketch a few broad outlines of the world as I think it ought to be tomorrow.

First—There should be no poverty. Everybody should have plenty. I am not an advocate of luxury. It is possible to have too much. The capitalistic parasites have too much now. It is a detriment to them. The golden mean is the best. Neither luxury nor poverty, but plenty for all.

Second—Employment should be guaranteed. No more worry lest

there should be no job next week or next year, but the certainty of having an opportunity to earn a living.

Third—Men and women should do the kind of work they are fitted for—the kind they like—the kind that is fun to them. No more round pegs in square holes and vice versa.

Fourth—The places where people live and work should be attractive. Homes, factories, stores and offices should be healthfully located. No unnecessary dirt. No unnecessary noise. Plenty of room—fresh air—sunshine—trees—grass—flowers. Make them places where it will be a pleasure to live and work.

Fifth—The workdays should be short. Eventually it should be pos-

sible to give everyone a half-holiday every day, or the equivalent of that. Then they will have half the time, not to loaf, but to spend in really living.

Sixth—The great industries should be collectively owned and the work should be done cooperatively. No more fierce competition and hateful struggling against one another. Brotherhood in place of brutality. This is the only way in which the five desirable ends above mentioned can be attained.

And this brings us to the nub of it all. We Socialists are not working for the new social order primarily because of the increased material well-being which it will bring. We want universal material well-being, and fraternalism in industry, in order that all human beings may be able to develop their higher qualities and make this old world a happy, loving, unselfish place.

DRIVE TO ORGANIZE NEGROES ON

WITHOUT pomp and almost unobserved, there was born in New York City on Saturday, May 23, a movement which promises to grow and become an important factor in the life of the Negro workers.

White and black trade unionists, delegates from eighteen local and international unions, met on that date in Arlington Hall for the purpose of considering the question of joint efforts in organizing Negro workers. Hugh Frayne of the A. F. of L. was the principal speaker. Out of the conference emerged

the Trade Union Committee for organizing Negro workers with temporary headquarters at 2311 Seventh avenue, and with Thomas J. Curtis, Chairman and Treasurer, Mrs. G. E. McDougald, Vice-Chairman, and Frank R. Crosswaith, a Negro union organizer, as Executive Secretary.

Crosswaith, in an interview, pointed out the tremendous significance of this movement to organized Labor generally and to the Negro workers in particular.

"The rapid industrial development of the United States in recent years, with its consequent urbanization of the population—the farms

being steadily abandoned for the great industrial centers—has brought home to both white and black trade unionists the fact that in order for them to enjoy the gains already made, and make further progress, every worker, regardless of sex or race, must be organized. To accomplish this end we have formed the Trade Union Committee for organizing Negro Workers. While most of our attention will necessarily be devoted toward the Negro worker, we will not neglect the unorganized white workers. This movement will serve to remove much of the prejudice, hatred and suspicion so

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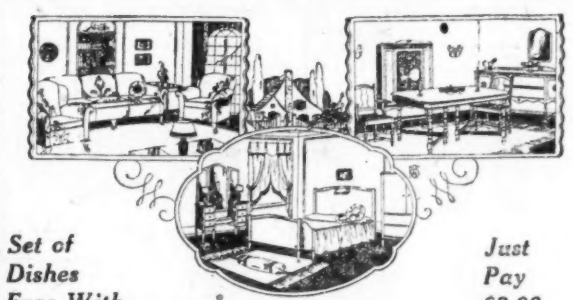
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long existing between black and white workers. Not alone will we organize and educate him in the principles of Unionism and the advantages to be gained therefrom, but we will stand by his side and see that after joining the Union of his trade he receives all of the advantages and privileges that go to all other Union men. UNION HOURS AND UNION WAGES FOR EVERY NEGRO WORKER IN NEW YORK CITY, will be our slogan."

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ARE REVOLUTIONS WORTH WHILE? :-

By I. M. RUBINOW

ARE revolutions worth while? Probably a positive answer to the question has been taken for granted by the readers of The New Leader and such like impracticable people for many years until the results of the last Russian revolution have been observed, and perhaps many are now inclined to modify their answer according to the nature of the revolution. There are political and social revolutions, peaceful and bloody revolutions, progressive and counter revolutions. In other words, it is beginning to appear that we are likely to approve the revolutions that we like and disapprove the revolutions we dislike, and to question whether all revolutions can be put under the same label.

Professor Sorokin,* formerly the head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Petrograd, private secretary to Kerensky during the first stage of the great Russian revolution, then an emigrant, and at present professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota, believes that all revolutions do have something in common, and has written a book analyzing the causes, nature and results of revolutions. Whether the reader will agree with all his conclusions or not, the authoritative character of the study cannot be denied. Not only is the professor an experienced and erudite investigator and sociologist, but he has also had an exceptional opportunity of observing perhaps the greatest revolution that has taken place, as an observer and student for many years. The book, therefore, is to be reckoned with.

To begin with, what is a revolution? Somewhat figuratively, the term has been made to apply to any radical change, perhaps to any sudden radical change (hence the argument concerning evolution versus revolution), on a basis of absence

THE SOCIOLOGY OF REVOLUTION. By Pitirim A. Sorokin, Ph.D. Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott, 1925.

Bonnaz Workers

Appeal for All Politicals

At a membership meeting held May 28 in Public School No. 40, 530 East 20th street, New York City, after a very lengthy discussion, the following resolutions were adopted by an overwhelming majority, despite the vigorous opposition of Communists:

"Whereas, there are more men and women imprisoned for opinion's sake than ever in the history of the world; and

"Whereas, this applies equally to so-called Liberal governments like England, who are persecuting Hindus and Egyptians by the thousands, to pure and simple despotisms like Spain and Hungary; and

"Whereas, Russia, with its so-called Workers' Government, is no different in this respect to capitalist Poland, Italy, France, Germany, and the United States, where thousands of the purest and noblest minds are imprisoned and tortured because they think differently from those in power. Be it, therefore, Resolved—That we, the Bonnaz Embroidery Union, Local No. 66, I. L. G. W. U., in meeting assembled, hereby denounce equally and without distinction or qualification all those governments who are imprisoning men and women for political opinions and call upon all fair-minded people to do likewise in order that the conscience of the world may be aroused and the prison doors opened to those now suffering because they have dared to express views contrary to those in power."

"NATHAN RIESEL, "Sec'y, Bonnaz Embroiders' Union, "Local No. 66, I. L. G. W. U."

The Efficacy of Revolutions As Judged By A Great Sociologist—The Marxian View

or presence of the element of suddenness. Even that concept is eliminated in the phrase "industrial revolution," which no one would claim has taken place suddenly, or "revolution in thought." Professor Sorokin quotes a definition "Revolution is the change of the constitution of the society realized by violence." He prefers, however, to describe rather than to define revolutions, describe them inductively and comparatively, studying not only the last Russian revolution of 1918 but all the preceding ones back to the Roman revolution of the Gracchi and even the Egyptian revolution of 2000 B. C. It is true that throughout the book the deep interest in and an emotional reaction against the Russian revolution is obvious. Nevertheless, a tremendous amount of exceedingly interesting information is brought together in regard to the earlier Russian revolutions, the various French, English and central European revolutions and back to Rome and Egypt, as already dated. Sometimes the treatment is one of historical sequence from B. C. to present times. Sometimes, more picturesquely and less traditionally, the author works his material backwards. In either case the evidence of considerable similarity, at least in the external manifestations of real revolutions, is quite convincing.

On a basis of this inductive study, assuming that Professor Sorokin is quite objective, impartial and unprejudiced, one cannot disregard the evidence concerning these common aspects of all revolutionary processes. "First of all," said the professor, "revolution is a change in the behavior of the people, in their psychology, ideas and beliefs. Secondly, it is a change in the biological composition of the population. Thirdly, a change in the social structure and in the fundamental social processes."

The author recognizes the temptation for a very subjective valuation of the romantic phenomena of revolution and, therefore, the great

necessity of remaining objective and prosaic. "Revolutions," he says, "must be studied like any other natural phenomena." We are asked to believe that it is purely on a basis of such claim, prosaic, disinterested study that his very critical judgment is based.

In all revolutions, we are told, there is a definite perversion of human behavior. In the language of modern sociology and psychology, there is a reversion to unconditioned reflexes as against conditioned reactions. In other words, the restraining influence of habits rapidly breaks down. There is an unrestrained, uncontrolled exuberance of speech, breakdown of all restraint in regard to property which manifests itself in unregulated acquisition of anything that can be acquired (expropriation, etc.). A very gloomy picture is drawn of the perversion of sexual reactions. In all revolutions, the author demonstrates by a wealth of examples, there is a breakdown of standards of marriage, increase of prostitution, of illegitimacy, sex perversions, all parading under the flag of freedom.

Regular habits of labor are one of the most important achievements of modern civilization. These break down during all the revolutions and the result is a collapse of production and a breakdown of standards of effort. Evolution of government meant the development of certain reactions, of authority and subordination. These are, of course, destroyed in revolutions. Under the flag of liberty, society simply reverts to more instinctive forms of reaction characterized by weakening of restraining factors.

Reversion to a Type

Of course, there follows a general breakdown of religious, moral, esthetic and other required forms of conduct. There is, as it were, a reversion to more primitive sociological type.

The results of this form of disease, in Professor Sorokin's opinion, are very detrimental to social

organization. There is a reduction in population due to pest, civil war and a general increase in the death rate. There is a very material reduction in the birth rate. On the other hand, there is an increase in the marriage rate, but only because of the breakdown in the standards and contents of the marriage relationship. Even deeper than these simple biologic changes are the changes in social structure. A whole chapter is devoted to illustrations of the rise of members of the "great unwashed" to positions of prominence and affluence. Though perhaps somewhat naively, the author never even suggests that in that social change there may be at least a partial realization of the religious ideal that "The first shall be last and the last shall be first." The breakdown in standard forms of social function, frightful reduction in production, deterioration of literature, of education, of health, all follow. All these proceed in face of the great illusions of revolution until they themselves break down. The so-called counter revolution or reaction is but evidence of a beginning process of recovery. This process is slow and painful, but certain, unless, indeed, revolution ends in complete destruction of the particular social or political unity. During the process of recovery many of the symptoms of revolution are still observed, but gradually they subside and the normal forms of personal conduct and social relations are re-established. That has been an experience in all the revolutions during the last 3,000 or 4,000 years.

An Irritating Book

The above brief analysis will show how irritating the book must be to many a progressive and radical who has retained his faith in the social value of some revolutions or all, and his belief in the essential right of society to apply the method of revolution when other methods fail. Even a 100 percent may have his illusions concerning the American revolution of 1773,

though Professor Sorokin is inclined to describe that change as war rather than revolution.

Irritating though the main thesis of the book may be, it cannot be lightly dismissed as a partisan study. The wealth of historical data raises the book above a mere partisan pamphlet. I believe Professor Sorokin has done a signal service in two directions, first in furnishing a scholarly description of the symptoms, processes and course of development of revolutionary appeals. The value of that scientific contribution remains even after the subjective bias caused by Professor Sorokin's experience in the Russian revolution is entirely discounted.

"A Calm, Contemplative Spirit"

Probably all of us can study the history of the Egyptian, Roman, English and perhaps even the French revolution in a calm, contemplative spirit. It is difficult to assume the same attitude to the revolutions of our own times and even more so to those who may come in the future. For, after all, there will be few students who will feel the assurance that the revolutionary era is entirely beyond us. The revolutions of today and tomorrow are events of our own making. In regard to such events, not only a historic and scientific but also an ethical criterion becomes inevitable. We can't be satisfied with answers to the questions, "What happened?" "How did it happen?" "Why did it happen?" but also must honestly face the questions, "What do we want?" "How shall we get it?" "What will be the cost?" It is the professional propagandist and agitator can force himself to read a book such as this calmly, he cannot help being impressed with the cost of any revolution. Nor can he help, unless he intentionally wears blinders, being convinced that revolution as such is an event, a transitory process, at most a means to an end. To the judicious mind, therefore, the book will furnish evidence of the historic absurdity of the formula "revolutions en permanence." Perhaps the course of our recent numerous revolutions might have been different had there been general knowledge of the cycle of revolutionary events, so that the enthusiasm of the early stages might be tempered somewhat by historic knowledge of this inevitable cycle.

The Return to Stability

And yet, it should be unnecessary to point out to any Marxian student that Professor Sorokin's "Sociology of Revolution" does not offer a complete analysis of this historic phenomena. In fact, the reviewer is tempted to point out the essential inaccuracy of the title. The author has dealt exhaustively with individual and social psychology of revolutions, that is, with changes in individual and group conduct. He has dealt with the vital, economic and other consequences of revolution. He has not completed his analysis of historic results of revolutionary outbreaks. His simple diagram of the revolutionary period followed by on page 8, showing the upheaval of a reaction and return to a normal period, fails to point out the obvious—that the return very often, if not always, is to a stable condition which is quite different from the stable condition of the pre-revolutionary period. If Professor Sorokin prefers to use the term "normal" rather than "stable," disregarding the fact that normality presupposes growth and development and that historic stagnation is not at all normal, then he should have noted the differences between the normal standards of the pre-and-post-revo-

THE CLASS LIE :-

Mammonart—Chap. IX.

By UPTON SINCLAIR

IN the stage of economic evolution where the savage exchanges a fish for a coconut, the balance of advantage in the trade may be equal. The fisherman may need the coconut as badly as the cocoanut-gatherer needs the fish. But as soon as we come to the stage where tokens are accepted, there begins a shifting of the balance of advantage; for the reason that the seller comes to specialize in the selling of one thing, whereas the more complex the society the more different things the buyer must buy, and so he remains an amateur as to each. Moreover, the sellers learn to combine; they form partnerships, firms, corporations, alliances, leagues, associates, parties, classes; the buyer, on the other hand, remains unorganized and helpless. He is the consumer, who takes what he can get; he is the proletarian, who has only his chains to lose; he is that plaything of the competitive process, that jest of the trader through the ages, the general public. "The public be damned," said a great seller of railway transportation, and his phrase has become the corner-stone of capitalist civilization.

Nineteen hundred years ago a revolutionary economist remarked, "To him that hath shall be given; while from him that hath not shall

be taken away even that which he hath." And this economic process is one which tends continually to accelerate, multiplying itself by geometrical progression. In present-day society, the sellers are nearly all organized, while Labor is only ten per cent organized, and the ultimate consumer is not organized at all. We have thus the combination of a monopoly price with a competitive wage, and the surplus wealth of the world is drawn by automatic process into the hands of a small class. The world's selling power is now vested in combinations of capital, called "trusts," which present themselves in the aspect of enormous fortresses of lies.

Merely to give a catalogue of the various trade-lies embodied in the daily operations of such a "trust" would require a volume. There are so many kinds of lies that no one man can know them all. There are lies carried in the heads and embodied in the practice of petty chiefs of departments. There are lies so generally accepted and conventionalized that the very liars do not know them as such, and are amazed and wounded in the feelings when their attention is called to the truth. There are lies so complicated that highly trained lawyers have been paid millions of dollars to contrive them. There are lies so cleverly hidden that it would take the restoring of tons of burned account-books to prove them. There are lies so blazoned forth on billboards and in newspapers that they have become part of the daily thought of the people, and have given new words and phrases to the language.

So comes the next stage in the evolution of the trade-lie. The owners of trusts and combinations unite into parties, classes and governments for the defense of their gains. They combine and endow and perpetuate their trade-lies, making them into systems and institutions; and so we have the Lie Traditional, the Lie Classical; we have the Lie become Religion, Philosophy, History, Literature, and Art.

Turn back to Chapter II, and read the list of the six great art-lies; you may now understand who made them and why. Lie Number One, the Art for Art's Sake lie, the notion that the end of art is in the art work, is a trade-lie of the art specialist, the effort of a sacred caste to maintain its prestige and selling price. Lie Number Two, the lie of Art Snobbery, the notion that art is for the chosen few, and outside the grasp of the masses, is the same. Lie Number Three, the lie of Art Tradition, the notion that new artists must follow old

models, is a self-protective device of those in power. Lie Number Four, the lie of Art Dilettantism, the notion that the purpose of art is entertainment and diversion, is a device of the culturally powerful to weaken and degrade those upon whom they prey; just as the creatures of the underworld get their victims drunk before they rob them. Lie Number Five, the lie of the Art Pervert, the notion that the art has nothing to do with moral questions, is the same. Lie Number Six, the lie of Vested Interest, is the sum of all the other lies, of all the infinite cruelties of predatory, class-controlled culture.

The sarcastic critic will say that I make the artist an extremely knavish and dangerous person. My answer is that he may be, and frequently is, an amiable and guileless child. His knaveries are class knaveries, collective cruelties, conventions and attitudes to life which have been produced as automatic reactions to economic forces; the individual acquires them with no more conscious thought than is involved in the assimilation of his food. Ogi lies and pretends, he cheats, robs and murders, imaginatively speaking, by the same instincts that cause him to blink his eyes in a bright light.

James Connolly Memorial Meeting

A mass meeting in honor of the memory of James Connolly was held Sunday, May 10, at Harlem Terrace Hall, 210 East 104th street. The chair was occupied by Patrick Ennis (Dublin Comrade of Connolly and President of the Connolly Memorial Committee).

A lecture on "Connolly, Patriot and Revolutionist," was delivered by Joseph O'Byrne, which dealt in detail with Connolly's ideals of economic and political freedom. An interesting debate followed the lecture. Songs in Gaelic and English were rendered by H. Byrne, the Dublin tenor. Resolutions were passed unanimously and copies ordered sent to President DeValera, Sean T. O'Kelly, Envoy Irish Republic; Miss Mary MacSwiney, William O'Brien, Secretary Irish Transport and General Workers' Union; James Larkin, Secretary Irish Workers' Union, and the press.

The resolutions declare that the extinction of the Irish nation is the goal of the Governments of the Free State and of North Ireland; that Irish Republicans should not pay taxes to either; that members of the Parliaments, army, courts and guards be boycotted; that the Labor members withdraw from the Parliaments and from alliances with advanced Labor in other countries, demand a Workers' Republic for Ireland; and urges the Irish Republican party to throw its whole strength into a political, economic and social boycott of the Republic established in 1916.

lutionary periods. In other words, revolution has proven to be in a great many cases a method of social development, a very costly method of accomplishing certain social and political changes. The symptoms and even the cost of revolution do not constitute the entire substance of it. There is, of course, a great temptation to draw parallels between revolutionary outbreaks and the development of a disease, except for that one essential difference, that the revolution is always an effort, and sometimes a successful effort, to overcome an already existing social disease, that is, a lack of harmony between political and social forms of co-existence and aspirations of the people. If an analogy is desired, the revolutionary process might be compared to the high fever which to the layman represents the very essence of disease, but as a matter of fact is an effort to overcome it. Our doctors know that diphtheria, without any fever reaction, is usually very much deadlier, showing that the organism has not the strength even to make an effort to overcome the disease.

A Participant in Revolt

It would hardly seem necessary, and it would probably not have been necessary, to point out these rather elementary truths to such a student of sociology as Professor Sorokin, if it had not been for the personal experience he has had. Probably his store of knowledge on history was as great in 1917 as it is at present, and that store of knowledge did not interfere with his taking an active part in the early stages of the revolution side by side with Kerensky. The philosophy of Freud rather than of Marx must be depended upon to explain the present negativistic attitude to all violent changes, and his insistence upon the necessity of re-establishing the normal reactions of political, social and religious authority and subordination.

Professor Sorokin writes in a, to him, foreign language which he probably learned comparatively late in his life. Considering the circumstances, he does it extremely well, but the fact is quite obvious to the reader. As the book has been issued as one of a series (Lippincott Sociological Series) under the editorship of a professor of sociology of an American university, the latter must be held responsible for failure to give the book the necessary degree of editorial supervision and proof reading. The book abounds in un-English phrases and even faulty syntax, which would undoubtedly have called for the use of the red pencil had they occurred in a sophomore's essay. The lack of care which permitted such errors is, of course, an act of unfairness to the thoughtful author.

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Money Savers and other Poor Fish

I WENT fishing the other day. Fishing is my only sport. I'm too soft-hearted to kill other game. I have no scruples about hooking fish. Most fish are game fish anyhow. That is, they make their living by making life miserable for other fish. Every time I hook a bass, pike, or pickerel, I save the lives of millions of little innocent bullheads, carps and suckers who would have been devoured by this brute before they had a chance to marry and set up housekeeping.

Of course, it sometimes happens that I hook a fish that isn't game, but only greedy, for he usually swallows the hook so deep that it would be cruelty to throw him back in the water where he might get drowned. An accident like that happened yesterday to two bullheads, and while I was looking for a newspaper to wrap up their injuries—by the way, did any of you fellows ever wrap a fish in wet paper, and bake him on the hot ashes of a little camp-fire? Well, if you haven't, you've missed the best fish ever tasted. But as I was saying, while I was looking for a newspaper to dress the injuries of these two bullheads my eyes lighted on an advertisement saying:

"Work, Save and Start a Bank Account."

Talk about crust. Talk about gall. Talk about anything, just so you don't say it with flowers. Here I had been lying in the soft grass on the bank of a shady pool, with fishing pole stuck in the cool ground between my legs, keeping a pair of lazy eyes on a perfectly contented bobber, waiting for the supreme moment when some deluded fish, crawdad or mud turtle, would jerk it down, and along comes this vandal, this Hun, this money shark, this triple-plated, double-galvanized, thrice-cursed son of a note shaver and tells me to "go to work, save money and start a bank account."

Why should I go to work when there are millions of bona fide working men wearing callouses on their optics looking for work? Does he want me to take the job away from a poor deserving toiler who would give his eye teeth for a job? Does he want me to take the bread out of the mouths of the children of an honest coal-digger who still works his good three days per pay? Does he want me to add my little grain of sand to the mountain of unsaleable goods which are already littering up this beautiful country? This happy land of ours is suffering from over-production as it is. There are too many of the good things of life going around. We are in the throes of an industrial depression caused by a super-abundance of wealth. And along comes the victim of fatty degeneration of gray matter, and tells me to "go to work."

On top of that he wants me to save my money. He wants me to clog up the free flow of goods which alone makes prosperity. "Work," he says. "Make shoes," he says. Fine. I make shoes. I get money for making shoes. I spend it for clothes. The tailor spends it for beans and bacon. The farmer spends it for shoes. The cycle of trade is cycling.

But, no, I must save my money. So I make shoes and keep the money instead of spending it for clothes. This puts the tailor on the blink. He can't buy beans and bacon, and because the farmer can't sell beans and bacon he can't buy shoes. The cat comes home to roost. The channel of trade is clogged. There is a constipation of wealth aggravated by malnutrition. The country goes to the how-wows. Folks vote for Colidge and all these calamities come about on account of me saving my money.

The trouble with the world is that folks have for gotten what money is made for. They are chasing money for the sake of money, when it is only a medium for getting things worth having. Money fulfills the same function in society as lubricating oil goes in the bowels of your tin Lizzie. It helps to make the wheels go round. And even a quart of oil between the cogs of your chugger beats a thousand barrels in the oil tanks; so a dollar in circulation beats a million dollars in the socks.

Of course, the poor fish doesn't want me to plant my money in an old sock. He wants me to start a bank account. Not me. I know all about these bank accounts. You hand your kale to the prisoner behind the bars, I mean the teller in the cage, and in return you get a check book. The first few checks work all right. But just about the time you learn to draw perfect checks comes a notice that you're overdrawn. And that's the beginning of your downfall. You lose your faith in banks. You swear they don't know how to keep books. You doubt their safety. You begin to accuse Wall Street of mis-managing the savings of the proletariat. You used to be proud to attend the same church your banker patronized. But now you don't want to see his face any more.

Why in the thunder do they always ask people, and especially young people, to start bank accounts? "Young man, save your money." "Young man, start a bank account." "Young man, lay aside something for a rainy day." "Young man, save for your old age." Don't they know that a dollar spent at the age of twenty buys more life than a thousand spent at the age of seventy?

The best investment I ever made was the money I blew in as a youngster. Oh, the wealth of memories I piled up in those roving days, with the expenditure of a few lousy hundred dollars. A moment ago I saw the pale shaft of the Lincoln Monument through the smoke-laden air of Springfield and heard the clanking of flat car wheels on the street below. Now I am transported to a lofty peak in the Dalmatian Alps. Far below a silver river is winding its way to the blue distance where Italy and the Adriatic melt into each other. Now, I'm wandering down Isar Valley on a lazy Sunday evening. Barges crowded with singing boys and girls are floating by. The full moon is rising over the highlands of Bavaria. On the flower strewn meadows, cows are jingling melodious bells. Now, I am in a dusky hall. A bass violin sings of a half-forgotten leger. High above flutes and oboes weave an eerie web of silken thread. Elves are dancing on a moonlit meadow. The trumpets crash. A pageant of knights and ladies pass through the ancient streets. The Catskill Mountains mirrored on the majestic Hudson. A fleet of fishing smacks dancing in the channel, between the Emerald Isle and the ragged mountains of Wales.

On and on come picture after picture in endless array—a panorama such as the gods might have seen from the cloud-kissed peaks of Mount Olympus. How sharp and clear the outlines are. How fresh the fragrance of these buried-long-ago flowers. How

Glengarry's Review

(Written for The New Leader)

You had a LAUGH
When reading about
The seizure of a BREWERY—
"TWO 800 gallon STILLs."
"FIFTY gallons of MOONSHINE"
"And 5,000 gallons
"Of corn MASH"—
Because THIS nation
MAKES a huge joke
Of the ILLEGAL
Manufacture and SALE
Of INTOXICANTS.

Would this traffic
Be SO ENORMOUS
If a REAL punishment
Was administered offenders?

A MODEST fellow
In central CANADA
Was contentedly BREWING
A FEW gallons a week
And his customers came
In single and double "rigs"
From the scattered community
Of the great wheat-land.

But an observing "busybody"
Became SUSPICIOUS
Of SO MANY visitors
To the isolated "hog-ranch"—
The INVESTIGATION
Resulted in a CONVICTION
And a TEN-YEAR sentence.

It DID NOT take MANY "heelers"
To keep down illicit distilling—
EVERYBODY seemed to DETEST
A ten-year ADVENTURE
At HARD LABOR
BEHIND a high STONE WALL.

A SENTENCE like that
Would add NO MONEY
To our OPERATING fund,
But it WOULD (very ABRUPTLY)
STOP the traffic
In PROHIBITED (?) liquors.

Hear! Hear! The Man With a \$50,000 Salary Who Appreciates the "Blessings of Poverty"

"—and as I look back on the days when I worked for a dollar a day I realize that they were the happiest days of my life."



The trouble with the present-day generation of unionized block-watchers is that they don't appreciate the blessing of poverty. Hard work alone brings success. There never was a time when opportunities to reach high places were as plentiful as they are now, because never before was there so little competition. . . .—Extracts from after-dinner speech at most any "business man's" club.

Our OWN WAY of stopping (?)
MOONSHINING, BOOTLEGGING,
And "auto-SPEEDING"
IS SUPERIOR—
Look at the NUMBERS of men
(Otherwise idle and hungry):
We KEEP well EMPLOYED;
Note the NUMBERS we arrest
In a given month.
And, BETTER STILL, MONEY—
Ah, THAT IS THE STUFF—
Consider the ADVANTAGE

Of the HANDSOME figures
Our imposed FINES total.

THIS, naturally, RESULTS
In GREATER numbers
Of LAW-BREAKERS;
GREATER numbers
Of CRIMINAL-CHASERS,
AND (BLESS your simplicity)
VASTLY GREATER numbers
Of COLLECTED DOLLARS.

Plato to Thomas More THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph.D.

THE Roman Writers: Nine-
teen centuries intervened
between Plato's "Republic"
and the next great utopian
work of a political nature—the
"Utopia" of Sir Thomas More.

During these centuries, however, there were religious utopians, such as St. Augustine, who portrayed a future religious order on earth or in heaven. There were likewise many social philosophers who condemned existing social systems and who yearned for a reversion to the communism which obtained, at least in their imagination, in the "natural state" of primitive society.

Thus philosophers, poets and prophets of Rome in the early centuries A. D., were constantly bemoaning the class conflicts and corruption of their day, and pointing out the virtues of the primitive order of society in which goods were held in common and covetousness, luxury and poverty were unknown. A typical example was the pagan to an idealized past of the poet Virgil in his celebration of the reign of Saturn, a reign which typified the state of nature:

"No fences parted fields nor marks nor bounds

"Divided acres of litigious grounds,
"But all was common."

Thus, also, the gifted Seneca (3 B. C.-65 A.D.) wrote in ardent admiration of the communism of the "natural state":

"The social virtues had remained pure and inviolate before covetousness distracted society and introduced poverty, for men ceased to possess all things when they began to call anything their own. The first men and their immediate descendants followed nature, pure and uncorrupted. When, however, vices crept in, kings were obliged to show their authority and enact penal laws. How happy was the primitive age when the bounties of nature lay in common and were used promiscuously; nor had avarice and luxury

haunting these harmonies furrowed in the plastic mind of youth!

But no. I should have worked. "Work, for the night is coming!" I should have started a bank account. I should have hoarded the few hundred dollars and today I might be worth real money, perhaps, fifty, or even a \$100. And then I could sit under a tree in the court-house yard in company with other bleary-eyed has-beens swabbing jokes that were stale when Hector was a pup; cackling about the sins of youth, relating in a crack-neckie tenor the hardships of the winter of '63.

Sh—, I think I got a bite. Watch 'im take the cork down! Oh! my! Ain't he a beauty? And then they say I should go to work and start a bank account!

Adam Coal-digger

disunited mortals and made them prey upon one another. They enjoyed all nature in common, which thus gave them secure possession of the public wealth. Why should I not think them the richest of all people, among whom there was not to be found one poor man?"

Similar sentiments are found in the writings of Horace, of Tacitus, of Juvenal, of Josephus.

Influence of the Stoic Philosophy: This appeal for a return to primitive tribal society was based, at least in part, on an acceptance of the Stoic philosophy. According to Stoicism, the world was governed by a divine law—equity and goodness. This law was infinitely superior to man-made law, and applied to all human beings, for all men, as inheritors of the divine spirit, were free and equal. In the original society, the divine natural law governed men, but when corruption set in man enacted his own law. Thus civil law was a debased substitute for the reign of God and nature, and if social ills were ever to be remedied, mankind must abandon civil law and return to nature and a life in harmony with nature.

Ius Naturale and Ius Gentium: Most of the educated Romans who gave themselves over to philosophic speculations accepted this philosophy. The Roman lawyers undertook to incorporate it into their legal system as *ius naturale*, combining with it, however, *ius gentium*, the law which had developed out of the commercial and international relations of that time. In so doing they greatly diluted the original philosophy. *Ius naturale*, according to these lawyers, was that which nature taught. Nature joined male and female, and taught pro-creation, and the need of educating one's offsprings. It taught that all men were born free. From *ius naturale* also came the doctrine that the air, water, public and religious buildings were common property. On the other hand, *ius gentium*, the law of man, legalized private possessions, dominion and servitude, and neutralized much of the teachings of *ius naturale* and of the Stoics. In the scholastic literature of the time, the doctrine of *ius naturale* was preserved in full vigor, and was incorporated into the Church law.

This doctrine was further strengthened by the discovery of America and the tribal organizations found therein. The romantic description of the life lived by many of these tribes is due, to a considerable extent, to the acceptance of the concept of the primitive State—the state of nature. It had a far-reaching effect on the theologians of the Middle Ages, and its influence extended even to the nineteenth-century Socialists and social reformers of Great Britain.

Communism and the Peasants' Revolt: The first big crisis in English history in which the philosophy of natural rights and its Communist implication played a conspicuous part was the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. New social forces had begun

to be felt in England during the reign of Henry II., in the first part of the thirteenth-century. By the middle of this century, dozens of towns had come into existence all over England, where once there was nothing but farming country. These towns demanded raw material from the country communities. Rural land thus became valuable, and with this increasing value the nobility began to encroach upon the land held in common by the peasantry for common, pasture and fishing.

The peasants at that time "were not propertyless proletarians, but partners of agrarian cooperative associations, imbued with traditions of their ancient liberties and with sentiments of communal life, and looking upon enclosure, as private appropriations of what was common, and on the lords as usurpers." And when the Revolt broke out they demanded the return of their old charters of liberty and the restoration of their common lands.

Nor were the peasantry without leaders. Poor priests and former friars and monks were constantly touring the country, expressing their indignation at the state of affairs, many of them preaching the gospel of communism as the ideal State of society. These monks and friars thus helped to form "an alliance of an intellectual proletariat with the dissatisfied laboring masses. From Oxford as the intellectual and spiritual center the light was spread by the friars to the open fields." All of them must have known St. Isidore's definition of natural law: "They preach of Plato and prove it by Seneca, "That all things under heaven ought to be in common." John Wycliffe: Among these "intellectuals" was John Wycliffe (d. 1384), a "monarchical Communist," if such there can be. Wycliffe's (Continued on Page 11.)

Half my life has been spent trying to forget the falsehoods I was taught in my youth. Most of us would know a lot more had we learned a lot less.—H. E. Boote.

Oh! War, thou son of hell.—Shakespeare.

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Bed Time Stories for the Bourgeoisie

ONE of our dear readers, who in our private estimation is a cock-eyed stiff, writes in complaining that our column has not enough personality about it.

He says that he reads F. P. A. in the World and that F. P. A. has a lot of stuff about where he spent the week-end and the people he met and how he gets around and the good cracks he made last week and all of that, and why don't we write something like that?

Well, nothing venture, nothing gained; so here goes.

Did go on Mayor Hylan's electrical contrivance to Astoria on Monday last to visit with the charming Rose Glutz, for whom I made melodic sounds upon my jew's-harp. She took me in her auto-car to the splendid home of Calvin W. Ginsberg, the famed purveyor of delicatessen, where there was much sprightly conversation; and what with talk of this and that, the afternoon sped lightly by.

In the evening came Arthur J. Aaronson, the noted barrister, with whom I pitched quits until a late hour, trouncing him soundly withal.

Arose early Tuesday to don my new green tie whose color so well matches my complexion, and seeing the sun high in the heavens was blithe. Did see by the public prints that My Lord Calvin hath partaken of iced cream with the soldier lads, but what is that to me?

Came early to my stint, which I did with great speed and some deftness; but, alas, I fear that never will I achieve the dexterity of old Ring Lardner.

To luncheon with Miss Greta Ganz, whom I bussed heartily, exclaiming, "What is sauce for the goose is ganz for the gander," wherat the waiter laughed loudly, he, poor churl, thinking that I would give him handsome recompense.

Which I did not.

In my office were waiting Gertrude Gritz and Anna Schmalz whom I had not seen since the old days when Gertrude's father led the retreat from Kiev, and there was much talk between us of those days, and Gertrude said that I grew handsomer by the minute, wherat I rewarded her with a kiss plump upon her fair full mouth and Anna, shrieking at the sight, was rewarded likewise.

Did go in my petal buggy to the home of Minna Meyrowitz, where were gathered a comely company of wits and there was great joking over Mayor Hylan's five-cent fare, and I said, "If it be not fair to me, what care I how fare it be?" wherat all laughed loudly and voted me the most whimsical man who had ever come to East New York.

You see, it really isn't hard to do.

If that's the sort of stuff our customers want, Gott verlutte.

For our part we prefer more educational material.

Just now, for example, we learned all about bird life on the Malay Archipelago.

Very instructive. It seems that the Malay Archipelago is practically filthy with birds, some of whose names you have probably never heard and couldn't remember if you did hear, you old dum-kopff.

It was a moving picture that we got into by mistake and it went on and on giving nearly all the details of the life of these birds from the egg to the last mating.

One of the most instructive parts showed how a mother Mutch (that is the name of a whole set of birds) carries her young.

She doesn't carry them where you would think she would carry them, in her beak.

No sir, she lugs them around under one wing like a colored porter in the Pennsylvania Station.

Another thing we learned which came in the nature of a surprise was that there was more guano in the Malay Archipelago than almost anywhere else.

All our life we had been suffering under the impression that the world's guano supply was furnished by the New York Commercial under the auspices of Freddy Marvin.

Live and learn.

We see our old buddy Adam Coal-digger has written a piece about the blessings of leisure, and to read it you would think Adam was just an old bum. Incidentally there is in it one of the finest pieces of English prose that has come to our attention these many moons, but we don't want anyone to suffer under the impression that Adam spends a lot of time loafing.

We had to work for that deceptive old sinner once and, honest, boys, he dug us out of the hay at sunup and chased us hither and yon with such relentless persistency that the only way he could get any rest was to jump out of a second story window and bust our collar-bone.

Why, would you believe it, he nearly drove us to drink?

A Voice: "What do you mean! 'drove'?"
McAlister Coleman.

The Press and the I. W. W.

Though nowadays well aware of the existence of the I. W. W., the public still knows little about the organization and its members. Moreover, a great deal of what it does know is false. For thirteen years the I. W. W. has been consistently misrepresented—not to say vilified—to the American people. The public has not been told the truth about the things the I. W. W. has done or the doctrines in which it believes. The papers have printed so much fiction about this organization, maintained such a nation-wide conspiracy of silence as to its real philosophy—especially as to the constructive items of this philosophy—that the popular conception of this labor group is weirdly unrealistic. Brissenden, "The I. W. W.: A Study of American Syndicalism."

Prof. Garner says that the chatter of monkeys is not meaningless, but that they are conveying ideas to one another. This seems to me hazardous. The monkeys might with equal justice conclude that in our magazine articles, or literary and artistic criticisms, we are not chattering idly but are conveying ideas to one another.—Samuel Butler.

CHINESE SOCIALISM IN A NEW PHASE

By JAMES ONEAL

NO powerful Socialist movement in the modern sense is possible in China until industry becomes fairly well developed and an extensive population of wage laborers appears. Peasant and handicraft production are still dominant in China although modern capitalist industry has appeared in some of the large cities.

However, China has for more than twenty years reacted to the Socialist movement of other countries by the appearance of small groups of workers and intellectuals to study and propagate Socialism. Following the revolution which ousted the Manchu dynasty, a number of Socialists were elected to the Chinese Parliament and fifty Socialist papers were published, but in 1913 Yuan Shi Kai issued a decree abolishing the Socialist Party. He also dissolved Parliament and the whole movement suffered by his arbitrary and brutal measures.

The entrance of China into the World War, the war between various military chieftains, the establishment of two governments at Peking and Canton, and the meddling of the Powers in China brought confusion into the Socialist movement. A minority of Socialists in Parliament voted against entering the war. After the death of Yuan Shi Kai, Dr. Kiang Kang-Hu, who had been one of the most prominent leaders of the Socialist Party, returned from his exile abroad. However, plans of reorganization were interrupted by the insurrection to restore the Manchu dynasty and Kiang Kang-Hu was again forced into exile.

Kiang's European Contacts
Dr. Kiang attended meetings of the Second and Third Internationals and came into contact with many European Socialists and returned to China in August, 1922. He again took up the work of Socialist organization and in June, 1924, the party adopted a Manifesto and declaration of principles. This Manifesto, written by Dr. Kiang, announces what he calls the "New Democracy" or the "New Socialism."

"The new program has a peculiar Chinese flavor and it emphasizes the fact that the Socialist movement of any country is certain to be stamped by the historical and social development of the country in which it is organized. Dr. Kiang is President of the Southern University at Shanghai and his education and propagandist zeal have made him the foremost representative of the Chinese Socialist movement. A summary of the new program may be presented in his own words:

In my opinion, political reconstruction should follow the doctrine of the New Democracy which comprises three principal items, namely, Elite Suffrage, Full Power to the Legislature, and Occupational Representation. As to economic reconstruction it should follow the doctrine of New Socialism which also comprises three principal items, namely, Public Ownership of Capital and Natural Resources, Compensation According to the Result of Labor, and Universal Education and Public Support of the Incapable.

The Manifesto then proceeds to

Revival of Movement Accompanied by Program Unique in the History of Socialism

consider the program in detail and to explain what is meant by each of these items. It seeks a "true majority Government" and not a majority "of the ignorant and inexperienced," for the latter is the "rule of stupidity." Nominally, it is a rule of the majority, but "in reality the minority rules."

Electoral Proposals

Therefore it is proposed to base representation on economic organizations, but office holders "should pass a suffrage examination based upon a common knowledge of law and political science" and as the educational level rises the number fitted for public service will be increased. Those who pass examinations "would become elite citizens and possess full political suffrage" but they must also belong to some occupational group. From this we gather that suffrage itself would be based upon a certain educational

standard. Considering the widespread illiteracy in China we need not be surprised at this method of meeting the problems it brings.

Landlords and capitalists will also have occupational representation under this plan, but as they will be represented in proportion to their numbers they cannot become a majority. Moreover, they cannot use "loafers, vagabonds and other social parasites" in elections as they do in other countries, for these parasites will not be elite citizens. He anticipates the gathering of the propertied classes into a right wing in legislative bodies and the masses into a left wing, but "persons belonging to each wing must vote for their own kind" because it is evident that "those of the right wing cannot represent the left wing" and vice versa.

The program recognizes the danger of concentrating on reforms on

the one hand and of complete revolution on the other and seeks an intelligent middle course. "Those who advocate radical reconstruction," it reads, "have neglected historical inheritance, the racial characteristics of the people and the actual economic conditions, thus bringing their movement in a topsy-turvy fashion." It points to Russia as an example of this truth. The program of the party in relation to other countries is contained in a paragraph that is worth quoting in full:

Our party holds the principle of internationalism but realizes that, until we can also secure an equal position among other nations, we shall have no right of self-expression, and, moreover, we shall have the danger of foreign subjugation and enslavement. We, therefore, before saving other parts of the world, start from the salvation of our own country;

and, before liberating the whole of humanity, begin with the liberation of our own race. We advocate self-determination in domestic politics, diplomatic equality in foreign affairs, territorial integrity of our fatherland, and the readjustment and propagation of our original civilization with our best effort.

The second sentence of this paragraph could be studied to advantage by those who propose to run the Socialist movement of all nations into a uniform mold. The party will maintain friendly relations with the two internationals but will also "reserve our independent character."

Oppose Coalition Governments

Party representatives shall not "enter in the Government circle until they obtain the political power with which they can carry out their

political principles." They must remain in opposition and criticize. "We shall resist, but not with violence. We have secrets, but not intrigues."

All citizens of China, "without distinction of race, religion, or sex," may become members of the party if they are above the age of twenty-one and can write their names, support the party program and "obey the orders of the party." Each proposed member must be recommended by two or more members and applications must be approved by the head office. Each member must pay an entrance fee of one dollar and two dollars annual dues, the funds being divided between local organizations and the head office. Three or more members may organize a local unit and when the membership reaches fifty or more the unit becomes a branch.

Annual conferences are to be held the representation to be based upon the number of members in each branch. The head office is located at Shanghai.

Some other features of the program and organization are interesting but we cannot go into them here. It is certain that the Socialist Party of China has a future and with the development of capitalist industry and the enormous resources of China this section of the world movement for working-class liberation will play an important role in the international movement.

LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

International Help for Danes

With nearly half its membership either locked out or on strike, as the result of a desperate effort by the Danish bosses to break the strength of organized labor in the little kingdom, the Danish Trade Union Central is in the midst of a hard struggle and needs the help of the union men of other countries. The Secretariat of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam, after an investigation by one of its representatives, has asked all the affiliated organizations and the various International Trade Federations to get busy and rush financial aid to the Danes, who have always been liberal in doing their bit for other battling workers. Already the General German Federation of Labor has contributed \$100,000, while the central body of the unions of Holland has sent in \$10,000. C. Mertens, General Secretary of the Belgian Trade Unions, has issued a special appeal for the Danes and similar action is expected all over the trade union world. The main object of the Danish employers' attack is the sliding scale by which wages automatically are adjusted to the cost of living as the index figure rises or falls. About half of the 130,000 workers involved were locked out and the others went out in sympathy. The principal unions in the fight are the Metal Workers and the General Workers. The transport workers are reported as having gone out on May 15. Some 25,000 of the men belong to unions outside the National Centre, but they are all fighting together. Attempts by the Government Conciliation Institution to avoid a nationwide struggle seemed successful until April 17 when the Employers' Association decided that because the Metal Workers and the General Workers had refused to accept the Conciliation Institution's proposals a general lock-out should be declared. Then the war was on, as both sides determined to make it a finish fight along the line. Thus far the Danish workers have managed to keep their wages up to, or a little above, the rise in the

cost of living and they don't intend to let them slip backwards.

Swedish Unions Continue Growing

Unlike their brothers in nearly every other country the Swedish union men have not only held their own since hitting the high mark in membership shortly after the end of the World War, but have kept adding to their numbers instead of losing ground. According to figures received by the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U., the Swedish Federation of Labor gained 47,315 members in 1924, making its total membership on Jan. 1, last, 360,337, of whom 31,054 were women. The Metal Workers made the biggest gain—8,028, with the Forestry and Lumber Workers second with 6,893 recruits. Under a new agreement recently made between the Swedish building trade workers and the employers, covering 6,000 men, the hourly wage is raised five ore, so that the highest category is now 85 ore and the lowest 65. (100 ore equal twenty-six cents.)

Hodges Now Permanent Secretary

Frank Hodges, former General Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and a member of Ramsay MacDonald's Labor Government, was elected Permanent Secretary of the Mine Workers' International at a meeting of the General Committee held in Brussels, April 28-29. It was decided that the permanent secretary cannot be either a member of Parliament or a Government functionary during his term of office. Herbert Smith presided at the Brussels meeting at which a resolution was passed calling for an inquiry, with the aid of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, into the coal crisis in Europe due to the overproduction of that industrial staple. The General Committee also fixed the time for the sending of a committee to study mining conditions in Russia as July next.

Unionism in Portugal

In announcing that there will soon be a national Labor Congress held in Portugal, the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U. reports the Portuguese Labor movement as rather confused. In Lisbon the groups sympathizing with the Berlin Syndicalist International are influential, chief among them being the General Confederation of Labor. This organization was founded in 1919, and at that time had a membership of 80,000. Now, however, its numbers scarcely exceed 40,000, and many of its organizations do not pay any contributions. Before 1919,

the Social Democratic workers were organized in the National Labor Union. In Lisbon, they could not hold their own against the General Confederation, but in Oporto they have many adherents. In this town there are important unions in which Socialists have the upper hand, and these have never been affiliated with the Syndicalist International. For some trades there are Communist unions, closely connected with the Red International of Labor Unions, but in the General Confederation these are in the minority.

Warning From Brazil

In response to numerous inquiries from abroad about Labor conditions in Brazil, the information bureau of the General Labor Union in Sao Paulo has sent out a letter reading, in part, as follows: "The chief demand in Brazil is for land workers and skilled industrial workers. There are plenty of unskilled workers. Economic and political conditions in this country are now so uncertain that we strongly advise workers not to emigrate to Brazil. Prices are now so high in comparison with the normal rate of wages that large numbers both of land-workers and industrial workers are on the verge of starvation. In the case of industrial workers, it should also be noted that rents are so exorbitant that they swallow up half the worker's wages. Moreover, at the present moment industry in Sao Paulo, the economic center of Brazil, is in great difficulties for want of adequate supplies of electric power, so that tens of thousands of workers are on half-time. In view of these facts, no worker should take the criminal responsibility of bringing over his family to Brazil." It has been reported of late that the Brazilian Government has not only suppressed several unions, but is trying to build up "yellow" unions with the help of a "National Labor Council," whose members are appointed by the President of the Republic.

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IN DARKEST AMERICA

(Continued from Page 1.)

Pennsylvania

sponsored by one of them. There were several good reasons why this did not happen. Some of them, while good, clean union men, were new members and others were elected on minority party tickets.

New members are seldom versed in the mysterious ways in which things are done, or not done, in the Pennsylvania Legislature and are, therefore, not considered a good risk, while members representing a minority party have trouble in making headway with their bills, unless the bills are very tame or in the interest of Big Business. On the other hand, there were several union-card men in the lower House, elected by the majority party, some of them having been sent to the Legislature for the past ten or fifteen years, all of them very clever and well-versed on parliamentary procedure, but not one of them could be considered, because we knew their past records on Labor legislation and, therefore, could not trust them. This, to be sure, is a sorry confession, but it is true, nevertheless. Holding membership in a union does not always mean that the man is a good union man, any more than holding membership in a church always means that the person holding such membership is always a good Christian.

Bill Introduced

Representative Robert E. Haas, of Allentown, who had also prepared a compensation bill, at our request, agreed to sponsor our measure, instead of his own. The compensation amendments, as prepared by us, were, therefore, introduced in the lower House on Wednesday, February 25, and, from that day until the closing days of the session there was a lively contest between the friends of the measure and its opponents. The bill, being a Labor measure, should have gone to the Committee on Labor and Industry, and the sponsor, Mr. Haas, asked the Speaker to send it there. But Mr. Grundy's ex-lobbyist, who was installed as secretary to the Speaker, sent it to the House "Pickle" Committee, known as Insurance.

In the meantime, another compensation bill made its appearance. Representative Lucas, of Philadelphia, introduced a bill providing for the reduction of compensation from \$12 to \$10 a week and other outrageous mutilations of the present law. This bill, we understand, was inspired by the soft coal operators. It was also referred to the Insurance Committee.

The Committee showed no signs of doing anything about the bills referred to them and, except for the pressure we brought to bear, our bill would have been allowed to die in committee. They, finally, did agree to give us a hearing. All who spoke favored its passage and presented facts and figures showing, not only the necessity, but justice of the measure. After the public hearing, the Committee went into executive session and agreed to do nothing, other than to announce that, a week later, another hearing on the bill will be held, to give employers a chance to be heard. No one has yet explained why the employers, many of whom were present at the first hearing, were not heard then. To delay action was, of course, the real reason.

A Coal Agent's Work

At the second hearing, Henry Wilson, a former member of the Legislature, from Jefferson County, representing the soft-coal operators, dwelt, principally, upon the virtues of the Lucas bill and condemned, in scathing terms, the Haas bill. The Lucas bill, he contended, would remedy a great evil that now existed in the present compensation law, which provides extra compensation for the loss of a hand, arm, foot, leg, or eye; that an injured worker should be satisfied with \$10 a week for the actual time he was unable to get around to work and should not be entitled to any extra compensation for the loss of a leg, arm, or eye. "This loss," Wilson said, "the injured worker should be compelled to contribute toward industry." That was one of the reasons why he favored the Lucas bill, instead of the Federalist's bill.

THE MAIL BAG

Editor, The New Leader:

In your issue of May 30, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, in an article "Housing for the Workers," among other things, says:

"And we, therefore, urge upon the voters consideration of the following proposals to solve the housing crisis."

"(b) The creating, by Act of the Legislature, of municipal and town housing Commissions with power to carry through town planning, to build tenement houses, to control funds intended for house-building purposes, to condemn and purchase by eminent domain land and other real property, thus making it possible to wipe out slum districts and prevent the holding of land for speculative purposes."

As a matter of fact, when the Government of England went into the housing scheme, land speculation increased by leaps and bounds; the owners of land doubled and trebled the price, and the housing

Mr. Wilson, evidently, believes that the loss of an eye, arm, or leg doesn't mean anything if the loss of such member happens to belong to a worker. He laments the fact that the toilers do not, cheerfully, offer their limbs for slaughter on the altar of Greed. This is the same Wilson who, as a member of the Legislature in 1915, when the compensation law passed, tried to kill it by helping to tack an unconstitutional amendment to the bill. Wilson, unfortunately, was born about 500 years too late.

Ben Clark, representing the soft coal interests, pleaded for the poverty-stricken coal operators; that what industry needed was not more expense, but bigger profit; that they were under a terrible expense and were not making any money; that the Legislature should not harass them with additional burdens but, instead, help them; that the coal operators needed help; that the Haas Act would spell ruin to the soft coal industry, etc.

Juggling by "Pickle" Gang

Representative Haas took the wind out of Clark's sails when he quoted figures compiled by expert actuaries, to show what the increased cost of compensation would be if his bill passed. It would mean only one-half of one cent a ton on coal and one-fourth cent on \$10 worth of manufactured products, and that even this would be paid by the consumer and not the employer.

The Committee again went into executive session and decided to turn the bill over to a sub-committee of five. This, of course, meant more delay. The sub-committee kept the bill for ten days, then handed it back to the Committee without any recommendation. The chief picklers once more postponed action but decided to meet again on the following Monday night, April 6.

On April 6, the "Pickle" Committee met again and, after having the bill in their possession exactly forty-one days, reported it back to the Legislature with a negative recommendation. The bill was then supposed to be dead and buried. The following day, Representative Miller offered a motion to the effect that Haas Bill, No. 985, be put on the calendar, notwithstanding the negative report of the Insurance Committee. The motion carried by a vote of 100 for the motion, and 92 against it.

Our bill was now not only out of Committee, but on the calendar, ready for first reading. The next day, Wednesday, it passed first reading. Once more, the invisible government got busy. They failed to kill the measure in Committee and the 100 votes polled to put it on the calendar convinced the wire-pullers that we had enough votes to have the bill passed.

So, word was passed along to the effect that more delay was needed to kill the bill. Six legislative days before adjournment still remained—enough to pass the bill. The order read, "Adjourn for the week and cut the legislative days down to five and thus avoid giving the bill second reading on Thursday." So, in spite of a vigorous protest on the part of about one-half of the Assemblymen, Speaker Bluff declared the motion to adjourn the Assembly until the following Monday night carried, denying a division, or roll-call, which several dozen members demanded, and the Legislature, with about ninety-five bills on the calendar, adjourned Wednesday, April 8, for the week.

Parliamentary Tricks

I have no recollection that such a thing ever happened before—the Legislature adjourning on a Wednesday, the week before final adjournment! The adjournment meant that our bill could not get second reading until Monday and final passage on Tuesday. If there would be no more holdups, we could still get it passed, providing the Senate would take favorable action by reporting it out of committee and giving it first reading the same day it passed finally in the lower

House. We, promptly, proceeded to pave the way for rapid action in the Senate, once the bill got there.

Among the bills on second reading, along with our own, were several that the invisible government wanted passed. We, of course, knew that an effort would be made to show these measures special favor.

The following Monday, April 13, when the House convened again, the calendar was, of course, loaded down with third-reading bills. According to the House rules, all bills on final passage and third reading would receive first consideration, second-reading bills would be last, about 11 p. m., it was evident that they could not reach second-reading bills before midnight, the hour set to adjourn the day's session. A motion was made to suspend the rules and give the "gang's" pet bills second reading. Representative Whitehouse, of Schuylkill County, amended the motion to also include the Haas Bill, No. 985. Rather than stand for the amendment, the "gang" withdrew its original motion. Whitehouse then offered a motion to suspend the rules and to immediately take up the consideration of all second-reading bills. Rather than risk this motion, the tools of the invisible government fell over themselves in making motions to adjourn. A motion to adjourn was defeated, and the Whitehouse motion to act at once on all second-reading bills passed by a vote of 116 to 67. Our bill, therefore, passed second reading on Monday, April 13, and, according to regular procedure, should have been on file for third reading and final passage the next day.

Labor Bill Disappears!

There were three roll-calls affecting our bill and we carried all three. This convinced our opponents that we had enough votes to pass the bill. The five dictators controlled by the invisible government did not control quite a majority of the votes cast in the Assembly on our measure, but they did control absolutely the legislative machinery, the Speaker, his secretary, the appointment of committees which they carefully loaded with a majority of their own gang whom they knew would stand without hitching. So, controlling the machinery, they could do, behind the scenes, what they lacked enough votes to do in the open.

To defeat us, our bill had to be robbed of another legislative day and they managed to do this. Someone was ordered to lose, or steal, the bill. So, on the day that the bill which proposed giving a few dollars more to the victims of industry was to receive final consideration, it could not be found. All bills were on file except one and that one was the one amending the Compensation Law.

Upon inquiry from those whose business it is to know we were told that the printer was so busy that he didn't have time to print it. Of course the bill had been printed several times and there remained little for the printer to do, other than fix up a few errors. Besides, it seemed strange that the printer

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could manage to have all the other bills ready, except ours. The printers, on the other hand, didn't seem to know anything about the bill.

For twenty-four hours, the Haas Bill, No. 985, was lost, or stolen. The next day, Wednesday, April 15, the bill appeared in its regular place on the legislative file and then, fancy our surprise to find that, besides being a day late, it suffered mutilation. The bill, during its absence, had been sabotaged. Ten words were lifted out of the bill and ten other words, in no manner whatever related to compensation, were inserted. Only two more days of the legislative session were left: when the mutilated bill was returned—one day short of the time necessary to have it passed and our efforts to give the injured workers, widows, and orphans a better Workmen's Compensation were defeated, not by the Legislature, but by the unscrupulous, un-American tricks of Pennsylvania's dictators, the conscienceless tools of predatory wealth, and these are the rascals who bellow the loudest about their 100 per cent Americanism.

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The Realm of Books

True Patriotism

PATRIOTISM IS NOT ENOUGH.
By John Haynes Holmes. New York: Greenberg

A Review by NORMAN THOMAS

DR. HOLMES' title, taken from the noble words of Edith Cavell before her execution, is a sound statement of a position which Socialists have always held. (Whether Socialists have always acted on it is another and sorrier matter.) Briefly, Dr. Holmes argues that love of country is in itself a good thing. But when love of country (the nation) is united to a blind allegiance to Government (the State), the resultant emotion (patriotism) is a "distinctively and wholly modern virtue," fraught with danger to mankind. All economic and social facts require an enlargement of loyalty to include the whole world. Internationalism and "that larger patriotism which is its soul" is on its way, but the question remains "as whether in its coming the world is to be racked into its doom, or is to arise at last triumphant from its agony to the welcome and nurture of the better day."

Truly that is a question which must come home to every heart. Dr. Holmes states the issue with real insight into history and psychology as well as with great eloquence. One might wish that he had analysed more fully the economic factors in the present strife between nations—factors of which he is evidently aware. An analysis of these factors might perhaps somewhat soften his antithesis between love of country and loyalty to the State. Unfortunately, many men and women not predisposed to worship the State find that once the issue is drawn in the economic field between their nation and another, and still more after the economic struggle has led to war, they feel obliged to support their State lest their country be overrun by the enemy. That is part of the tragedy of our present irrational social organization.

Toward internationalism of an effective sort and the nobler patriotism Dr. Holmes' book is a real contribution. Mazzini was one of the makers of Italy because he preached with flaming zeal the ideal of a united Italy to peoples sunk in petty provincial loyalties. What Mazzini did for Italy, prophetic voices in every country may yet do for mankind. Through this book speaks one of those voices.

Will Erect Monument To Louis A. Goldberg

Comrades and friends of the late Louis A. Goldberg, who was Philadelphia Manager of the Daily Forward, were present at the Women's Circle Cemetery, Fox Chase, Philadelphia, June 1, when a monument was erected in his memory. Goldberg was well known in New York and Cleveland as well as Pennsylvania. For a time he was a Socialist organizer in the Brownsville section of this city; he later was party organizer in Cleveland. The Philadelphia comrades invite New York comrades and friends to be present at the erection of the monument.

Forthcoming additions to the American Library, published by Albert & Charles Boni, are: Two new volumes, "Moby Dick" and "Mardi," added to the definitive edition of Melville's works, edited with introductions by Raymond Weaver. The first two volumes published last fall were "Redburn" and "Israel Potter." Two new volumes are also added to Bierce's works, "The Monk" and "The Hangman's Daughter," his only novel, and "The Devil's Dictionary," which H. L. Mencken says "contains some of the most gorgeous witticisms in the English language."

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From the North

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

THE LITTLE DARK MAN. By Ernest Poole. New York: Macmillan.

HERE are two books in which are related stories of people seemingly very different from the people of modern industrial civilization. These folk in Scandinavia and Russia are openly superstitious in the old established manner, a manner the folk of today flatter themselves they have outgrown, but which, if clearly analysed, would doubtless prove to be only shifted, transferred into an up-to-date argot or unrecognized tradition.

"The Treasure" is a simple tale of sixteenth-century Sweden—a bit of folk lore of as recent a date as the late 1500's, told with the simple, vivid descriptive ability which is one of its author's marks of genius. It has that indefinable atmosphere of the Scandinavian legends; ruthlessness and steadfastness are surely part of that atmosphere—and stark beauty.

There is a great deal of charm, likewise, in the four sketches brought together by Mr. Poole. They have that quality of mystery, of the unfathomable unknown, which one encounters in Russian stories. They are plain, unvarnished tales of warnings from some source, unaccountable except through the supernatural, and tales which have grown up around some typical national phenomenon, like "Mother Volga." It appears that Mr. Poole has a genuinely sympathetic understanding of Russian character which he passes on to his reader.

M. F.

A Modern Classic

SOUTH WIND. With a Special Introduction by the Author. By Norman Douglass. The Modern Library. New York: Boni and Liveright.

THIS is an exceedingly clever satire that first appeared in 1915. Its reception by the critics was that of a masterpiece, and it was given an abundance of favorable criticism. Mr. Douglass blazed a trail which led to what may be called the sophisticated school of literature; for since his work appeared many new authors have followed his signposts. Of "South Wind," Professor Saintsbury wrote to the author the following letter:

Permit me to be tedious, as well as illegible. I am seventy-five. I have read more novels than a man of 750 ought to have done. For some twenty years I used to review hundreds or thousands of English and scores of French as they came out. For another twenty years, the first of this so-called age, I have come across just two new novelists who have given me something that I recommend to a friend. The author of "South Wind" is the second in order of time, not rank.

The action of the story takes place on an island, "two-thirds imaginary. And the remaining third of it is distilled out of several Mediterranean islands; it is a composite place." The characters who have their being in "South Wind" could only have come from the brain of a genius. The story is not only brilliant but amusing, and some of society's pet customs and superstitions are so cleverly ridiculed that those whose toes are trod upon can only smile and forgive—and later awake to the realization that the author's meaning was too subtle for them to entirely grasp at first. It is not putting it too strong to say that "South Wind" is one of the very few classics of its time.

M. D. W.

What peace is there between the hyena and the dog; and what peace between the rich man and the poor? Wild asses are the prey of lions in the wilderness; so poor men are pasture for the rich. . . . A poor man speaketh, and they say, What is this? And if he stumble, they will help to overthrow him—Ecclesiasticus.

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ARTHUR WILLIAMS, its Vice-President, will contend that it has the right kind of "PUBLIC" OWNERSHIP, while MORRIS HILLQUIT will maintain the contrary at the

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A Year of Labor Government

A Review by WM. M. FEIGENBAUM

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (1923-1925). By "Iconoclast." New York: Thomas Seltzer. \$2.00.

THIS brilliantly written book completes the record that was brought down to 1923 by "Iconoclast" in her earlier book, "The Man of Tomorrow." In the present volume she tells the story of the great adventure of the Labor Government, and appraises the character of the chief figure in political Socialism today.

In 1924, when MacDonald persuaded the Labor party to take up the reins of government, there was an air of buoyancy in the party. People thought politically. There was a note of hope. That note was sounded by MacDonald. For about six months, or up through the London Settlement, that note persisted. People looked toward the MacDonald Ministry with faith. Its performances justified that hope.

Then there was a change; almost imperceptible at first, and then becoming more and more noticeable, until it appeared as if a storm had broken upon the Government. The Russian treaty was an incident. The Campbell prosecution and its discontinuance was a pawn in the game. The biscuit automobile was used to the limit. The "Red Letter" that was alleged to have been sent by the arch meddler and muddler, Gregory Zinoviev, was used to prove that MacDonald was a Bolshevik agent and that the Bolsheviks were a terrible danger.

Briefly stated, this is the story: The Tories had the largest number of members in the House following the 1923 poll, but not a majority. They had appealed to the country on the issue of Protection and there was a substantial majority against them. That majority was composed of 191 Socialists and 150 Liberals. Under the British parliamentary system, it was possible for that party of 191 (in a House of 615) to assume the powers of Government. The vote of censure that turned out the Tory Government was a simple motion "That this Government has not the confidence of the people," and it was carried by a combined Labor and Liberal vote. Now, in justifying his support of the Labor Government, the leader of the Liberals, the husband of Margot Asquith, repeatedly told his party that the Labor Government held on only by virtue of the favor of the Liberals and that he could turn it out whenever he wanted to.

But in vote after vote the Labor party triumphed; it put through many reforms and many of the brilliant younger men of the Liberal party were deserting to Labor. The Liberals had to do something to make good Mr. Asquith's boast. And the campaign of calumny, of lying, of unmitigated mudslinging that resembled a typical American campaign, was the result.

It is good to have the story in print. It is a shameful one; it shows us that the nice, polite Tories and Liberals, who say that they are so friendly with everyone who differs from them, are just like the representatives of Capitalism in any other country when their power is menaced; that is, they will fight like tigers, fairly if they can—but unfairly if they must. And they fought a dirty fight!

MacDonald's ministry will always be remembered as one of the glories of England. His work in clearing the air of Europe, the friendly methods of approach to diplomats and statesmen in other countries, his appeal to the decent in the peoples in the countries he was dealing with—that work alone will rank him among the great statesmen of all time. He is a Socialist, you see, and in office he remembered, as a Socialist, it is the duty of nations to bring happiness to men and women and children, not to serve an empty and barren and mythical national "honor" at no matter what cost. That is what his statesmanship meant; it drove Poincaré from power in France by convincing that country that England was not its enemy. He brought Germany back into the family of nations, thus establishing real peace

for the first time in a decade. He was responsible for taking the troops out of the Ruhr, for the newer, better, cleaner spirit in the world.

And that wouldn't do. The Socialist blighter had to be exposed. Winston Churchill had said that Labor was not fit to govern, and MacDonald was proving that he was wrong. Asquith had to make good. Winston had to make good. And so the trap was set.

The most valuable part of the book is a careful study of the so-called "red letter." The venal Capitalist press had been raising the "Bolshev" bogie. MacDonald was a tool of Moscow. He was taking orders from Zinoviev. And so, while he was on one of the most gruelling political campaigns any man ever endured, while he was physically worn out and mentally exhausted, the trap was sprung. Of course the letter may have been a forgery; but that really doesn't matter. Zinoviev is quite capable of writing a thing like that and he has written even more insane "theses" that have been issued with all the solemn pomp of an important person. MacDonald was in Wales, without a secretary. His staff in the Foreign Office (almost exclusively Tories) sent him the text of the "red letter," together with a draft reply to be handed to Christian Rakowsky. MacDonald redrafted the letter, sent it back and instructed his underling in the Foreign Office not to make the matter public without hearing from him; and in any event not to take any action without first assuring himself that the Zinoviev letter was genuine.

The Foreign Office thereupon disobeyed the orders of its chief and made public the Zinoviev letter and a reply, signed by one of the underlings. Now, that letter, "Iconoclast" points out, contains two paragraphs so much at variance with each other that they were undoubtedly written by two different hands. For example, Paragraph 3 says that the Communist International is "in intimate connection and contact with the Soviet Government," and that "No Government will ever tolerate an arrangement with a foreign Government by which the latter is in formal diplomatic relations of a correct kind with it whilst at the same time a propagandist body organically connected with that foreign Government encourages and even orders subjects of the former to plot and plan revolutions for its overthrow." In other words, when that note was handed to Mr. Rakowsky, it meant the end of relations between Great Britain and Soviet Russia.

Paragraph 5, however, says in effect the same thing, but in words as different in tone from the above paragraph as the newer MacDonald diplomacy differed from Curzonian diplomacy. In that paragraph (too long to be quoted here) MacDonald left the way open for con-

tinued friendly intercourse to the end that the crazy tactics of Zinoviev would lose the force they had when they dealt with a nation governed by stiff-necked reactionaries. While Paragraph 3 closed the door in the face of the Russian people and immensely strengthened the Zinovievian reaction.

Now, how did both those paragraphs get into the same document? "Iconoclast" makes a guess at it. She says that she knows MacDonald's methods from having served on party committees with him. She says that when he has a document before him, or draft resolution, he interlines his own words, but it is a trick of his not to strike out that which he discards. The reason, she says, is that he might have both the discarded and his own versions before him in debate. Now, Mr. Gregory wrote the old-style note, the door-slammed-in-the-face note, ending all hope of future friendliness and strengthening the hands of the die-hard Communist reactionaries in Moscow. MacDonald discarded that paragraph and rewrote it in the new spirit, the Socialist spirit of friendliness, in the spirit that alone will restore the relations between Russia and the rest of the world. But in accordance with an old party habit of his, he did not strike out that which he discarded in his working draft. The final draft would see all the angles and corners rounded off, all the discrepancies reconciled. The instructions were emphatic not to release anything without further word. Those instructions were disobeyed, and the hodge-podge that was released became a Government document. It was the red flag. Two million women who, otherwise wouldn't have voted came out and lined up with the people who plotted that trick. And so the glorious adventure of the Labor Government died.

"Iconoclast" tells us some fascinating things about MacDonald's personality; he is a reserved man, a defiant man, a man who is so absorbed in what he is doing that he may very well offend those with whom he is not working. But a man of vision; like William Morris, he is the kind of a Socialist who sees in Socialism not merely better wages and more hours in which to drink beer, but rather a release of all the faculties of mankind for a better, a finer and a nobler life. To serve that ideal he risked jail and his liberty and his life. To serve that ideal he never yielded an inch on his principles. To serve that ideal he was willing to lead the most perilous adventure in all Socialist history—or to go back into obscurity or even obloquy. He is here pictured as a glorious, selfless character.

The book reveals a remarkable character in a remarkable period. To be worthy of such a subject it must be a remarkable book. And it is. No Socialist should fail to familiarize himself with it.

Oh, Hell!

A Review by DAVID P. BERENBERG

HELL'S PLAYGROUNDS. By Ida Vera Simonton. New York: Brentano's. \$2.00.

THE author of this novel recently won a suit against Leon Gordon, the playwright. She accused Gordon of having stolen his play "White Cargo" from the pages of this book, which had been published as early as 1912. She is said to have obtained some fabulous sum like a million dollars in damages. Now that seems to me one of the most horribly unfair situations that I have yet met with. The play, which I have seen, is interesting. It is exciting; it is not more poorly constructed than most plays produced by play carpenters; it has held the interest of intelligent audiences for hundreds of evenings. And the book? Drivel. If Gordon got anything from the book, it was merely the ghost of his idea, a few hints as to the setting, and a bare suggestion for two of his characters. The outstanding figure of Gordon's play, Witzel, is a mere shadow in the book. The Gabonaise of Miss Simonton's book is not even the ghost of Tondoleyo, the only woman in Gordon's play. Gordon probably saw the book before he wrote his play, but he no more copied his play from the book than Shakespeare copied "Julius Caesar" from Plutarch. The learned judge thought otherwise; which shows, merely the judge knows more law than literature.

If Gordon had not resurrected this book (and I say Gordon advisedly) it would have gathered dust in second-hand shops eternally. It will now have a brief vogue, but even the publicity attendant upon the case of Simonton vs. Gordon cannot keep it alive for long. It is prolix and it is dull. It is written by a lady who is capable of harboring in her mind at one time the following ideas: (1) That all exploration of Africa by the whites is bad for Africa; (2) That the Africans are an inferior race who ought to be kept rigidly in their places; (3) That the English, and by attraction the Americans, are destined to rule vast empires. I suspect the book was first conceived as a tract—one of those that synchronized with Morel's exposure of conditions in the Belgian Congo. It is a poor tract.

The very worst thing about the book is its style. It is studded with such atrocities as "twas" and "tis." At every opportunity the author airs her French. She takes her hero hunting for the sheer pleasure it gives her to describe with suitable Latin names the plants of the African jungle.

She knows nothing of the art of writing. The unusual nature of her setting carries the reader further than he would normally care to go in a book so poorly written. But Miss Simonton is too weak for her theme. It doesn't get away from her. It bags down. Well—only a reviewer must read to the end.

UNITY HOUSE OPENS JUNE 12

Of the many monuments to the strength and accomplishments of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Unity House, the Summer home in the Blue Ridge Hills of Pennsylvania, can easily be called the most beautiful.

Unity House opens its doors Friday, June 12, and all indications are that it will enjoy as prosperous a season as it has known. The Summer home has been taken over by the International Union and it will offer services which will even be an improvement over the satisfying accommodations of other years.

The management has gotten out a beautifully illustrated descriptive pamphlet telling of the Summer Camp. It says:

"Words cannot do justice to the rare beauty of the place and the camera fails to capture in drab black and white the ever-changing panorama, the inspiring landscape. To appreciate it all, one must actually be there to see and feel for one's self.

"The Unity House certainly is not a private business enterprise, run for profit; nor is it by any means a philanthropic institution. It is purely and simply a self-supporting workers' home, owned by a great Labor union, and maintained for the single purpose of providing each and every worker belonging to

it with the opportunity of enjoying a vacation under ideal surroundings and incomparable comfort and pleasure at a minimum cost. Furthermore, the hospitality of the Unity House is extended not only to our own members but to those of all Labor unions without exception.

"In its ownership, management and purpose, it may well be said that the Unity House is a unique establishment, exceptional in that it is the only workers' Summer resort of its type and size known to the workers' world.

"The management is primarily concerned in providing and satisfying in so far as possible the needs, desires and requirements of the thousands of workers who visit the Unity House.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Literature
VICTORY. By Leonie Aminoff. N. Y.: Dutton.
THE MANDARIN COAT. By Alice C. D. Riley. N. Y.: Brentano.
FISH AND ACTORS. By Graham Sutton. N. Y.: Brentano.
THE TREE OF THE FOLKLINGS. By Verne Von Heidenstam. N. Y.: Knopf.
SONATA AND OTHER POEMS. By John Erskine. N. Y.: Duffield.
CARD CASTLE. By Alice Waugh. N. Y.: A. and C. Boni.
REPLENISHING JESSICA. By Maxwell Bodenheim. N. Y.: Boni and Liveright.

Social Science
IMPRISONMENT. By Bernard Shaw. Brentano.
WAR-TIME ADDRESSES OF J. L. MAGNES. N. Y.: Seltzer.

Miscellaneous
GEORGE LOUIS BEER. A Tribute to His Life and Work. N. Y.: Macmillan.
THE PERSONAL EQUATION. By Louis Berman. N. Y.: Century.

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capitalist and the art of the modern.
400 pages, cloth \$2, paper-bound, \$1
Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Calif.

--- D R A M A ---

Other-Worldly Drama

By JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

THE slowly revolving circle of dramatic history has brought the gods upon the stage again. The "other-worldly" plays of today have kin among the masterpieces of ancient Greece, where fates and furies, satyrs and demigods, even the rulers of high Olympus frisked or thundered in the amphitheatres. The theatrical gods of Greece degenerated into a form that the Romans welcomed as "deus ex machina"—god out of the machine; an immortal who came down from above, to command a play to end properly—somewhat as Gilbert's conquering pirates suddenly yield at the mention of Queen Victoria's name. (Many a playwright today prays vainly for such help.) In the Dark Ages the light of God was withdrawn from the stage, where the Devil flourished in multiplied manifestations, attaining his greatest glory, of course, in the legend of Faust. Meanwhile the supernatural came in other guise: ghosts invaded the theatre. The single wrath of Hamlet's father is a pallidly creature beside the battalions of specters some of the tragedies of blood reveal—again captured in modern burlesque in Gilbert's host of ancestors stepping from their portraits in "Ruddigore."

However, like the earth, modern

drama has moved forward while completing its cycle. It achieves the other-worldly in any of three ways, all justified insofar as they are successful. The dramatist may boldly bring, to mix among his creatures of flesh and blood, others of more spiritual extraction: the wraith of the drowned girl in Strindberg's "Spook Sonata"; the ghost of the baroness, who kills the hero in Grillparzer's "Ancestress"; the student's spirit, that haunts the heroine in "The Dabbler"; recently shown in the Yiddish Art Theatre; the ancestors in "The Yellow Jacket"; or the strange gods of Dunsany—and possibly suggestions in such plays as "The Return of Peter Grimm" and "The Servant in the House." The playwright may also, with greater courage, transport his "real" characters to the other world, and draw down heaven or praise the pits of hell upon his platform: hell in "Man and Superman," in "A Morality Play for the Leisure Classes," and in "The Adding Machine"; heaven, too, in "The Adding Machine"; the judgment seat in "Liliom" and (after the Styx is crossed) in "Outward Bound"; the emptiness of eternity in "The Glittering Gate."

He may, finally (and with more caution), wrap the other-worldly in the mist of dream, so that the whole is admittedly but a vision, with the character waking at the close, a sadder and wiser man.

"Bachelor's Brides"

Charles Horace Malcolm's
New Farce at the Cort
Theatre Very Amusing

"Bachelor's Brides," the new farce comedy by Charles Horace Malcolm that opened last week at the Cort Theatre, may not solve any profound historical, economic, sociological or moral problems, but it gives one a hilarious evening; and there are those who believe that that is enough for any one play to do.

It is all about an English gentleman with a moderately lurid past who finds happiness in the love of a beautiful American girl. She is heiress to a million, but she doesn't tell him. He is heir to an earldom, but he doesn't tell her. Their love is earnest and unselfish. Comes then his conscience and the memory of his—ahem!—intimacy with ladies other than his beloved Mary Bowing. Come then stirring events, such as a mysterious baby sent in the guise of a wedding present, and a letter to the effect that a certain gentleman is about to sue his wife for divorce naming him as co-respondent.

Now, Major Percy Ashfield has had a normal bachelor's life; and although we learn in the last minute of the play that the baby is the lawfully begotten child of Catherine Tweed and her lawfully wedded husband, Percy doesn't know it, and he remembers a lurid evening he once spent that might very well have accounted for the baby. And at one time he was found under the bed of his friend's wife; he was only looking for a collar button, but how was the husband to know it?

It all comes to a boil in the course of a dream in which his fiancée, his two lady friends, the uncle and guardian of his lady love, and his mother all get balled up in a hodge-podge that is one of the funniest scenes in the current theatre.

Of course, it all comes out all right. Percy clears himself and Mary comes to his arms, while Catherine gathers her baby to her bosom and the aggrieved husband forgives his wife. But while the characters are getting jelled and then unjelled the audience has a whale of a good time, and what more do you want?

W. M. F.

Zurich Theatrical Festival To Open on June Tenth

Word comes from Zurich, Switzerland, that the Zurich Theatrical Festival will open June 10 and continue up to and including June 20. The program will include the "Intermezzo" of Richard Strauss and the opera comic of Wolf-Ferrari, "I Quattri Rusteghi," to be sung in Italian by artists from Scala under the baton of Ettore Panizza.

THE NEW PLAYS

SATURDAY

"LUCKY SAMBO," a negro musical comedy, featuring Porter Grainger and Freddie Johnson, will open at the Colonial Theatre this Saturday night. A large cast is announced for the production, including Fred Tunstall's brass band and jazz orchestra. The book, music and lyrics are by Porter Grainger and Freddie Johnson.

MONDAY

"GARRICK GAETIES," which has been playing special matinee performances, will be presented by the Theatre Guild for a summer run at the Garrick, beginning Monday night. Some changes in the staging and some additional numbers will be added.

"THE RIGHT TO LIVE," a new comedy by Sheldon White, opens at Wallack's Theatre Monday night, sponsored by Walter O. Lindsey. Among the cast are Edith King, Leah Winslow, Mary Daniel and Nellie Burt. Roland Rushton directed the play.

"CHATTERBOX," Will Morrissey's Revue, will come to the Times Square Theatre Monday night, presented by Jack Welch. Richard A. Whiting and Raymond B. Egan furnished the score of "Chatterbox." Howard Emmett Rogers is the writer of the scenes. Clark Robinson created the scenery. Included in the cast are Hal Forde, Margaret Wilson, Horace Ruwe, Leo Donnelly, Dan Healy, George Christie, Mabel Drew, the Five Locust Sisters, the "Chatterbox Quartette," the famous Parodians, and Marjorie and Robert Altan.



MADELEINE FAIRBANKS,
one of the principal reasons for
the success of "Mercenary Mary,"
L. Lawrence Weber's musical
show at the Longacre.

Salsburg Festival Program Completed

THE full program, dates and details of the famous dramatic and musical festival at Salsburg this summer was announced this week from the offices of Morris Gest, who is in receipt of a cable from Max Reinhardt, general director of the enterprise. Visitors to the festival will be issued a special Austrian pass visa on the frontier from July 1 through August 30 on presentation of tickets or an order for tickets. Continental railroads will provide direct train service before and after each performance to and from Vienna and all important resorts.

The festival will open with the presentation of "The Great Salzburg World Theatre," written by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, performances to be given August 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 23 and 24. "The Miracle" will be presented August 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 26, 27 and 29 with Lady Diana Manners in the role of the Madonna and Rosamond Pinchot as the Nun. Both productions will be housed in the Old Riding School of the Prince-Archbishops.

The Vienna State Opera will give two performances each of Mozart's "Don Juan," to be conducted by Dr. Karl Muck; Mozart's "The Marriage of Figaro," with Dr. Franz Schalk conducting, and Donizetti's "Don Pasquale," under the direction of Dr. Bruno Walter. The operas will be presented in the Salzburg Municipal Theatre, August 24 to 30.

Three orchestral concerts by the Vienna Philharmonic Society are scheduled for August 28, 29 and 31, and five chamber music concerts by noted Central European orchestras will be held in the Mozarteum, August 13, 15, 19, 21 and 26.

Florenz Ziegfeld announces that the summer edition of the "Follies" will open at the New Amsterdam Theatre, on Monday, June 15.



MARY BLAIR

will take over the role of Abbie Putnam in "Desire Under the Elms," at the Geo. M. Cohan Theatre. O'Neill's drama is now in its 30th week.

Rather Odd

"Odd Man Out" Twists
Cleverly in the Eternal
Triangle at the Booth

The idea behind "Odd Man Out," the new comedy by Paul Fox and George Tilton, at the Booth Theatre, is sufficiently ingenious and novel to develop through a pleasant evening. To enjoy it, however, we must first travel to an imaginary land where persons somewhat different from those we know may be supposed to dwell; at least, that is the impression produced by Dickon Bancroft. He is a happy husband, he loves his wife, would not be without her, yet spends only two weeks of the year in her company and allows her complete freedom of adventure and outside love. The lady seems to require constant change, and to be quite able to secure it; at the beginning of the play we find her mourning her husband's death, for engaging in a flirtation with a wealthy roue and at the same time reviving within herself her first "and only real" love, for a young and penniless fellow.

The point of the play seems to be that she loves her husband without recognizing the fact, or else merely that there is, after all, and after all the world has to offer, no place like home—as a place to return to, a place of refuge and rest. At any rate, when Julie Bancroft discovers that going off to marry the poor lad she once loved and so sentimentally sought to convince herself she loved again—when she finds that her departure with him means leaving Dickon for ever, she turns about-face and runs off for a cruise with the roue. This is a tremendous relief to Dickon, also, for he now knows she will come back to him. Just why he should want her to (aside from the personal charm of Alma Tell, who plays the part) is difficult to determine.

One must confess a certain irritation with the play: much of the dialogue is very clever, but just as one records with a granted smile a worthwhile phrase, along comes a comment banal and obvious, waving its signals high. The exits and entrances were not well managed; a small cast must be ushered in and out with greater caution than the authors displayed. But the acting, especially that of A. E. Ansack, was smooth and natural, and perhaps tipped the scales so that "Odd Man Out" will not go down.

W. L.

"Wildfire," by George V. Hobart and George Broadhurst at the Capitol

The Capitol Theatre, beginning Sunday, will present the Vitaphone production "Wildfire." This is a picturization of the famous play of the same name by George V. Hobart and George Broadhurst which enjoyed a year's run on Broadway and several subsequent ones on the road. Vitaphone sent its entire company to Havana, Cuba, to bring back the most thrilling race episode that could be "shot." T. Hayes Hunter, who directed the picture, spent several weeks at Oriental Park and finally got some actual race stuff, flying horses, yelling crowds, thrilling finishes and regular race-track atmosphere. The cast is headed by Aileen Pringle and she is supported by Edna Murphy, Holmes Herbert, Edmund Breese, Mary Thurman, Antrim Short, Tom Blake, Lawford Davidson, and Will Archie.



BARBARA LA MARR
in Galsworthy's "The White
Monkey," coming to the Colony
Theatre, Sunday.

The Latin Players of Lafayette College have leased the Provincetown Playhouse for the week of June 8, and will present "The Brothers Menaechmus," a translation of a Latin play by Dr. John R. Crawford, Professor of Classics at Lafayette.

--- T H E A T R E S ---

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And a Great Cast

CENTURY THEATRE NEW SUMMER PRICES: 50c., \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00, \$2.50 and \$3.00 Wed. Mat., Best Seats, \$2.50 (All plus 10 per cent Tax)



Life and Music of Offenbach.
Cast of 250—Kosloff Ballet of
50—Symphony Orchestra.

BROADHURST THEATRE, 44th St. W. of Bway Eves. 8:30. Matinees Thurs. and Sat. The MESSRS. SHUBERT Present



"MAN OR DEVIL"

By JEROME K. JEROME
Author of "THE PASSING OF THE
THIRD FLOOR BACK"
Staged by LAWRENCE MARSTON

44th ST. THEATRE Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30. THE MESSRS. SHUBERT PRESENT AN ALL-STAR REVIVAL OF GILBERT & SULLIVAN'S



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SARAH EDWARDS, STANLEY FORDE,
ELSA PETERSEN and a CHORUS OF
100 VOICES.

CHASIN'S THEATRE 46TH ST. Just West of Broadway Eves. 8:30. Matinee Sat. ONLY. 2:30. 6th MONTH of RECORD BREAKING BUSINESS



The Laugh Sensation
By JAMES GLEASON
(Co-author of "The Fall Guy")
and RICHARD TABER

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



Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN
Symphony Orchestra of 40
Singing Chorus of 100
Ballets (Reserved)
\$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20, \$2.75, \$3.30
Good Seats at Box Office

LONGACRE THEATRE, 46th St. Eves. 8:30 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 LAWRENCE WEBER'S SOLID "Mercenary Mary" It's the first selection among musical comedies. Music by Con Conrad. Staged by WILLIAM B. FRIEDLANDER.

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS GARRICK 65 West 54th Street. Evenings, 8:20. Matinees, Thursday & Saturday, 2:30. REGULAR ENGAGEMENT BEGINS MONDAY NIGHT, 8:30. "GARRICK GAETIES" CORKING MUSICAL REVUE

GUILD THEATRE, 52nd Street West of B'way. Eves. 8:15. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:15. Telephone: Columbus 5229 BERNARD SHAW'S famous Comedy CAESAR and CLEOPATRA WITH LIONEL ATWILL, HELEN HAYES, HELEN WESTLEY, ALBERT BRUNING, SCHUTLER LADD, HENRY TRAVERS, EDMUND ELTON and seventy others. Staged by PHILIP MOELLER.

KLAW Thea. 45th St., W. of Bway. Eves. 8:40. Matinees: Wed. and Sat. at 2:40. THE PULITZER PRIZE PLAY THEY KNEW WHAT THEY WANTED A COMEDY BY SIDNEY HOBART — WITH — RICHARD BENNETT and PAULINE LORD

Rothafel to Have Own Movie Palace

ANOTHER moving picture theatre is now being planned for upper Broadway—a moving picture palace seating 6,000 people. Samuel L. Rothafel—known by radio fans as Roxy—announced at a dinner of the Rotary Club, Tuesday night, at the Hotel McAlpin, that the new theatre known as the Roxy Theatre will go up on the site of the car-barn at Seventh avenue and Fifth street, and will represent an investment of about \$6,000,000. Demolition of the car barn will begin in August and the new theatre will be ready in the fall of 1926. The stage will be the largest ever incorporated in this kind of structure.

Mr. Rothafel is now in charge of presentations at the Capitol Theatre. He is a pioneer of the present type of motion picture entertainment with music and brought his ideas to New York from the Middle West about twelve years ago. With his troupe of radio entertainers he is known to millions of radio devotees throughout the United States as "Roxy and His Gang."

Douglas Fairbanks' New Film "Don Q" Opens at Globe Theatre, June 15

The world premiere of Douglas Fairbanks' new film offering, "Don Q, Son of Zorro," will take place at the Globe Theatre, June 15. Mary Astor has the leading feminine role, with Jack McDonald and Donald Crisp, the latter of whom also directed the picture, in the chief male supporting roles. Others in the list of players are the Countess Stella De Lanti, Warner Oland, Jean Hersholt, Albert MacQuarrie and Lotie Pickford Forrest.

The roles of both Don Q. and his father, Zorro, grown older and more sedate, but still full of fire and still adventuresome, are played by Fairbanks. The story is from the novel, "Don Q's Love Story," by K. and Hesketh Pritchard, and was adapted for the screen by Jack Cunningham.

The Relief Fund of the Mayor's Committee on Rent Profiteering will hold its second annual vaudeville benefit on Sunday evening, at the 44th Street Theatre. Stars from "The Student Prince," "The Love Song," "Sky High," "Is Zat So?," "The Fall Guy," "The Mikado," and other plays have already volunteered their services. The Shuberts have donated the use of their theatre.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY
The Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, will show a new film, "The Verdict," a detective melodrama with a cast which includes Lou Tellegen, Elliott Dexter, Louise Lorraine, William Collier, Jr., George Fawcett, Gertrude Astor and Taylor Holmes.

The Keith-Albee vaudeville consists of Irene Ricardo; Bert Lahr and Mercedes; Hector the Pup and His Gang; Snow, Columbus and Saki, with The Sarasota Six; Gaines Brothers, and other acts.

JEFFERSON
Monday to Wednesday—Grant and Wing and Orchestra; Eddie Conrad and Company; Jones and Rhea, others. Viola Dana and Ben Lyon in "The Necessary Evil."

Thursday to Sunday—Val Harris and Company; Shaw and Lee; Bartram and Saxton, and other acts. "Recompense," with Marie Prevost and Monte Blue.

REGENCY
Monday to Wednesday—Willie West, McGinty and Company; Joe Marks and Company, others. "The Necessary Evil," with Viola Dana and Ben Lyon. Thursday to Sunday—Mel Klee; Davis and McCoy, other acts. "Recompense," with Monte Blue and Marie Prevost.

Broadway Briefs

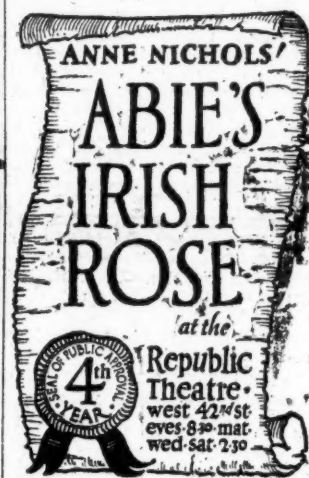
Sheridan has interested the visitors to The Neighborhood Playhouse, on Grand street. "The Critic," Sheridan's delightful satire, will continue until Sunday, June 14.

Next Monday night, "Lady Be Good," now on view at the Liberty Theatre, will be presented in San Francisco at the Curran Theatre.

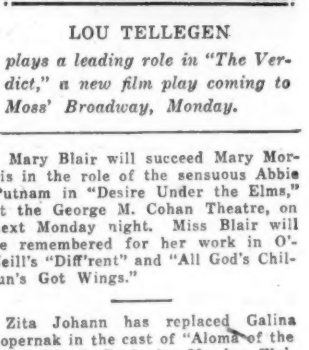
Channing Pollock's new play, "The Enemy," opened June 1 at New Haven. Crosby Gaige is producing the play, with Robert Milton directing.

Leon Gordon, author of "White Cargo," joined the cast of his play Thursday night, at the 39th Street Theatre. Mr. Gordon will play the role of Witzel.

"The Green Hat" will open September 1 at the Eltinge, presented by A. H. Woods. The Michael Arien drama will terminate at the Adelphi Theatre, Chicago, July 24, playing Eastern seaside dates prior to New York.



ABIE'S IRISH ROSE at the Republic Theatre West 42nd St. Eves. 8:30 mat. Wed-Sat. 2:30



LOU TELLEGEN
plays a leading role in "The Verdict," a new film play coming to Moss' Broadway, Monday.

Mary Blair will succeed Mary Morris in the role of the sensuous Abbie Putnam in "Desire Under the Elms," at the George M. Cohan Theatre, on next Monday night. Miss Blair will be remembered for her work in O'Neill's "Diff'rent" and "All God's Children's Got Wings."

Zita Johann has replaced Galina Koperak in the cast of "Aloma of the South Seas." Beginning Monday, Walter Gilbert will take over the role hitherto played by George Gaul.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"The Verdict," with Lou Tellegen, Elliott Dexter, Louise Lorraine and Taylor Holmes.

CAMEO—Henry Carey in "Silent Sanders."

CAPITOL—"Wildfire," by George V. Hobart and George Broadhurst, with Aileen Pringle, Edna Murphy and Holmes Herbert.

COLONY—"The White Monkey," John Galsworthy, with Barbara La Marr and Thomas Holding.

RIALTO—"Eve's Secret," from "The Moon Flower," by Zoe Akins, with Jack Holt and Betty Compton.

RIVOLI—"Are Parents People?" with Betty Bronson, Adolphe Menjou and Florence Vidor.

THEATRES

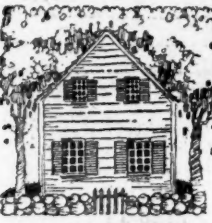
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MATINEE SATURDAY ONLY



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"THE CRITIC"

Orchestra, \$1.50. Balcony, \$1.00

Engagement Extended To and Including Sunday Evening, June 14
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COLONY
NOON
TO 11:30 P. M.

BEGINNING SUNDAY
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— IN —
'WILDFIRE'
A Vitaphone Picture
Famous CAPITOL Program
CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA
BALLET CORPS AND ENSEMBLE
Presentations by ROTHAFEL ('ROXY')

CAMEO 42nd St. | Noon to
Bway | 11:30 P. M.
BEGINNING SUNDAY
HARRY CAREY
In a Red-Blooded Tale of the Far West
SILENT SANDERSON
A HUNT STROMBERG PRODUCTION
FAMOUS CAMEO THEATRE
ORCHESTRA

MUSIC

Opera Comique
Next Season

A SUBSCRIPTION season of opera
comique, the first full season
ever launched in America, will
be given next year under the manage-
ment of Charles L. Wagner, concert
manager.
His plan at present has "Fra Dia-
volo," "Die Fledermaus," "Lily of Kil-
lanearney," "Iolanthe" and "H. M. S. Pin-
afore," by Gilbert and Sullivan, and the
famous old "Giroffe-Giroffa," which has
not been revived for many years.
Mr. Wagner plans to have these
works cast with opera singers and to
put each on for a minimum of four
weeks, that period to be partially guar-
anteed by subscriptions. The whole
thing will be in the nature of an ex-
periment, and should it prove suc-
cessful, the plans will be extended.

Music Notes

The second concert by Charles Cas-
telli—who was a member of the Peo-
ple's Opera at Budapest, Hungary—will
be held in the People's House, 7 East
15th street, New York City, this Sun-
day, at 8:30 p. m. Songs selected will
include classics, operas, modern and
folk-songs in Hungarian, Italian and
English.

Others on the program include Mme.
Ria Wagner, violinist, and her quartet,
as well as Mr. Eugene Petke, pianist.

Tamaki Miura, the Japanese prima
donna, whose fame in this country has
been largely made through her singing
of "Madame Butterfly," will be featured
next season in a new Japanese op-
eretta, "Mamiko San." The opera is in
one act.

Arturo Toscanini will introduce a
new work by Ottorino Respighi, "Pini
di Roma," at one of his concerts with
the Philharmonic Orchestra next win-
ter.

Dr. Denzo Gal offered his second suc-
cessful recital last Sunday afternoon.
He sang an entertainment program with
a voice of beautiful quality for which
he was generously applauded.

Stadium Auditions at
Aeolian Hall Next Week

Auditions conducted by the Stadium
Concerts Committee and the National
Music League will continue next week
at Aeolian Hall, on Monday, Wednes-
day, Thursday and Friday. The first
hearing for pianists will take place on
Monday, the first for violinists on Wed-
nesday, and auditions for singers on
Thursday and Friday. All hearings
will start at 2 o'clock. About 100
young artists are scheduled to appear
at the four sessions. The hearings are
open to the public.



DOROTHY FRANCIS,
prima-donna of "The Love Song,"
the operetta based on the life of
Offenbach, now in its sixth month
at the Century Theatre.

Frank Tours will act as guest con-
ductor at the Rialto Theatre, begin-
ning Sunday. Mr. Tours has just com-
pleted his final season with Irving Ber-
lin's "Music Box Review."

DRAMA

Danforth Celebrates
1000th Performance

William Danforth, veteran American
comedian, last Saturday celebrated his
1,000th performance in the title role
of "The Mikado," the Gilbert and Sulli-
van operetta, now being revived at the
44th Street Theatre. The performance
also marked the 3,048th time that he
has appeared in a Gilbert and Sullivan
role.

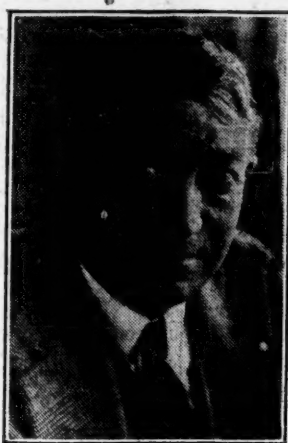
Danforth's first appearance as the
Mikado was in the summer of 1886 in
Washington, D. C., the year the op-
eretta was written. Followed a tour
which led him to all the leading cities.
Since then he has been called upon
almost yearly to interpret the title role
in various revivals. His first New York
appearance as the Mikado was in the
Shuberts' revival at the Casino The-
atre in 1910. He again played the part
on Broadway in 1915 and also in 1920.

In addition to playing the title role,
Danforth, at various times, has im-
personated Ko-Ko and Pook-Bah in "The
Mikado." He made his first stage ap-
pearance at the age of thirteen in his
home town of Syracuse, playing Dick
Dead-Eye in a juvenile production of
"Pinafore." Since then he has played
in all the Gilbert and Sullivan op-
erettas as well as in scores of other
musical successes, including "Blossom
Time."

Broadway Briefs

Jack Haskell, English dance director,
will stage the dances in the newest edi-
tion of "Artists and Models," now in
rehearsal. Clifford Grey, English lyri-
cist, who wrote the words for a num-
ber of scores used in the Grossmith
and Malone productions in London, has
been engaged to write the lyrics.

The Messrs. Shubert presented two
musical productions in Chicago last
Sunday night—"Artists and Models of
1924," at the Apollo Theatre, and "June
Days" at the Garrick. "June Days" is
the musical version of "The Charm
School," adapted by Harry Wagstaff
Gribble and Cyrus Wood.



EDMUND BREESE

has an important role in "Wild-
fire." The film version of the
Hobart-Broadhurst stage success
comes to the Capitol, Sunday.

John Galsworthy's Latest
"The White Monkey," at
Moss' Colony, Sunday

"The White Monkey," John Gals-
worthy's much discussed novel in pic-
tured form, will have its pre-release
showing this Sunday, at B. S. Moss'
Colony Theatre, with Barbara La Marr
in the principal role. Arthur Hoerel
is responsible for the screen adapta-
tion. The supporting cast includes
Thomas Holding, Flora La Breton, and
George Marion. A program of stage
creations will be presented. The musi-
cal numbers will be rendered by the
orchestra with Dr. Edward Kilenyi and
E. Charles Eggets, conducting. John
Priest will preside at the Console.

Elliott Nugent will henceforth be
featured in "The Poor Nut," at Henry
Miller's Theatre.

FROM PLATO TO THOMAS MORE

(Continued from Page 5.)

social teachings were based directly
on the philosophy of ius naturale. In
the beginning of society, he con-
tended, there was neither private
property nor civil law. Men lived
in an age of innocence and com-
munion. After the Fall of man,
however, man's moral fibre became
weakened, and he required artificial
support. God therefore set up a
civil government for the purpose of
fostering love among men. The
best form of government was
government by Judges; where that
was impossible, the next best was
government by kings. Civil govern-
ment was thus of divine origin, al-
though it would never have been
instituted had it not been for the
sinful nature of man. If combined
with communism, it would lead to
the perfect State.

Communism, Wycliffe held, ought
to be the actual State of society.
For God grants everything to the
righteous and makes them lords of
the earth. All men ought to be
righteous and thus lords of creation.
But multitudes of men can not be
heirs to the bounties of the earth
unless everything is held in com-
mon. Communism is thus God or-
dained, but man must constantly
check his sinfulness if he is "to

attain that degree of grace which
would render him worthy of re-
ceiving the earth as a fief at the
hands of the over-lord." He dis-
agreed with the contention of Aris-
totle that such an order of society
would weaken a citizen's loyalty to
his commonwealth. On the con-
trary, it would strengthen his loyal-
ty. For the greater the number
of people who have possession, the
greater the sum total of interest
in social welfare and the greater
the social unity.

Wycliffe's doctrine of the divine
origin of the civil law, however,
precluded sedition and violent over-
throw, and Wycliffe gave no direct
aid to the Peasants' Rebellion,
though his teachings had a very
considerable influence in bringing
this rebellion about.

John Ball: A follower of Wycliffe,
but a man of a more aggressive
type, was John Ball, rebel and Com-
munist. Ball, too, held the theory
of the natural State. In the be-
ginning, Ball declared, all men were
created equal by nature. Servitude
was introduced by the oppressors
against the will of God. If God
had willed it, He would have created
both lord and serf. But
"When Adam delved and Eve span,
"Who was then a gentleman?"
The people should abolish the

oppressors. They should fell the
lords and all who do injury to the
community. When these are gone,
all will enjoy freedom.

A sample of Ball's exhortations
is handed down by Froissart:

"My good people, things cannot
go well in England, nor ever will,
until all goods are held in common,
and until there will be neither serfs nor
gentlemen, and we shall be equal.
For what reason have they, whom
we call lords, got the best of us?
How did they deserve it? Why do
they keep us in bondage? If we
all descended from one father and
one mother, Adam and Eve, how
can they assert or prove that they
are more masters than ourselves?
Except perhaps that they make us
work and produce for them to
spend. They are clothed in velvet
and in coats garnished with ermine
and fur, while we wear coarse linen.
They have wine, spices and good
bread, while we get rye bread, offal,
straw and water. They have resi-
dences, handsome manors, and we
the trouble and the work, and must
brave the rain and the winds in the
fields. And it is from us and
our labor that they get the means
to support their pomp; yet we are
called serfs and are promptly beaten
if we fail to do their bidding."

Ball took an active part in the

Peasant Revolt, and after the de-
feat of the insurrection died on the
gallows. A similar communistic
tinge appeared in the exhortations
of Jack Cade and his followers in
the Kentish rebellion of 1449.

Thus Shakespeare put into Cade's
mouth:

"I have thought upon it; it
shall be so. Away, burn all the
records of the realm; my mouth
shall be the Parliament of Eng-
land. . . . And henceforward all
things shall be in common."
(Henry VI., Part II., Act 4,
Scene 7.)

Despite these revolts, enclosures,
rent raising and the development
of sheep shifts went on apace.
Farmers dispossessed flocked to the
cities, and, concurrently with the
breaking up of the old farmers'
organizations, the guild system of
the city was smashed into a thousand
bits.

Faith and Reason. In the midst
of this chaos in industrial life the
thinkers of the day began a quest
for new truths and men began to
place a growing reliance on "knowl-
edge as the regenerator of faith and
society." Secular thought, with the
increasing importance of economic
and commercial activity, and the
discoveries of new portions of the
earth, began to separate itself from
theological dogma. "A rationalist
element entered the life of the
Christian. . . . Finally, reason was
endowed with creative powers;
right reason, acting through great
educators, legislators or king-phil-
osophers, could call into being per-
fect republics, virtuous and happy
nations, and correct the fateful
effect of the Fall of man."

UNEMPLOYMENT
IN NEW ENGLAND

(Continued from Page 2.)

than the textile workers. Less than
two-thirds of them are working at
all. During the month from March
to April there was a fall of ten
per cent in the number of those
employed, and a decrease in em-
ployment amounting to approxi-
mately twenty per cent in the year.
Full time is a rarity. Brockton,
Lynn and Haverhill are the big shoe
manufacturing towns. In Lynn,
only nineteen per cent of the work-
ers are on full time; in Haverhill,
only 16 per cent, and in Brockton
only nine per cent.

The plans of the shoe bosses ap-
pear to be to starve the workers
into accepting a wage cut. If the
workers will unite, they may be
able to prevent this. But, unfor-
tunately, they are badly divided.
The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union
is dominant among the workers in
and around Brockton, the Shoe
Workers' Protective Union controls
the workers in Haverhill completely,
and in Lynn the Amalgamated Shoe
Workers is the strongest, although
all three unions have organizations
there.

The reduction of wages which al-
ways follows severe unemployment
is already beginning in the shoe
trade. Out of the eleven manufac-
turing establishments throughout
the State where there were wage
changes during April, eight estab-
lishments cut wages, and six of the
eight were in the shoe trade.

THE CRISIS OF 1928

(Continued from Page 3.)

sign wars, by calling a unanimous
anti-military strike, the common
people discovered the secret of end-
ing war forever.

Capitalist impotency was immedi-
ately and completely exposed. "Pub-
lic opinion"—that manufactured
product of press, pulpit and polit-
ician, subsidized by capitalist dol-
lars—spent itself ravingly, yet
futilely against the new movement
which had arisen. It is only regret-
table that the minds of the masses
had not been thoroughly prepared
to utilize this new power!

"If the United capitalism can sup-
press Collectivism in Europe it will
mark the beginning of a new feudal
system. On the other hand, if the
United people refuse to move at the
behest of their capitalist rulers it
will mark the beginning of a
Capitalist upset in United; for the
world cannot long remain half cap-
italist and half Collectivist," so con-
tinued the writer's prediction.

A Confused Program
But here arose complications. It
is questionable if the Collectivist
party or any of its branches ever
possessed a practical solution for
such a national crisis, although it
had long boasted it had the only
solution. In refusing to wage war
against the victorious proletarians
of Europe the conscript youth of
United had unconsciously
carried out part of this party's pro-
gram; and the party, now a wreck
of its former self, could do nothing
towards shaping this quasi-revolu-
tionary mass to its ends. Though
they refused to support a movement
to restore Europe to capitalist rule,
the masses generally were by no
means ready to introduce collectiv-
ism into United. The soldiery in the
camps expressed but one desire: to
return to their homes and their jobs.

They only wished assurance from
authorities that they would not
again be gathered against their wills
for any sort of military service.

The nature of the crisis which
arose and is now impending is there-
fore not revolutionary. It is eco-
nomic. The world's finances and in-
dustries have gone to smash save in
United; here the failure is only par-
tial. But industrial development
ceased; the loss of almost all foreign
trade threw the nation on its re-
sources.

Retrenchment was the only hope.
And never was there such retrench-
ment! The nation's superfluities
were cut off with one accord. Auto-
mobiles, to cite one concrete ex-
ample of this retrenchment, went
into their garages by the millions.
People "found their legs again," and
were the better for it.

Of course, unemployment was
general and its problems had to be
met at once. Ten million idle
laborers could not wait on the
finances to reshape themselves. Not
in the wildest imaginings of the old-
time reformers had there existed
such dreams of public employment
as was now actually commenced.
The building of countless new roads,
the deepening of rivers, the cutting
of great canals such as the Lakes-
to-the-Gulf Ship Channel—these
are but a few of the projects which
the nation plunged into immedi-
ately.

The Impending Crisis
It would seem then that with the
solving of the unemployed prob-
lem the crisis has been met. Not
at all. The public works are mak-
ing no profit; foreign trade is nil,
and with the whole outside world
melting in the furnace of collectiv-
ism there is little hope of its near
restoration. All these enterprises
must be paid for. And dethroned
capitalism is paying just at present.
So capitalism remains a menace;

for it is not in its nature to pay
without being paid.

Committees of the New Public
Opinion are now the real powers.
Political parties have lost their hold
on the nation's affairs and this can
be discerned even as we enter the
campaign of 1928. The dominant
Federalists have fallen with the fall
of their capitalist rulers; the Jeffer-
sonian, that pretended party of the
middle class, has not been able to
grasp its opportunity; and the Col-
lectivists, though making some in-
roads, have not yet offered the peo-
ple a solution of their difficulties
which seem acceptable. Many plans,
some amusing and some amazing,
are being presented to restore the
old order or to build a new one;
even some members of the female
sex are contributing to that strange
movement for the relegation of
women to their old state of eco-
nomic dependence; for it is held
that the incursion of women into
industry is responsible for the present
state of world affairs, since
every employed woman displaces
some man who is therefore con-
verted into an idler and a potential
revolutionary! Government sale of
cheap intoxicants is hailed by some
as a measure of relief, since men
who drink have their thoughts
averted from "class struggles!"
Also there is beyond doubt a power-
ful under-current of collectivism.

And finally, and with some show
of feasibility, it is proposed that
United's citizens form a gigantic
stock company, purchase the cap-
italist-owned industries, run them
in the public interest and pay for them
from each citizen's earnings! Cer-
tainly something must be done to
reshape the nation's working, trad-
ing and thinking.

And so we anxiously approach the
impending crisis of 1928. The re-
sults of it cannot yet be foreseen.

THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association.
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET
New York City
Telephone, Stuyvesant 6885

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United States	
One Year	\$2.00
Six Months	1.25
Three Months75
Single Copy05
To Foreign Countries	
One Year	\$3.00
Six Months	1.50
Three Months75

Saturday, June 6, 1925

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER WAILS

IT is really a pleasure to sit back and laugh at the intellectual reactionaries who are now thoroughly alarmed over the upsurge of the moron forces who seek to regulate our dress, appetites, habits and thought by law. Nicholas Murray Butler comes to the front with a piercing wail against the "New Barbarians." Nick says that they seek to "reduce all individuality, whether of mind or character, to a gelatinous and wobbling mass" and would create a sort of "spineless corporate opinion." It is the trial of evolution in Tennessee that provokes this distress.

But let us think for a moment. Who started this "spineless corporate opinion"? and who tried to reduce us to "a gelatinous and wobbling mass"? Was it not Butler and his ilk, the whole intellectual police brigade of capitalism, during the war? Was it not this crowd that gave the initial impetus to this tendency when they encouraged a "spineless corporate opinion" regarding the war?

Of course they did. They have called from the depths the moron, the fundamentalist, the grog warriors, the professional Sabbatarian, the State religionists, those who want to close the parks, movies, theatres and athletic games on Sunday. From their caves crawled those who would outlaw the cigarette, cigar, pipe and chewing gum. The Koo Koo heard the call and began to spy and slug. Art came under suspicion and the rich scientific thought of the race was certain to be attacked by a coalition of all these "New Barbarians."

Yes, it is to laugh. If these hordes of ignoramus ever have their way, Nicholas Murray Butler and his kind have no grievance. They issued the call to ignorance, barbarism and medieval reaction. These forces have responded to the call. If they succeed in putting the human mind into a straitjacket they should strike a medal in grateful appreciation of Nicholas Murray Butler who gave them their opportunity.

OUR ROYAL HOUSE

IN the days before the world was made safe for democracy, our bankers generally made loans to the weaker nations with the understanding that the State Department would serve as a watchful policeman over the dollars. Quite a number of Latin-American republics have in this way been made outposts of American financial institutions. In the case of China the bankers of a number of Powers organized a consortium with the blessing and protection of the respective foreign offices.

Now it is the turn of Fascist Italy to draw upon the American moneybags. A consortium of Italian banks has been granted a credit of \$50,000,000 by J. P. Morgan and Company which is intended to stabilize Italian exchange. Only a few weeks ago it became apparent that the French Government could not consider its financial program without first consulting our financial prince. When Powers of the status of France and Italy come within the scope of the Morgan sovereignty it would appear that they are destined to rank with the more helpless little nations in this financial penetration and control.

In any event, the Morgan interests now have a vested interest in the Fascist regime of Italy and we may expect more members of our capitalist and financial nobility to pay homage to the castor oil statesmen. Morgan may gather in this Fascist article and eventually add it to his collection of nations dependent upon his benevolent will. We may imagine this process continuing for fifty years until the royal house of Morgan will

have a greater collection of monarchies, kingdoms and republics than Napoleon ever ruled. With these burdens our noble house will have to organize a federation of Morgan governments and establish a super-Foreign Office and all others will be reduced to minor bureaus. Why not?

POLITICS IN PENNSYLVANIA

WE CALL the attention of our readers to the experience of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor in the State Legislature as related by James H. Maurer in this issue of The New Leader. All theoretical ideas of political action must be tested by experience and the experience of Pennsylvania workers is the experience of the organized workers in practically every State.

In the first place, it is shown that the two capitalist parties are the property of the corporate interests of the State and their agents in the Legislature faithfully represent their clients. Even in the case of "union card members" elected as Democrats or Republicans the experience shows that they are held by ties of loyalty to the old party machines. Aggressive representation of the claims of Labor is impossible because of the necessity of being "regular" and because of the fear of not getting another nomination if they do not follow the party program.

This situation is also reproduced in Congress and it recalls the Mulhall exposures in 1913. Mulhall as an agent of the National Association of Manufacturers not only had "union card members" and other "friends" of Labor secretly in his confidence, he also had agents on his payroll in central union bodies in many large industrial cities. It was only because Mulhall had a disagreement with the manufacturers that the whole dirty mess was exposed by him.

If the workers want a union to serve them, they organize and control it themselves and oppose company unions. If they want a party to serve them they must also organize and control it. Support of capitalist parties, even if union card men get nominations, is about as effective political action as support of company unions is effective unionism. Both are barren of desired results for the working class.

THE PUSH CART GRAFT

ONE of the most contemptible grafts that has run through all New York City administrations is the plundering of the pushcart peddlers who render a real service to the workers with low incomes in the congested quarters of the city. The current investigation at the City Hall reveals what has been known for many years.

There need be no surprise that it required long prodding of one peddler to give the name of a former partner who had given a sum of money to a market official. Terrorism goes with the graft. Peddlers are forced to disgorge in order to avoid being hounded from one place to another. The system has become stabilized by long usage and every peddler knows that he must "cough up." If he complains, he knows that he will be driven from the business.

While some patrolmen are caught in the mesh of the dirty traffic, probably most of them revolt at this system of plundering those whose income from a pushcart is small. Patrolmen have to obey orders from those higher up or lose their positions, so that they are tossed between two alternatives, either they must be unwilling partners of the grafting system or incur the peril of losing their jobs.

This system continues under an administration whose head continually yawns about the powerful "interests" who are trying to "get him" because he is trying to serve the "people." It is a system compounded of graft and hypocrisy and serving a low breed of ignorant Tammany leaders. Those who are capable of it do not rise higher than the ghoul who picks the pockets of the dead in the wake of a cyclone. Surely, capitalist politics cannot descend lower than this.

EVOLUTION OF THE LOBBYIST

IN the simple days of capitalism the lobbyist was a sinister figure in legislative bodies. The statesman who desired to preserve a reputation before his constituents kept the lobbyist at a distance in public. Contacts were only established in backstairs fashion and elaborate precautions were taken against discovery.

Woe to the statesman who was caught fraternizing with an agent of railroads, steel or coal.

But the reign of Cal has changed everything. A Washington correspondent of the Brooklyn Eagle traces the evolution of the lobbyist into a respectable gentleman who is consulted by high officials in Washington on all important matters. He now enjoys "the confidence and cooperation of the chief figures in the Government from the President down."

Indeed, we gather that the lobbyists of all the great interests of the nation constitute a supreme advisory council to the President and the heads of departments. The correspondent states that their "cooperation with Government departments is solicited" and they respond "with a mass of technical or specialized information on economic subjects." That the information and advice they supply are intended to support the material interests of particular capitalist groups goes without saying. A decade or so ago, the correspondent writes,

No Government department would have dared to establish intimate contacts with them. The dukes, czars, kings and princes of business were not flattered with White House attention; indeed many of them didn't dare show their face in Washington. The minor knights of the empire of business didn't enjoy the confidence of Cabinet officers and have the run of executive departments.

All of which indicates a reconciliation with the lobbyist and his elevation to the status of a recognized representative of the greater capitalism at Washington. For a number of years financial journals have been complaining of the rubber stamps sent to Washington and others often appointed to responsible positions. This new device of an advisory council consisting of direct agents of capitalist firms is probably the result of these complaints. Coolidge and Hoover want to satisfy the ruling classes, give them the kind of goods they want, and without much delay. So the needs of modern capitalism have transformed the lobbyist into a respectable man who may be dealt with in the open.

THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

Oregon School Law Vetoed

A decision of the Supreme Court of the United States nullifies the Oregon law which required that children between eight and sixteen years of age must be educated in public schools. The law was aimed at Catholic schools, but it also hit at any other schools not maintained by public authorities. The law had the approval of a popular vote in 1922 when 115,506 voters approved and 103,685 opposed it in a referendum. The Court held that the law would mean the destruction of thousands of dollars' worth of property without due process of law; that it would make the child a creature of the State, and that parents are entitled to direct the education of their children. What was attempted in Oregon was attempted in New York by the Luskens who, a few years ago, tried to strangle the Rand School of Social Science by certain regulations suitable to our powerful moneybags. This decision is one of the few the Supreme Court has reached that we concur in. When the State attempts to monopolize education by preventing private organizations from supplementing public education with other instruction the State assumes the power to shape the minds and opinions of human beings. Catholics, Protestants, Socialists, trade unions, and other organizations should be free to set up any educational institutions they desire or to publish such books and periodicals as they may wish. Moreover, this competition presented give some guarantee of free circulation of opinions. When one group seeks to use the State as a club to beat down all others it establishes a despotism, even if it rests upon a majority vote. Slaves are slaves even when they deliberately vote for slavery.

"Civilizing" Morocco

The process of carrying "civilization" to Morocco by France and Spain continues with a few new wrinkles that will make the Rifians appreciate what is coming to them. Both governments think that it would be well to surround the stubborn natives with a "ring of steel" and then "play a waiting game." This simply means a process of starvation until the Rifians submit. Meantime the Rifians have been worrying their enemies by the increasing skill which they are showing in the use of native cannon. The Rifians are undaunted after six weeks of war and while the French hold their lines they recognize that they have a hard job ahead. The French forces in Morocco charge that certain Communists have revealed some French military secrets to Rif leaders, while Communists in France are said to have secretly urged troops for Morocco to desert. Just why the disclosure of military secrets should offend the French we do not know considering that every imperialist power has its secret agents whose duty it is to try to obtain the secret plans of every other Power. Dispatches are conflicting regarding the action of the Socialists in the French Chamber. On the same day it was reported that the Socialists refused to back Poincaré in his program and by a majority of one decided to abstain from voting. The other dispatch states that "it took much maneuvering to get a formula for the vote of confidence which would satisfy

the Socialists, who insisted on inserting a qualification that the Government remain faithful to the radical program of the Left bloc." If the second statement is correct it appears to us bad tactics to support a "liberal" policy that sacrifices colonialism abroad and which eventually must react on the masses at home.

Labor Gains In N. S. Wales

With complete returns of the elections held in New South Wales last Saturday not yet at hand it looks as if the Labor party has gained enough to give it a small majority over the non-Labor groups and put the most populous of the six states of Australia under a Labor Premier, thus leaving Victoria as the only State without a Labor Government. Thus far reports give Labor forty-three seats, against thirty-one Nationalist, eight Progressives, and two Independents, with six districts still in doubt. While the cables say nothing as to the Communist vote, it is not likely to turn out large, especially as it was decided at a Communist Conference last Winter to run candidates in only four districts and to support the Labor party in the others.

Fireworks In Geneva

The "Yellow Peril" has been looming rather large during the last few sessions of the Seventh International Conference of the Labor Organization of the League of Nations in Geneva. Chaman Lai, adviser to the workers' delegation from India, charged that the toiling masses of the Far East were virtually enslaved and that the International Labor Office exists "for the purpose of hoodwinking the world's workers and is trying to prevent their onward march by giving them a little here and a little there in order to prevent an uprising and the destruction of the system that is keeping them in slavery." N. M. Joshi, Indian workers' delegate, declared that Indian princes and British rulers held a third of the Indian population in what is practically chattel slavery through contract labor. Joshi attacked British rule in the mandated territories and was backed up by Bunji Suzuki, President of the Japanese Federation of Labor. Talking on the eight-hour day and emigration, Tamon Mayeda, Japanese Government representative, made a strong plea for the abolition of discrimination, along racial and national lines. The dispatches fail to give the answers made to these complaints from Asia.

"Peace" In Bulgaria

A number of the condemned have been executed in Bulgaria and five have appealed their cases to the Court of Cassation. Two women are under sentence of death, one appealing for clemency and the other declining to make such an appeal. In the meantime the Council of Ambassadors has refused the request of the Tsankoff dictatorship to be allowed to retain the additional forces it was allowed to put down the agrarian revolt. This means that 3,000 troops will have to be demobilized but as 10,000 additional troops were permitted, Tsankoff still has 7,000 extra armed men which he can use. All available information indicates that the revolt has been

suppressed except for an occasional shooting of a rebel now and then. What is evident is that a minority clique of militarists is ruling with an iron hand at Sofia and the workers and peasants probably have years of trying struggles to win even some moderate forms of democracy. Unfortunately the majority of the population is divided into Socialists, Radical Peasants and Communists, the latter consisting mainly of peasants, and these divisions serve the dictatorship of Tsankoff and his hangmen.

A Jolt For the Oil Gang

The United States Court of the Southern District of California has set aside the Elk Hills leases in the famous oil suit to recover certain oil properties that had come into possession of the Doheny crowd. The decision states, among other things, that "Edward L. Doheny and Albert B. Fall did conspire and confederate for the making of certain contracts and agreements of great advantage to the Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company." Fall's transactions are declared null and void because they "constitute unlawful delegation of authority to the Secretary of the Interior, contrary to the terms and provisions of the Act of June 4, 1920." Some "liberal" publications are rejoicing over this decision and it certainly is a jolt for the patrioters who hoisted the Jolly Roger and proceeded to take the nation's property. But so far as the policy of permitting capitalist interests to acquire control of great natural resources, this decision does not affect that policy. Fall and Doheny merely violated the rules of the game. Since the end of the Civil War the choicest pickings in the great territory of the West and Northwest over which the North and South fought have passed into the hands of many perfect gentlemen who founded our modern corporate dynasties. Their descendants enjoy the fruits of these raids to this day and will continue to enjoy them until the masses enter into their heritage by taking over the power of production and distribution and manage them for the good of all.

Our Non-Voting Population

Last year Mr. Simon Michelet created considerable interest by the publication of figures showing that for forty years the percentage of American voters exercising the franchise had continuously declined. Only 50 per cent voted in the elections of 1920 and 1924. Since this announcement he has extended his investigation to other nations and the results show that practically all other nations, except the small states of Latin-America, stand higher in the matter of voting than the United States. The percentage of voters going to the polls in Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Norway, New Zealand, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Switzerland, the six Australian States and the Canadian provinces, is much higher than here. When we discount such causes of non-voting as sickness, death and absence from home, which apply to all countries, this American record has a certain significance. It shows that, despite all the inflated boasts of our 100 per centers, practically 50 per cent of the qualified voters do not think the parties of capitalism worth considering. The minor parties

THE Chatter-Box

To A Springtime Poet

Each year in the vernal season
(As though to forget would be treason)
You purr and you warble, and sing
With tittering frills and pretenses;
And pipe to our thawing-out senses
Your annual anthem to Spring.
You purr and you warble, and sing
To the heaven and green-covered sodland,
To the hill and the lea and the dell;
And the charm of your pen—and the printer—
Effaces all traces of winter,
While we glow in the warmth of the spell,
Sweet magic and pain-balming powers
Abide in the names of the flowers
You range in such orderly rhyme;
And Pan, and a nymph and a satyr,
Add romance and tint to the matter
And a classical lilt to your chime.
Pipe away, play away with your diction—
For I seek not to harshen with friction
The musical maze of your song.
There is need for your kind and the singing,
Though it help us so little in bringing
An end to the things that are wrong.

Nice little poem, that, don't you think? We made it up out of our own head. Jim Oneal says there ought to be enough left to fix up the chairs he uses as a sort of dictatorial throne. Jim was always full of wise retorts to us whenever we did anything immortal. Tough to work under a boss—we'll educate the hemispheres,

Trotsky in Caucasia

Time has broken from his man-made traces,
Days are fleeting over aeon spaces,
Changes flash and thunder;
The wildest fancies of our unbelieving
Are shaping solid form and we are weaving
Full cloth upon the looms of wonder.
So swift the transformations sweep to being,
So vast the harnessed forces they are
freeing,
That now—hereafter—
May banish us, Cato-like to wander,
And on the ruin we have made to ponder
With his sad tears, or our exultant
laughter.

Just to escape the furniture fixing job aforementioned, we sat down and composed the above. Nothing left in our dome now except an overwhelming desire for a cooling draught of the foamy fluid that ain't no more. Wish we could stir up a distribe against the 18th Amendment. We can't even invoke the weak strains of a threnody. All of which you might say is highly-fighty stuff for a lover of humble beer. Well say it if we want to. This hot weather makes us immune to argument.

Since the following contrib. came in sans title, we take the liberty of christening it—
Striking Shackles of Monogamy

Yes, dear Dora,
Wrong again.
Came to present
Desire's token, but leave
With the Ring of regret.

Wishes were too strong
To listen to friends,
Fed on favor and smiles,
When better food was
To be had.

Kisses, caresses,
Speak saccharine words;
The blinding blaze
Of Broadway
Wins over mountain sunsets.

Wise was Epicurus;
Omar preached the same;
Philosophy's fountain
Is excellent to quench
The thirst of love.
Instead of giving life to one,
I'll give it to the mass.

H. L. M.

All his life Eddie Levinson, sub-editor de luxe, has been endeavoring to do something distinctive—something to mark him different from the common Arrow collar crowd. At last he is about to register. He intends to spend this Summer with the Anarchist-Communist-Colony of Stelton, N. J. And, of course, his wife, Polly, and his daughter, Catha, seven months old, will share the sojourn. Catha and Polly and Ed will have the remarkable distinction, in Stelton, of knowing definitely what their conventional relationships are, backed up by marriage and birth certificates. All this will come to pass provided the Stelton Soviet does not get wind of Catha's bourgeois legitimacy.

Which all goes to prove that even under this capitalist system all the opportunities for rising from the herd are not as yet gone.

We wish to announce that Max Donner of The Bronx was the first reader of this column to take advantage of our latest circulation offer, one of our books of verse, properly autographed, for every two-dollar subscription to The New Leader while the supply of books lasts.

S. A. DE WITT.

have never had the large funds to stir these indifferent voters, while the vast funds of the capitalist parties cannot do so. Moreover, the appeals of the capitalist parties do reach these voters in one form or another without effect. The appeals of the minor parties rarely do and it is probable that disgust with the major parties has inspired a disgust for all political parties. When all is said it remains a fact that half the voters of the United States agree that it does not make any difference whether Cal Coolidge or Andy Gump takes care of the interests of the corporate masters who own the United States.