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Three Months75

THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper
Devoted to the Interest
of the Socialist and
Labor Movement

VOL. III No. 4

Ten Pages

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1926

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, New York, under act of March 2, 1919.

Price Five Cents

Huge Food Trusts Are Formed Under Guidance of Coolidge

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

IT WAS good to see Carnegie Hall jammed with people to hear the Hillquit-Darrow debate on the League of Nations. Clarence Darrow's hold on the affection and admiration of large groups of Americans is a phenomenon worth studying. His delightful humor, his salient personality, his readiness to put his brilliant services as a lawyer at the disposal of the under dog, partly account for his popularity.

But I suspect there is another reason for it—a reason which, I confess, troubles me. The great approval with which audiences greet his good natured but profound pessimism is disquieting. It is this conviction that human nature is hopeless, that what was will be, that wars are as inevitable as earthquakes, which today paralyzes effective and aggressive action by the workers. Darrow's real concern for individual liberty and the fun he manifestly gets out of life are at bottom inconsistent with his pessimistic, mechanistic philosophy. The trouble is that many people absorb his pessimism who do not emulate his zeal in behalf of the oppressed.

Some Strange Bedfellows

His opposition to the League of Nations illustrates the point. That opposition is not based on a realistic examination of the League and the way in which it works, but arises inevitably from his curious mixture of pessimism and philosophical anarchy. It was somewhat amusing to watch from the platform the applause which greeted some of his jibes at the League by people who have their own reasons for disliking the League, which reasons are not at all those which inspire Mr. Darrow. Some of my Communist and Irish nationalist friends, for instance, have far more to fear from the growing effect of Darrow's pessimism than from the League of Nations itself.

To go back to the debate. I found Morris Hillquit's general line of argument persuasive. His rebuttal speeches were especially brilliant. The problem before us is not the problem of 1919 and 1920. The League today is a going concern, an expression of internationalism, or at any rate, a piece of machinery that can be used by internationalists. Despite its bad origin and its present weaknesses it has made fairly steady progress in the right direction. Today it is less of a menace to revolutionary activity than are jingoistic nationalism and financial imperialism.

Puzzling Questions

To Consider

What bothers me is a double question: Will it help the League to progress in the right direction for our imperialist United States to join it? Will it be easier in the United States to make some headway against our own imperialism if we join the League at this time? The debaters at Carnegie Hall were concerned with other aspects of the problem and shed little light on these questions. I am as sure as I can be of any hypothetical event that if we had joined the League in 1919 or '20 both the League and our own country would have been worse off. The effect of our entry into the League would have been to underwrite the ill-fated imperialism which wrote the infamous Treaty of Versailles. The League without us was left by the great powers more or less to itself. It was not asked to enforce all the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. Sheer necessity compelled Europe to begin to put its own house in order. The process of revising in fact, if not in words, the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League has begun. It must be continued. Will it be best continued by our getting in or by our staying out until further progress has been made? Remember, the Coolidge Administration and the forces behind it are thoroughly imperialist. The only kind of internationalism they would consciously help is such a degree and kind of internationalism as great financial interests would ap-

(Continued on page 10)

200 P. C. Profit Aluminum Trust Toll Last Year

By Leland Olds

A 1925 profit of more than 200 per cent. on his common stock in the Aluminum Co. of America is what Secretary of the Treasury Mellon gets out of the government protected monopoly with which he milks households to the tune of over \$10,000,000 a year, and he appears to have the assurance that a brother cabinet member will not hasten to persecute the country's richest lawbreaker.

OVERTHROW OF LABOR GOVTS. URGED

British Fascist Urges Attempt to Demolish Labor Rule by Force

SYDNEY.—Regarding the formation of branches of the Fascisti in Australia, the Australian Labor Party has secured a letter said to be written by A. Kirby Hewlett, organizing secretary of the British Fascisti, to Captain J. O. Hatcher, organizing secretary of the Australian Fascisti, indicating the connection between the Fascisti and the anti-Labor government of both countries.

The letter, on the official letterhead of the British Fascisti, reads: "Your very interesting letter to hand regarding the progress of Fascism in Australia. It is pleasing to learn that your federal government has been assisting in initial organizational work. The supreme council notes that the movement has been launched in six states of the commonwealth."

"At the present time Australia appears to be urgently in need of resourceful fascist groups in all centers with a resolute inner council in command. Weak and vacillating governments make Fascism a political and social necessity. Such were responsible for its coming into being in Italy and also in England."

"Had the MacDonald government remained in office here we would have been required to forcibly drive it from office. Our present chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Austin Chamberlain, said: 'Were Labor returned with a working majority it would be necessary in the interests of the nation to suspend constitutional government and forcibly prevent it from assuming office.'"

"If necessary, steps should be taken to precipitate open hostilities with the militant unions. Open rioting would give us an opportunity to smash the unions and cripple Labor politically. In this we have the definite assurance that the present federal government would co-operate and will secretly instruct its officers to work in conjunction with our forces."

Socialist Propaganda Group Grows in Bombay

Reports from Bombay tell of plans being made by persons interested in the Indian labor movement for the organization of a Fabian Society on the model of the society that has done such good Socialist propaganda work in Great Britain. The Indian Fabian Society is to try to get the various Indian labor groups together upon a single Socialist platform and work for the organization of a real Indian Labor Party.

NEEDLE UNIONS TO GIVE MINERS BIG FUND

Ladies Garment Workers to Raise \$100,000—A. C. W. Will Give \$50,000

By Art Shields

THE International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union virtually assures a hundred thousand dollars for the anthracite strikers by a compulsory hour's pay assessment from each of its 70,000 New York members and an appeal to its out-of-town locals to make up the difference. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union has already taken action and if the rest of the American labor movement follows the lead of the generous needle trades organizations the million dollar war chest the strikers call for can be filled. The A. C. W. plans to raise \$50,000.

There was enthusiastic and unanimous action when the general executive boards of the 21 New York locals and the various joint boards met together with the international officers to consider the issue. The 275 men and women assembled agreed with the language of the general executive board's appeal that "it was our sacred duty, as part of the organized working class of America, to come to the aid of the fighting coalminers in this hour of their need."

The appeal to the members that the joint meeting adopted breathes the warm language of working-class solidarity. After touching on the endurance and devotion of the coalminers and the hundred percent organization in the hard coal fields that allows no scabs and makes it useless for the operators to think of opening the mines for strikebreakers, the appeal deals with the suffering of the miners and the need for immediate aid on a substantial scale.

"And it is to these martyrs of American industry," the appeal continues, "who even in the better paid portions of the coal industry average less than thirty-five dollars a week per year, our fabulously rich industry America refuses a raise in wages that would add a ray of sunlight to their existence."

"Brothers and sisters, members of the I. L. G. W. U., we surely know what it means to suffer hunger and privation in time of struggle. The miners are appealing for aid to the outside world—they are calling for aid to their fellow workers in Labor's army, to the men and women who know from their own bitter experience what it means to fight a long and soul trying conflict against a cynical and relentless enemy whose resources are inexhaustible."

The ladies garment workers gave a hundred thousand dollars to the great 1922 general strike of soft and hard coal miners and generously assisted the steel strike. The appeal is signed by President Morris Sigman, Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff and Vice-Presidents Nifo, Halperin, Antonini, Amdur, Delsberg, Boruchowitz, Hochman, Hyman, Friedman, Portnoy, Dubinsky, Gingold, Gedes, Kreindler and Greenberg.

Two Bills in Congress Propose Conscription

TWO bills providing for conscription have been introduced into the present Congress. The Johnson bill (H. R. 4899) would provide for drafting into service all persons between the ages of 21 and 30 (or such limits as the President may fix) in case of war "without exemption on account of industrial occupation." The President would also have power "to determine and proclaim the material resources, industrial organizations, and services over which government control is necessary" and to take the necessary steps "to stabilize prices of services and of all commodities declared to be essential." The French bill (H. R. 287) is still more drastic since it provides for similar conscription of individuals and resources "in the event of national emergency declared by the Congress of the United States to exist."

EUGENE V. DEBS SAYS:

"THE NEW LEADER"

"We note with special interest that the New Leader of New York, now entering upon its third year, is steadily increasing its circulation, widening the field of its activity, and achieving a standing of which its staff may well feel proud in the socialist movement."

"The New Leader was launched at a time and under circumstances anything but favorable for a radical publication, for the war hysteria had not yet subsided and the intimidation of the people, including radicals as well as the rest, limited to its narrow bounds the demand for a socialist publication."

"But the Leader under the editorship of 'Jim' O'Neal, 'Ed' Levinson, and the inspiration of its brilliant staff, including Norman Thomas, Sam DeWitt, Joseph Shipley, McAlister Coleman, Harry Laidler and others, struck out boldly and compelled recognition by producing a paper bristling with the militant spirit and at the same time treating with the highest ability the great variety of questions relating to socialist movement."

"From the very beginning the Leader has been edited with signal ability and its columns have been filled with vital matter upon all current issues, and we heartily congratulate our socialist contemporary upon the high degree of excellence it has achieved and wish it increasing power and success in the great educational service it is rendering the socialist and labor movement."

—FROM THE AMERICAN APPEAL.

NEW ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY TAKES THE PLACE OF ONE BANNED

NEWS about the Italian Labor movement is, in view of the present state of affairs there—and especially in consequence of the tightening of the censorship—incomplete and often muddled. According to reliable information which the Secretariat of the Socialist and Labor International has received, the present situation is as follows:

The Unitarian Socialist Party remains forbidden. In its place a new party has been called into being, which has assumed the name of Socialist Party of the Italian Workers—this is the historic name of the first Socialist organization founded in Italy. The starting point and center of this new body is the group of Deputies belonging to the dissolved party, the only body capable of action left to the Socialists. The former official organ of the party, *Giustizia*, is not appearing.

From within the other Socialist Party, the Maximalists, a single attempt has been made to achieve the unity of all Italian Socialists. It was made by Pietro Nenni, the former chief editor of the Maximalist Party's official paper, *Avanti!*, which is now re-appearing. When Nenni's manifesto fell into the hands of the Fascists, he resigned his position of the management of the paper, so as not to involve his party in the consequences of an individual action, as it was to be expected from the whole state of affairs that the Fascists would use it as a pretext for new measures against the party.

However, it must be noted that simultaneously with the resignation of Nenni, the party leaders of the Maximalists had unanimously taken up an attitude against his proposal, and therefore expressly refused any idea of union at the present moment.

In the trade union sphere the position is as follows: Mussolini has not dared, on account of the impression abroad, to dissolve the free trade union and the trade union federation. These organizations therefore continue to exist, but under the new laws they are not legally recognized. The only legal trade union representative bodies recognized as such are the Fascist corporations, to which actually only 10 per cent. of the workers belong. The remaining workers are not organized in the Fascist unions, but none the less they have to pay the subscription, which is deducted and collected in the industries. The position is practically that the free trade unions do continue to exist, especially centrally, but that their activities among local groups, with the exception of a few large towns, are fettered by the pressure of the Fascist power—inspections by the authorities, the duty of submitting a copy of the list of members, the seizure of funds, and the threat of loss of citizenship for those who take part in international meetings abroad.

That the Italian workers and their leaders, in spite of these fearful conditions, are persevering and not forsaking their posts, gives a proof of their courage and power of resistance which will always be a glorious page in the history of the international labor movement.

WARD MERGER IS SHIELDED BY PRESIDENT

Wall Street Puts Thru Gigantic Combine of Retail Food Trade

By Laurence Todd

Washington.

CURIOUS similarity in the way the Coolidge administration has treated demands for investigation and curbing of Mellon's aluminum trust, and the way it has ignored protests against formation of the \$2,000,000,000 Ward bread and provisions trust, is causing talk in the capital. The question is asked—are the Mellon-Phipps interests really back of the Ward project, as has been rumored?

Basil M. Manly, director of the People's Legislative Service, puts the suspicion this way: "Sinister reports are afloat in financial circles and in the baking industry that the same powerful financial and political influences that prevented a prosecution of the Aluminum Trust are backing Ward in his Bread Trust and Food Trust projects. If these whispered reports are true, that the Phipps-Mellon millions have financed and protected Ward in his spectacular career, the public is entitled to know it. If they are false, the truth should be known. The public is entitled to know what financial powers are allied with Ward in his enormous mergers and stock promotions."

He points out that four years ago William B. Ward was the unknown head of two small baking companies; that he then secured financial help from an undisclosed source, and launched the \$500,000 United Baking Corporation. Next he drove the rival branch of the Ward family out of the business, and the United Baking Corporation was outdone by the \$600,000,000 Continental Baking Corporation. Finally, he took over the General Baking Corporation and reincorporated it in Maryland, with a nominal capital of \$1,000,000,000. Finally has come the two-billion-dollar Ward Food Products Corporation—all within four years. Of course, what is happening is a stupendous transmutation and stock-watering process, which lays a tax on every person in the United States who buys bread or similar foods.

Senator King Demands Probe

Senator King of Utah, Democrat of strong anti-socialist tendencies, started an attack on the new food trust as soon as the Senate met on the Monday following Ward's announcement of the deal. Senator Norris joined King in ridiculing the pretension of benevolence written into the articles of incorporation of this new economic dictatorship. King declared that "undoubtedly we are tending toward Caesarism in this country when the federal administration can look with indifference upon the growth of a private monopoly of this kind." Norris asked, ironically, whether King had overlooked the fact that Ward was chiefly interested in administering charity, and that the making of profits was the farthest thing from his mind. King asked that his own resolution calling for inquiry into non-enforcement of anti-trust laws be sent to the judiciary committee for action.

Manly's statement recalled the fact that two years ago he laid the facts of Ward's proposed bread trust before Congress, and that the Senate then adopted Senator La Follette's resolution ordering an investigation by the Federal Trade Commission. He now asked that the Senate refuse to confirm Commissioner Hunt for reappointment, since Hunt, with Van Fleet and Humphrey, has helped Ward by paralyzing action by the government against the bread trust. They have suppressed for two years his inquiry ordered by the La Follette resolution. Now the merger is completed, and the investigation is too late.

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Should the United States Join the League?

"Yes"

By Morris Hillquit

I BELIEVE that the United States should join the League of Nations. I am fully and keenly aware of the iniquitous origin of the League, and the grave and numerous shortcomings in its constitution and practical operation. I am also under no delusion about the sordid interests of some of the elements that now urge our entrance into the League. I favor American participation in the League of Nations because I am convinced that our membership in it will in the long run aid the cause of world peace and justice.



Hillquit

The elimination of brute destructive forces in the settlement of disputes between nations and its substitution by an organized system of peaceable adjustment has been the noblest dream of the noblest dreamers of all ages. Into these dreams the socialists have introduced an element of realism.

Convinced that wars will not be abolished by prayers or resolutions but only by the elimination of their procuring causes, they direct their attacks against these causes. The deadliest war-breeding microbe is the economic rivalry of nations clashing over sources of raw material, markets for their surplus products and fields for investment of capital.

To Eliminate Wars

Another important source of wars, particularly in Europe within the last century, has been the oppression of nationalities by foreign rules or ruling races.

Two parallel courses of action are therefore necessary to eradicate the war-breeding causes: the unremitting struggle for the restriction and ultimate suppression of the system of competitive industries for private gain within each country and the creation of an effective international organization for the adjustment of economic, national and other disputes between all countries.

The Socialists have always envisaged a world peace union or league of nations as an all-inclusive sovereign power for the equal protection of all states, large and small, composed of chosen representatives of the constituent peoples, and endowed with legislative, judicial and executive powers; an organization which would take account of the legitimate economic needs of all countries and make suitable provision for them, and which would operate on a definite code of international rights and obligations with a regularly constituted tribunal to decide disputes and an effective machinery to enforce its decisions. A league of nations thus constituted would necessarily involve the complete outlawry of war, the abolition of standing armies and the suppression of the pernicious custom of secret diplomacy.

The Labor Party's War Aims

The most thoroughgoing and eloquent application of this international Socialist position to the concrete situation of the recent war was formulated by the British Labor Party in its statement of War Aims adopted in December, 1917. The position of the Socialist workers of Great Britain had a stimulating effect on the liberal and pacific forces on both sides of the firing line and a direct and unmistakable influence on the attitude of President Wilson.

Since America's entrance into the World War, Woodrow Wilson became the most aggressive champion of the League of Nations, and it was largely due to his urgency that the Covenant of the League was incorporated in the Peace Treaty of Versailles. But in the hour of seeming fulfillment, history played one of its grim jokes. The exponent of "American Idealism" succumbed to the wiles of the astute and cynical politicians of the old world, who gave him the empty shell of liberal phraseology while they kept the imperialistic substance. The nominal triumph of Woodrow Wilson was a pitiable and tragic surrender.

The Treaty of Versailles was not a peace pact, but an indenture of perpetual bondage which a victorious imperialism sought to foist on the defeated peoples and all small nations. The League of Nations, as an organic part of the Treaty, was sought to be subverted from its original high purposes into an instrument of oppression in the hands of the great powers.

It was confined to the victorious allied countries, whom the weak neutral states were invited to join. The defeated countries were not originally included in its councils, nor were the countries in declared opposition to capitalist imperialism as Russia and Mexico.

How the League Works

Its main executive organ is a Council of nine, on which the "big five" of the war—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan—were to have perpetual representation. The Assembly, which consists of representatives of all nations, can take no important action without the unanimous consent of all Council members. Representation in the councils of the

League is not acquired by popular election or parliamentary choice, but by governmental appointment.

The Covenant makes no provision for the solution of the world's economic problems and no attempt to define and codify international rights and obligations. It continues the oppressive colonial rule of the great powers under the euphemistic term of "mandates." It does not completely outlaw war.

These are the main objectionable features of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in order to perpetuate them its framers have taken care to provide that it shall not be amended in any particular without the unanimous consent of all great powers.

Small wonder, therefore, that the Covenant has caused deep disappointment and bitter indignation among the hosts of sincere advocates of an effective world organization for peace.

Foremost among the critics of the Covenant were the Socialists of all nations. They still find much to criticize in the instrument. But they do not oppose the League. They recognize the League as an institution, potent for good or for evil, and are determined to use their whole collective power to bring out all that is potentially

good in it and to suppress all that is evil.

While the League of Nations has many fundamental defects, candor compels to admit that it represents a definite advance over the chaotic international conditions before the war.

By providing for the registration and publication of all international treaties, it largely palliates the evils of secret diplomacy. It bans military alliances between antagonistic groups of powers. It offers a forum to every nation, no matter how small and humble, to present its claims and voice its grievances. It makes warfare a little less honorable, a little more difficult. It also makes provisions for certain important non-political activities in the interests of general human welfare.

For Good Or Bad

But the League of Nations is not so important for what it is as for what it can be made to be. The reactionary founders of the League and many of its radical opponents made the equal mistake of believing that written constitutions determine the character and functions of social organizations for all times to come. They ignored the fundamental truth that social institutions always reflect the existing social forces and change with every change of such forces. A paper covenant can no more arrest the march of social progress than a wooden fence can stem the tide of the ocean. The League of Nations is and always will be as good or bad as the powers which control it.

Let me illustrate this thought by a concrete example. When the Covenant of the League was framed Great Britain was ruled by the government of Lloyd George, whose simple international policy was: "Germany must pay and the Kaiser must be hanged." France was governed by the fire-eating "tiger," Clemenceau. A thick atmosphere of reaction hung over the rest of the allied world. The signatories to the Covenant wrote into the document as much of their hate, distrust and reaction as they could and dared.

During the first five years of the League's existence great political changes occurred in the principal countries of Europe. The Socialist and labor forces had secured control of some governments and they exerted a considerable influence over others. When the League Assembly met in 1924 England was no longer represented by the imperialistic Lloyd George Cabinet, but by the Labor government of Ramsay MacDonald. The irreconcilable French government of Clemenceau had given way to the pacific Radical-Socialist coalition of Herriot. The whole spirit of the League changed immediately with the result that the Assembly by unanimous vote adopted the famous "Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," popularly known as the Geneva Protocol.

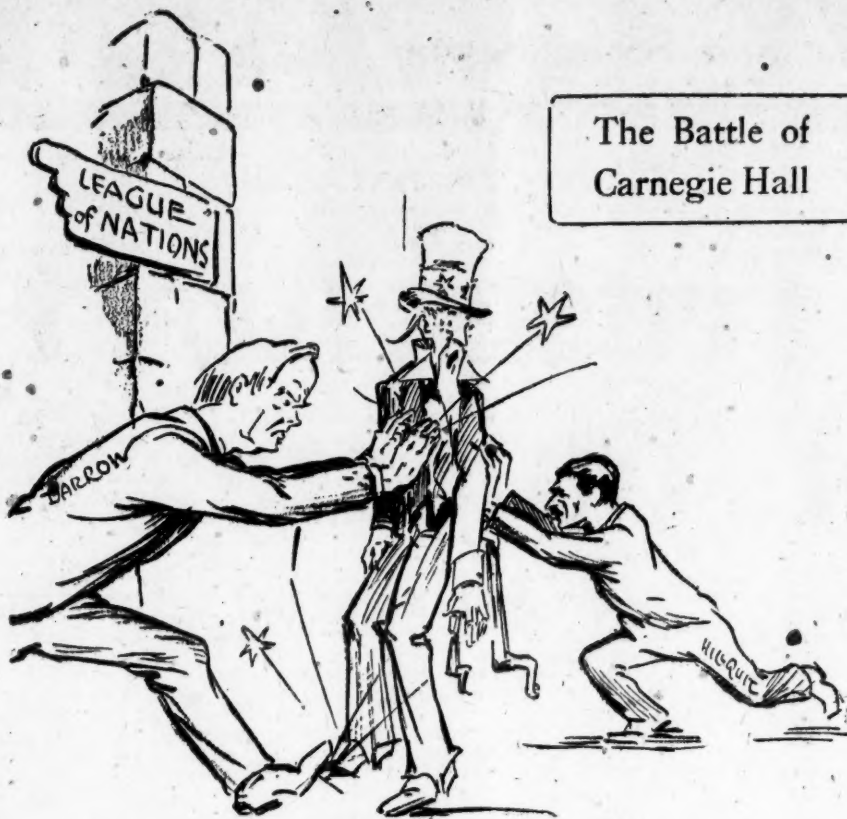
This instrument radically revolutionizes the constitution of the League. It makes arbitration compulsory and in all cases of international disputes and definitely outlaws war as a method of settling such disputes.

Protocol Never Put in Effect

The Geneva Protocol never became effective. After twenty League states had ratified it the British Labor government fell and the Tory government of Mr. Baldwin refused to assent to the Protocol.

But the incident has taught us two important lessons. It has shown that even the reactionary British govern-

The Battle of Carnegie Hall



DRAWN BY MITCHEL LOEB

ment could not simply reject the Geneva Protocol without offering a constructive substitute for it. That substitute was the Locarno treaty. Now, I am quite aware of all the limitations and shortcomings of the Locarno treaty. In common with all Socialists, I consider it vastly inferior to the Geneva Protocol. But it cannot be denied that the treaty marks a substantial improvement in the relations between France and Germany and thus enhances the chances of peace in Europe and in the world.

The assertion has been made that the Locarno treaty creates an alliance directed against Russia, but I see no warrant for that assertion. Whatever military aggression the League of Nations, or for that matter, any independent hostile powers, can conceivably commit against Soviet Russia, they can commit with equal effect or probability with or without the Locarno treaty.

But the more important lesson of the Geneva Protocol is that the League may become an effective instrument for peace and progress in spite of the Covenant, if its leading members are pacific and progressive, and I have faith in the political future of Europe.

The British Labor government has fallen, but the Labor Party of Great Britain is more alive than ever. The rise and fall of its first government was but a prelude in its struggle for the permanent control of the British Empire. It is bound to win out eventually, and in the meantime it will continue to exert a growing influence over British policies, domestic and foreign.

Socialist Forces Advancing

In France the powers of liberalism and Socialism are steadily increasing. Belgium has a Socialist Foreign Minister. Sweden and Denmark are ruled by Socialist Cabinets. In Germany, Austria and many of the smaller countries the Socialists constitute the largest political parties and are fast approaching the point of majority rule. Europe has reached the stage of unstable political balance in which the forces of capitalist imperialism and pacific Socialism contend for mastery. Victories alternate with defeats, advances with retreats, but it is a struggle between the new and the old, between progress and reaction, and the whole trend of social development guarantees the eventual victory of the former.

Nor is the struggle confined to Europe alone. It has reached an acute phase in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. It is being actively waged in the principal countries of the Western hemisphere. It is fast invading the ancient civilizations of Asia.

During the period of the struggle the League of Nations will faithfully record every step of general political progress, and adjust itself to the new world requirements by steady reformation of its constitution, its functions and practical operation. It will not be necessary to wait until every nation of the world will develop a high degree of international solidarity before the League will become an effective and permanent instrument for peace.

When the Socialist workers of Great Britain, France, Germany and several smaller countries will rule the destinies of their respective peoples and Soviet Russia, somewhat liberalized, (Continued on page 4)

"No"

By Clarence Darrow

MR. HILLQUIT is a hopeless optimist. He says he can take the League of Nations, conceived in iniquity and by some political legerdemain transform it into an engine of peace, of liberty. I am too old to believe that. Anyway it can't happen in my time. If I could be as optimistic as friend Hillquit I would be gladly, unless I were afraid I would wake up.

Mr. Hillquit believes in a League of Nations, not THE League of Nations.

He believes in a League, purified and glorified by the Socialist Party that is some day going to be born. If I believed all that I might be for it. But I don't. He says Sweden, Denmark, Austria and Germany (with Hindenburg at the Head) are Socialists. If they are all Socialist why in thunder don't they do something?

Let's look at this question for a minute. Every country is supreme in its own domain. Every Socialist country can give us Socialism. Russia did it. Whether it was pure Socialism or good or bad I won't discuss at this time. Maybe she'll succeed. At least she undertook it.

In these days I hope some and believe less, and let it go at that. If these and other nations are ready for Socialism and adopt it, and it works, maybe the United States might try it. Joining the League of Nations would only postpone Socialism. Some people go through life in a dream. I can't do it. Anything so far off, neither gives me joy nor sorrow. I would simply let each country establish Socialism individually without let or hindrance. One thing is certain, we can't get the hopeless unwieldy mass to act together. The League of Nations if effective would mean that the whole world would have to have Socialism at once and not before.

Hillquit would join the League because some time it might be better. We might as well go to hell on the same theory. This League isn't good. Yet every nation but the United States is in it. Why? Because Section X protects every country and its territory from invasion. England, France, and Germany too, like it for that reason. Is there any reason why these countries shouldn't help each other keep what they've gotten by theft and conquest?

I agree, the League might develop into something else. That's one reason why I'm afraid of it.

I'll tell you why I don't believe in it. It's uniting all the world in defense, against what? Jupiter? Mars? The whole world is to be in it, yet they are to be banded together for defense. Against whom?

Now, the League was not born in iniquity as much as Hillquit says. The League was mainly the work of Woodrow Wilson. Long ago I gave up the thought that the world was wise enough to agree with me. If it was, we'd get the millennium good and plenty. We would have a world full of lusty love and after a while everything would be so peaceful, we'd be glad of a war to break up the monotony.

I think Woodrow Wilson was one of the greatest idealists this country ever knew. I don't believe in all his theories however. The League is one of them. Isn't it strange that this creature of the brain of Woodrow Wilson in the Senate the other day got the virtual endorsement of the Republican majority and only a few Democrats. Now this world court is nothing, but if it's anything it will lead to the League of Nations. What our entrance means is that our fellows agree to chip in for the expenses and raise a jack-pot. We'll draw cards and if we have a good hand we'll stick in or else we'll pass. The forces of greed and wealth put us in to help them exploit the world. We could have submitted our grievances to any organization in the world without entering the Court.

Now about this League, everybody knows the war brought the League. It was thought the League would stop wars. Will it do it and, if so, how? We've got to measure good and evil together. They can't be separated. What good and evil can we get from it? If we get a League good enough and strong enough we could prevent war. The Holy Alliance did it, but only by plunging the world into tyranny and ignorance.

A League with power enough to stop nations intent on war would have to be a League that had an army and a navy strong enough to prevent war. That means that that army or navy would have to be two or three times as strong as that of the strongest nation. We couldn't do it any other way. Wars can't be prevented by a League except with some such power. What would that do? Such a power

would be a power that would strangle freedom the world over. It would mean the end of every effort of oppressed nations to obtain freedom by revolution. Such a League in 1776 would have made American Independence impossible. It would mean clapping the lid on the world. It would be worse than war, because it would mean sterility and enforced slavery.

I'm not going to quote George Washington as a witness on this question. He probably didn't know anything about it. There have been many wars since then. We stayed out of all of them until the world war. We got in because we wanted to. We didn't have to go in. I thought we needed to go in. I thought so. I never thought we had to go in. Half the nations of Europe stayed out.

There will always be war in Europe, also Asia, and Africa as it becomes more civilized will have more wars. Europe impoverished is still fighting. They'll have more fighting as soon as they get money enough to buy a gun. They hatch wars in the Balkans as we can hatch mosquitoes in a swampy land. If we were in the League of Nations we would have to get in all these wars.

We'd lose our freedom. We haven't got enough freedom as it is. I think we'd better hold on to what we've got and grab more when we can. We have more than enough governments now as it is. If I take a drink, as I sometimes do, the State and the Nation can prosecute me. Now they want to erect another government, a super-government.

Hillquit says we can get rid of war by getting rid of capitalism. How will the League do that? Before you'd get all the world converted to Socialism, you'd get all the Socialists converted to capitalism. It's being done. Even Russia has abandoned its original Socialism and is going somewhat towards Capitalism. I'm not blaming anybody; I'm just recognizing human beings as they are and they're a pretty bum lot. I've been talking now for twenty-five years and if they had some sense, I would have had them converted ten years ago.

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11:30 A. M. Sharp

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War"

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Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia

on

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MONDAY, FEBRUARY 8th

SCOTT BUCHANAN

"Varieties of Scientific Experiments"

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From Serfs to Soviets

By James Oneal

NOT since the French Revolution has any great social change, provoked so much heated controversy as the Russian Revolution. There are some marked similarities between the two events. Both provoked attempts at intervention by reactionary powers with the result that out of collapse and chaos both France and Russia built up great armed forces. The analogy continues in the fact that both the French and the Russians attempted to shape the rest of the world on the model of their respective regimes—the French by armed forces and the Russian by propaganda. Still another analogy is that "Jacobin" became synonymous with "Bolshevik," and both terms came into the politics of other nations, including the United States, and served their ruling classes as a bogey against economic, social and political changes. The politics of England and the United States in the period of the French Revolution also presents some striking analogies with the politics of the two countries following the Russian Revolution. Then analogies recall the old dictum that the only lesson we learn from history is that we never learn from history.

But with the advance of modern education and the rich heritage we have from the social sciences there is less justification for the demonology that has been invoked because of the Russian Revolution. Moreover, we had become accustomed to the expectation that the Russian autocracy would eventually atone for its crimes against humanity in a welter of blood. Russian writers had prepared us for this. In 1914 Prof. James Mavor of the University of Toronto completed the most scholarly work that had been written by any Westerner, and which brought a wealth of information regarding the social, economic, cultural and political development of Russia to students. Praised by the leading economic reviews, the edition was soon exhausted, and because of the striking changes in Russia, it was not reissued till near the end of 1925. The two massive volumes (An Economic History of Russia. By James Mavor. Vol. I, The Rise and Fall of Bondage Right; Vol. II, Industry and Revolution. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$15) now appear with a new introduction, certain alterations in the text and a concluding chapter. Those who possess this remarkable work will regret to learn of the death of the author last October.

A Complete Outline Of Serfdom

The first volume considers the origin and evolution of the peculiar phase of serfdom that survived in Russia down to the sixth decade of the nineteenth century, the narrative beginning with the eighth century, and relating other phases of Russian life and institutions to this economic form of human subjection. This volume includes a study of the evolution of the governing system, the military, fiscal, commercial and educational policy of Peter the Great, peasant revolts, the reflection of the peasant question in Russian literature, the Slavophil glorification of the Mir, the state enterprises and possession of factories, household industry and the beginnings of a factory system. The discussion includes so many subjects and is so exhaustive that it baffles any attempt to indicate its range and variety.

What stands out in this discussion of origins and early evolution is the rise of a bureaucratic state partly taking the patterns of Asiatic life and just far enough from West European influence.

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The Economic and Social Seeds From Which Bolshevism Sprung

ences to be curious as well as fearful of European thought and institutional development. All life is run into a mold shaped by superstitious rulers and their sycophants, and they in turn were shaped by their traditions. Peter the Great appeared a monster to the parasitic cliques when he attempted to introduce some contributions of European civilization by way of modernizing Russia and yet in some respects he was also more despotic than others who preceded or who came after him. The great state factories for which peasants were seized as cattle in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries constitute a peculiar variation in economic history. The same is true of the possessorial factories, a system by which Russian Czarism ascribed peasants to noble factory owners or permitted merchants to acquire them. These conscripted workers came to be known as Possessional peasants, and this economic arrangement played an important role in Russian history.

The Grievances Of The Peasants

A hint at the stupidity that has always been characteristic of the Russian ruling classes is aptly portrayed in the reception accorded to petitions of peasants for the redress of grievances. Often ignored, rarely adjusted, the peasants are often flogged or exiled. There was the case of certain peasants whose wages were reduced in 1787. They appealed to certain State officials and again petitioned in 1744. Two peasants carried the petition to St. Petersburg. The affair passed into the pigeon-holes of the Manufactures Chancellery, there to remain for years. Meanwhile the patient petitioners waited in St. Petersburg. One of them died in 1755, after waiting eleven years; the other was still waiting in 1769, twenty-five years after he had arrived with the petition.

Informing as the first volume is the second one is of even more interest, especially to Socialists. Not only rural and urban economic history outlined by one who has mastered its intricacy of detail, but it is also related to the various revolutionary movements, the economic, social and bureaucratic backgrounds out of which each revolutionary movement has issued. Intimate glimpses are also given of the more conspicuous personalities involved in each movement in the biographical notes that are found on many pages. One cannot read this second volume

without understanding the Communist view of the world. It is a special product of Russian history. It is as much so as tropical vegetation is peculiar to the equatorial belt. Given the institutional evolution of Russia, it was certain to shape some revolutionary group like that of the Bolsheviks. Russian economic and bureaucratic history weighs like a mountain upon the minds of the Russian Communists. They cannot shake it off. They think in terms of that history, they see the rest of the world through it, and everything else assumes the character, dimensions, coloring and importance of an experience that is Russian. Expounding the importance of the economic interpretation of history, they are the prisoners of their own history.

Trade Unions Emerge

The modern trade union did not appear in Russia till the first decade of the twentieth century. The reason for this, of course, is obvious. The survival of feudalism well into the nineteenth century and the continuance of a medieval and corrupt autocracy served as barriers to the development of capitalist industry and the few great industries were generally owned by foreign capitalists. Russia continued to be a nation of small peasant producers. What there was of trade unions as well as their policies were shaped by the special conditions of Russian history. Russian trade unionism, unlike European trade unionism, assumed a physical force character although it also had its aims of economic amelioration. It was not a matter of choice but one of necessity. Every demand for better conditions brought it into conflict with the autocracy. Moreover, it was forced to resort to physical force, armed insurrection. In the big strike of 1903 the manifestoes citing industrial demands were also accompanied by "manifestoes of a political character demanding the convocation of an all-Russian National Assembly, liberty of striking, of the formation of trade unions, and of public meetings, liberty of speech and of the press, liberty of conscience, and inviolability of the person."

All of these political concessions were essential for the normal development of the trade unions. When a strike drew in masses of workers of various trades, when it tended to become general, the movement also

tended to assume the form of a government. Out of the general strike in Moscow in 1905 issued the "Council of Working Men's Deputies." But a government without force to express its will is absurd, hence arose the idea of armed workers, the arms sometimes being obtained by pillage of armories. Even as this strike came to an end the Council announced that "it was necessary for the working class to arm itself for the final struggle." Certainly. There was no other way and centuries of Russian experience enforced this necessity. The necessity for armed struggle grew out of the grim reality of Russian history and it became fixed in the minds of increasing numbers of workers. With the overthrow of the autocracy the Communists gave this view a universal application and the very words quoted above regarding armed insurrection in 1905 are frequently found in the manifestoes of the Third International. It is as though our own bourgeois class, impressed by its struggle against the British ruling class, should at the end of the American revolution formulate its experience into a philosophy for universal application, urging the same class in Europe to throw off the shackles of feudalism by organizing committees of correspondence and through

these to assume the leadership in overthrowing the old order.

The Evolution Of Bolshevism

Professor Mavor makes no such argument in his book but the background is there so that one may easily trace the evolution of the Bolshevik view of the world and the one straight and narrow road that leads to universal emancipation. This view is really a peculiar type of national arrogance disguised as internationalism. The work itself is an exceptional contribution to economic history.

Professor Platonov's work (A History of Russia. By S. F. Platonov, N. Y. The MacMillan Co. \$4.50) is of a more modest character and is smaller in scope. It is intended as a text book of Russian history and as a reference book it is serviceable. However, it does not live up to the promise of the publisher's jacket in dealing with "social and economic history as well as with political" history. In the first half of the book one frequently comes across the words, "in the reign of," which leads the reader into a review of the achievements or lack of achievements of this or that Czar. The latter half of the work better fulfills the promise in that the social and economic perspective becomes more apparent. It concludes with a colorless and objective narrative of the rise of the Communists to power, the impression left upon the reader being that the author has entered a dangerous field and interpretation had better be left to outsiders.

SOCIALIST YOUTH

By Irving Newman

WHILE many of the readers of The New Leader are already acquainted with the Socialist Youth organization in the United States, the Young Peoples' Socialist League, there are no doubt many others who do not know of its existence, and it is especially for these that this article, giving the aim and purpose of the league, is intended.

The present generation are going to be the rulers and voters of tomorrow, and as practically all the public centers of education teach their students that Socialist theories are fallacious it can be seen that Socialist progress will be greatly hindered unless we can organize the youth, and teach them the real meaning of Socialism. This is the chief purpose of the Young Peoples' League, but its members, the "Yipsels" not only engage in educational work in the nature of discussions, lectures and debates on Socialism and other social problems, but also engage in social and athletic work, by having dances,

entertainments, hikes, contests and other activities.

The unit of activity in the Y. P. S. L. is the "circle," many of which are located in New York city and other industrial cities. Membership in the league is open to all between the ages of 14 and 25, those between 14 and 16, are in the junior section, while those from 17 to 25 are in the senior section. Those who would like to join, or would like to have their friends join, may obtain further information as to where and when the different circles meet, by writing either to the Young Peoples' Socialist League, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, or to the national office at 23 Townsend Street, Fitchburg, Massachusetts. When writing please state your age so that we can direct you to the proper circle.

The High Cost of Crime

Another Item That Goes Into the Tremendous Cost of Prison-Made Garments

By Kate R. O'Hare

CRIME is the most expensive single item in all of our complicated machinery of government. It costs more in dollars and cents; more in human suffering and human life; more in retardation of social progress and social waste than even war. Labor in the last analysis bears all the burdens of taxation, and has the deepest and most fundamental interest in the efficiency of our machinery of administering law.

There is a mighty army of criminals in our penal institutions. This social wreckage drifts in and out of our jails, courts and prisons, punished again and again, but not cured, and leaving a trail of vice, crime, suffering, degradation, expense and social waste in its wake. To police and arrest, keep and try, guard and enslave this army of destruction is a larger and more expensive army of police officers, court attaches, judges, criminal lawyers, prison guards and wardens. Neither the army of criminals nor the army that carries on the futile farce of trying to control crime by punishment creates a dollar of wealth, or adds anything to the richness of life, and all are supported by labor.

Mr. Wm. B. Joyce, president of the National Surety Co. of New York, in speaking of the money cost of crime is reported to have said: "It is worth repeating that the great bulk of monies collected by means of taxation is not devoted, as popularly supposed, to the maintenance of armies and navies. The average expenditure in this single country devoted to the attempted prevention of crime and the prosecution of law-breakers would twice rebuild

all the fleets of the world, and pay the current expenses of any three governments."

I do not know, of course, how accurate Mr. Joyce's figures may be, but there is little reason to question them. And because the dollar mark comes so very nearly being the standard of measure for everything in American life, the wealth producers are beginning to feel cold chills creep down their spines when brought face to face with the costs of our penal system. Even the most superficial study of the money cost of crime and criminal correction has a tendency to shock the taxpayer into a realization of the fact that our methods of dealing with the criminal concerns him individually. And that it is far more than a mere legal formality of shutting bad people behind prison bars.

As the producers begin to awaken to the cost in cash and human life of crime they ask: "Whence comes the criminal, and why?" I do not for a moment claim that I can answer these questions. I do not know whether or not crime is a social disease, and I certainly have no cure-all to offer. I am not rash enough to point to any single factor in our social life and say: "Here is the germ of crime." I am very modest about what I do know about it, and well aware that there is much that I do not know. But I am very sure we shall make no headway in reducing the expenses of crime, or crime itself, until we have given as much intelligent study and research work to criminology as we have to physical diseases.

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AUSPICES EDUCATIONAL FRONTIERS COMMITTEE

Class-Conscious Radicalism in America

By William Shainack

Student, Brookwood Labor College

NO institutions or organizations were as heterogeneous in their structure and membership as were the early American trade unions. They had no definite aspiration, and their philosophies were sporadic and vague. While one group would advocate political action, another would agitate for simple trade unionism, and still another for co-operation and other such panaceas. Moralists, philanthropists, all kinds of rational and irrational individuals were fused into the movement. They aligned themselves with certain groups and forced their ideas upon the ill-advised groups which accepted them, and thus caused hullabaloo galore. This is the situation which the history of the American labor movement reveals for the thirty years between 1885 and 1895.

This unsettled state of mind of the workers in the movement was due to many reasons. In the first place, the trade union movement was in its infancy and like any organization in such a period it had to go through a process of crystallization. Secondly, the psychology of the worker was not that of a class-conscious wage-earner. The worker considered his position a temporary junction from which he hoped to reach the class of the independent and self-employed. The industrial conditions which then prevailed, i. e., limited markets, small scale production, and particularly the easy access to cheap land, contributed to this feeling.

The Inroads By New Ideas

These facts account for the readiness with which new ideas were accepted by the working class. As long as the ideas espoused coincided with the prevailing notions and aspirations of the workers, they were accepted without regard to their soundness or stability.

Hence, we see many philosophies and ideas taking root among the workers. The movement of citizenship and political action, in the early thirties, coupled with Skidmore's idea of the equal distribution of land was advocated, and even the "Associationism" of Fourier, a French philosopher, was adopted in this country by Albert Brisbane. This theory of government was based upon the idea of communist colonies in which labor would be associated with science and all things would be owned in common. State guardianship, the idea of educating children wholly at public expense and providing them with all their needs as advocated by Robert Dale Owen and Fannie Wright. There were many other ventures, some of which were fairly practical, as Josiah Warren's scheme of co-operative stores, for instance. Each of these ideas, however, was a reflection of the times and conditions, and they were all destined to vanish as times and conditions changed.

The extension of markets after the Civil War, followed by the rise of the capitalist system, large scale manufacturing, and the twin evils of competition and cheap production, tended to change the psychology of the American workers. They began to feel the pressure of modern industry. The presence in this country of a large number of German immigrants who were already imbued with a spirit of class-consciousness helped to awaken the American workers and made them realize their true condition. Class-consciousness, though still on a small scale, was beginning to take root among the more intelligent class of American workers.

Germans Bring French Ideas

The radical German groups who immigrated to this country brought with them theories of French Utopian Socialism. They had fled Germany after the ill-fated revolutions of 1830 and 1848, at a time when stringent anti-Socialist laws were passed there. Upon landing here, they formed revolutionary societies and organized working-

men's educational clubs. These clubs were of various natures; some were communist, while others had different revolutionary aims. These radical groups took an active part in the abolition movement, and when the Civil War was declared a number of the leaders volunteered their services.

The revolutionary movement was thus stripped of its leaders, and was left in a weakened state for the time being. It was not until 1867 that the movement began to recover.

The history of the Socialist movement in the United States following the Civil War is closely linked with the history of the International Workingmen's Association, an organization which was formed in London in 1864. This International was founded by Karl Marx, the first scientific Socialist in the world, together with the British trade unions, in the effort to prevent scabbing on European unions by immigrant labor.

Karl Marx was the leading spirit of the International from the start, and his policies for a time maintained undisputed sway. In 1869, however, an opposition to Marx was formed, led by Michael Bakunin, the famous apostle of revolutionary Anarchism. This friction finally resulted in the expulsion of Bakunin and his followers from the International and in the removal of the office of the General Council from London to New York in 1872.

The Conflict With Anarchism

Meanwhile the Socialists in this country kept in close touch with European radical movements and theories.

Socialism the Only Theory That Has Survived Through Recurring Periods of Social Unrest

Many branches of the International Workingmen's Association were formed under the leadership of F. A. Sorge, who is known as the father of American Socialism. Sorge later carried on a persistent fight against the Anarchist domination of the I. W. A. German, French and Bohemian locals of the International were formed and later an American section was also formed.

In 1867 a number of branches of the International deserted Marxian Socialism for a time for the Socialism of Lassalle. Ferdinand Lassalle, a prominent German Socialist, advocated Socialism along political lines, in contrast to Marxian Socialism, which advocated the building of trade unions. The Lassalleans withdrew and formed separate branches along political lines, and the Marxians devoted their activity to organizing trade unions.

Later efforts were made to combine trade unionism with political action. The Social Democratic Party, which was organized in 1874, met the following year with the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, at the latter's invitation, to effect such a combination. This effort, however, proved futile, as the members of the Knights of Labor were not susceptible to Socialistic ideas. The trade unionists were of a conservative American type.

Socialist Labor Party Founded

Two years later (1877) the Socialist Labor Party was organized. A large number of German immigrants who had just reached this country flocked into this organization, and the S. L. P. became quite powerful. This party,

together with the trade unionists, staged a vigorous fight against the National Greenback Party, which was composed largely of farmers, and prevented many workers from joining it. Soon, however, the Socialists fell out with the trade unions and began denouncing them for their compromising tactics and their political trading.

Dissatisfaction in the ranks of the S. L. P. led to the formation of a new Socialist organization, known first as the old Social Democratic Party and later as simply the Socialist Party. This party set forth a program of "immediate demands" which included government ownership of monopolies, mines, railways, etc. The party entered political campaigns from the year it was organized (1900) with varying success. In 1912 it polled nearly a million votes for its presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs.

It is but natural that a movement of such extraordinary variations as the labor movement was in this period of radicalism would attract peculiar elements into its fold. This was the case with Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin, two rich women who were prominent from 1866 to 1875. Their purpose was to fight conventions. They wanted individual freedom, woman suffrage and free love. They organized Section Nine of the International Workingmen's Association and began their advocacy. Here, indeed, were interesting newspaper stories to be gotten, and the press was not slow in grasping the opportunity. Local Nine got publicity galore. But this sort of notoriety proved obnoxious to the saner element within the International, and a controversy arose between the Marx-

ians and Local Nine. The matter was finally settled in London, where a conference of the I. W. A. was being held. Local Nine was expelled, and thereupon it joined Bakunin's group. After its expulsion from the International the local functioned for a while and was known as the Spring Street group.

Growth of the Anarchists

Another group which became popular at this time was the Anarchists. Anarchists oppose all forms of government except by voluntary association. They believe in "absolute freedom." This philosophy, which dates back to ancient Greek times, was promulgated by men like Herbert Spencer, of England; Proudhon, of France, and later by Bakunin and Kropotkin, of Russia. Anarchists, like many other philosophic groups, are divided in their views as to methods and tactics of approach. Some believe in peaceful methods, while others have believed in violence. This latter group, known as Revolutionary anarchists, originated in countries such as Russia, where gross oppression and enslavement existed.

Anarchy entered into a new phase when in 1881 the anarchists of Europe founded the International Working People's Association, known as the Black International. In that year the Revolutionary Socialist Party in America, an offshoot from the S. L. P., held a convention in Chicago and they aligned themselves with the Black International. This newly-formed group advocated armed resistance against the brutality of the police, who were accustomed to disperse work-

ers' meetings with clubs and guns. Each unit affiliated with this International was free to govern itself as long as the provisions of the constitution were adhered to.

Before long a division also arose within the Black International. There were two dominant groups within the Anarchist organization—the Chicago group and the Eastern group. The Chicago element favored the continuation of trade unions, while the opposing group, led by Johann Most, a man of great ability, who had been expelled from the Socialist ranks, favored pure and simple Anarchism. Most believed in using violence, and in the overthrow of Church and State. His ideal society was an agglomeration of loosely federated autonomous groups of producers.

Through clever manipulations the Eastern group was able to effect a compromise with the Chicago element, which placated the Western trade union group for the time being.

The Haymarket Tragedy

In Chicago the Anarchist philosophy made tremendous headway. The trade unions of that city were greatly influenced by the members of the Black International. The Central Labor Union of Chicago openly participated in demonstrations, with the Anarchists, in connection with the eight-hour movement of 1885. The following year, during a serious disturbance in connection with a strike, a large mass meeting was held in Haymarket Square which the police tried to disperse by brutal force. Someone threw a bomb

which killed one policeman and wounded many more. Thereupon the police fired upon the workers.

Public opinion was greatly stirred over this catastrophe. Organized labor also regarded this episode with unfriendly eyes—as can be ascertained by their unwillingness to assist the eight leaders who were indicted. Three of these leaders were hung and the rest sentenced to long terms in prison. Thoroughly frightened and disheartened, the Black International lost its hold and was soon nothing but a shadow of what it had been.

The labor movement, it can thus be seen, was replete at this period with many philosophies and ideas, some of which were rational and sound, and others which lacked both of these qualities. This agglomeration of ideas, no doubt, tended to belittle the minds of the workers, and this condition increased their inertness and sluggishness toward trade union activities. But these philosophies and ideas are a part of the movement and they will persist in spite of any opposition which may be put forth to eradicate them. To disregard their presence entirely is unwise and futile.

Philosophies and ideas are reflections of economic conditions and the general psychological state of mind of the people. It therefore follows that the value and the success of an idea or philosophy lies in its adaptability to conditions. We have seen that most of the revolutionary philosophies which pervaded the American labor movement met their Waterloo due to their lack of adaptability and unpopularity. One philosophy, however, has persevered and is gradually ascending. By virtue of this fact it follows that it is the only philosophy which is adaptable, rational and practical, and that philosophy is Socialism.

Labor's Dividends

Tokyo, Dec. 23 (A. P.).—Twenty fishing boats containing 150 fishermen are missing in a storm which struck Northern Japan yesterday. Several houses were wrecked and forty vessels capsize.

Bellaire, Ohio, Dec. 22 (A. P.).—Eight men are known to be dead in a fire which early tonight engulfed seventy-nine miners in the Webb mine, south of here, in Belmont County.

London, Dec. 19.—Six men were entombed and burned to death when fire followed an explosion in a Staffordshire coal mine today.

Providence, R. I., Dec. 12.—George Hughes was killed and three fellow ironworkers were injured today when a gas explosion occurred in the workings of Overton Mine No. 2 of the Alabama Fuel and Iron Company, in the Cahaba fields, south of Birmingham.

New York, Dec. 11.—Thomas Skeehan, of No. 10 Ramapo avenue, Paterson, flagman at the Maple avenue crossing of the Bergen County Railroad shot out there, was killed yesterday by a passing baggage train.

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 10 (A. P.).—Sixty-one coal miners lost their lives today when a gas explosion occurred in the workings of Overton Mine No. 2 of the Alabama Fuel and Iron Company, in the Cahaba fields, south of Birmingham.

Dover, N. J., Dec. 20.—Robert Inacho, 21 years old, of Netcong, employed at the New Jersey Power and Light Company substation here, was shocked to death today while working at the station switchboard.

EXPERIENCE, KNOWLEDGE, ACTION

By The Editor

OUR attention has been called to a criticism of an item which appeared in The New Leader on July 25. The dissenting view is by Robert Whitaker which appeared in the Seattle Union Record of October 10. The New Leader is capable of an erroneous judgment or a misstatement of fact like all other publications but we do not think it was wrong in this instance.

Because the Seattle Union Record has considerable circulation in the State of Washington and we have readers in that State also, we think it worth while to consider Mr. Whitaker's criticism.

Mr. Whitaker disagrees with the following view we expressed in The New Leader:

"These men and women are the advance couriers of the new emancipation. Conscious of the need of change, they know that a revolution must first take place in the human mind before it can be effected in society."

What is wrong with that? Mr. Whitaker says that it is all wrong. He contends that these statements are "a denial of the very foundations of the Marxian interpretation of history and

life on which Socialism professes to build, and they are just such words as will prove most welcome to such men as Bishop Pike and Dean Inge, whose utterances were quoted in this column last week, and to all who, like them, hold to the present capitalist order."

We must decline to accept the statement of Mr. Whitaker as well as his conclusion, but before we can consider either we must permit him to tell why he thinks we are wrong. "John Dewey," he writes, "is not reckoned a Socialist, but is an entirely respectable and very widely respected philosopher. Yet Dewey makes manifest in his 'Human Nature and Conduct' that an utter reversal of fact is in the notion that thought can precede experience. No new idea has ever come to any man that was not born of something, that has happened to him or to some one else. A revolution in the human mind that is not an evolution from human experience is impossible. Always the experience goes before the idea, the doing something, or seeing something done, before the concept of something else is to be born."

A Revolution Through Ignorance!

We agree with Mr. Whitaker and with John Dewey, but we deny the inference which Mr. Whitaker draws from what he quotes from us. His

view of the origin of ideas is correct, but in denying our expressed opinion he reasons that a revolution in society can be effected through ignorance! This is certainly an interesting affirmation for one to make.

When we said that "a revolution must first take place in the human mind before it can be effected in society," we did not also say that this intellectual revolution could be effected independent of human experience. Nothing in the passage he quotes from us suggests any such view on our part. He reads this view into our statement and then ascribes it to us. Whether this was intentional or merely a piece of bad logic on his part he alone can answer.

We assert that an intellectual revolution must take place in the heads of the masses before they can emancipate themselves. If this is not good logic and even good Marxism then all the efforts of Socialists to educate the working class have been so much wasted effort. In making the assertion we did not attempt to go into the origin of ideas, although we have frequently done so in The New Leader. We assumed that every intelligent reader knew that "experience goes before the idea" and that the idea in turn

reacts on society and changes it. What is Socialist reasoning in this matter? It is this: In the early stages of capitalist society a Socialist movement is impossible. "Experience" under capitalism has not evolved to the stage where a social order beyond capitalism can be perceived by the masses. A few geniuses like Marx could see beyond capitalism, but only a few.

In the later stages of capitalism when industry concentrates into great organizations of capitalist owners and co-operative production brings co-operative labor in great masses together, the idea of a co-operative society—Socialism—begins to make an impression on the minds of the workers. That impression becomes more widespread through conscious organization and education in a Socialist movement. The "idea is born of experience."

But no matter how widespread may be the experience, the latter MUST be registered "in the human mind before it can be effected in society." If it isn't registered there no matter what experience we may have, there will be no Socialist revolution. The two go together or the working class will remain a subject class.

Experience, Knowledge, Action

Mr. Whitaker's most grievous mistake is in assuming that we said that thought must precede experience when the plain reading of our statement was that thought must precede action. We spoke of a revolution in society and such a change is action—action on a momentous scale by human beings whose experience and education have impressed them with the necessity of this action. Blind action does not lead to social emancipation. Intelligent action based upon experience and education does.

Curiously enough, it is known on the Pacific Coast that Mr. Whitaker is very sympathetic with the Communist movement, more sympathetic than he is with the Socialist movement. Now, it is the Communist movement more than any other today that subscribes to the view which he ascribes to us. Although it pays homage to the view of Dewey and Marx, for a number of years it acted on the theory that thought precedes experience. It endeavored to create a Communist revolution in this country for several years upon the Russian model, with all the trimmings of Socialist councils, armed insurrection and dictatorships thrown in.

Eventually experience taught its leaders and members much that they tried to teach them while they were wandering in romance. Moreover, they find it impossible to forgive us for being right. Being right was our great sin.

The great problem of the Socialist movement is how to translate the idea growing out of experience into intelligent action. Experience, knowledge, action. This is the sequence of social change. We placed knowledge before action, not before experience as Mr. Whitaker implies. We see no need of changing what we wrote and there is no fundamental difference between us, except that he drew a wrong inference from the plain meaning of what we wrote.

SURSUM CORDA

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Kindly mention "THE NEW LEADER"

SHOULD THE U. S. JOIN THE LEAGUE?

(Continued from page 2)

and democratized, will join the League of Nations, the peace of the world will be assured.

"Then," say some of the radical opponents of the League, "why tie up with the present capitalist and imperialist League? Why not wait until Socialism has conquered a sufficient number of important countries to enable it to organize a true brotherhood of nations?"

The answer is that the radicals cannot wait for their League because the League has not waited for the radicals. The League of Nations is an existing institution and is very much alive. It includes all nations of Europe except Germany and Russia, all of Asia except Turkey and Afghanistan, all of Africa except Egypt, all of America except the United States, Mexico and Ecuador and all of Australia and New Zealand. Out of the 66 sovereign nations of the world 55, representing about 80 percent of the globe's total population, are members of the League. Of the nations outside of the League, the only important ones are Germany, Russia, Turkey, Mexico and the United States. Germany is about to join the League. Russia has several contacts with non-political organs of the League of Nations and it is generally believed to be a question of time when it will join the League as a full fledged member. Turkey is said to be negotiating for membership in the League. Mexico and the United States should join it.

As far as the United States is concerned, there is not a single good reason why it should stay out of the League.

The time when the United States was a small agricultural community with few needs beyond its own vast and practically untouched territory, removed by three months of sailing time from the continent of Europe, the time when George Washington admonished his provincial countrymen to stay at home and not to entangle themselves in foreign alliances, is long past. In fact, it was one hundred and thirty years ago. Since then the United States has become a powerful modern nation. It has been physically brought close to Europe by fast steamers, cables and radio communication. It has established intimate political, economic, social and cultural ties with the rest of the world. Its

bankers influence and sometimes direct the policies of foreign sovereigns causing all sorts of "entanglements." Every disturbance in Europe or Asia causes a repercussion in the United States. The murder of an unknown and unimportant Austrian grand duke in an obscure Serbian village cost us the lives of fifty thousand American boys, billions of dollars in money and untold anguish to our whole nation. Wilson's war addresses of 1917 are much nearer to us in point of time and actual conditions than Washington's farewell address of 1795.

We are an organic part of the modern world and wisdom and fairness alike require that we take our full share in its civilization. The world is organizing for mutual protection. If it is not permitted to organize with us, it may be driven to organize against us. We need the League of Nations just as much and precisely for the same reasons as all other nations of the world. We need it for our own peace and the League needs us for the peace of the world. For no world organization for the prevention of wars can be entirely complete without the active and honest participation of the North American colossus.

The trouble with our ultra radicals and middle class reformers alike is that they are negative rather than positive, critical rather than constructive. While the powers of oppression

and reaction entrench themselves in the governments and industries, in the press and the school and in all vital organs of our public life, they are content to remain outside and to hurl their thunderbolts of criticism and imprecation against the iniquitous predatory rule. The social reformer expects to reform the reactionaries in power by exposure and admonition. The ultra-radical envisages a collapse of the old institutions and a chance to build anew. But the reactionaries never reform and the capitalist institutions rarely collapse, and when they do collapse, they leave behind them chaos and desolation and extremely shaky foundations for rebuilding.

The Socialists and organized workers are not content with sterile criticism and outright opposition. They are determined to follow capitalist reaction into all of its strongholds and to contest every inch of the ground in active, face-to-face fight with them. Bit by bit they are wresting from them their political rule, their industrial control and their baneful influence on the agencies of public opinion and popular education.

In the League of Nations the reactionary governments have sought to create a new and all-powerful instrument for the enslavement of the world. The great masses of the people, the working people under Socialist leadership, must wrest that weapon from their hands and turn it into an instrument of world liberation.

Puritan Raincoat Co. Locks Out Workers

Thirty-five workers employed by the Puritan Raincoat Company of this city, whose plant is located at 702 Broadway, were locked out for insisting that the firm comply with its agreement with their union. In turn the Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, declared a strike against this firm. An attempt made to operate the plant with strikebreakers was a failure. Philip Orlofsky,

manager of the Cutters' Union, Local 4, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, withdrew several cutters of his local who were employed by this firm when informed of the strike declared by the officers of the Waterproof Garment Workers. The union intends to conduct a vigorous strike against this firm until it yields to all its demands for a thorough union shop, according to a statement issued by A. Weingarten, secretary of the union.

Matusевич, Goldman on Boro Park Program

An all-star program has been arranged for the concert to be held this Saturday evening, February 6, at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum. Besides the splendid musical program, which will

include Gregory Matusевич, concertina; Leon Goldman, violinist; Miss Dora Rose, soprano, and Abraham Sokoloff, baritone, an address will also be delivered by Abraham I. Shiplacoff.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Springfield's Old And New Heroes

Springfield, Ill.
I've been reading the collected poems of Vachel Lindsay out here in Springfield, Illinois, the poet's home town, and when I come to his vision of the Golden City of Springfield, a beautiful garden spot, peopled with free souls, I look out of the window and am close to tears.

For the Springfield of reality, the bigoted little town that did all it could to crucify Lindsay when, as a young and flaming spirit, he distributed his poems on its dirty streets, is as far from the poet's dream of beauty as a skunk cabbage is from a rose.

This is an oh so respectable! oh so smug! little province that has no use for beauty in any shape. Lincoln walked its streets. Altgeld spent four harrassed years here. Lindsay was outcast by the respectables. And never once was the town moved by the spirit of its great ones. Never once did the citizens of Springfield cast a majority vote for Lincoln, whose name they now plaster over every building. Never once did the people of Springfield recognize the grandeur of Altgeld's soul and the name of the greatest of Illinois' governors is still taboo in Springfield's country club circles.

How account for the essential drabness of our small towns? It isn't so hard when you realize Springfield's real hero today, the man whom the town honestly honors, is head of a big mail-order concern in Chicago. It's the money, boys and girls, and against it all your fine poetic frenzy, all your love for your fellows, your dreams of a new and purer world will not avail.

But this is not a particularly cheerful subject. There are men and women in Springfield who are above the battle and yet in it. There is Willis Spaulding, for example, the fine-visioned Commissioner of Public Property, who has a quotation from Henry George hung up in his office and is giving the country a stunning example of how well public ownership works. Year by year he gives the people cheaper heat and power and light, while always under the most bitter attack on the part of the private owned companies. And there are, of course, the miners, real folks, looked down on by the pimply drug clerks and bank cashiers who constitute the town's "society." At the foundation of all the prosperity the city has they are despised and rejected and go on their way with a happy-go-lucky disregard for the public's opinion of them that is delightful to behold.

The other night I found where the real interest of this typical small town lies. The public library and the bookstore were as empty as ever. Even the motion picture theatres were not full. Every one in town was headed for the arsenal where a local paper was putting on a Charleston contest.

At first they sat around the walls, young men with their hair goosed down and so cut that it looked as though a band of Sioux Indians had been on a scalping expedition. Beside them sat their lanky, flat-chested little flapper beaux. And youth did not speak to youth, but sat and sat, exposing tonsils to the fetid air.

And then out on the platform came the first pair of dancers and the saxophone started its sexy wail and there was a sudden stirring among the peasantry. This was what got them, this jerky mechanical jazz, this dance that might have come direct from dark jungles. They thrilled to the swing of it and soon the floor was filled with swaying figures that resembled for all the world the bobbing machines in some huge factory. It was the spirit of the times made at last articulate through twisting legs and heaving hips.

I talked with a group of Illinois corn farmers the other day. These men are normally as conservative as they come, rock-ribbed Republicans for the most part. And what they said about Coolidge and the Republican Administration was enough to make the hair of a Union League chair warmer stand up in holy horror. If I had pulled anything like that in New York the American Defense Society would have been after me with tar barrels. But here were husky sons of the soil committing lese majeste all over the lot. It just may be, good folks, that the pendulum is beginning to swing back and that the first revolt from the hypocrisy and hokum of the Coolidge administration is coming from the land. Of course you can't put too much faith in the present bitterness of the farmer. He's always a temperamental economist and by 1928 he may be out shouting his lungs away for Cal. But if the arid little man from Vermont were to run for the Presidency right now, his vote in the corn-belt would be as light as his social thinking, than which there is nothing lighter.

McAlister Coleman.

Triumphant Right

Good is; and must prevail. Hate, malice, greed,
Must fall before the regnant Right, and fade.
As in the forest, tangle brier and weed
Pass when the acorn, rising king indeed,
Shoots through the undergrowth and tops the
glade
To light and air and heavenly spaces freed,
Vernal, triumphant, monarch of the mead,
So Right must conquer; cannot be gainsaid.
Rise then, majestic Love, each heart a throne,
Burst through the tangle weeds that cling to
earth,
Grow out of littleness to things of worth
Which man may now arise and make his own.
Rise Monarch Love, enkind the world with
mirth.
Love is; and must prevail, and Love alone.
—Rose E. Sharland.

Noel Sargent of the National Manufacturers Association thinks that England's troubles are due to "meddlesome" politicians who have conceded too much to the trade unions. Well, he has the consolation of knowing that his class rules here.

Organization of the Fabians

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

SOME two years after the organization of Hyndman's Federation, a small group of earnest students started, in the fall of 1883, a series of meetings which resulted in the formation of the Fabian Society.

The occasion for the first gathering was the visit of Thomas Davidson from America. Davidson was a descendant of the utopians of Brook Farm and the Phalanstery, "and what he yearned for was something in the nature of a community of superior people withdrawn from the world because of its wickedness, and showing by example how a higher life might be led."

The group that met were divided between those who emphasized individual regeneration and those who felt that their main emphasis should be laid on social, rather than individual, progress. The latter group sympathized with the work that was being done by the Social Democratic Federation. They stayed outside this organization, however, partly because "it assumed that a revolutionary change affecting the very bases of society could be brought about at once; second, it appeared to ignore what may be called the spiritual side of life, and to disregard the ethical changes necessary to render a different social system possible."

At the November 7 meeting of the group, after much discussion regarding the efficacy of moral and social reforms, the following resolution was passed:

Naming the Society

On January 4, the society was formally organized as the Fabian Society, and for a convenient motto took the following motto:

"For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did, most patiently, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain and fruitless."

H. G. Wells afterwards pointed out,

however, that Fabius never did strike hard.

The Society's Basis

A few years after the formation of the society in 1887, it hammered out its basis which, with slight modification, remains the basis of the present day:

"The Fabian Society consists of Socialists."

"It therefore aims at the reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people."

"The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land and of the consequent individual appropriation in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites."

"The society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial capital as can be conveniently managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent upon that class for means to earn a living."

"If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), rent and interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails."

"For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon, including the establishment of equal citizenship for men and women. It seeks to achieve these ends by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the deletion between the individual and society in its economic, ethical and political aspects."

The Society attracted some of the most brilliant of the younger men of

England. George Bernard Shaw joined it in September, 1884. He later wrote in the minutes of the first meeting he attended in May of that year: "This meeting was made memorable by the first appearance of Bernard Shaw."

Sidney Webb, who was destined to become the Society's most important figure, joined in 1885, along with his Colonial office colleague, Sir Sidney Olivier. Graham Wallis, Annie Besant, Hubert Bland, H. H. Massingham, Edward R. Pease, W. H. Chamberlain, Percival Chubb and William Clarke were among the early signers, later followed by H. G. Wells, Beatrice P. Potter Webb, Ramsay MacDonald, Pethick Lawrence, Sir Leo Chiozza Money, G. D. H. Cole, Ketur Haldie and a host of others.

The Society developed a pamphlet literature which has secured an international reputation for its high scholarship and literary style. It prepared and introduced many legislative measures; encouraged its members to enter legislative bodies; aided in the organization of the Labor Party and arranged for thousands of lectures by its members before every conceivable group. In speaking of his pioneer days, Bernard Shaw wrote:

"My own experience may be taken as typical. For some years I attended the Hampstead Historic Club once a fortnight, and spent a night in the alternate weeks at a private circle of economists which has since blossomed into the British Economic Association—a circle where the social question was left out, and the work kept on abstract scientific lines. I made all my acquaintances think me madder than usual by the pertinacity with which I attended debating societies and haunted all sorts of hole-and-corner debates and public meetings

and made speeches at them. I was president of the Local Government Board at an amateur Parliament where a Fabian ministry had to put its proposals in black and white in the shape of Parliamentary Bills. Every Sunday I lectured on some subject which I wanted to teach to myself; and it was not until I had come to the point of being able to deliver separate lectures, without notes, on Rent, Interest, Profits, Wages, Toryism, Liberalism, Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Trade Unionism, Co-operation, Democracy, the Division of Society into Classes, and the Suitability of Human Nature to Systems of Just Distribution, that I was able to handle Social Democracy as it must be handled before it can be preached in such a way as to present it to every sort of man from his own particular point of view. A man's Socialistic acquisitiveness must be keen enough to make him actually prefer spending two or three nights a week in speaking and debating or in picking up social information even in the most dinky and scrappy way, to going to the theatre, or dancing or drinking, or even sweethearting, if he is to become a really competent propagandist—unless, of course, his daily work is of such a nature as to be in itself a training for political life; and that, we know, is the case with very few of us indeed. It is at such lecturing and debating work, and on squallid little committees and conferences of the three tailors of Tooley Street, with perhaps a deputation to the mayor thrown in once in a blue moon or so, that the ordinary Fabian workman or clerk must qualify for his future seat on the Town Council, the School Board, or perhaps in the Cabinet."

Dinner to Honor Gurley Flynn February 14

Keeping alive and radiant the flaming light of a faith for twenty years, through the storm and stress and achievements of an active life, is a singularly outstanding attainment in this world of ours. Yet, that is what Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, fighting champion of the workers' rights for two decades, has succeeded in accomplishing.

And because many of those who fought beside her through such labor struggles as the Paterson strike, the Lawrence strike, the New York waiters' strike in 1913, the free-speech fight in Oregon (during which she was sentenced to prison), strikes in Pennsylvania, in Ohio, in Montana, in any

State where her courageous services were needed—want to honor her, a dinner is being arranged for her at the Yorkville Casino, 210 East 86th street, for Sunday night, February 14.

The dinner is under the auspices of the League for Mutual Aid, 70 Fifth Avenue, which she helped to organize and whose purpose it is to help liberal and radical men and women who may be in difficulties. A group of well-known persons, including Roger Baldwin, Charles W. Ervin, Solon DeLeon, Abraham Shipkoff, Harry Kelly, Sidney Hillman, Art Young, Rose Pastor Stokes and Arturo Giovannitti, heads the committee on arrangements.

The Light In the Dark

The other night I saw a great light. The sort of light Saul saw on the road to Damascus. That is, it opened my eyes. The light was suspended above a hill of coal in the proximity of a closed mine.

"That coal operator," said I to my buddy, "is an artist," says I. "He is proud of his handiwork else he would not blow in good money to show it off at night and here in the wilds and woolies where hardly anybody will see it."

"His handiwork," snorted buddy, "them's the coal we fellows dug and he strung up that light so we can't buy any of it at night when there ain't nobody around to tell us the price." And then he went on to explain in that profoundly profane manner of his that the pile of coal was the visible evidence of the working of the immutable law of supply and demand which caused the well-known phenomena of over-production by means of under-consumption.

Being a little thick in the head, as you all know, I asked for particulars and then he explained that after the coal was in the hill, the miners were laid off because there was more coal than could be sold and that in consequence of the lay-off, pay days became sweet memories and that sweet memories not being currency, the miners couldn't buy any of the coal they had dug wherefore they were refrigerating in the intimate proximity of an over-supply of potential radiation. "Are you hep now?" concluded Buddy.

"Yes," says I, "only I don't know what you mean." And then after making some extraneous remarks about dumbbells and boneheads, he told me the parable of the mule and the miner which I take pleasure in passing to you as well as I can remember it.

Once upon a time there was a good farmer who owned a mule who went by the name of Batty. Batty had worked since early spring plowing, harrowing, drilling, cutting, and hauling oats. In return, the good farmer paid wages to Batty, meaning that he provided him with enough hay and oats to develop his mule power for the farmer was a wise one and objected to pulling his own implements.

But now winter had come. The frost is on the pumpkin and the fodder under lock, which poetical expression means that the oats are in the bin and that from now until spring, there is nothing to do for Batty but to eat, drink and make merry. In other words, Batty is out of work, but not out of luck. He gets his three squares as usual. There is straw under his belly and a roof over his ears and on very cold nights, he is even blanketed down by the good farmer, which means that Batty's wages go on.

Nof if Batty had been a miner instead of a plain mule; if he had dug coal instead of raising oats, his wages would have stopped the minute the coal was on the dumps. In addition, the farmer, I mean the operator would have placed a great light on top of that pile of oats—nix, that pile of coal—informing the mule, confound it all—I mean the miner that if he came around to eat some of the oats he raised—no, NO—carry home some of the coal he dug, he would get a load of buckshot in the vicinity of his tail—that is, his coat tail—say I'm getting all tangled up. Of course, the mule had drawn good wages through the busy season and if he had been a miner, the farmer might have told him to save some of his wages—I mean his hay and oats for the cold days to come and not bother him with out-of-work insurance, which is nothing but pay for no work and—

Oh, what's the use going on. I thought I saw a great light. But how in the hell can a fellow draw a comparison between a mule and a miner when one is a dumb brute while the other is made in the image of God and endowed with his Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and how can a fellow live without coal when it's twelve below and how can he enjoy liberty when he is not permitted to dig coal and is put in jail when he swipes coal and how can one pursue happiness when one is pursued by the constable?

Besides, the mule knows he is a mule, so he never makes an ass of himself by pretending that he is a nightingale, while the miner is sure that he is a free born, independent citizen, and a sovereign voting king, and as good as the next one and maybe a darned sight better.

So I wish the department of justice or the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, or somebody would make that coal company remove the great light over that coal hill. It don't do any good to anybody, not even the company, for it's a constant reminder that there is over-production of coal which keeps down prices. If the light were gone, the miners in the neighborhood would speed up consumption, and that in turn would stimulate production and besides that great light is a knock at the immortal Declaration of Independence, and in glaring violation of the immutable law of supply and demand.

Adam Coal digger.

Get Into the Ranks

Men in that time a-coming
Shall work and have no fear
For to-morrow's lack of earning
And the hunger-wolf anear.
Why, then, and for what are we waiting?
There are three words to speak:
We will it, and what is the foe man
But the dream-strong wakened and weak?
Come, then, cast off all fooling.
For this, at least, we know:
That the Dawn and the Day is coming.
And forth the Banners go.

—William Morris.

THE ANNUAL

FORWARD BALL

WILL BE HELD THIS YEAR AT
THE NEW AND MAGNIFICENT

MADISON SQ. GARDEN

EIGHTH AVENUE AND FORTY-NINTH STREET, NEW YORK

SATURDAY EVENING **20TH** OF FEBRUARY 1926

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The Lecture Calendar

Thursday, February 4
DR. ANNA INGERMAN, Socialist Party Central Board, 1167 Boston Road, the Bronx, 8:15 p. m.: "Bourgeois Revolutions and Socialist Revolutions."

Friday, February 5
ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, Socialist Party, 7 A. D., Third Avenue and street, 8:15 p. m.: "The Scopes Evolution Case."

Sunday, February 7
JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, at the Community Church, Park Avenue and 34th Street, 11 a. m. Subject: "What Does the Younger Generation Think of Us?"
Evening, 8 p. m., Community Forum, Symposium on "Military Training in Our Schools and Colleges." Speakers, John Nevins Sayre, Felix S. Cohen, Joseph T. Cashman and Carlos De Zafra.

WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM, Socialist Party 6-8 A. D., 137 Avenue B, 8 p. m.: "Literature and Life."
JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN, The Central Forum, at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Avenue, 11 a. m.: "Socialists and the Next War." Musical program: Dolomont Deutsch, violinist; Walter Pels, pianist; Clarence Day, organist.
AUGUST CLAESSANS, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8:30 p. m.: "Sex and Society."
DR. CECILE GREIL, The Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, the Bronx, 8 p. m.: "Modern Marriage."

Socialist Party at Work

Bronx

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Monday, February 8

MORRIS HILLQUIT, at the Center Forum, the Brooklyn Jewish Center, 667 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, 8 p. m.: "The Changing Social Order."
ABRAHAM I. SHIPLOFF, Socialist Party, 23rd A. D., Brownsville Lyceum, 229 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8 p. m.

LEONARD C. KAYE, Socialist Party, 2-5-10 A. D., At the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, 8:30 p. m.: "The Locarno Treaty and the League of Nations."

Tuesday, February 9

PROF. WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK and HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH, The League for Industrial Democracy, at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, 8 p. m.: "Incentives and the New Social Order."

Wednesday, February 10

WILLIAM KARLIN, International Order of Good Templars, Johnston Building, Nevins Street, Brooklyn: "Has Civilization Benefited the Human Race?"

SCOTT NEARING, Educational Frontiers Committee, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman Street, Brooklyn: "What I Saw in Soviet Russia."

Thursday, February 11

DARWIN J. MESEROLE, at the Socialist Party 4-14th A. D., 345 South Third Street, Brooklyn, 8:30 p. m.: "Unemployment and the Stabilization of Business."

DR. CECILE GREIL, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8 p. m.: "Psycho-Analysis."

WILLIAM KARLIN, Socialist Party, 14-15-16 A. D., Labor Temple, 247 East 84th Street, 8 p. m.

Saturday, February 13

SCOTT NEARING, Educational Frontiers Committee, Cooper Union, 8th Street and Fourth Avenue, 2:30 p. m.: "What I Think of Soviet Russia."

had an excellent crowd. Our Bronx Socialists worked so hard, so splendidly, to put this affair across. It proved the largest undertaking ever arranged in the history of Local Bronx. These faithful and dauntless comrades were never so happy as they were last Sunday at Hunts Point Palace. The concert was highly appreciated. The bazaar was a busy one and the dance drew a capacity crowd. The prize-winning ticket holders were: First prize, a piano, No. 1731; second prize, a radio, No. 62; third prize, a lamp, No. 1350.

With the clearing away of many of the debts, Local Bronx is now planning still bigger things. Watch for announcements. Meanwhile we thank all of you who helped so generously in this great affair.

Branch Seven is planning a social hour to follow a short business meeting February 9 at 4215 Boston Road. Refreshments will be served. Dancing will follow. Admission will be free.

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Amusements



DRAMA

In the Russian Theatres

RUSSIAN newspapers and magazines advertise a riot of historical and biographical plays that makes Americans' enthusiasm for spading up Americana seem a mild interest in their personal past.

The Grand Dramatic Theatre of Leningrad, continues the Moscow correspondent of the "Christian Science Monitor" advertises a play called "The Revolt," which deals with a White Guard conspiracy in which the former tsarist officer Liperkovsky and the Revolutionary Ruzayev figure. A new play in the Ukrainian language by Kulish, "Communists on the Steppes," is billed at the Dramatic Theatre of Kharkov. The play deals with the struggles of the enthusiastic young members of an agricultural commune with the peasants around them, who cling stubbornly to the old ways and will not accept the young zealots as prophets, much less as friends. The importance of this play, says one of the critics, "is that the hero is not one person, but a group. The drama is not word drama. The conflict of ideas is dramatized, not in the argument of the characters, but in the action of the two groups animated by vastly different ideologies."

The anniversary day of the 1905 Revolution was celebrated at the Revolutionary Theatre in Moscow by a play called "1905" by Nasimovitch, an historical revue in three parts, entitled "9th of January," "The Manifesto," and "The Revolutionary Outbreak." Another play with the same title, "1905," made up of folklore and propaganda materials, runs at the Readers Theatre in Moscow. The description of the play sounds absurd, for it is "made up largely of quotations from Lenin and Gorky, Demian Bedny, Trotsky and others," but people attend it, and in Moscow, as elsewhere, the empty house is supposed to be drama's one worst critic.

The Second Studio of the Moscow Art Theatre commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the 1905 upheaval with a play called "Petersburg," miming events that occurred in what was St. Petersburg, flying the imperial

eagle, and is now Leningrad, flying the red flag, with its hammer and sickle. A new opera by Pastchenko called "The Eagle Revolt" has been produced at the Leningrad Opera and Ballet Theatre. The score is based entirely on folksongs and dances current among the people about the peasant revolts of the eighteenth century. The libretto deals with the Pugachev revolt, in the reign of Catherine II.

The Korsch Theatre in Moscow announces a play called "Azev," dealing with the exploits of the most famous of spies and agents provocateur.

All this does not mean that the old classics are not being given, nor that a steady fare of Shaw plays and Strauss operas are not to be had. The Leningrad Opera bills new productions of "Don Juan" and "Kidnapped From the Serail," by Mozart. And, of course, there are new plays, a few, hot out of the oven, whose scenes are not laid in the past of barbaric Russia or that are not reminiscence or projection of the social revolutionary struggle either in Russia or Europe. Witness: "The Monkey Trial," to be staged by the Second Studio of the Moscow Art Theatre, with scene laid in Dayton, Tenn., and tempo, if one may venture an advance notice, not unlike the jazz of Lawson's "Processional."

"The Monkey Trial" as Soviet drama will have a topical interest, if one may judge from the excitement caused in Russia by the Tennessee trial. No single American event in years occupied the space in the Russian press. "Screen," a five-kopek graphic magazine with a hundred thousand circulation attained in less than a year, boasted that the first pictures of Darwin, Malone, Bryan and Scopes to arrive by airplane from Germany appeared in their weekly. Trade-union papers, peasant papers, alike, carried news stories, leaders and feuilletons on the subject, and one school teachers' union even raised a purse of chervonets to send to the Scopes defense fund, and were only deterred by an American visitor who assured them that many prominent Americans had anonymously contributed plenty to the fund already.

"Hedda Gabler" a Triumph

Actors' Theatre Players Give Glorious Performance of Ibsen at Comedy Theatre

THE production of Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler" by the Actor's Theatre company at the Comedy Theatre on 41st street is a triumph. It is a triumph in which there is glory enough for all; for Emily Stevens and Dudley Digges and Patricia Collinge for superb performances in the main part; for Mr. Digges for his inspiringly intelligent direction; for the Actor's Theatre for their courage in giving us this production. And lastly and mainly for grim old Henrik Ibsen who gave us this deathless masterpiece of human souls. I was moved by the magnificent ensemble acting and highly intelligent performance of the Actor's company.

Old Henrik never heard of psychoanalysis, of course. He died before the pseudo-intelligentsia began to play with suppressed desires and inferiority complexes. "Hedda Gabler" was first produced just 25 years ago this month, long before the fargon of a science most of its devotees cannot understand was ever heard. But if ever there was a psychoanalytical study of a human being, if every there was a person holding over with suppressed desires, here we have it.

Was Ibsen a seer? Or was he just one of the very few men whose mind could peer into the human soul and understand it? Was he just one of the few men who had intelligence enough to make his characters act so like human beings that even the stiff and stilted English of Mr. Archer's translation does not prevent them from being the most gloriously alive people we have on the stage today? Ibsen gives us human beings and it really doesn't matter if they don't say "So's your old man," and make wise cracks about the Volstead act. They act human, they act real because they are real.

Emily Stevens adds another to her remarkable performances in her characterization of the restless, feline, utterly bored wife of the professor who is so absorbed in his scholarship that he doesn't see what is going on under his nose. Every word, every intonation of her flexible voice, every

gesture, every impatient motion of her eloquent limbs carries a world of meaning.

Dudley Digges is Professor George Tesman, bland, self-centered, so absorbed in his work that when Hedda, in her last despairing, bored gesture shoots herself he is not so much shocked as utterly astonished as to the reason for her act. He is a perfect picture of the character that undoubtedly Ibsen had in mind when he wrote the play. Patricia Collinge as Mrs. Elvstad is beautiful, distracted and most manifestly the kind of a woman who would inspire a man like Lovborg to write his masterpiece. She is sweet, tender and devoted. Frank Conroy as the lawyer friend of the family, and the willing third angle to a family triangle, is very good. Louis Calhern as Lovborg is wistful and convincing.

All in all the production is one of the finest things we have ever had. Cast, direction, settings—and text of the play—go to make up a treat for playgoers that will not soon be forgotten.

W. M. F.



VIOLET HEMING

Plays the leading role in Arthur Hopkins' revival of "The Jest," which opened Thursday night at the Plymouth Theatre.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"THE BEATEN TRACK," by J. O. Francis, will be presented by Gustav Blum Monday night at the Frolic Theatre.

"THE RIGHT TO KILL," translated from the Russian of Leo Urvantsov by Herman Bernstein, will open at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse Monday night. Charles Bryant is the producer.

"THE JAY WALKER," a play of American life by Olin Edwards, opens at the Klaw Theatre Monday night, presented by Benjamin F. Witbeck. The cast includes Mary Daniels, Cyril Clousey and Janet Adair.

TUESDAY

"PORT O' LONDON," by George W. Oliver, will be offered by W. Herbert Adams at Daly's Grand Street Theatre Tuesday night. Basil Rathbone, Allison Shipworth, Susanne Bennett and George Thorpe are in the cast.

"LULU BELLE," a new play by Edward S. Sheldon and Charles MacArthur, will be presented Tuesday night by David Belasco at the Belasco Theatre. Lenore Ulric and Henry Hull head the cast.

RICHARD KEENE



Has the role of Willie Exier in "Hello Lola," the musical version of "Seventeen," which moves Monday to the Maxine Elliott.

"Cyrano de Bergerac" in "Paris—Hampton to Revive It Here February 15"

FROM Paris comes word that "Cyrano de Bergerac" has returned to its stage birth-place and met with a reception hardly less enthusiastic than that which marked its first appearance twenty-eight years ago. Rostrand's famous play is being presented again at the Port Saint Martin Theatre, where it was produced originally. Jean Coquelin, M. Francon and Mlle. Provost are the stars.

The cosmopolitan character of the audience at the Port Saint Martin is an indication of "Cyrano's" wide appeal. It is recalled that its original premiere of twenty-eight years ago produced a reaction considered unique even for the impressionable French audiences, the applause prolonging the performance until long after midnight. Although present day critics are more restrained than those who saw the original opening they point out that few care to challenge Emile Faguet's declaration that "Cyrano" is the "greatest dramatic poem of the last fifty years."

Walter Hampton will revive "Cyrano de Bergerac" during the week of February 15 at Hampton's Theatre. "The Merchant of Venice" will close next Saturday night.

"The Gorilla" Returns to The Bronx Opera House

"The Gorilla," the satire on the mystery play craze, which played on Broadway, Chicago, Boston, London, Paris and Berlin, will return for another week beginning Monday night to the Bronx Opera House, presented by the original cast. It is by Ralph Spence. Spence has also contributed to the films, having written some of Harold Lloyd's hits.

In the company are Frank McCormack, Clifford Dempsey, Betty Weston, Robert Strange, Frederick Truesdell, Arthur Beaton, Harry Hermanson, Augustus Minton, Joseph Guthrie, Harry A. Ward, George Spelvin and Doan Borup.

Pat Rooney and Marion Bent in "The Daughter of Rosie O'Grady" will be the following attraction.

Noted Artists at Jewish Theatrical Guild Benefit Sunday

Many stage and concert celebrities will take part in the entertainment for the benefit of the Jewish Theatrical Guild at the Manhattan Opera House this Sunday night.

Those who will take part include George M. Cohan, Sam Bernard, George Jessell, Harry Cooper, Louis Mann, William Collier and the Four Marx Brothers and their company. The various acts will be introduced by Bertha Kalich, Robert Warwick, Wilton Lackaye, Mary Nash, Grant Mitchell, Florence Reed, Loney Haskell and others.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

George Le Maire, the musical comedy comedian, who recently left the cast of "Sweetheart Time," will return to vaudeville Monday at Moss' Broadway Theatre. Mr. Le Maire will be aided by Joe Phillips in "The Osteopath." Walter and Emily Walters; "Ten Dollars a Lesson," a new sketch by Herman Timberg, with Herman Berrens and Mlle. Fifi; "Cafe Madrid," a Spanish revue, and other vaudeville acts are on the program.

The first showing of "The Midnight Limited," a melodrama of the railroads, will be shown next week, beginning Monday. Canton Glass, Wanda Hawley and Richard Holt are featured in the cast.

FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday—Volga Singers, Trahan & Wallace, Boreo Ensemble, other acts, Anna Q. Nilsson and Lionel Barrymore in "The Splendid Road."

Thursday, to Sunday—Dooley and Sales; Ducl De Kerkjarto, other acts. Alma Rubens and Lewis Stone in "Fine Clothes."

"The Dream Play"

Strindberg's Drama Is a Philosophical Outpouring at the Provincetown Playhouse

THAT phantasmagorical product of the days when one is not sure whether August Strindberg was mad or merely maddened by the horror of the world that ate its way like slow poison into his being, "The Dream Play," has been given fullest opportunity to reveal its deep significance by the sympathetic handling at the Provincetown Playhouse. The presentation has one advantage over the reading: it affords the scenic pleasure of some excellent moments; that in which the daughter of Indra, shrouded in a cavern with her body darkly silhouetted against the whirl on a stormy sea beyond, stretches in supplication to her father-god, was pictorially as beautiful as any dramatic moment we have seen.

But the play itself, save for some spots where the idea is given effective dialog, is trite and somewhat boring. The main idea is clear enough; of Indra's daughter come to dwell among men, to learn of their ways and to help by sharing their burdens; her journey through the world, to see misery everywhere, even at the core of happiness; her purification through fire and her return to the kingdom above, with her final recognition that the poet alone of men is able to lift clear at times of the mire and rise to challenge or reproach or approach understanding of the gods. This much everyone gathers, and interpreting "poet" in the wide sense of feeling, understanding man, everyone accepts.

But the philosophy behind the play is not merely drummed incessantly, and on the whole, tritely into our ears; it is a point of view we will not take toward life. The despairing Strindberg cries again and again, "Man is to be pitied!" his tortured body proclaims that "All pleasure is sin!" To both of which declarations the sensible man of today is likely to cry, in a word, that the "right-minded" of the dream play abuse: "Bosh! Bosh! Bosh!" Both physiology and psychology today teach us that pleasure is the natural accompaniment of proper functioning; and no courageous man desires pity, despite the burden which the world may heap upon him. He will maintain his self-respect and understanding, rising beyond both the stupid self-assertion of the Henley, "I am the captain of my soul," and the condescending impertinence of the Anatole France irony and pity, to a simple, embracing fellow-feeling for all mankind. But the psychology of Strindberg, his personal problems in life, have colored "The Dream Play" so as to make it of little value other than historical, as one of the plays that early—and jerkily, faultily—pointed the way to the modern art of the theatre.

MARY STILLS



Does excellent work in the role of the self-centered sister in the Barry Connors' comedy, "The Patsy," at the Booth.

Broadway Briefs

Richard Herndon's production of "Up the Line," the Harvard prize play by Henry Fisk Carlton which was announced to open here next Monday evening, will extend its out-of-town engagement for several weeks before coming here.

"One of the Family" will move from the Klaw Monday night, taking up new quarters at the Eltinge Theatre.

"Hello, Lola," now at the Eltinge, will move next week to the Maxine Elliott. Mme. Kalich's revival of "Magda," now at the Elliott, will be transferred to the 49th Street Theatre.

"The Right Age to Marry," with Mr. and Mrs. Coburn as its stars, opened Monday at Atlantic City.

Walter Janssen conducted the orchestra for the incidental music which he has composed for John Golden's production of Marc Connelly's comedy, "The Wisdom Tooth," which opened in Hartford Monday night.

Remo Dufano, marionette producer, is giving a program of three short plays on Saturday at the Lawren Theatre Studio, 31 West 12th street.

WINTER GARDEN Evenings 8:25
4 MATINEES NEXT WEEK:
Tues., Thurs., Fri. and Sat.
NOW, AS ALWAYS, THE WORLD'S
MOST FAMOUS REVUE

ARTISTS AND MODELS
PARIS EDITION

Walter Woolf, Phil Baker
and
18 Gertrude Hoffmann Girls

WINTER GARDEN
SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT
Always the Best Sunday Entertainment in Town
Stars from the LEADING BROADWAY
MUSICAL SUCCESSES and OTHER
HEADLINE ACTS
JACK ROSE, Master of Ceremonies

SHUBERT THEATRE, 44th West
of Broadway, Even. 8:25
3 MATINEES NEXT WEEK:
WED., FRI. and SAT.
The Costliest and Most Impelling
Musical Spectacle Ever Seen!
THE OPERETTA TRIUMPH

PRINCESS FLAVIA

MUSICAL VERSION OF
"THE PRISONER OF ZENDA"
Cast of 500 | Symphony | Singing of 125
Orch. of 60 | Chorus of 125
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN

The NEW CASINO de PARIS Century
2nd and Central Park West, Theatre
Building
Floor Columbus 889, Ev. 8:25 | Smoking
Permitted
3 MATINEES NEXT WEEK:
Wed., Fri. and Sat.
The Revue All New York is Talking About!

A NIGHT IN PARIS

"OF ALL THE REVUES THAT WE HAVE
SEEN PRODUCED BY THE THEATRE
SHUBERT, WE SHOULD EASILY PLACE
A NIGHT IN PARIS FIRST."—CHARLES
BELMONT DAVIS, Herald Tribune.

BIJOU THEATRE, 45th St., W. of Wy.
Even. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat.
3 MATINEES NEXT WEEK:
WED., FRI. and SAT.

MARY and FLORENCE NASH

A LADY'S VIRTUE

By RACHEL GROTHERS

with ROBERT WARWICK

2nd YEAR IN NEW YORK
The Comedy Knockout

IS ZAT SO?

by James Gleason & Richard Tober
Now at the Central Theatre
47th St. & W. 4th St.
Even. 8:15.

3 MATINEES NEXT WEEK:
WED., FRI. and SAT.

RALPH MORGAN



Shares the honors with his brother Frank, in the French comedy, "A Weak Woman," now in its third week at the Ritz Theatre.

CENTURY THEATRE, 52d St. and
Central Pk. W. Ev. 8:30
3 MATINEES NEXT WEEK:
Wed., Fri. and Sat.
Most Glorious Musical Play of Our Time

THE STUDENT PRINCE
IN HEIDELBERG

HOWARD MARSH
and OLGA COOK
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN
Symphony Orchestra of 40
Singing Chorus of 100
SECOND YEAR IN NEW YORK
FIRST TIME AT POPULAR PRICES:
2,000 Seats at \$3.00. First Balcony,
\$2.50. \$2.00 and \$1.00. Wednesday Matinee,
Best Seats, \$2.50; Fri. & Sat. Mats.,
Best Seats, \$3.

By Public Demand
N. Y. RUN EXTENDED

BERTHA KALICH

in SUDEMANN'S Powerful
and Thrilling Drama
"MAGDA"

Moves Monday Evening
to the
49th STREET THEATRE

MATINEES WEDNESDAY, LINCOLN'S
BIRTHDAY and SATURDAY

EVERYBODY'S FAVORITE, ~ THE
PATSY
Barry Connors' Delightful Comedy
with CLAIBORNE FOSTER
THEATRE, 45th St. W. of 6th Ave. Ev. 8:30
MATINEES, WED., FRI. & SAT. 2:30

Ibsen's "HEDDA GABLER"
"goes on the list of plays
that must be seen."—Woolcott,
World. Brilliant Actors' Theatre
production at Comedy Theatre,
W. 41st St., Penn. 3588. Mats.
Wed., Fri. and Sat.

Cast includes Emily Stevens,
Patricia Collinge, Louis Calhern,
Frank Conroy, Dudley Digges,
Hilda Helstrom and Helen Van Hoose.

Extra Holiday Matinee Lincoln's
Birthday

Maxine Elliott's Theatre, 39th E. of
Bway, Ev. 8:30
Moves Here Monday Night!
THE JOYOUS MUSICAL
COMEDY OF YOUTH!

HELLO LOLA

Based on Booth Tarkington's "Seventeen"

Great Dancing Chorus and
Youngest Girls on Broadway

3 MATINEES NEXT WEEK:
WED., FRI. and SAT.

AHWOODS PRESENTS
THE GREEN HAT
STAGED BY
KATHARINE CORNELL
THE DRAMATIC
SENSATION OF
THE CENTURY
with Katharine Cornell,
Patricia Collinge,
Louis Calhern,
Frank Conroy,
Dudley Digges,
Hilda Helstrom
and Helen Van Hoose
BROADWAY
THEATRE, 45th St. W. of 6th Ave.
Ev. 8:30. Mats. Wed., Fri. & Sat. 2:30
Extra Holiday Matinee
Lincoln's Birthday (Friday, Feb. 12th)
and Washington's Birthday

RITZ THEATRE, 48th West of Broadway,
Even. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat.
"Sparkling, delectable and naughty!"
—That's what John Anderson said
in the "Evening Post" about
ESTELLE WINWOOD
FRANK & RALPH MORGAN
in Ernest Boyd's spirited comedy
from the French
A WEAK WOMAN
The Season's Smashing Comedy Hit

The Sensational
Circus Drama Success
MONKEY TALKS
NOW!
THEATRE, 45th St. W. of 6th Ave. Ev. 8:30
MATS. FRI. & SAT. 2:30

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS
GOAT SONG
By FRANZ WERFEL
With This Brilliant Cast
ALFRED LUNT LYNN FONTAINE BLANCHE YURKA
GEORGE GAUL DWIGHT FRYE HELEN WESTLEY
FRANK REICHER EDWARD D. ROBINSON HERBERT YOST
ALBERT BRUNING, WILLIAM INGERSOLL and OTHERS
GUILD THEATRE, 52d St., W. of Bway
EVENINGS 8:30. MATS. THURS., FRIDAY and SAT. 2:30
Sixth Month of Bernard Shaw's Comedy
ARMS AND THE MAN
GARRICK THEATRE, 65 West 35th Street,
Even. 8:30. Matinees Thurs., Friday and Sat. 2:30
EXTRA MAT. LINCOLN'S, WASHINGTON'S B'DAYS
AT BOTH THEATRES

"The Night Duel" Will
Open New Mansfield Theatre

JAMES KIRKWOOD



The Mansfield Theatre, New York's
newest playhouse, will open its doors
Monday, February 15, with Marjorie
Rambeau in "The Night Duel," a new
play by Daniel Rubin. This is the
initial offering of the Playgoers, an
association of a number of friends of
the theatre. Co-ordinating with the
Playgoers is the MacGregor-Kilborn
Corporation, under whose direction the
Playgoer productions are being handled.

The new playhouse is on the south
side of Forty-seventh street between
Seventh and Eighth avenues, and is
immediately opposite the Biltmore, recently
opened by the same company. The
house is named in honor of Richard
Mansfield. It has a seating capacity
of 1,125, and its architectural
scheme is Spanish.

The Mansfield and Biltmore theatres
are the first of six houses being built
by the Chanin company. Three will be
built on Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth
streets, between Broadway and Eighth
avenue.

In D. W. Griffith's latest screen play
"That Royle Girl," due at the Camco
this Sunday.

THEATRES

"The Shanghai Gesture" is wicked amusement. It was a happy audience, and I think the play gave it something to take with it, either home or to the supper clubs."—Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune.

A. H. WOODS Presents
FLORENCE REED
in "THE SHANGHAI GESTURE"
By JOHN COLTON
MARTIN BECK Theatre, West 45th St. MATINEES WED. FRI. & SAT.

48th ST. THEATRE, East of Broadway
Phone Bryant 4114. Evening 8:30.
Mats. Wed., Fri. (Lincoln's Birthday),
and Saturday, 2:30.

ANNE NICHOLS Presents

PUPPY LOVE

Entire Orchestra, \$2.75; Balcony Seats, \$2.75.
\$2.50, \$2.30 and \$1.65; Entire Second Balcony,
\$1.50, including tax. Phone reservations
held to 8 P. M. the day of performance

CRITERION THEATRE, W. 44th St.
Mts. Wed. (Pop.), Sat.

HELEN MACKELLAR

IN
"OPEN HOUSE"
WITH
Ramsay Wallace and Bela Lugosi

LOUIS KALONYME
in Arts and Decoration says
"The Dybbuk" is rich
theatrical waves by Ansky
and given authentic lustre."

466
Grand St.
Tel. Dry Dock 7314
EVERY EVE. (Except Monday) at 8:20. Mat. Saturday only at 2:30.

THE DYBBUK

By ANSKY
English Version by Henry G. Alsberg

A STRANGE ADVENTURE—
A GRIPPING ROMANCE—
A COMPELLING LOVE STORY
OF MODERN TIMES!

12 Miles Out

Wm. Anthony McGuire Author of "The Girl in the Red Coat"

B. S. MOSS' THEATRES

CAMEO
42nd ST. & 5th AVE.
BEGINNING SUNDAY

**D.W. GRIFFITH'S JAZZ HAD
"THAT ROYLE GIRL"**
With CAROL DEMPSTER, W. C. FIELDS,
JAMES KIRKWOOD & HARRISON FORD

B'WAY
AT 41 ST. STREET
BEGINNING MONDAY

First N.Y. Showing—fourth railroad melodrama
THE MIDNIGHT LIMITED
with GASTON GLASS & WANDA HAWLEY
AND WORLD'S BEST VAUDEVILLE

Bronx Amusements

BRONX OPERA HOUSE
149th St. E. of Third Ave.
POP. PRICES MATS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT
Return Engagement by Popular Request
The International Laugh Sensation

"THE GORILLA"

That CHILLING, KILLING, MYSTERY
With the Original Broadway Cast Intact

Week of February 15th
PAT ROONEY and MARION BENT
in "The Daughter of Boale O'Grady"

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

PHILHARMONIC

TOSCANINI Guest Conductor
CARNegie HALL, THIS SUN. AFT. at 8
Last Appearance This Season of
MR. TOSCANINI

MOZART: Symphony No. 40. DEBUSSY:
"La Mer." MARTUCCI: Nocturne and
Nocturne. WAGNER: Prelude to "Tristan
(Tristan and Isolde)."

FURTWÄNGLER Conductor
First Appearance This Season of
MR. FURTWÄNGLER

CARNegie HALL, THURS. EVE. at 8:30
FRI. AFT. at 2:30

BRAMHMS: Symphony No. 4. BEETHOVEN:
"Egmont" overture. MOZART:
"Eine kleine Nachtmusik." WAGNER:
"Meistersinger" Prelude.

CARNegie HALL, SAT. EVE. at 8:30
SIXTH STUDENTS' CONCERT

Soloist: HANS KINDLER
Arthur Judson, Manager (Stelaway)

MUSIC

"Jewels of the Madonna" with
Jeritza at Metropolitan on Wed.

"THE Bartered Bride" will open
the fifteenth week of the Met-
ropolitan season Monday
evening with Mmes. Mueller, Telva and
Messrs. Laubenthal, Bohnen.

Other operas next week:
"Traviata" as a special performance
Tuesday evening with Mmes. Jeritza,
Galli-Curci, Egner and Messrs. Lauri-
Volpi, DeLuca.

"The Jewels of the Madonna," Wed-
nesday evening with Mmes. Jeritza,
Ryan, and Messrs. Martinelli, Danise.

"The Barber of Seville," Thursday
evening with Mmes. Galli-Curci, Bour-
skaya and Messrs. Charnes, DeLuca.

"Aida" as a matinee on Friday with
Mmes. Mueller, Telva and Messrs.
Lauri-Volpi, Danise.

"Lohengrin," Friday evening with
Mmes. Larsen-Todsen, Bransell and
Messrs. Taucher, Schorr.

This Sunday night's concert will be
for the benefit of the Opera Em-
ergency Fund. Mmes. Galli-Curci, Bran-
sell, Easton and Kandt and Messrs.
Johnson, Charnes, Whitehill, Fulfin,
Basilio and Mardones will sing.

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Basilio and Mardones will sing.

DRAMA

TOM POWERS



Is the new Captain Bluntschli in
"Arms and the Man." The show
comedy has passed its 150th perform-
ance at the Garrick.

How Strong Are Home Ties?

"Magda" Revived in a Strong
Performance by Bertha Kalich
at 49th Street Theatre

THE revival of Sudermann's
"Home," or "Magda," as it is
called in translation, gives Bertha
Kalich her best part of recent years,
and brings another attitude to the se-
veral current dramas that work the
contrast between the artist and his
fellow-men as material for the stage.
Miss Kalich holds the stage with
power, and despite the rather theat-
rical way in which the author prepares
her entrance—she does not come on
until the second act, and then with as
much fanfare as in "Enter Madame"—
she wears a manner that makes the re-
minder of the cast is well able to
maintain the illusion, and keep to the
fore the essential conflict of the play.

Recent productions of The Theatre
Guild and The Provincetown Play-
house approach from various angles
the theme Sudermann handles in
"Magda," the problem of the adjust-
ment of the artist to his environment.
Sudermann directly opposes a provin-
cial bourgeois society and a woman
who has risen from its conventions
and prejudices to a sincere, full life
as an artist. Accident of concert tours
brings Magda to her home town for
a music festival; the select families
of the town pay their respects to the
famous singer—and discover the
daughter whom Colonel Schwartz had
long ago disowned!

After a struggle against his pride,
the father accepts his daughter; she,
too, has a struggle before consenting
to stay with the family for her few
days in the town. But all seems at
length pleasantly arranged. Beneath
this surface, however, the two stand-
ards of living are seething; the dic-
tatorial father, accustomed to being
obeyed, to arranging everything for his
women folk, cannot keep from prob-
ing into his daughter's past. The in-
evitable tragedy follows his discovery
that she has not tried the strict line
of middle-class virtue, and that she
refuses to marry the scoundrel who is
ready now to profit by her celebrity
and "make amends." Even this fel-
low, however, is portrayed sympa-
thetically; he is much like any of a
hundred men we might know.

At the death of her father, Magda
gives a cry that springs from deep-
welling emotion: "Why did I ever leave
home?" Yes, we know that that out-
burst is not her deepest and most per-
manent feeling, for her child and her
career, and the wealth of her being,
are ultimately the highest value she
knows. But in the presentation
throughout, Sudermann holds a deli-
cate balance of sympathy, presenting
neither the artist as wholly right nor
the family, but studying the essential
and inevitable conflict between the
forces that lead to social order, to
"purtan" restraint and conventional
regularity, and those that send man
forth in pagan freedom to seek fulness
and joy of life.

J. T. S.

Music Notes

Vladimir Drozdoff, Russian pianist
and composer, will give a recital this
Sunday evening at Aeolian Hall.

Raymond Koch, a baritone from Chi-
cago, will make his debut on Tuesday
afternoon at Aeolian Hall.

Dorsey Whittington, pianist, will give
his only local recital this season Tues-
day evening at Aeolian Hall.

Frieda Hempel will give her song
recital Tuesday evening at Carnegie
Hall. The program includes songs by
Haydn, Bach, Bishop, Bellini, Marx,
Strauss, Hugo Wolf, and a group of
folk songs.

The Philharmonic String Quartet,
consisting of Scipione Guidi, first
violin; Arthur Lichstein, second violin;
Leon E. Barzin, viola, and Oswald
Mazuruchi, will give the first of two
recitals at Steinway Hall Tuesday eve-
ning.

The performance of Mendelssohn's
"Elijah" by the Oratorio Society, un-
der the direction of Albert Stoessel, in
Carnegie Hall next Friday evening
will mark the fiftieth anniversary of
the first performance of this oratorio
by that society. The soloists will be
Ruth Rodgers, Marjorie Nash, so-
prano; Jeanne Laval, contralto; Darn
Beddow, tenor, and Louis Graveure,
baritone.

Cyrena Van Gordon, mezzo-contralto
of the Chicago Opera Company, will

GOVERNOR MINTURN

A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

CHAPTER III

(Continued)

Saxophones and Clarinets

AS he entered the charmed
twilight of the balcony, he
found that the show had
started. He took a seat well
front between—he was hardly
conscious who—a girl and man.
On the stage against an orange
and black drop a brunette girl
with bobbed hair, stockings that
came to the knee, and an abbrevi-
ated fluffy skirt, was "throwing a
wicked line."

"We fellows will have to get to-
gether and get back our beer," she
drawled with wise look. Her mouth
was a slash of carmine, and when she
smiled Dan liked the way her mouth
widened unnaturally far back over her
white teeth.

Her patter continued. "Say, boy,
they'll be taking our makin's next." She
whipped out of her corset a satin
tobacco sack, drew a package of papers
from somewhere, and dexterously rolled
a cigarette. From a commissary con-
cealed about her scant apparel came
a cigarette holder and jewelled match-
case. A spurt of flame and she was
roughly blowing smoke rings toward
the audience. The orchestra set up a
winome two-step. She was joined by
a jaunty, sleek-haired boy in a stage
tuxedo.

"Oh Freddie, I am glad you have
come," she drawled.

"No, I don't lend my razor," he re-
torted.

"Now, Freddie don't say that to your
buddie," she pleaded. "Listen, Freddie,
do you think mother will smell my
breath?" She moved coquettishly to-
ward him, pursed her red lips and lifted
them temptingly up to him. "Do you
stop, Freddie Do you?" The boy
stooped and kissed her. The audience
howled. The orchestra resumed its
rollicking air. The flapper and her
whisk frisked to the wings. The au-
dience beat their hands. She blew them
kisses. The lights flashed off. The
musicians changed tempo; a drop was
lifted, and Dan was looking into a boud-
oir.

More persiflage from a blonde girl
who was making her toilette at dress-
ing table with powder puff and lip-
stick.

As the saxophones took up the dance
theme, she stood up, divested herself
of her dressing gown, stepped forth in
camisole, and like thistle-down allow-
ed the first strains of the orchestra to

wait her across the stage. The music
quickened; she leaped and whirled and
edded. She flung her lithe legs above
her head; she careened, imaginary
lovers wooed her; she swooned into
their arms; on tip toe daintily, co-
quettishly she tripped, tripped, tripped
to the syncopating tunes.

To Dan she was a dream of unending
motion, color, romance. Again the
scene changed—acrobats; again, magi-
cians; then the illuminated card read
"Tyler and Lewis."

A screen dropped. A cinema pro-
jected song words on the screen—old
songs of long ago, the continuity writer
said. A man and woman in powdered
wigs in colonial costumes appeared,
seated themselves front, and began
beating out measured rhythms upon a
banjo and guitar. As the melodies
changed, the words changed on the
screen. "When You and I Were Young,
Maggie," "Captain Jinks of the Horse
Marines," "Love's Old Sweet Song." The
audience sang. Dan found himself at
first resisting, then groping for the air,
then giving himself with pleasure to
the new sensation.

Suddenly he was aware of the girl
beside him. He had not seen her, but
her soprano was following his baritone.
Her voice had quality. It struck a note
deep within him. The dim lights; the
music; exhilaration born of the crowd;
his long-sustained emotions; the dis-
appointment following the loss of his
dancing partner at "The Tamborine"
made the sudden realization that he
and she, in all that crowd, had found
each other and were singing together
singularly romantic. He glanced at
her. She was conscious of him. Her
eyes met his and turned away. Her
face was animate with feeling. She
did not stop singing.

The long swooning cadence of an old
ballad—seemed as if just she and he
were singing now, just he and she, he
felt. He turned back to her. He could
feel that she was feeling him, and more,
that she knew that he felt her. She
was very pretty, rather large, broad
across shoulders, with broad brow, and
appealing brown eyes wide apart. He
was aware that she had that peculiar
psychic power which he craved in
women, which many prettier girls
lacked. What should he do? Should
he try to speak to her?

The song music ceased. Now the
movie: a Canadian story of mounted
police. It bored him.

The girl got up. He saw that she
was alone. Her knees brushed his as
she passed him, and he thought as her
eyes rested for a moment in his line of

vision that there was a fluttering mo-
ment of recognition. He trembled.
He felt response in the pit of his
stomach. He, too, got up and followed
her out, groping for something to say.
He had read in a novel how a man had
said in addressing a girl, "Are you
alone?" That salutation seemed to
him absurd. One could see that she
was alone. When he reached the empty
lobby, he saw that she had halted and
had turned back to meet him. He said
falteringly:

"You sing well."

"I like your voice."

"Wasn't it hot in there?"

"I'll say so," she answered.

"Which way do you go?"

"This." She took his arm. They
said no more. But strange the mood
which the music had induced lingered
in all its fragrance. They walked fast,
and purposefully, delightfully conscious
of each other. They said little. Mono-
syllables.

"This way."

"What's your name?"

"Maude."

"Mine is Dan."

At length, they came to an old house
with a broad veranda. He saw a
bench upon the veranda, and when she
asked him in, he suggested they sit
outside. "Just for a minute. It isn't
cold." She made no objection, but she
was careful not to sit close to him.
Dan recognized this as a crisis in his
adventure. Breaking over her habit of
shyness, he moved toward her and put
his arm about her shoulders and drew
her towards him. She let him kiss her
first on the cheek then on the mouth.
Her face was burning against his,
while her hands which he fingered were
cold. Maude was a novice in love.
After the second kiss she tried to dis-
entangle herself. She trembled in his
arms.

Something awakened in Dan, eager-
ness, fire, a craving for more inexhaus-
tible power over the dear creature in
his arms. He struggled with her. He
forced her to kiss him again and again.
"No, no," she whispered. "You
mustn't."

He paid no heed. He was cool now,
calculating. Something in this girl
had kindled knowledge in him that
he did not know he had.

"No," she pleaded. "Let's talk. Let's
go into the house. What will you think
of me?"

"I love you, Maude," he said. His
lips were against hers as he said it.

Suddenly she ceased her struggles
and lay panting and limp against him.

He was exultant. His busy hand
played along the contour of her body;
it fell over her shoulder and lay natu-
rally on her white bosom. He felt her
tremble. Maude began to sob—long,
uncontrollable paroxysms of nervous
crying. Would she never stop?

"Don't! don't! he whispered. "TI
stop."

"Oh, I can't!" she sobbed.

"Hush! they'll hear you."

He was desperate. He could have
choked her.

"You're a fool!"

"I can't help it," she moaned.

There was sound of singing key in a
lock; the door was flung open, and an
old woman, framed in the dim doorway,
stood peering out. Dan turned toward
her, ashamed, bitter, humiliated. He
did not know what to say.

Maude spoke up. "Oh, Mrs. Smith, I
am glad you came. I have one of those
terrible headaches. I can hardly see.
I don't know how I should ever have
got home if this gentleman hadn't come
with me."

"Poor child!" Mrs. Smith said, and
stepped toward Maude and took her
hand. "Was that you crying, dear
child?"

"I just couldn't help it. It was such
a relief to see the house when I was so
sick."

Thus she lied. And thus it was that
Dan saw her go into the house without
so much as a word to him, and disap-
pear, the spell that bound them
broken.

Dan, as he groped down dim streets
to the Minneapolis car line, for the sec-
ond time felt defeated. To himself he
seemed a bungler, an awkward, unat-
tractive lout. The thought of his fail-
ure to dominate her will completely
wounded him, kept him from feeling
what the young male longs to feel him-
self—a man.

Hours afterward, as he lay under the
roof of Belle Tavern, peace came back
to him. He remembered the thrill he
had experienced when he had for a
moment, possessed Maude's will. He
remembered that not once in his six
hours' absence had he thought of Alice
Miller. He felt a great reservoir of
power within himself—ability to give
to the woman of his choice.

He got out of bed. He scratched a
match and lit the gas jet. He stood
before Maude's, intently studying the
face.

What, he felt was great pride—pride
in his power to feel to love. Some-
day he would meet a woman, he told
himself—an answerer.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvanians desiring to learn
more about the Socialist Party can
do so by writing Socialist Party of
Pennsylvania, 415 Swede street,
Norristown, Pa. News items con-

WANDA HAWLEY



Will be seen in "The Midnight
Limited," a new film coming to Moss
Broadway Monday.

give a recital this Sunday afternoon at
Aeolian Hall.

Anna Pitsul will appear as soloist
of the Associated Glee Clubs of Amer-
ica in their concert on February 6, at
the Seventy-first Regiment Armory.
Damosch will conduct the chorus of
1,200 male voices.

Jeanette Vreelnd, soprano, will give
her annual recital Monday evening,
Feb. 15, at Aeolian Hall.

Grace Christie, the originator of the
Bubble dance and the exponent of
Benda mask character dances, will give
a dance recital at the Booth Theatre
on the afternoon of Feb. 21.

The New Cinemas

BROADWAY—"The Midnight
Limited," with Gaston Glass and
Wanda Hawley.

CAMEO—D. W. Griffith's "That
Royle Girl," with Carol Dempster,
W. C. Fields, James Kirk-
wood and Harrison Ford.

CAPITOL—Lon Chan

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 5885

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One Year.....\$2.00
Six Months.....1.25
Three Months......75
To Foreign Countries
One Year.....\$3.00
Six Months.....1.50
Three Months......75

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1926

LOCKOUT OF MINERS

PRESIDENT LEWIS of the miners is quite right in his statement that the "controversy is no longer a strike. It has become a lockout on the part of the operating interests." The miners were willing to return to work under conditions that differed little from what they were before the men walked out, but the mine owners have maneuvered for compulsory arbitration and this the miners rejected. They did right. Disguise it as its advocates may, compulsory arbitration is compulsory servitude and it cannot be anything else. Coupled with this demand by the mine owners was a demand that the miners concede the possibility of a reduction in wages.

On the other hand the demand of the miners for a fact-finding agency to assist a conciliation board implied an examination of the books of the mine owners and they want no such investigation. They want wages arbitrated but they do not want even any evidence disclosed regarding their profits. We are not inclined to think that they would even leave the matter of an investigation of their books optional with any responsible board, to say nothing of conceding a compulsory investigation. All the compulsion is to bear upon the miners, according to the view of the coal hogs.

A lockout and starvation of the miners appear to be the program of the owners. Fortunately, the trade unions all over the country are raising funds to tide the miners over this crisis. We hope that every union in the country and all sympathetic organizations will strain their financial resources to aid the miners in this struggle. It should not be lost, the miners must win.

THE TORRES EXECUTION

LATE last week it was reported that Senator Moses might ask a Senate investigation into the circumstances of the deportation of Colonel Torres and his execution in Mexico. Torres was one of the leaders in the De la Huerta rebellion against President Obregon. This would make him a political offender and death for political offenses is revolting.

However, there is a type of rebel in Mexico that cannot be distinguished from the ordinary bandit and assassin. From a cable to the New York World by President Calles it appears that Torres belongs to this type. President Calles states that Torres was executed without regard to his political offenses but because of his "having been responsible for crimes that merited this penalty." He had committed many assassinations of innocent persons, had robbed trains and put to death heartlessly many defenseless passengers.

It is well to keep in mind the distinction between the ordinary political rebel and the ferocious bandits who display no mercy towards innocent persons. We are certain that the imperialist Republicans are not really interested in political prisoners. Their action towards our own political some years ago is sufficient warrant for this assertion. On the other hand we know that American imperialist cliques are interested in Mexican adventurers who are willing to do dirty work in Mexico.

BULLARD'S SECRET

GENERAL BULLARD, president of that collection of profiteers, bankers and business magnates known as the National Security League, told a group of this class the other day of a "military secret" of the vintage of 1919. He informed them that Ole Hansen, mayor of Seattle during the general strike in that city, "was called up from the office of the Secretary of War in Washington and told that he must have backbone in meeting the crisis. He was told that the Army would back him up in whatever he undertook." Bullard added, "the National Security League is still needed."

What is interesting in this affair is that the War Department took the initiative in instructing the mayor of a city involved in a local strike and promising him the use of Federal troops to break the strike. Under the Federal Constitution these matters are always left to the local authorities and when they feel themselves helpless, application is made, not to the War Department but to the President. The one striking case of Federal interference without application for aid by local authorities was the sending of troops to Chicago by President Cleveland in the A. R. U. strike of 1894. But even this interference at least had the excuse that the strike was interstate in its character.

The Seattle strike was local. The first resource of the mayor would be an appeal to the governor for aid. If the latter believed the need of Federal aid urgent, application for it

would come from him. If applied for, it would go to the President. Bullard rejoices that the military arm of the Government, in defiance of the procedure outlined by the Constitution, proposed to interfere in a local strike.

This whole affair is all the more contemptible considering that the Seattle strike was one of the most peaceful in the history of American labor struggles. All the services of the city absolutely essential to avoid acute suffering were continued. The main disturbance consisted of the hysterical antics of an assinine mayor who has since become thoroughly discredited.

Thanks for the information, General Bullard. We hope that the organized workers of this country will understand its sinister significance.

INTERNATIONAL SPIES

THE arrest of four young French girls as spies in France and the holding of three Englishmen arrested in December again calls attention to the spying system maintained by many governments. It is reported that the girls were employed by the British. They became intimate with American officers attached to the Cruiser Pittsburgh and are said to have obtained important information from the latter. The three Englishmen are said to have been engaged in getting French military and naval secrets.

Whether the French or the American officials will become indignant regarding this spying remains to be seen, but the British know that the French and American governments also have their spies. All of the big powers indulge in the practice while their diplomatic representatives attend dinners and make pretty speeches about the "friendship of two great peoples."

The rival imperialist powers are compelled to ferret out the naval and military secrets of their rivals. Each power desires to avoid being at a disadvantage in any war that may develop with other powers. Each one knows that all the others are spying but each is compelled to observe the customary hokum about "friendship." Each has the right hand extended to the others while the left hand grasps a meat axe concealed for use at any moment.

Extend this dirty system to any neighborhood in the personal relations between man and man and we get some idea of what it means on a world scale. It reminds us of Mr. Dooley's advice to Hennessy: "Trust every wan, Hennessey, but cut the c-a-a-rds."

PORTRAIT OF A PATRIOT

FOR a fearless patriot Judge Wallace McCamant of Oregon is getting considerable free advertising. Attacking the late Theodore Roosevelt as not being a "good American" he explains the opinion as due to Roosevelt having favored the recall of judicial decisions. The Federated Press reports that Senator Johnson of California charges the judge with repudiating instructions he received in the presidential primary in 1920. Moreover, it is said that McCamant helped the Spruce Corporation to take over a government spruce concern at the end of the World War and under conditions that deprived the county where it was located of its taxes for a period of years.

Turning to the February number of Harper's Magazine we find an article by Professor Faulkner on "Perverted American History" and again Judge McCamant appears in the limelight, this time going after the modern American historians. "The chief purpose to be subverted in teaching American history is the inculcating of patriotism," he is quoted as saying, and textbooks should "instill loyalty to country rather than to class."

The noble judge appears to have found his country in the Spruce Corporation and his recreation in poisoning history teaching. He and associated patrioters in other organizations have agreed on a textbook which, in the words of Professor Van Tyne, "is so maudlin and sentimental about 'our' virtues and 'our' superiority to the rest of the world that if universally used 'our' next generation would behave like an insufferable cad toward the rest of the world."

We welcome the Oregon judge to our collection of patriots. He is a worthy successor to Silverware Lusk, Thaddeus Sweet, Archie Stevenson and Ole Hanson, who led for their beloved country a few years ago.

PATHOS

THERE is no more pathetic creature in this world than the professional apostate to any great cause. One recalls with pity the "God-like" Webster in his Seventh of March speech making his peace with the Fugitive Slave Law and dying of a broken heart. He who turns from an unpopular cause to mingle with the despoilers of mankind and to sing their glories has never been an appealing figure and he never will be.

The World War produced a number of this type in this and other countries. They cannot justify their conduct to others or to themselves, but in the attempt to do so they become more reactionary than the genuine reactionaries themselves. Their very excess of zeal for things they are a defense mechanism that is so transparent that it deceives no one.

The president of the Brooklyn Edison Company issues a neat reprint of his address before the Kentucky Public Utilities Association. He quotes the following opinion of "a profound and accurate thinker": "As a means of attaining the greatest advantage, governmental ownership and operation of railroads, telegraphs, telephones and similar public utilities now appears to me to be inherently inferior to the new type of enterprise we are so rapidly developing, characterized by popular ownership, representative management and social regulation."

We do not envy John Spargo to whom is credited the words, "it now seems to me."

The News of the Week

The Water Power Issue Again Up

Governor Smith is again in the spotlight by sending a message to the Legislature challenging the policy of the State Water Power Commission which proposes to lease water power to private corporations for a long term of years. He recalls the proposed amendment to the Constitution in 1922 which would have permitted this policy in the Adirondacks but which was defeated in a referendum vote. Moreover, the Commission itself complains of difficulty in "securing adequate compensation" from private corporations now enjoying certain privileges yet it proposes to permit other power grants to such corporations. The Governor's alternate policy closely follows the bill introduced by Socialist Assemblyman Waldman in 1918 and which found no favor with either Smith's party or the Republicans. Governor Smith recommends "the establishment of a State Power Authority, municipal in character, having no stockholders, deriving its powers from the State and having the duty specifically imposed upon it to prepare a plan for the comprehensive development of all our power resources." The corporation would issue bonds exempt from State taxation "and secured by the revenues to be derived from the improvements when made." He points out that the State is already engaged in producing electrical energy in the plants at Crescent Dam and Visccher's Ferry and immediately formulates the issue by recommending the repeal of the State Water Power Act and that "the State Water Power Authority be set up in the Conservation Commission." It now remains to be seen what sort of a bill his party associates will sponsor and whether it contains any "jokers."

Army Drill in Russian Colleges

While some of the wildest champions of compulsory military training in American colleges are accusing their opponents of being subsidized by Russian gold, comes a dispatch from Moscow telling how the Soviet authorities have ordered that every student in the higher college classes must study military science two hours a week and spend a part of each summer in an army training camp. It is explained that the Russian Government can only afford to keep a standing army of 600,000 men, so something must be done to supplement this force. According to the latest budget estimate for 1925-26, the Russian army and navy cost 625,000,000 rubles (at 51 cents each), or about one-fifth of the year's total expenditures. Another Moscow report tells of a plan to sell a lot of the Russian crown jewels and similar treasures for money with which to buy enormous quantities of American plows, tractors and other agricultural machinery. If this scheme can be made effective it will gladden the hearts of Americans selling such articles, greatly increase Russia's output of foodstuffs and hasten the day when the American State Department will have to open its eyes to facts and officially recognize the Soviet Government.

Last year Russia bought 13,532 tractors in this country and plans for 1926 call for the purchase of 22,000, most of them here.

Murder Urged By Fascisti

Murder of Italian critics of Fascism living abroad is to be added to confiscation of their property at home, judging from an editorial in *l'Impero*, a Rome Fascist organ, hoping that "the blessed hand of some holy madman will find the means abroad of closing this most shameful shop of treachery with cold steel." Said "shop of treachery" is George Salvemini, the Florence professor now living in London, and occasionally making speeches about conditions in Italy. Don Sturzo, exiled leader of the Catholic Party, is also living in London. In view of the fact that murder rarely goes unpunished in England, it is probable that Mussolini's brave in the guise of holy madmen will limit their activities to empty threats as long as their intended victims remain under the protection of the British lion. Great indignation has been aroused in Switzerland at the emigration with which the Swiss Federal Council has allowed itself to be used as a tool of Mussolini and has notified an Italian refugee named Angelo Tonello that if the Libera Stampa, the Socialist paper in the Canton of Ticino for which he works, continues to "insult" the Italian government he will be expelled. Socialists and Liberals are holding protest meetings all over the Confederation and are warning the Federal Council that freedom of speech is supposed to be guaranteed in Switzerland, even for foreigners, and that the Swiss people will not stand for its infringement. Mussolini's efforts to ingratiate himself with the Pope seem to have come to naught, as Cardinal Gaspari, the Papal Secretary, in an interview in the *Paris Echo*, divided the duke's talk about a new Roman Empire and also said there was no prospect of any change in the relations between the Vatican and the Italian Government.

Russians Reject I. F. T. U. Terms

Replying to the resolution of the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam December 5, providing that no joint conference with the Russian trade unions can be held until these organizations express a desire to affiliate with the I. F. T. U., the Central Committee of the All Russian Trade Union Federation, according to a London cablegram of February 1, has notified the Amsterdam Bureau that it stands by its former proposal for an unconditional conference and "can add nothing" to it. The Russians then say they will continue to work untiringly for the creation of a single trade union international. To which the Amsterdam Bureau will doubtless say "Amen," adding that such unity can easily be effected. If the Russian leaders will merely indicate their desire to enter the I. F. T. U., it must be remembered that at the December meeting the General Council said it was ready to call

a conference with the All Russian Council of Trade Unions with the view of exchanging opinions as soon as the Russians signified their wish to affiliate. This means that the Russians will by no means be compelled to sign on the dotted line, but will have a chance to negotiate some plan to be submitted to the next congress of the I. F. T. U. With the waning of Communist influence in European labor organizations, and the decline of the prestige of Gregory Zinoviev, the chances for eventual affiliation by the Russians are improving, although the usual amount of "face-saving" will have to be gone through.

A Big Merger In Foodstuffs

Foodstuffs of the entire nation are to eventually come under the control of a gigantic merger just announced in Wall Street. The combine is to include 2,000 stores in 20 States and will embrace many leading chain systems. The National Food Products Corporation, the name of the great merger, announces that it is organized similar to the recent "holding companies in the public utility field and will apply to the food trade an idea which has been successful as well as profitable in the utility field." The merger is incorporated in Maryland and is capitalized at 1,000,000 shares of Class A common stock and 1,000,000 Class B common and assessed at \$200,000,000 by the State of Maryland. It is estimated that there are 365,000 retail stores in the United States, of which 40,000 are already in the chain store systems. It is understood that packing plants and bakeries are also on the list for conquest as the new empire of food expands in the coming years. The retail business has on the whole remained a small business affair, except for the chain system, and has been regarded as the last refuge of competition in industry. It requires no stretch of the imagination to foresee the expansion of this great empire until the retail business will eventually be swallowed. The small business proprietor will become a vassal clerk serving in the chain gang of the great merger oligarchs. We will be fed by our imperial masters if we have the coin and are willing to pay the price exacted by them. At the same time retail industry will be organized and systematized for social ownership and control when we are ready to relieve the masters of their mastery.

Dawn Song of Labor

Whelmed by the night's despair,
Our tears we shed,
Or lay too tired to care
Among our dead.
Only the few still strive
Where hope's star shone,
Spending their lives for love
Till life was gone.
But now night's darkest space
Falls, night is done,
To the new day gives place;
Behold—the sun!

—Geoffrey H. Webb.

THE CHATTER BOX

The God-Killer

It all depends on what you call this God.
If you mean fear of something in the mist
Beyond the sense perceptions, just the God,
They hammer in your brain with iron fist
Of grey tradition—something with a face
And form of larger size, in higher place.
With passions—anger, scorn and ugly hate—
Which only blood in sacrifice can atone.
A super beast, a lord of lower beasts
Holding court with lesser lords and priests.
With haloed saints and chubby cherubim—
It is this God—then I am killing Him.

Yet be your God the ever conscious might
That flows through every fiber of the weave,
Where grain of dust or monster satellite
An equal share of gracious care receive.
That keeps the orbits on their separate ways,
Molds out the seasons, marks the nights and days,
Pours wine of life into the cup of earth,
Saps out with death and then refills with birth.
And builds and builds with ever changing phase—
Cosmic constants in a seeming maze.

What fools would dare to kill or try combat—
A great invulnerable God—like that.

But, peering deeper, be your God the thing
That molds the spirit more than matter strong,
And gives the brutal brain its reasoning,
It craves for justice and its hate for wrong.
That makes us sorrow for the woes of men,
And strive for better—always asking—"When?"

Be this your God, then learn how well I strive
To keep your worship in this God—alive. . .

It is with a blush of modesty such as our cheeks
Have not felt in a decade, that we publish the following letter:

Dear Mr. DeWitt:
If the New Leader is a mighty interesting paper nowadays, I think that YOU are largely responsible. I am not anxious to participate in the controversy in regard to Rabbi Wise. I have never heard him speak, and I am not at all sure that I agree with your description of him as "the ONE great Lover of the multitude." BUT I feel impelled to tell you how much I like your spirit and how greedily I read your writings. (My wife, who is paralyzed, likes them almost as much as I do, and invariably has me read them aloud.) You are like a breath of fresh air in a musty room!

I was more than amused by your attacks on doctors and hospitals. I thought your open letter to Wise an uncommonly fine bit of writing—and this apart from the technical issues it raised. It was spiritually stimulating, and compelled one to get down to rock-bottom.

I hope that you will not allow your critics to paralyze your pen. By continuing to write just as you feel you will please, among others,
Yours sincerely,
LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

Our deepest thanks, Dr. Leonard D. Abbott, especially at this time while we are still breathless with the battle.

To Let, a Heart

Who cares to live in a haunted house
With a gloomy ghost inside,
Where storm winds tear round the rickety stairs
And demons of memories hide.

An earthquake rocked and rocks it still
Destruction works its awful will—
Who cares to live in a haunted house
With a gloomy ghost—who dares!

Renaissance

I have a body that's made of snow
That melts at the touch of the sun's last glow,
That mingles with torrents of spring-time rain—
I have a body that laughs at pain!

LEONE.

The New Leader Mail Bag

In Praise of Dr. Wise

Editor New Leader:
Having just learned from Dr. Holmes that he had written in reply to Mr. De Witt's most unjust attack upon Rabbi Wise—a reply by the way which I have not yet seen printed in the Socialist Leader—and reading in this morning's World Dr. Wise's fearless stand for the cause of oppressed Labor, I can as a member of the Socialist party, no longer be silent, when a true tribute of the people is so unjustly attacked in your columns. Let me begin with the first charges against Dr. Wise.

If Mr. De Witt knew anything of the man he chooses to vilify, he would know how his voice has rung out again and again in the cause of the disinherited of earth, so that he has alienated the rich and powerful Jews of New York who would otherwise have been supporters of the work that is close to his heart. Of all the preachers of today he, surely, has met and overcome "temptation" to truckle to the rich. Did he know anything of Dr. Wise, he would not ask why he is "so suddenly moved" to proclaim Jesus as a great teacher. He ought to have known before publishing this query that for twenty years or more Dr. Wise has proclaimed his belief in the moral and ethical value of the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. If Mr. De Witt knew anything of Dr. Wise he would know that he is not a preacher of a 5th Avenue institution; that he has never "consoled slave owners," but has lashed them so severely that, like Jesus, he has had no place to lay his head. Because of his brave championship of the cause of the poor, he has never been able to have a Church or Synagogue building in which to preach. And all this because he has with so little thoughts of "self" ever raised his voice as on Sunday last for the striking miners. Mr. De Witt would know, if he knew anything of Dr. Wise, that his is not a "gold fence flock" or "diamond studded Jewry." The writer happens to know that the Free Synagogue of which Dr. Wise is the leader, consists of members, for the most part, who have little worldly goods, and who meet not to listen to "platitude" but to the utterances of a brave and unafraid soul.

Finally, if Mr. De Witt knew anything of Dr. Wise, he would know that publicity seeks him; that he has never sought nor desired publicity.

JOSEPH A. MAYER.

New York, Jan. 28.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

prove. I sometimes think that if European labor and Socialist leaders knew more about the United States they would not from their own standpoint be in such a hurry to have our country join. On the other hand, I am not sure whether our joining will strengthen the genuinely internationalist forces in the United States or merely bring more actively to the front in our politics groups which often seem to be more interested in the quarrels of the British Empire, France, Ireland, Poland, Italy, Russia, etc., than in our own affairs.

Ideally I should like to see the United States join on the basis of certain minimum reservations or changes in the Covenant of the League, and in the European situation. It is not likely that the Coolidge Administration would accept these reservations. I am not now attempting to argue out these matters one way or the other, but simply to indicate some of the things which I think should be more carefully discussed before the Socialist Party in this country definitely commits itself.

One thing is sure: it is nonsense to suppose that we can be isolated from European quarrels while American investments in Europe increase by hundreds of millions yearly. The question is how best can the radical forces keep guard on these financial imperialists, by advocating America's entry into the League now by urging conditions which first should be fulfilled.

Smith Behind The Socialist Party

In backing Governor Smith's fight on the water power-graft, Socialists don't want to forget or let their friends forget that Smith is really backing us. The Socialists were for State control of water power as they were for rent legislation at a time when Democrats joined with Republicans in throwing out their bills—and their representatives—with a whoop. Even now we are far ahead of Governor Smith in demanding that distribution as well as production of hydro-electric power must be a matter of public control. Otherwise it may be the big distributing companies that will get all the real benefits from the State hydro-electric plants.

W. W.

My heart is bursting to acclaim you,
Wait Whitman!
At the mountainous pedestal,
Whereon you stand, open breasted,
Your garments striving to go
Where your wild playmates would take them,
I stand, looking up.
What can I utter?
Where are the words which may contain in meaning
The interpretation of my heart?
To speak of the ordinary
Words come in easy abundance,
But now my task is difficult.
I want to hail you, vociferously,
As you hailed me,
Saying, "Here I am, wait, here . . ."
But in my mouth there lies a stone petal,
Made ineffectual by rapture and elusive speech.
—JOSEPH RESNICK.

And now that our open letter bacteria are working overtime within us and pushing our usually calm corpuses to torrid temperatures, we will travel a bit higher in the social scale than that occupied by our recent correspondents, and publish the following epistle to none other than the Honorable President of these United States. Our readers will notice how easily we change our literary (sic) style to suit the people we write to. When we write to profound and intellectual people we use a Thesaurus, the Britannica and Webster's Unabridged; when we correspond with Hon. Cal. Coolidge we write as follows:

Dear Cal:
My son David brought you to mind last night, as he peered up from his homework and said: "Gee, pop, those presidents like Washington and Lincoln have made it pretty tough for us kids studying history. All this year we've been studying Revolutionary and Civil wars, and so far we've had six compositions to write about them and their doings. It's too bad all the presidents weren't like Taft, Harding and Coolidge. American history would be a cinch, with only a few names and dates to remember. Gee!" So you see, old neighbor, no matter what those nasty radicals and bolsheviks say about you, you can count on the younger generation for your popularity. I tell you this, so that you might not feel sore when I tell you that I'm sending a bale of old clothes to the striking miners, who are just starving and freezing a little out there; and I'm asking you as an old neighbor to see if you can't spare some coats, shoes and things that you and your family don't really need and do the same. If you are afraid that the coal operators might learn of your generous impulse, you might send the stuff here to this office—by stuff I mean the clothes, of course, and I will see that it gets to the proper destination. All you have to do so that I will know the clothes are yours is to enclose in the bundle a picture card of the White House.

I'm particularly anxious to see how the White House looks, in these days of soft coal and so on. My house looks grey and sick; so do the curtains; and so do our lungs, I suppose. I understand you are still getting hard coal for your house. My envy, Cal, my sincere envy. Won't you please tell me where you get it? It must be nice and warm and clean in your White House. They tell me those hundred thousand or so coal-diggers are living in cold, dreary huts on the hills about the mines. Couldn't you please tell them how you manage to keep so warm and clean and comfortable? Your advice and your sending the clothes above mentioned would help a lot. Whatever you do, or say, remember, you have my promise not to put the coal mine owners wise. Trusting to hear from you very soon, and with personal regards from my family to yours, I am,
Yours very respectfully,
S. A. de Witt.