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Miner Freed After Five-Year Term in Prison

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

THIS week brings to the front of public attention two of the Socialist, or near-Socialist, issues which Governor Smith has tried to make his own—water power and housing. In the matter of water power, as I have previously pointed out, we welcome Governor Smith's potent aid in fighting against any further grant of State water power to private interests. But we insist that the Governor's own proposal for a State development of water power does not go to the heart of the matter so long as the distribution is still left to private companies. It is in the matter of distribution that the Ontario plan has made its greatest success. The Governor's attempt to appropriate a Socialist coat to wear with his capitalist pants leaves him clad in motley raiment.

More interesting, because more original, is the housing plan, which his commission has worked out for him and which he now commends. I have not yet been able to get the full text of the bill which embodies this plan, and my comment, therefore, is somewhat tentative and subject to further amplification or correction in the light of meditation on the bill. In brief, I think the plan as outlined is not as bad in itself as it is inadequate.

It looks as if what had happened was this: The Housing Commission, having established the fact that "unaided private enterprise at present does and can build only for the upper third of the population," looked around for a remedy. The logical remedy, of course, was public enterprise along lines which we Socialists have repeatedly recommended. But that would be "Socialistic." And "Socialistic" is a word to frighten away all campaign contributors and a great many boob voters.

Moreover, effective State or municipal action might require a constitutional amendment, which conceivably would be hard to get. The Housing Commission, therefore, did not set out to see what was the best plan to meet this desperate and pressing social need. It set out to see what was the best that the two old parties might let it do. The resultant scheme for a State housing bank, with power to condemn land and issue housing bonds to aid limited dividend companies in the erection of cheap houses, is ingenious in principle and detail. I doubt if the business interests and the reactionary politicians of both parties will let it pass, any more than they would a more adequate measure.

Conceivably, given our present capitalist system and its thoroughgoing acceptance even by the masses of the voters, this plan, if adopted, might be effective to a limited degree. How limited will depend on how many Sunnyside corporations can be found. If the limited dividend companies, by huge salaries, the formation of subsidiary companies to deal in building materials, and various bookkeeping tricks known to all corporations subject to regulation, can work the 6 per cent return up to a real 8, 9 or 10 per cent, probably plenty of them would be formed. Such companies, however, would not cure the situation. They would continue the present exploitation. The proposed bill seems to have provided a number of checks against swollen salaries and phoney accounting.

Just in proportion as these checks are effective private capital will not be available adequately to deal with the problem. To make this plan work in its present form you must find private capital enough to cover one-third of the cost of land and houses sufficient to provide more than 70,000 new apartments in New York city alone. Then you must find private capital willing to buy, not State bonds, but bonds of the bank, secured by first mortgage on the property, at 5 per cent (the commission plausibly hopes they may sell for less) for the other two-thirds of the cost. Will this private capital be found to go into so carefully regulated a scheme? What inducements does it offer, except some possible tax exemption, not offered by a limited dividend company like Sunnyside today? Always supposing that regulation really regulates these new housing corporations, why will the investors who have held off from Sunnyside rush to buy stocks and bonds under this new plan?

The best this scheme has to offer, in other words, is getting capital for building, two-thirds at 5 per cent (or possibly a little less) and one-third at 6 per cent return. The State and municipalities on their own credit can (Continued on page 2)

McCoy Is Leased Trials In Operator

By Art Huntington, W.

Mingo county miner home with his wife and children, at the close of a trial against his operators of that county began in May, 1921, with his arrest on a charge of shooting Squire Harry Staten, of Sprigg, during the 1921 strike, and it closed here in Huntington, when the fourth jury that has tried him for murder freed him after two minutes of deliberation.

Twice McCoy was convicted in the operator-controlled courts in Williamson. I attended the first trial, September, 1921, when the county was under martial law and the courtroom filled with armed men. Twice he went to the penitentiary at Moundsville to serve ninety-nine years, and twice came out again on writs of error. The third trial took place in Huntington on a charge of venue and brought a hung jury, nine to three for acquittal. The fourth has just closed.

It was a class conspiracy throughout. John S. Marcum, 74-year-old attorney for the Mingo coal operators, served as special prosecutor at the fourth trial, as he did at the first. His shaven, wrinkled head bobbed aggressively as he rasped out the usual open-shop cant about lawless unionism.

But the coal operators were unfortunate in their witnesses. Some testified that McCoy had been firing from a railroad switchstand; others as positively declared that it was nearly a hundred yards away, by a store. And defense attorneys proved conclusively that it would have been impossible to see the victim from the place named. There was further proof by the defense that McCoy had not done any firing and that the only overt act he had committed was to loyally aid the strike and relief program of his union.

The verdict was a great personal victory for Harold W. Houston, veteran labor lawyer of Charleston, who was assisted by Thomas Townsend and Thomas West. But it was even more a victory for the United Mine Workers' union.

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ROSY PROSPECTS FOR ARGENTINE SOCIALISTS

Party Expected to Have Won Many New Seats in Recent Elections

JUDGING by the gains made by the Socialists of Argentina in the recent gubernatorial elections in the States of Buenos Aires and Mendoza there is every reason to believe that when the smoke of the battle for half the seats in the National Chamber of Deputies scheduled for March will have cleared the Argentine Socialists will find themselves in possession of many more than the eighteen members they have at present.

In Mendoza, where State elections were held Jan. 3, the Socialist vote for Governor rose from 1,915 in December, 1921, to 4,261, against 20,395 for the so-called Lencinistas and 14,302 for the Liberals. The Socialist advance was made in the face of general apathy on the part of the public. The day before election a Socialist campaigner was assassinated by political opponents.

In the state of Buenos Aires (exclusive of the capital city) the count in January of the votes cast for Governor on Dec. 6 showed a total Socialist strength of 25,265, against 10,805 in 1921. The Socialists won twenty-two electors, against ninety-two for the Radicals, whose popular vote was smaller than in 1921, despite the fact that this time the Conservatives, who polled a good-sized vote four years before, did not participate in the campaign. Dr. Nicolas Repetto was the Socialist candidate for Governor, with Jose M. Lemos as his running mate.

Only veteran Socialists are up for election to the Chamber of Deputies, as the party's constitution requires four years' membership for nomination to national offices, three for State offices and two for local position. With the bourgeois parties split into many factions, mainly for personal reasons, the Socialist Party is really the only national-wide political organization standing on solid ground and with a practical national program.

At the eighteenth national convention of the Socialist Party of Argentina in October, Secretary-General Masdea was able to report to the 134 delegates a dues-paying membership of 10,914 in 262 sections, against 8,995 members in 134 sections in 1923, and 8,339 members in 134 sections in 1921. This gave conclusive evidence that the period of internal strife due to Communist agitation had been definitely left behind and that the party was marching rapidly to victory. The Argentine Socialists, one of whose ablest spokesmen is Senator Juan B. Justo, are constantly in the forefront with their campaign for the sanitation of the financial and economic situation in the republic and their insistence upon the definite severing of diplomatic relations with the Vatican and the com-

(Continued on page 2)

Upton Sinclair to Run For Calif. Governor To End Syndicalist Act



Upton Sinclair

San Francisco.—Upton Sinclair has been nominated to run for Governor of California at an enthusiastic State convention of the Socialist Party here. Sinclair will make his greatest immediate issue the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalist Act, the law which has marked California as the most reactionary State in the country.

For Lieutenant Governor, the Socialists nominated Lena Morrow Lewis. Judge Ben Ryckman, of Los Angeles, has been tendered the nomination for Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court as a protest against the anti-progressive decisions which have distinguished the present incumbents. The Sinclair program will include repeal of the syndicalist law, establishment of a State marketing system, and the creation of a system whereby the State will develop and own the water-power systems.

Mosleys Will Speak For N. Y. Socialists

Socialists in New York City and vicinity will at last have an opportunity to see and hear the two most famous recent converts to Socialism when Lady Cynthia and Oswald Mosley speak in Cooper Union, Fourth avenue and 8th street, Monday evening, March 8.

The meeting, which will take the form of a reception of the two British Socialists followed by messages of greeting from them, has been arranged by the City Committee of the Socialist Party.

Tickets, selling at 50 cents, 75 cents and \$1 may be obtained at the City Committee, 7 East 15th Street. An excellent musical program has been arranged.

RAIL PROFITS UP \$150,000,000 IN YEAR

Increased Efficiency of Employees Accounts for Heavy Jump in Income

By Leland Olds

RAILROAD profits of \$1,136,954,243 in 1925 are a gain of more than \$150,000,000 over 1924. This huge increase has enabled 19 of the 42 principal carriers tabulated by Dow, Jones & Co., publishers of "The Wall Street Journal," to present their stockholders with a return of 10 per cent or more on their investment. In fact, 12 of them report more than 15 per cent on their common stock.

The \$150,000,000 gain in profits is due almost entirely to the increased efficiency of the railroad employees who handled \$198,946,341 more business in 1925 than in 1924 with an increase of but \$23,462,065 in operating expenses. Expenses in 1925 absorbed only 74 per cent of the transportation dollar, compared with 76 per cent in 1924 and 78 per cent in 1923.

The expenses most directly connected with the production of transportation did not increase at all. The transportation men and shop men actually reduced costs in their departments. In spite of the heavier volume of traffic, transportation expenses fell about \$15,000,000 compared with 1924, and the cost of maintaining equipment about \$2,000,000.

Among the big gains over 1924 are the Atlantic Coast Line, with 33 per cent; Big Four, 29 per cent; North-western, 26 per cent; Michigan Central, 25 per cent; Pennsylvania, 25 per cent; Great Northern, 17 per cent; Southern, 15 per cent; Missouri Pacific, 14 per cent, and the Baltimore & Ohio and the Santa Fe, 13 per cent.

Michigan Central leads the procession in return on capital stock, with an even 100 per cent, which compared with 73 per cent last year. Most of this swells the wealth of New York Central stockholders, for the larger road holds about 95 per cent of Michigan Central stock. Atlantic Coast Line comes second, with a return of 26 1/2 per cent on its common stock. Big Four follows with 24 1/2 per cent, and Chesapeake & Ohio with 21 1/2 per cent. Other big returns for common stockholders include Reading, 19 1/2 per cent; Norfolk & Western, 18 1/2 per cent; Santa Fe, 18 1/2 per cent; New Orleans, Texas & Mexico, 16 1/2 per cent; Southern, 16 1/2 per cent; Louisville & Nashville, 16 per cent; D. L. & W., 16 per cent; Nickel Plate, 15 1/2 per cent; Frisco, 15 per cent, and Union Pacific, 15 per cent.

Such profits should make it difficult for these railroads to deny their employees a share in the increased prosperity made possible by their efficiency.

Golden Calls Pact "Greatest Victory in Miners' Lives"

Head of District Nine Explains Agreement That Ended Long Anthracite Strike

By Christ J. Golden

President, District 9, United Mine Workers of America

President Golden has written the following article, at the request of The New Leader, in order to convey to those unfamiliar with the United Mine Workers struggle the salient points, from the Union's viewpoint, in the recent strike settlement.

President Golden is the head of one of the three districts which were involved in the long strike. He was instrumental in negotiating the settlement and therefore speaks with authority on its implications.

THE agreement arrived at between operators and miners and unanimously approved by Tri-District convention provides for a five-year contract at the present scale of wages.

There can be no change in the wage rates within five years without mutual agreement of both parties. In other words, arbitration is eliminated from the agreement.

It does provide that the question of readjustment can be taken up once a year in which case each side shall appoint one man, giving the United Mine Workers' organization just as much power as the operators. Thus, no reduction of wages can take place unless agreed to by representatives of the miners.

The paragraph provides as follows: (3). If within thirty days after starting such negotiations, the parties have not agreed, all issues in controversy shall be referred to a board of two men with full power and without reservations and restrictions; and the parties agree to abide by any decision or decisions of such board, either on the merits of the controversy or as to procedure to be followed. Such board shall be appointed as follows:

The operators shall name three men and the miners shall name three men. The operators shall select one man from the miners' list and the miners shall select one man from the operators' list, and the two men so approved shall constitute said board. Unless otherwise agreed, the men named by the parties shall not be connected with the United Mine Workers of America or the business of mining coal. The board shall be obligated, within ninety days after appointment, (Continued on page 3)

Labor's Dividends

BELLAIRE, O.—One miner was killed in an explosion at the Poughatan mine.

Anthony DiStasio, Newark, N. J. man, was killed by a Hudson 1888 train.

NEW BRITAIN, Conn.—Buckling under the pressure of snow on the roof, a brick wall of the annealing plant of the North & Judd Manufacturing Company here collapsed, killing at least eight workmen.

WILKES-BARRE, Pa.—While preparing dynamite to blast coal in a nearby stripping Matthew Yonkoski, a striking miner of Georgetown, was killed.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Three men were dead, trapped in the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation Mine 4, at Horning, following a terrific explosion.

While working in an excavation for a new building in New York City Patrick Frazer, a pneumatic drill operator, was killed.

WOMEN SLAVE IN JAPAN MINES

Powers Hapgood Returns Found Feudalism the Rule in Textile Mills

WOMEN work in Japanese coal mines under the most wretched conditions, reports Powers Hapgood, member United Mine Workers of America who is returning to Pennsylvania after working in mines in many countries.

"On Kyushu Island—the center of the coal industry—I got into two big coal mines, one of them being a deep shaft employing three thousand workers," Hapgood writes. "For the first time I saw women working underground. The mines were terribly hot so that the men at the face worked stark naked except for straw loincloths on their feet while the women wore nothing except foot protectors and loincloths not more than an inch wide at back and four or five in front."

"It was quite a shock to me in a narrow tunnel with four or five inches of water on the bottom and squeaking roof with cracking timber overhead to be suddenly forced against the side while an all but naked woman came splashing through the water, bending her knees and back to keep her head from striking the low roof, carrying an oil safety lamp with one hand and with the other steadying a pole across her bare shoulder at each end of which hung a heavy basket of coal that she was carrying from the face to the cars."

Feudalism found Although Hapgood found less child labor in Japan than in China, he writes that he visited Japanese textile mills where feudalism is complete. The labor sign contracts for three years. They live in barracks inside factory gates, are not allowed outside the walls the first three months and after that only in large groups in charge of a matron. In China "industrial conditions are terrible—little naked boys of six working twelve hours a day in the mines, girls of seven or eight and mothers with nursing babies working twelve hour shifts seven days a week in cotton and silk mills, and practically no labor unions. Life in the country districts is not so bad as in the industrial centers."

The Japanese labor movement "is struggling along—the miners union having about 10,000 members out of 400,000 mine workers—and the other unions being not much better," says Hapgood. After he was entertained by Osaka trade union leaders, the Japanese police kept a constant watch on him. Hapgood found his police companions good porters and rather amusing but adds to Roger Baldwin, director American Civil Liberties Union, "I'm sorry for the poor Japanese. They certainly need a civil liberties union."

A DIGEST OF THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

Labor Capitalism

Or Co-operation

A question has been raised as to whether labor banking and similar enterprises may not develop into what has been called "labor capitalism." That tendency was feared many years ago in England when certain co-operative enterprises tended to concentrate on the distribution of dividends rather than to promote labor solidarity and the cultural development of the working class. The announcement of the American Home Builders, Inc., at Cleveland, is likely to revive the discussion. W. G. Lee, president of the Trammien, and Dr. Walter F. McCaleb, who conceived the banking program of the Engineers, head the organization. It is not officially connected with any trade union, but its principal officers and stockholders are officers of the trammien. It proposes a home-building business and will seek co-operation and support of certain financial institutions that have no relations with the trade union movement. It promises certain savings to workers and the payment of dividends. It is very conservative in its outlook, and the announcement of its leaders reads like an ordinary business prospectus by appealing solely to the investment motive. This might well be a first installment of labor capitalism in this country and it will be of interest to observe the history of this institution.

A Sweet Land Of Liberty

Terrible dangers have been averted in the province of what is probably true, that rural and urban progress has advanced to a stage where it is nearly abreast with pre-war conditions. He regrets that the treaties negotiated by Russia with the Labor Government of Great Britain were not concluded by the Baldwin Government, but he believes that English policy is approaching a more friendly attitude which will be to the

to speak in front of the building. An officer grabbed the offender and rushed him to a police box only to learn that Nearing had obtained the gracious permission of the police to speak if he did not "block traffic." Alice Stone Blackwell, the noted suffragist, whose memory of similar treatment in other days of suffragist is keen, points out that if Bimba can be prosecuted for "blasphemy," former President Elliot of Harvard as a Unitarian and all Jews can be prosecuted because they regard Jesus as a man. In Hudson a Lithuanian club has been forced to vacate its hall for inviting Bimba, in Pittsburgh the police broke up his meeting, and two halls have been refused him in Worcester. Meantime Acting Mayor Keene is quoted as saying that Bimba "should be barred from speaking anywhere in the United States." And all this in the State that once honored Emerson, Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, Channing and Parker. All rise, salute the flag and sing: "My country, 'tis of thee; sweet land of liberty."

Russia's Need Of Credits

It is contributed by Christian Rakovsky, the Russian Ambassador to France. He admits that Russia has entered a new phase of development which is more in accord with the evolution of the capitalist West than with the Communist program, and yet he contends that state enterprises tend to outstrip the capitalist industries of Russia. On the other hand, he asserts, what is probably true, that rural and urban progress has advanced to a stage where it is nearly abreast with pre-war conditions. He regrets that the treaties negotiated by Russia with the Labor Government of Great Britain were not concluded by the Baldwin Government, but he believes that English policy is approaching a more friendly attitude which will be to the

mutual advantage of Russia and England. Russia needs foreign financial aid to reconstruct her industries and to provide agricultural machinery for her peasants. She does not have the credit or the money to purchase what she needs. The overwhelming peasant character of Russian economic life is also a difficult and menacing aspect of Soviet evolution. The peasants want manufactured goods in exchange for their products and Russian industry cannot supply the peasants' wants. The result is an antagonism between agriculture and industry, and this conflict will tend to subside in proportion as Russia obtains the credits that are needed. Eventually Russia will get them, as the capitalist world is coming to realize that Russia is a good customer.

China Fighting Her Despoilers

China still struggles to shake off her chains. An illuminating dispatch by Thomas F. Millard from Shanghai to the Times reveals the dissatisfaction of the Chinese Nationalists with the failure of the Peking Government to insist on China's minimum demands regarding extraterritoriality. Local organizations in Shanghai will go to Peking this week to stiffen Chinese demands, which include rendition of the Mixed Court. A special fight will be made for an increase in the Municipal Council to twenty members next year, eleven to be Chinese. The present Council has nine foreign members who are willing to concede the addition of two Chinese members and possibly compromise on three. But a compromise is not acceptable to the Chinese, who are determined to have a majority of the Council and eventually the whole number. The Chinese leaders assert that unless they obtain a majority the puppet Parliament does not mean that of last May will be repeated. The Peking Government has been a tool

of the foreign interests, and its tendency is to sabotage the efforts of young China to obtain emancipation from the foreign yoke. Moreover, an influential section of the foreign press in China is hostile to any revision of Chinese customs, Millard believing that it wishes "to break up the conference without an agreement." It is not surprising that the alien robbers object to giving up their plunder.

Muslim's Gifts Feared by Pope

Perhaps fearing gifts borne by a despot whose frequently proclaimed desire to emulate Napoleon eventually may lead him to try to equal the French conqueror's humiliation of the head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Pius, in an open letter to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, has dealt a blow at Benito Mussolini's attempt to lure the Vatican into supporting Fascism. Almost from the beginning of his dictatorship this one-time militant Atheist and anti-church man has tried to people's Party by concessions to the church. The crucifixes were put back into the schools, religious publications were suppressed, there were reports that ill deeds had had himself and his wife remarried by a priest, and only a couple of weeks ago the holding of masses in the barracks of the Rome police, discontinued at the time of the ending of the Pope's temporal power in 1870, was re-begun. The Pope's letter, written in connection with the recent revival of rumors about an impending rapprochement between the Vatican and the Quirinal, points out that the presence of some churchmen on a Government Committee elaborating a program of church legislation about to be presented to the puppet Parliament does not mean that the Holy See approves such action, and emphasizes the fact that Pius XI

Promises Break Wireless Strike

Listening to promises by the British Ministry of Labor to work on the shipowners' terms their grievances would be made the subject of further negotiations and arbitration. If necessary, the leaders of the some 5,000 wireless operators who abandoned their instruments three months ago have called off the strike. It appears that Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, President of the Board of Trade, who had quickly backed up the shipowners when the strike began by suspending the regulation requiring all ocean-going passenger ships to carry wireless operators, finally became nervous over the storm of public criticism that broke upon the Government following the disasters to the Antinoe and Lariston, whose calls for aid were answered only by non-British ships, so he enlisted the services of his fellow Cabinet member, the Minister of Labor, to persuade the men to go back to their ships. The operators' already low wages will be about \$5 a month less than before unless the promised negotiations should result in the rescinding of the cut that caused the strike. During the struggle about 1,350 vessels, many of them carrying passengers, left British harbors without wireless operators. The Tory Government, which hardly dares openly to fight powerful organizations like the Miners' Union, apparently prefers to jeopardize the lives of thousands of ocean travelers and sailors rather than curb the greed of the shipowners.

The Field of Labor

Fur Workers Ready for Finish Fight

New York.—The 12,000 striking New York fur workers are ready for a long fight, if necessary, to win their demands, asserts Ben Gold, manager joint board, furriers' union. The 1920 strike lasted eight months. The strike affects all classes of fur workers except dyers.

The union is fortified with the facts of fur trade illnesses which the examination of all union fur workers by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Health Center are establishing. The fur workers get skin and lung diseases, nasal and throat troubles from the dusty, irritating work. The shops are small, most employing less than 25 workers, and are not kept clean and free from debris. They are poorly ventilated. The fur workers demand the 40 hour week, so that they will have a two days' rest in seven. They ask wage increases, equal division of work, no discharge, and unemployment insurance.

Silk Strike Begins Where Coal Strike Ends

Scranton, Pa.—Over 1,400 girl workers in anthracite region silk mills are striking, while their fathers and brothers go back into the mines after their five and a half months' fight. The girls protest against the miserable wages they have been paid.

Most of the girls are strikers from Leon-Ferenbach Silk Co. The United Textile Workers have been organizing the girls. There are several thousand silk workers in these anthracite valleys, 5,000 employed at Shamokin by C. K. Eagle & Co. alone when busy. During the winter the silk mills were not working full time.

Anthracite Mining Takes First Toll After Strike

Scranton, Pa.—John Lusenbak, 30-year-old miner, is the first victim of anthracite mining since the strike ended. He was injured in Sloan mine of Glen Alden Coal Company and died at the hospital. The company would not disclose details of the accident.

500 Anthracite Miners Strike on Wage Rates

Pittston, Pa.—Nearly 500 miners at No. 4 shaft, Ewen colliery of Pennsylvania Coal Company refused to return to work upon conclusion of the general anthracite strike because the local grievance committee did not negotiate a new wage agreement. The shaft had been closed several months prior to the September 1 general strike. The men were paid on a consideration basis of \$7.70 for laborers and \$8.80 for miners, but the company complained that the workers frequently loaded only one or two cars where it would take three or four for the company to profit. The men hold that they cannot speed up under conditions in the mine.

Mahon Going to Mexico

Washington.—William D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, and former vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, has been appointed as fraternal delegate from the latter body to the convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor. The convention will meet March 1 in Mexico City. An invitation to the labor movement of the United States, to send a fraternal delegate was sent by Secretary Moneda of the Mexican Federation to the Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L. last fall, and was accepted. President Green has just announced the selection of Mahon.

Employers Seek Injunction Against Union Drive

New York.—Application for a severe injunction against the International Ladies' Garment Workers' to restrain union officers from calling strikes in contracting shops affiliated with the Association of Dress Manufacturers, is the latest move of this employing group against the union's organization drive. The injunction would attempt to bind the union until December 31, 1926, when the old contract was due to expire. It would enjoin union officers from "doing any acts injurious" or "creating and maintaining strikes against members" of the association, or from working to this end through any and all means.

Seamen Cold to League Conference

At a meeting of the Seamen's Section Advisory Committee of the International Transport Workers' Federation, held in Amsterdam January 16-17, it was decided that the seamen had lost all interest in the coming conference of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations since the governing body of the International Labor Office had decided not to include the question of working hours on the agenda. A deputation was appointed to discuss the question with the Director of the International Labor Office. The same deputation was also instructed to confer with the International Mercantile Officers' Association as to the possibility of cooperation in connection with certain questions proposed by that body.

A proposal of the Danish Fishermen's Union that the General Council of the I. T. F. should be asked to invite the Russian transport workers' organizations to be represented at the I. T. F. Congress in Paris next September was unanimously agreed to.

Danzig Socialists Hold Unity Rally

AS EVIDENCE of the presence in Danzig, the tiny "Free State" created out of German territory by the Treaty of Versailles, mainly for the purpose of providing Poland with a seaport, of a big element that is for peace and harmony between Germans and Poles despite the trying situation in which the little State finds itself, there was held there on January 24 an international demonstration in which representatives of the socialists of Germany, Poland and Danzig, addressed the people.

Dr. Breitscheid, M. R., came from Berlin, Dr. Diamond, M. P., from Warsaw, and the vice-president of the Senate, Gehl, spoke for the Danzig comrades. Many thousands took part, and all three speakers—Diamond also spoke in German—were received with equal enthusiasm. Breitscheid took as his starting-point the treaties of Locarno, which for Socialists are not the end but the beginning of the road. It is the moment now for a similar step to be made for the East; now it is for the German, Polish and Danzig Socialists to lay down in a conference the principles for the settlement of the Eastern problem. The next aim of Socialist effort must be the destruction of tariff walls and the creation of the United States of Europe.

Diamond contended that the frontiers must fall. From an economic point of view also he was convinced that the intimacy between Danzig and Poland must become ever closer. "Poland has no interest in thwarting German culture in Danzig, the Polish people are not anti-German."

Comrade Gehl stated that "the aim of Danzig policy can only become effective if based on those reasons which

led to the birth of the independent state. These reasons are its cultural peculiarity and its economic importance. No one who knows Danzig can have any doubts as to its German character, but we must resign ourselves to the fact that politically we do not any longer belong to Germany. On the other hand Poland must not forget that for the sake of its cultural peculiarity Danzig has been made a free state. Just as Danzig belongs to German culture, without belonging politically to Germany, so can it fulfill its economic task towards Poland, without being politically bound to it. The meeting shall serve the purpose of making a bridge between East and West, between two countries, which are dependent on one another for their economic development and between which Danzig stands as the natural mediator."

The meeting closed with three cheers for the Socialist and Labor International.

ARGENTINE SOCIALISTS

(Continued from page 1)

plete separation of church and state. While the party's principal strength is in the city of Buenos Aires, it has branches in all parts of the country and, is steadily carrying the message of Socialism to the most remote settlements.

When the new Chilean Congress opened in December the list of members showed that the elections of Nov. 22 had sent six Communists and three members of the Wage Earners' Party to the Chamber of Deputies and one Wage Earners' party to the Senate. Among the Communist deputies is Luis V. Cruz, of Santiago, Secretary-General of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Labor of Chile. It is evident from South American newspapers that the distinction between Communists and Socialists is not so sharp in Chile as in most other countries and that the awakening working class voters support Wage Earners (Socialists) and Communists indiscriminately, according to local conditions.

Governor Smith hopes to get honorable and efficient men who will serve on his State Housing Commission and his State Housing Bank without compensation. It is rather less Utopian to imagine that such men might serve in the direct attempt by the city to provide homes for its citizens. That little phrase, "without compensation," seems to me of little to indicate how small is the Governor's hope in his own plan.

:: Soviet Russia Today ::

Industry of Russia on the Road to Recovery Bringing Bettered Conditions to Working Class

By Otto Bauer

AT the time of the civil war Russian industry had undergone a collapse even more fearful than that of agriculture. It fell to 20, to 10, and even in some large departments of industry, to 2 percent of pre-war production. The important thing now is that in the last few years, and at a notably accelerated rate during last year, Russian industry has been recovering.

One must understand what this recovery signifies. Russian industry has to produce only for its home market, which has been restored by the fact that the peasant is once more in a position to purchase. Russian industry, moreover, does not have to meet any competition in its own country; for the Bolsheviks pursue a highly protectionist policy. If the duties in Europe are everywhere very high, in Russia they are still higher; for example, on shoes a duty of about 100 percent of the value is imposed. To this must be added that the duty on imports is in the hands of government institutions, that is, of the state import monopoly, so that the state can block any undesirable import.

From this follows that Russian industry can still rule its market, even when it produces at a very high cost. In point of fact, manufactured articles in Russia are considerably dearer than in Austria. Industry is once more able to produce—that is merely a technical problem—but it produces at very high cost, that is to say, with a diminished productivity. In such a situation any other industry would go under, it could not meet the competitive struggle. But this problem does not exist for Russian industry except with the one reservation that less of the products are purchased because they are dearer. There is complaint in Russia on this point. Therefore, one must not yet over-estimate the recovery of industry. There are certain industries which are still unable to meet the demand. And since the Russian government does not admit, or admit only within narrow limits, the import of these goods, there is still a scarcity of certain articles. This holds good for textile goods; to be able to buy them in the towns one must still attend personally. A still graver scarcity prevails in the villages. In them there is also too little shoe and leather and tobacco, in which things industry is still unable to suffice.

The Russian villages are over-populated. This over-population was indeed one of the causes of the Revolution; in fact, it was the scarcity of land which first roused the peasants to action. But already the villages are again over-populated; as can be seen from the fact that great masses are migrating from the country into the towns with the intention of working in industry. Herein lies the cause of unemployment. There is even already again a lack of skilled workers in Russia, but an enormous surplus in the less skilled grades of work. I cannot establish exactly the extent of the unemployment because two contradictory figures are published. One figure is given in the "Ekonomit-



Otto Bauer

scheska Schien," according to which the number is 1,100,000. This would be an appallingly high figure. It cannot be reckoned on the total population of Russia, but only on the total number of industrial workers; and it would thus signify that unemployment was still very great.

Stalin gives a lower figure, 750,000. I do not know how this difference can be accounted for, but it must clearly arise from different methods of calculation.

Although industry has increased it cannot increase quickly enough to absorb the influx from the villages. Consequently, we must accept the claim that Russian industry has made immense strides with the following reservation: it is still working at very high cost, in particular lines it is still unable to meet the demand and to absorb the surplus population of the villages.

But although all that is a fact, it is yet certain that in comparison with the earlier state of things, when industry was altogether in ruins, an immense advance has been achieved in the last few years, and especially during the last year. This change has also brought a possibility of raising the standard of life of the masses, first and foremost in the wages of labor. The standard of life of the Russian worker had sunk at the time of the civil war to an unimaginably low level, it was then still below the standard of our workers at the worst time in our experience.

But since industry has once more recovered, it is again able to pay better wages, and we observe a relatively rapid rise of wages in Russian industry; on an average the wage increase during the last year has amounted to 17 percent. But there also we must not over-estimate the achievement. Here are some figures from the towns: "Ekonomitreskaja Schien," the official organ of the Russian government for economic questions; the miners now receive 66 2/3 percent of the pre-war wage, the metal workers, 74.4 percent; on the other hand, the textile and chemical workers from 10 to 18 percent above the pre-war wage. Thus a situation has been reached

which is still by no means wonderful. For you must not forget that before the war Russian wages were substantially lower than in Western and Central Europe. But relatively to the terrible time of the famine there is a marked progress.

Hand in hand with this situation of the Russian workers has also improved along another line. Immediately after the Revolution the Bolsheviks produced a very fine scheme of social legislation, particularly in the protection of young workers. In the famine period all that remained a dead letter. In proportion as industry is recovering, this legislation is now being put into practice, and thereby assuming a real significance. The same holds good of measures of social welfare. Attempts have been made to set up children's homes, homes for young workers and for apprentices, and also homes of recuperation. At the period of the worst distress very little could be done in this direction, but today all who have seen the conditions depict them, and especially these homes of recuperation for workers, on leave, as being remarkably fine. The mansions and villas in health resorts have been requisitioned and organized for the workers. It is true that still only a very small fraction of the Russian working-class can avail themselves of these. It was stated at the last congress of the Russian metal workers that 3 1/2 percent of the metal workers organized in the union had the opportunity of entering these homes.

The same holds good again of the school system. The Soviet Government drafted a far-reaching programme of school reform, but at the time of civil war it was unrealizable. In truth, at that time the Russian school system had dwindled to nothing. Now the programme of reform, though certainly very slowly, is beginning to come to life. According to a programme drafted a few months ago by Lunatscharsky, it will still be ten years before universal compulsory education becomes a fact. For it will take that time before the necessary school premises and staffs are available.

On the whole, therefore, one cannot ignore the fact that the standard of life today is still a very low one; but it must be noted that, with the restoration of agriculture and a consequent restoration of industry, a swift advance is on the way.

It goes without saying that this advance is also influencing the spirit of the workers. At the time of distress the workers were embittered, despairing; consequently, in the Russian factories the Communist cells had to exert a terrorist pressure on the workers, who would indeed have revolted if they had dared. The workers are still dissatisfied with the wages of today, but they see that things are getting better; they have a feeling that wages are rising, that social institutions are improving. Therefore they have now a much greater confidence in the Soviet regime. The whole state of feeling toward the Bolshevik rule is different than it was in the years of civil war and of the famine.

bill and end compulsory training in schools where it does not belong. Will they do it?

Usually I avoid prophecies. But I want now to make one prediction. Nothing valuable to the people will come of Coolidge's suit against the so-called bread trust. Some lawyers will get extra fat fees and the process of consolidation may be slightly checked, nothing more. If you doubt it, look at what happened as regards Standard Oil, the anthracite coal monopoly, and the steel trust. The progressives who still think that the Sherman anti-trust law is a weapon against exploitation ought to believe in equipping modern armies with Robin Hood's bow and arrows. The truth about the bread trust is simply this: Consolidation and the use of modern machinery make it possible to produce bread, at a price fixed by the little corner store baker, with enormous profit to the makers. The bread trust hasn't run up prices. It merely refuses to share the enormous profits of machinery with the farmers who grow the grain, the workers in its own factories or the consumers. To bust the trust will reduce no price. As Victor Berger has pointed out, whenever a trust can operate economically it ought not to be broken up but owned by the people.

bill and end compulsory training in schools where it does not belong. Will they do it?

Intervention Talk Again

Watch this talk about intervention in Mexico! A big campaign is on in the interests of American oil investors and land owners. The expulsion of certain priests, nuns and ministers of religion who, contrary to Mexican law, are not native Mexicans, is already being played up as a cover for this intervention. Intervention means war. Nothing that Mexico is doing or is likely to do can justify war. The church or any section of the church which appeals to the sword, even if it is to rectify some measure of injustice, is a traitor to everything that Jesus of Nazareth ever taught. Shall heathenism of young Americans be offered up on the altar of the church's pride because certain of its representatives had been expelled from a country? The church which answers yes is the enemy of mankind.

As for the investors who put their property above other folk's lives, they are acting according to the tradition of their class. I do not think that the new Mexican laws give them any just ground for bitter complaint. At any rate, even under the capitalist system capital has its own method of asserting its rights. It can boycott Mexico. To try to get us involved in war in its behalf is a crime beyond the power of language adequately to denounce.

This talk about intervention in Mexico runs parallel to support of a monstrous bill to "consent" everybody, workers as well as fighters, in the next war, but to "control" capital, that is, prices. Imagine how Coolidge and Mellon would "control" capital. Given this intervention talk, the advocacy of universal conscription, and the propaganda for compulsory military training in high schools and colleges, carried on by the War Department, and you will understand why speakers in the Canadian Parliament recently referred to the United States as the most militaristic nation in the world today. Bad as these things are, the workers, if they will use their economic and political strength, can prevent war with Mexico, defeat the conscription

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Labor Doings Abroad

Czech Railmen Apply to International

The Amsterdam Secretariat of the International Transport Workers' Federation reports that an application for affiliation has been received from the Locomotive Drivers' Federation of Czechoslovakia, with a membership of 7,500, of whom 5,000, being 97 percent of the total number of locomotive drivers, are in active service.

In Yugoslavia the Railwaymen's Union affiliated with the I. T. F. has announced that it has decided to continue affiliation with the I. T. F. Czech Transport Workers' Union, which has never taken part in the activities of the I. T. F. nor paid its contributions for the year 1924, has been erased from the list of members.

Socialist International on the Vorovsky Conflict

With the dispute between the Swiss and Russian Governments over the question of proper apologies for the former for the murder of Vassily Vorovsky still raging and the presence of the latter at the coming "disarmament conference" largely depending upon a settlement of this question, interest attaches to the following statement sent out by the Zurich Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International:

A Soviet mission existed in Switzerland up to November 9, 1918, not indeed recognized de jure by the Swiss government, but de facto. On November 9, 1918, the day a strike broke out in Zurich, which became a national strike, the Swiss Federal Council issued a decree in which it declared that the Soviet mission formed a center of "revolutionary intrigue" in Switzerland and would "invite the mission to leave Switzerland." Emphasis was given to the "invitation," since the whole mission, about a dozen people, including their leader, Persin (the present Soviet Charge d'Affaires in Vienna) and Angelica Balabanof, were packed into motor cars and, without much ado, dispatched to the frontier.

This somewhat drastic rupture of relations was never set right again; on the contrary, it received an intensification as a result of the murder of the Russian representative, Vorovsky, on May 1, 1923, in Lausanne. The murderer, Conrad, and his accomplice, Polunin, were set free by a jury. In connection with this affair the Russian Soviet Government undertook on its side diplomatic action against Switzerland, and broke off relations in such a way that on both sides all intercourse by travel was suspended. One may think what one likes of the diplomatic finesse in the affair—in the main affair there was certainly no intention of anything but a fanatical hatred of everything connected with Bolshevism that one can well understand that the Soviet Government felt the need to demonstrate to Switzerland that for it also the breaking off of relations with such a great State as Russia cannot be done without unpleasant consequences.

The calling of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva offered the Soviet Government a favorable opportunity to impress the problem still more plainly upon the Swiss. As is well known, Soviet Russia declared itself ready to take part in the conference if it was not held on Swiss soil. This declaration led to negotiations, as yet unofficial, between Switzerland and Soviet Russia, which might possibly lead to a favorable outcome.

Socialist Parties of various countries have also occupied themselves with this conflict. The Administrative Council of the Independent Labor Party of England passed a resolution at the end of January, in which it completely makes the conception of the Soviet Foreign Office its own, and in which it expresses quite justified anxiety as to the Disarmament Conference taking place. As "the disarmament of Europe cannot be seriously discussed without the inclusion of Russia," it demands that the league of Nations call the conference in another country than Switzerland. The press of the German Socialists and similarly of the Swiss Socialists have, on the other hand, demanded with their utmost energy, that this occasion should be used as an opportunity to adjust for all time the relations between Soviet Russia and Switzerland, by which the question then of a possible transfer of the Disarmament Conference would be without purpose.

The latter demand is in the spirit of the resolutions of the Socialist and Labor International, which already at its foundation Congress at Hamburg, called upon all Socialist Parties "to press for the de jure recognition of the Russian government and the immediate restoration of commercial and diplomatic relations."

This task must also be achieved in Switzerland, where to all other reasons must be added that it will only be possible for Switzerland to be a permanent seat of international institutions if she succeeds in subjugating the reactionary elements and again restores the political magnanimity of the pre-war period.

Indian Shopmen Stage Demonstration

The following account of a successful protest by shopmen in British India was sent out by the Secretariat of the International Transport Workers' Federation:

"On December 7, the chief mechanical engineer on the Bengal Nagpur Railway, Khargpur, announced that on and from that date the working day in the shops would be reduced from 8 1/2 to 6 1/2 hours, while the shops would be closed all day on Saturday instead of half a day, as usual. As this meant that 12,000 shopmen would have their monthly working days reduced to 16, with wages reduced proportionately, the news caused considerable agitation."

"The General Secretary of the Bengal Nagpur Railway Indian Labor Union immediately took steps to try to get the management to withdraw the announcement, but without success. A series of mass meetings followed, in which about 3,000 workers took part, and resolutions were unanimously adopted protesting against the new arrangement and demanding its cancellation. Under the pressure of these protests the management was finally obliged to drop its proposals, and to reintroduce the normal day as from January 4."

"The successful issue of this movement has led to a considerable increase in the membership of the union. About 4,900 new members joined in a single day."

British Communists Again Defeated

A referendum which has been pending in a number of organizations affiliated with the British Labor Party to decide whether Communist organizations shall be permitted to affiliate with the Labor Party. The Communists have been defeated by a big majority. The vote was 18,000 in favor of admission and 60,000 for exclusion. This merely repeats action taken each year for several years.

Berger Strikes

At Versailles Treaty

Congressman Berger has offered an amendment to the appropriation measure in the House, giving the State Department \$50,000 with which to send spokesmen to Geneva to discuss the possibility of a disarmament conference. He wants the American delegates to take up also the issue of revision of the Versailles treaty.

He explained that unless the Versailles treaty is revised, no real progress toward peace and disarmament in Europe is thinkable. That treaty divided up 15,000,000 Germans among hostile neighbors "like sheep to be slaughtered." Central Europe was Balkanized. The newly created countries became military vassals of military France.

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BY

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Profit and Loss in the Coal Strike

By Louis Silverstein

THERE is a lull. The war between the anthracite miners and the monopoly that controls their livelihood and lives is temporarily halted. One hundred and fifty-eight thousand anthracite miners return from what was euphemistically called a "suspension" of work, having lost a half year's wages that amount to a quarter of a billion dollars. It is said the miners have been beaten; their leaders deny it; the operators say nothing. What has happened?

On September 1, 1925, the hard coal miners struck to enforce their demands. It was a hundred per cent. walkout. The chief demands may be grouped under two heads: (1) the check-off, and (2) wages. They were formulated at the Tri-District Scale Convention of Anthracite Miners of Scranton, Pa., on June 29, 1925, and presented to the Joint Wage Conference of Anthracite Miners and Operators at Atlantic City on July 3.

The demand for the check-off was implicit in the first clause asking for a two-year contract with complete recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, Districts 1, 7, and 9. Verbal explanations by union officials emphasized this interpretation. The check-off, it will be remembered, is an arrangement whereby the operators upon written assignment of the miners collect the dues for the union by deducting them from the employees' salaries along with other deductions made for supplies, rent or similar items owed to the company.

The Wage Demands
The wage demands included a 10 per cent. increase in the contract (piece-work) wage scale and a \$1 per day increase for all day men. Significantly enough a request (emphasized in the 1923 negotiations also) was made for uniformity and equalization of all day rates, since the inequalities in the rate structure had merely been preserved by the uniform increases obtained since 1903.

The union considers the check-off justifiable on three grounds: first, because it is an expression of the good faith and co-operation of the mine owners; secondly, because it enables the union to maintain the desired stability in the industry for which the operators hold it responsible, and, thirdly, because it would save the union \$150,000 annually in collection of dues.

The operators reply that the check-off is un-American, that it would entail an unnecessary hardship upon them, since only two of the three anthracite fields are fully organized, and that it would merely help strengthen the union at the expense of the employers. The miners' answer to these assertions is that the courts have upheld the legality of the check-off, that it is utilized by the operators and by the government in collecting taxes, that it would result in no additional cost to the employers since they already use it in deducting debts owed the company, and that the union cannot be strengthened further, because it is sufficiently strong already.

Strike Made Inevitable
On the score of wages the union's line of argument is three-fold. In the first place, the miners' earnings are insufficient to maintain American standards in view of the rising cost of living. Then, the extremely hazardous nature of their work entitles them to extra compensation. Finally, the workers should share the huge profits of the operators, which could be arranged without passing the burden to the consumer. The answer of the employers is that the miners have been receiving greater wage increases than workers in other industries, that their employees are already receiving a living wage, and that they do not wish to increase the cost of labor and, therefore, the price of coal.

The negotiations at Atlantic City between the opposing sides came to an abrupt end on August 4, after almost a month's duration. The operators insisted upon arbitration, the miners just as persistently refusing. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, went so far as to accuse the employers of obstructing any peace settlement in order to benefit from resulting famine prices. He pointed out that it was impossible to come to any agreement without the presence of the veteran negotiators

Golden Praises Mine Strike Agreement

(Continued from page 1)

to arrive at a decision on all issues in controversy, and to that end shall formulate their own rules and methods of procedure and may enlarge the board to an odd number, in which event a majority vote shall be binding. You will notice the committees of two representatives of miners and operators. In case of a disagreement of the men, the present scale of wages continues. When they speak of the third man, it says, "They may" enlarge the board to an odd number. It is not compulsory. It is optional to the mine workers' organization whether or not there will be a third man.

Paragraph 4 read as follows:
(4)—The demands of the Operators and the Mine Workers on the question of co-operation and efficiency are referred to the Board of Conciliation, exclusive of the Umpire, which shall work out a reciprocal program of co-operation and efficiency.

The only demand of co-operation made by the mine workers was for the check-off. It would decrease expenses of the mine workers' organization, mean more efficiency within their ranks and bring better understanding between miners and operators.

The agreement on this point provides that the Board of Conciliation be directed to work out a plan of co-

operation or a reciprocal program, which means reduced labor costs at the mines and the check-off in the mine workers' organization. It is obligatory on the part of the Board of Conciliation to work out a plan, "which shall work out a plan," it does not say, "which may work out a plan."

No Arbitration

Arbitration has given way to a better plan, that of collective bargaining. Three men of the miners, whenever the occasion arises, will choose one representative of the operators, and, similarly, three operators will choose one representative of the miners. The two representatives thus selected, the agreement provides, must work out a satisfactory solution of the problem at hand without ever referring to a third party.

Thus the power of settling all disputes and controversies that may arise is never taken from the miner. In that one question, it can be said, lies the real victory of the entire period of sacrifice and suffering on the part of the 168,000 anthracite mine workers.

We offered the anthracite operators, four months ago, a proposition, a contract with our present scale of wages for a period of two, three, four or five years. This was absolutely refused. It also carried with it the check-off. This they refused. They would accept no contract unless it carried arbitra-

tion at the end of each year, and arbitration at the expiration of the agreement. In other words this would have meant giving up our right to strike, the only weapon the Labor movement has in this or any other country.

The signed contract is for a period of five years, at the present scale of wages. Arbitration is eliminated. It guarantees our people the present rate of wages for five years, unless the mine workers themselves agree to a reduction. It is mandatory on the part of the Board of Conciliation, which is composed of three miners and three operators, to work out a reciprocal program of co-operation, which means the check-off in the anthracite field. The demand for the check-off has been made for the last twenty-five years. We have emerged from this battle as free men, with a contract for five years at the present scale of wages, with the guarantee of no reduction.

The United Mine Workers in Tri-District convention unanimously approved the present contract by a vote of 698-2 and the miners in the hard coal field claim it is the greatest victory that ever came into their lives. This fight was won by the loyalty of 168,000 miners against the greatest individual monopoly in this country.

With the loyalty of our miners and the aid of other union crafts we were able to back down the resistance for which I express my sincere thanks.

port in 1923 it announced in mild terms that "eight producing interests affiliated to some extent with the railroads, produce 74 percent of the total output. The remaining 26 percent of the output is contributed by so-called independent companies, but the largest of these companies retains a community of interest with one of the railroads, and nine others control 13 percent of the output." (Report of the United States Coal Commission, Part I, p. 38.) It is strange, also, that three voluminous sets of documents "relating to combination and profit in the anthracite industry," the product of investigations made by experts at the commission's request, were never printed in full. They were "not accepted by the commission, but transmitted for the information of Congress." Attempts to dissolve the hard coal monopoly by court decree have failed miserably.

Against the united strength of this combination and its allies the union had but two defenses: (1) the demand for publicity of the anthracite companies' accounts and (2) the loyalty of its members. A third which the miners did not utilize was the demand for nationalization of the mines. Towards the end of the controversy only did radical and progressive labor people realize the strategic gains that

by charity, but by the establishment of economic justice. Say I died without fear."

Bishop vs. Cardinal

Editor, The New Leader:

Due to the present discussion of the Volstead Act and being very anxious to see the Cathedral of St. John the Divine finished, I am forced to offer the following money raising suggestion to Bishop Manning for its completion.

The Bishop wants to have football, racing, boxing, etc., represented in the Cathedral and as he is greatly in favor of upholding the dry act and Cardinal Hayes is sure it should be changed, Bishop Manning should by all means challenge the Cardinal to a few friendly rounds to be held, say in the new Madison Square Garden. I feel sure that ringside seats would command high prices, perhaps even a thousand dollars apiece, and to avoid all hard feelings the money could be divided equally.

An admirer of clean athletics. D. G. E.

Who Settled the Strike?

Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 16, 1926.

Dear Jim:

My mind is upset and unsettled, I'm weary, discouraged, and blue. I need information quite badly, so I'm passing the buck on to you. No matter where I travel, on railroad, on steamer, or pike, There comes the question eternal, "Who settled the anthracite strike?"

Was it Pinchot, that dreamer of "dryness," whose collar always is bare?

Or was it the Joiner Jim Davis, who covets the Governor's chair? It couldn't have been Billy Sproul, for Billy is quite out of date. He's over the masses, this friend of the classes, and seems to be sleeping of late.

You don't mean to say it was Coolidge? Sure, Cal has declared, "All hands off!"

Yet, now that the strike is all settled, all undeserved credit is soft. Then Vane, as the tool of the Interests, stands up and says, as you like,

The dream of a beautiful morrow, "It was I who settled the strike." And the head of the Pennsylvania, a railroad decrepit and worn, Cries out for a dole of the credit, like a tiny, young baby, just born. Almost forgot, friend, to mention, Mister Grant from Ohio way; A Grant freed the Negroes at Richmond. Did a Grant free the miners today?

So you see, I'm in all sorts of trouble; everyone's taking credit alike.

Can't you help me in finding the answer? Who in hell, Jim, did settle the strike?

Friend Bill:

I was sitting last night by the fireside in the glow of a mellow flame, When out of the night, fast aging, this answer to you came:

The financial backing of organized labor, and credit of anthracite merchants, alike.

The unbroken ranks of the workers, the miners—

These are the fellows who settled the strike.

J. M.

Harrisburg, Pa., Feb. 17, 1926.

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TO

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Member of the Foreign Delegation of the Social Revolutionary Party of Russia

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3 P. M.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Mexicans, Miners and The Hero of Bull Run

THERE has been a lot of growling in the papers about Mexico doing something "retroactive."

I hope the Mexicans will write and tell us that it isn't so. Colonel Theobald Thumrigg, who keeps the corner cigar store and who won his title during the Civil War by sending a substitute at the great personal sacrifice of \$350, is all het up about this "retroactive" dirt. He says it is just a bunch of low-down greasers to get "retroactive" on us. Every now and then the colonel casts a loving glance at an old army rifle that hangs on the wall and mutters ominously. This rifle is one that the colonel's substitute threw away on the retreat from Bull Run. It was sent to the colonel by a Confederate soldier as a souvenir of the occasion.

The colonel says that he wishes he were a young man again, he would show them greasers down there where they get off to go "retroactive" without telling our state department one word in advance.

The colonel may be getting on in years, but you may be sure that he keeps up with what's going on. He can tell you the way out of almost any of the problems that are always popping up nowadays.

He has, for instance, been reading about the anthracite strike negotiations and he knows all about the check-off and technical things like that. All along he has held that those rough-neck miners ought to get the check-off and get it good and plenty. Labor, says the colonel, is getting altogether too uppish these days and if the operators would soak the miners with a good dose of the check-off, it would help to keep them in their places which, the colonel believes, are underground, digging coal.

When I tried to explain to the colonel that the check-off was not exactly what he thought it was, he waved me aside.

"Have you ever dug any coal?" asks the colonel. "I dug coal once back in '79 in Ohio. And we didn't have no fancy check-off neither."

"No, sir; take it from me, the only folks who got any right to say anything about this coal business is them as are in it. The fellers what dig it and sell it are the crowd that know all about it and as for the rest of us who use it or get along without it as best we may, why it's up to us to keep out of the mess."

"That's what Cal Coolidge thinks, too. Cal says that the best thing we can do is to keep our mouths shut and saw wood like he does. He don't want none of these fancy experts butting in on this coal situation with their crazy notions that we can get cheap and abundant coal and at the same time pay high wages if we set down and use our collective knowledge of the industry in a scientific manner. No, sir, Cal says that it ain't none of the public's business what happens to coal or the coal miners. That's putting the government into business and Cal is against that."

"Of course, it's different when you put business into the government. Look at what that great business man Andy Mellon has done for our government. Think of the millions of dollars of taxes on himself and his friends that Andy has saved the government the expense and bother of collecting. It's mighty lucky we got men like Cal and Mr. Mellon down there at Washington looking out for our interests and giving us all this here prosperity."

The colonel would have gone on at some length on this subject, but he was interrupted by a man from the sheriff's office who just dropped in to tell him that if he didn't do something pretty quick about meeting his obligations they would have to attach the store furnishings.

Mussy's Immortals

Mussolini sent word to the King of Italy (oh, yes, there's still a King of Italy. Had you forgotten?) that among other things he wanted was an Italian Academy modeled along the lines of the famous French Academy. Sixty of Italy's most famous men will be appointed to be immortals by the King. They will draw down an annual income of 30,000 lire and have the right to wear blue uniforms with gold facings.

Mussy sent word that the first two academicians are to be D'Annunzio and Marconi. And we want to drop a hint to the King that if the third academician isn't Mussy himself, the royal jewels had better be put in hock. Furthermore, it would be good policy to nominate Judge Gary, Mussy's American playmate, as a non-resident immortal.

Adam Coaldigger.

What I Find

I, too, for light the world explore,
And, trembling, tread where angels trod;
Devout at every shrine adore,
And follow after each new god.
But by the altar everywhere
I find the money changer's stall;
And littering every temple stair
The sick and sore like maggots crawl.

And always divers undertones
Within the roaring tempest throb—
The chink of gold, the laborer's groans,
The infant's wail, the woman's sob.
Hoarsely they beg of Fate to give
A little lightning to their woe,
A little time to love, to live,
A little time to think and know.
I see where from the slums may rise
Some unexpected dreadful dawn—
The gleam of steel and scowling eyes,
A flash of woman's faces wan!

—John Davidson.

The Views of the Fabians

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By Harry W. Laidler

PARALLEL with this progressive nationalization or municipalization of industry, there has gone on the elimination of the purely personal element in business management. The older economists doubted whether anything but banking and insurance could be carried on by joint stock enterprise; now every conceivable industry, down to baking and milk-selling, is successfully managed by the salaried officers of large corporations of idle shareholders. More than one-third of the whole business of England, measured by capital employed, is now done by joint stock companies, whose shareholders could be expropriated by the community with no more dislocation of the industries carried on by them than is caused by the daily purchase of shares on the Stock Exchange.

Public Regulation Increases
In addition to state ownership during the past decades there has developed an increasing amount of regulation of private enterprise by the state. "The inspection is often detailed and rigidly enforced. The state in most of the larger industrial operations prescribes the age of the worker, the hours of work, the amount of air, light, cubic space, heat, lavatory accommodations, holidays and mealtimes, where, when and how wages shall be paid; how machinery, staircase, lifts, hoists, mines and quarries are to be fenced and guarded; how and when the plant shall be cleaned and repaired. . . .
"Even in the fields still abandoned to private enterprise, its operations

are thus every day more closely limited, in order that the anarchic competition of private greed, which at the beginning of the century, was set up as the only infallible principle of social action, may not utterly destroy the state. All this was done by 'practical' men, ignorant, that is to say, of any scientific sociology, believing Socialism to be the most foolish of dreams, and absolutely ignoring, as they thought, all grandiloquent claim for social reconstruction. Such is the irresistible sweep of social tendencies, that in every act they worked to bring about the very Socialism they despised, and to destroy the individualistic faith which they still professed. They builded better than they knew."

The Socialistic Trend Among Economists
Accompanying these newer developments a change is evident in the attitude of economists toward the social organism. Numbers are realizing that "without the continuance and sound health of the social organism no man can now live or thrive; and its persistence is accordingly his paramount

concern. This new scientific conception of the social organism has put completely out of countenance the cherished principles of the political scientist and the philosophic radical. We left them sailing gaily into anarchy on the stream of laissez faire. Since then the tide has turned. The publication of John Stuart Mill's Political Economy in 1848 marks conveniently the boundary of the old individualistic economics. Every edition of Mill's book became more and more socialistic. After his death the world learned the personal history, penned by his own hand, of his development from a mere political Democrat to a convinced Socialist.

"The change in tone since then has been such that no competent economist, professing anti-socialist, publishes regretfully to the world that all the younger men are now Socialists, as well as many of the older professors. . . . Thirty years ago Herbert Spencer demonstrated the incompatibility of full private property in land with the modern democratic state, and almost every economist now preaches the same doctrine. . . . The steady increase in government regulation of private enterprise, the growth of municipal administration and the rapid shifting of the burden of taxation directly to rent and interest mark in treble lines the statesman's unconscious abandonment of the old individualism, and our irresistible glide into collectivist Socialism. "It was inevitable that the democracy should learn this lesson. With the masses painfully conscious of the

failure of individualism to create a decent social life for four-fifths of the people, it might have been foreseen that individualism could not survive their advent to political power. If private property in land and capital necessarily keeps the many workers permanently poor (through no fault of their own), in order to make the few idlers rich (from no merit of their own), private property in land and capital will inevitably go the way of the feudalism which it superseded. . . . So long . . . as democracy in political administration continues to be the dominant principle, Socialism may be quite safely predicted as its economic obverse, in spite of those freaks and aberrations of democracy which have already here and there thrown up a short-lived monarchy or a romantic dictatorship. Every increase in the political power of the proletariat will most surely be used by them for their economic and social protection. In England, at any rate, the history of the century serves at once as their guide and their justification."

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

Chapter V CHRISTMAS

ALICE Miller did not obtrude on Dan. He saw her now and then as he went home to see his mother. She was like that—like a wife before she had become one, he cynically believed. There was something very impersonal about Alice despite her intense partisanship. She had no lustre, little individuality. She shone brightest as part of the mass, not as a person in her own right. This fact about her he sensed and it troubled him.

He was not happy at Hornbloom & Glanz's. He found his mind turning steadily away from his job toward his new work as a legislator. He was lured by toil. He found picking up leaden cubes and fitting them into a stick so that they spelt words which

another man had written irksome in the extreme. Had he ever found printing a pleasure? He did not know. He fell to thinking often of men who worked in the mills, on the street cars, in the ore mines; of his father at the garbage plant, of his sister at the typewriter, and he felt a sudden leap of his blood, and he knew a rush of exultation that he was not condemned to this slavery forever. He saw a door to freedom.

About this time, when he delivered his address on the use of injunctions he experienced another triumph. Crowds stimulated Dan. He stood up before the multitude of individuals and he found the many coalescing into another entity; and this other thing that was not these individuals pumped its energy into him and made him speak boldly about things of which he was really afraid, calmly about things that in solitude troubled him, and rashly about things that of themselves demanded deliberation. This thing was really his master. After

two hours of fluent speech he stepped from the platform glowing more refreshed than when he had begun.

But the next day, when he scanned the newspapers he found that they were attributing ideas to him which he thought he had not uttered. When these were matched from their content, and detached from the occasion they looked unbecomingly an attorney. One paper editorially branded him a secessionist. By this address Dan won state-wide notoriety. On the other hand labor papers were speaking of him as "gubernatorial timber."

After a time the whirlwind subsided. The days poured on irresolvably and the temperament which colored his existence regained ascendancy. There were other excursions to The Tamborine in the hope of meeting Bricktop. He yearned to regain control of her will. His quest was futile. He found himself carrying on imaginary debates with Rakov on the ever-fruited subject of boredom. He took to reading voraciously and aimlessly.

He was glad, therefore, when Nell walked into his attic room one night to invite him home for Christmas. It had all been "fixed up" with Hugh, she told him, and the family was to be reunited once more.

"Haint Christmas fun, Dan?" she lingered to say. "It is like being a kiddie all over again."

He felt the old clutch of make-believe at the door of his imagination. "It's just like a picture of a winter-garden I once saw somewhere," he answered, "All white with snow, and green with pine trees covered with great red cones."

They talked longer principally about "mother's health" and "how well father held up." They were groping to get back on common ground which both had lost, and which both needed to sustain them against an overshadowing estrangement.

He noticed that Nell was not good-looking; that her nails were kept short by her teeth; and that her face was blotched and pimply. This was the first time that he had seen her away from the household where he could scrutinize her as he would any other girl. He found her unattractive. The discovery made him awkward and silent.

Finally with a silly laugh, his sister said, "Al will be there Christmas day. I want you to see him. He's going to be your new brother."

"That's nice," he answered, trying to enter into the magnitude of the event as a brother should. "But I thought his name was Harry."

"Aw Harry. His mother got grumpy and I gave him the air. Al is nicer and he makes more money."

Al, she went on to tell him, was a clerk in a jewelry store, making \$20 a week with a chance for a raise.

It was usually left to old Tom to get the Christmas tree for the family. Christmas. In other years, he had gone to a farmer that he knew, bought the balsam where it stood, felled it, and trundled it home as best he could. This year he had rheumatism in his shoulder, and chose to buy it from a Lake Street vendor. Trees were expensive. He picked the best of the seventy-cent ones he could find. It was not very tall, and the branches were scraggly, but it was a tree.

When Christmas Eve came Mother Minturn popped the corn on the kitchen range. Nell and Lil, who had run over from the store with a pocketful of cranberries, strung the glittering white kernels and the crimson berries on chains, while Dah arranged these in the fragrant branches. The old kettle on the stove began to sing. Old Tom's paper rustled where he sat by the stove neglecting his office as fireman. There was a heavy fragrance of roasting corn and pine needles, and the cat purred comfortably in the old chair, the one which was patched neatly with a piece of ingrain carpet.

The children shared reminiscences about other Christmases far past. Lil told how she once watched for Santa Claus. Nell recalled a sled which had come to Dan which she coveted. Dan related how he "played like" he still believed in Santa Claus long after he had been disillusioned by the "hard-boiled kids in the neighborhood." The evening passed swiftly. At length the tree, with its defects in symmetry well hidden, stood forth, a glittering symbol of the Christmas spirit, clad in other splendor than that which the poor home-made trappings lent it, for each saw it through the recovered eyes of childhood.

"It's a beauty."
"We never had a better one."
"Haint we got fun?"
So the three grown children frolicked while Mother Minturn looked on.

(Continued on page 7)

Pardon Us For Pointing

PARDON us for pointing, but—
The National Woman's Party has made strange bedfellows for itself. It now finds itself aligned with the gunmen, the hijackers, the open-shoppers, the labor-baiters, the Rotarians, the Kiwanians, the Baptists and every other organized form of fighting the organized workers in this country.

Originally a group of high-spirited, high-minded, idealistic women, like Doris Stevens, Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, Sue White, Inez Milholland, etc., it now finds itself devoted to the glorious occupation of boosting equal exploitation for both men and women.

I was present the other night when a spokesman for the National Women's Party was lauding their fight against the eight-hour bill for women. She had the brass to say that members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union were heartily opposed to this bill and would, if their union let them, come up to Albany and speak against it.

When she was through with her very lady-like speech, Mollie Friedman, Vice President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, who was in the audience, stood up and devastated the speaker. Mollie was followed by a laundry worker, who said that she was at the mangle from seven a. m. to seven p. m. and that if this was equal rights for women, she herself wished there could be some discrimination.

Every Socialist who is interested in obtaining better conditions for labor had best beware of the National Women's Party campaign, and be on hand at all of their meetings to refute their pernicious doctrines. If these ladies will take our advice they will confine themselves to discussion of such vital topics as "wages for wives," the nationalization of the family and equal rights for women in Louisiana.

When they enter the industrial field they are allying themselves with all those forces in the nation which are opposed to bettering conditions of the workers and they're making enemies out of those who naturally would be their friends.

On returning to New York from a prolonged stay in Springfield I find that Main Street is not, after all, an habitual pose of the middle States and Northwest. There is plenty of Main Street in New York. Across the street from 70 Fifth Avenue, the well-known radical "den," I find a huge crowd of open-mouthed yokels gaping into a beauty parlor in the front window of which a heavily painted young woman is engaged in the difficult art of curling her hair.

A few blocks further on another crowd is standing with similarly exposed torsos watching the dying agonies of an ice-horse. Up and down Fifth Avenue, supposedly the most sophisticated thoroughfare in America, stalk the sheiks and shebas who "gedunk" through all the small towns of America.

Sophistication, if there is any such thing, is evidently confined to the Hotel Algonquin, and Mr. H. L. Mencken's private purloins. If the truth were told, it would be found that it is confined to about ten thousand Americans who read The Dial, The American Mercury and The New Leader. To be sure all of these publications have a circulation far in excess of this number, but it has become the style to carry under one's arm copies of The Mercury and The Dial so that no charge of Babbittism may be made against the holder.

At Albany, New York, this week, the Water Power Commission is to have a hearing on the leasing to private interests of the waters which belong to the State. Representatives of the public will be present to protest against giving any more leases to privately owned monopoly. As a matter of fact "The Electrical World," the spokesman for the private public utilities, says in a recent issue that there is very little danger of public ownership of the water power of New York inasmuch as private corporations have already leased the bulk of the water power of the State. The Water Power Commission is obviously the tool of special privilege and should be promptly abolished.

In any civilized community the people would no more think of giving away their power rights than they would of giving away the rights to the air. But this New York does not happen to be a civilized community. By civilized, we mean, of course, socialized. Undoubtedly we will hand to the private interests all the water there is in the State, we will fall for their phony stock distribution schemes and then run out and say that anyone who attacks "our companies" should be hanged, drawn and quartered.

McAlister Coleman.

Charity

Came two young children to their mother's shelf
(One was quite little and the other big).
And each in freedom calmly helped himself.
(One was a pig).

The food was free and plenty for them both,
But one was rather dull and very small;
So the big, smarter brother, nothing loath,
He took it all.

At which the little fellow raised a yell,
Which tired the other's hunger aesthetic ears;
He gave him here a crust, and there a shovell,
To stop his tears.

He gave with pride, in manner calm and bland,
Finding the other's hunger a delight;
He gave with pity—his full left hand,
Hid from his right.

He gave and gave—O, blessed charity!
How sweet and beautiful a thing it is!
How fine to see that big boy giving free
What is not his.

—Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

August Claessens.

Agriculture Foundering in the Calm of Normalcy

By James D. Graham

Farmers of the Middle West Bitter Against Wall Street as the Source of Their Many Ills

THE collapse of American agriculture is again threatened. Like the famous ghost, it will not down. The President and reactionaries are really worried over the situation. Not only are the farmers in revolt, but the agricultural situation is threatening the entire capitalist system in this country. Coolidge at Chicago practically told the farmers that it was up to themselves to find a solution for the problems that confronted them. He was brutally frank.

The fact is, neither Coolidge or his reactionary supporters know of a remedy for the agricultural problems that have reached a crisis. The Progressives approach a solution better than the reactionaries. The farmers who are suffering have only a hazy idea of what it is all about. It is a common thing, when a number of farmers are discussing the agricultural situation, for one of them to remark: "I'll tell you what is needed: we farmers should get our rifles, go to New York, and blow hell out of Wall Street." "You are goldarned right," is the chorus in reply. "That is the only way these ——— can be brought to time!"

Remember, all these farmers are either Democrats or Republicans. They do not vote the Socialist ticket and would cheerfully help to lynch a "Wobblie." Such is the state of mind of the vast majority of the tillers of the soil in the agricultural West. Even our own Socialist Party is standing aloof, apparently viewing with indifference the greatest economic crisis that the American people have ever faced—the breaking down of the basis and oldest industry of the race, farming and stock-raising.

Many are the remedies offered to put agriculture on its feet—cures ranging from diversified farming to co-operative marketing—prescriptions that were all good in their day, but the time is past for such cut-and-plant treatment. The crisis is not what Woodrow Wilson called "a psychological depression." Neither is it one caused by the elements. While droughts have aggravated the situation, they are not the cause. The crisis is an economic one which had been slowly but surely developing, and which was gradually coming on before the World War started; the war and

the deflation that followed brought the development to an abrupt climax.

Many wise heads and ignorant sapheads glibly chatter about the high price of land in Iowa being the cause of all the ills of agriculture; that land speculation caused the banks of Iowa to close their doors. Milo Reno, president of the Farmers' Union of Iowa, is the authority for a statement that only 5 per cent of the farm failures in Iowa were caused by land speculation, and this estimate had been reached after a careful canvass by the Farmers' Union. Farmers failed on land that was purchased for five and ten dollars an acre unimproved.

Farmers in the Northwest, who paid forty dollars an acre for land with improvements, covering fencing, machinery, irrigating ditches and buildings, land that yields fifty-three bushels of hard wheat and one hundred and twelve bushels of oats the acre, went bankrupt.

Farmers settled in the West thirty and forty years ago, who got their land free from the Government as a homestead, men and women who had toiled all their lives on the homestead, and raised large families, who sent sons to the colors during the World War, who were comfortably fixed to spend the evening of their lives, suddenly found themselves bankrupt and the land they had received from Uncle Sam as a homestead being sold at auction by the sheriff they had helped to elect.

Why did the homesteader go broke? When the war was at its height, the Government called on the farmers to produce more food. The Chambers of Commerce told the farmer that the world was starving and they must produce more to save civilization. The press told the farmers that only pro-Germans would refuse to produce more on the farms. The bankers went among the farmers offering loans, but at ten, twelve and thirteen percent interest. The farmers mortgaged and proceeded to produce to an extent unknown in America before. The bankers rediscounted the farmers' mortgage to the Federal Reserve banks. The

war ended, the cry was raised "Back to normalcy," and the farmer who had produced at war peak prices found his product deflated from forty to eighty-five percent.

The big bankers saw an opportunity to make new loans to the new European states and to Europe under reconstruction at big premiums and good interest, and the command was given to the Federal Reserve banks to collect every penny possible. The Federal Reserve banks refused to carry the paper of the local banks any longer, and the local banks were forced to collect from the farmer at any and all costs. This resulted in the homesteader, the parents of the doughboys who carried Old Glory into the seething caldron on the West front, faced the foe man to man and with steel to steel, being sold out by the sheriff, because the Federal Reserve banks, which were created by an act of Congress, and approved by Woodrow Wilson as President, while McAdoo was Secretary of the Treasury, and now controlled by plutocracy, wanted its pound of flesh.

There is a revolt in the West and there is also a tragedy.

The live wires at present in Congress, the men with the brains, are those who come from the Central West and Northwest states, not those who come from Maine or Florida. Not that the Central or Northwest states have a monopoly on brains. The economic pressure that has reached a crisis in the West is forcing the intellect of those states to seek a solution of the problems.

The farmers are not the only ones who are suffering. The economic pressure is being felt by all. Take those who were once prosperous bankers, officers and stockholders of banks that have gone Republican ("gone Republican" is the phrase used when a bank closes its doors), they and their families have been hard hit. Everything they owned, in many instances their homes, have gone to meet the deficit of the banks.

Some of these ex-bank officials are serving a prison sentence, not for em-

bezzlement, or default, but because at some time they had published false statements concerning the assets and liabilities of their bank. These false statements were not published with criminal intent. No banker wants the bank to fail. Besides being a personal loss, the business of communities is upset; the banker's business, political and social prestige is lost. It took courage to make the false statements. Had the statements been issued a run on the bank, resulting in the bank closing its doors, would have taken place.

Banks live, are maintained and thrive through the faith that the general public have in the stability of the banks. Destroy that faith and a crash is bound to occur, with much suffering. The banker who falsified the bank statements and saved his bank from failing is still a good banker, and those who falsified the bank statements, and whose banks went broke, are criminals,

many serving jail sentences or awaiting trial. They are to be pitied. They have worshipped at the shrine of capitalism, and are victims of an unmerciful economic system that damned them ere they were born, jailed them when they failed, and consigned them to all the miseries of hell for the rest of their natural life.

Some time ago the writer saw the president of a defunct bank scrubbing the floor of a creamery. This fellow had lost his home, fine car, all his money and reputation when the bank failed. He had been chairman of the Republican County Central Committee at one time, had visited the State Legislature several times lobbying for some measure that the State Bankers' Association desired enacted. In 1909, while B. K. Wheeler, now U. S. Senator, was a candidate for Governor of Montana, this banker had a card in his bank window warning farmers that if

Wheeler as elected Governor, the banks of Montana would be like the banks of North Dakota, not be able to accommodate the farmer; that the Non-Partisan League advocated free love and the Non-Partisans of North Dakota intended introducing a bill in the next Legislature of that State making all women the property of the State. He was also an open shop advocate. His bank had been put on the unfair list by the unions, which led to its closing. Here he was, kicked out of the capitalist class, no longer a commanding figure in the Republican party, exiled by the pack of jackals he had hunted with, swilling out the floors of a creamery, a member of the working class, but shunned by the workers because he was working for \$15 a month below the union scale. This banker is now a railway freight handler in Portland, Oregon.

Here is the story of another rich man, who was a heavy shareholder in a number of banks, one of those "God-bless-the-Republican-party-boys" sort of fellow. He had large investments and was prosperous until deflation hit the Northwest. He was caught in the crash; the bank he was interested in failed; the State assessed him the full amount of his bank holdings to help make good the losses of the bank. He was ruined financially, lost everything he owned and went flat broke. He had graduated from the Northwestern University of Chicago before entering business; had a number of daughters, budding into womanhood, three of whom were going through college, but now have left their training and are clerking in dry goods stores at a wage of \$9 a week, while he is driving a coal delivery wagon, and his wife is making dresses. The writer watched this ex-capitalist one day shoveling coal out of his wagon into the coal shed of a railroad brakeman. Occasionally he would stop, pull his gloves off and carefully look over the palms of his hands. The poor fellow was experiencing the sensation of developing callouses on the hand. He was upholding the dignity of labor, but was work-

ing for a dollar a day under the union scale, while a man who had been a teamster all his life was now one of the unemployed.

The foregoing stories of bankers are not rare cases. There are thousands of men who were once well to do, comfortably fixed, who are now wage-slaves, working under the wage scale on the theory that a little is better than nothing. This is the state of affairs that is driving the west into revolt. Banks are still closing, money is tightening up. All banks in the northwest, more or less, are taking losses. The sheriff is busy selling out debtors. Where is it going to end?

The campaign in the west this year will be fought around the agricultural collapse, and the agricultural question will decide the presidency in 1928. One of the uncrowned kings, of the U. S. Senate, stands a chance to be dethroned by the electors of one of the central west states next November. The two old parties together with the Progressives are facing a problem they can not solve—the failure of capitalism.

The only solution to the problem is Socialism. The Socialist Party must, if it is to function as a political party, take cognizance of the agricultural collapse and frame a program based on a sound economic basis to meet the crisis. Unless the Socialist Party takes a proper and energetic course, we will likely find ourselves confronted and handicapped by some wildcat farmer-labor-progressive conglomeration, whose platform will be nothing but demagoguery, making political capital out of the miseries and misfortunes of the west to land a bunch of you fools into office.

A big educational campaign should be started in the central west by the Socialist Party as soon as finances warrant. Speakers and literature should be sent to the capitalists' smashed farmers explaining to them the economic causes of the collapse and the hopelessness of any remedy short of Socialism.

The west is broke, unemployment is everywhere, and little money can be raised for propaganda purposes. Therefore it is up to the Socialists and union members east of the Mississippi to raise the funds to carry on a stupendous campaign to reinforce Victor Berger in Congress, elect Socialist governors, state legislatures and to save civilization from the death of capitalism.

Reception to Be Given Dr. Slonim Sunday

An event of unusual interest to all Socialists will take place at Wallack's Theatre, 254 West 42nd Street, this Sunday afternoon, Feb. 28, at 3 p. m., when a reception will be tendered to Dr. Marc Slonim, member of the Foreign Delegation of the Social Revolutionary Party of Russia, who is now in the country for an extensive lecture tour.

Dr. Slonim is one of the most brilliant of the younger leaders of the Russian Socialist movement. He is a noted scholar, having written a number of books. He also enjoys a reputation as a linguist, delivering lectures fluently in several languages. A feature of the reception to be tendered him will be his replies to greetings from representatives of American, Russian, Italian, French, German and Czech-Slovakian Socialist organizations here in their native tongue.

Following the extending of greetings, Dr. Slonim will speak on "The New Political Policy of the Soviet Government."

The reception committee includes Morris Hillquit, Nathan Chavin, Harry W. Laidler, A. I. Shipiloff, B. C. Vlodeck and James Oneal.

Circle 7th A. D. Bronx

The new circle, which was started a few weeks ago with a nucleus of four, has been steadily gaining more members, and can now boast of about fifteen in good standing. They meet now on Thursdays, 8:30 p. m., at 4215 Third Avenue, corner of Tremont Avenue, two flights up, in the large headquarters of the 7th A. D.

The following were elected officers of the circle: Organizer, Kate Polstein; Financial Secretary, her sister Anna; Recording Secretary, Miss Goldstein. Bronx County Organizer, S. Hertzberg is giving his best attention to this circle and is doing all he can to build it up. Comrade Goldsmith and Babit of the 7th A. D. Committee on YPSL are giving their heartiest co-operation and are present at every meeting.

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- THIRD PRIZE:** All contestants who send in 25 or more yearly subscriptions will receive a three-tube set without accessories.

Facts and Rules Of the Contest

The Contest will continue 2 months, ending March 31. In the event of ties a Radio Set identical with those offered will be given to each of those so tying. The New Leader will furnish subscription blanks on request. Two six-months or four three-months "subs" will be counted as a yearly.

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THE NEW LEADER

7 East 15th St., N. Y. C.

"Governor Minturn"

(Continued from page 5)

with misty eyes, and Old Tom pretended he did not hear.

When the last touch had been given to the tree, and each had brought his gifts and secreted them in its branches, Mother Minturn drew Dan apart.

"Danny," she whispered, her hands patting his shoulders, "you are going to stay here tonight."

It was the first reference—however vague—to Hugh.

"Why, no, mother," he insisted. "I can go back to my room."

"Now, Danny, listen," she implored, her old hands fluttering at his necktie. "This is Christmas, isn't it? And Christmas for me is having all you babies at home. . . . Oh, Danny, you don't know how it is here, to wake up at night and suddenly realize that you are gone—not in your bed upstairs."

"Yes, yes, mother." He felt how frail her body was as it leaned against him. She spoke reluctantly. "Danny, you won't be distant to your old mother, will you, when you get to St. Paul?"

"No, no, silly mamma. How could I? Have I ever?"

He promised to stay overnight, to sleep in the upstairs room which he had known as his since memory began.

Well came to tell him that he was wanted at the telephone. It was Andrew Anderson, his colleague, reminding him of a meeting of the Hennepin County legislative delegation on the day after Christmas.

As he hung up the receiver there was a tightening of his nerves. He recalled with satisfaction that he was a member of the Legislature, a participant in important affairs. He exulted.

He could not go to bed now. He got his hat and coat and drifted out into the still street. The skies were blue—distant—gleaming as if illuminated at

a million windows. The air was sharp. It suggested festivals. He moved toward Lake street. Here the crowds were thinning. He went on down Pillsbury avenue. The houses were silent but animate. They seemed friendly. In bright patches of firelight he saw through windows holly-wreathed, brilliant trees and happy faces. He went on—pleased with himself—hardly conscious that these bright squares of light, the long purple shadows on the snow, the joyous Yule scenes were anything apart from his reverie. As he progressed the houses grew larger. There was one larger than the rest, set well back on a hill, to which at length he came. It was surrounded by a wall. The wall challenged Dan remotely. He found an iron gate at the driveway. It opened at his touch. He went up the driveway, curious. He stopped under a tree near the bay window. The room he looked into was long and ornate. It culminated in a sun-room, where a gorgeous Christmas tree glowed. Before an open fire sat an old man. Dan saw his face. He recognized Senator Matt Gaylard. The discovery amused Dan. He lingered. In a moment a girl came into the room bearing a holly wreath. The same girl he had seen with Gaylard on election night. She was of good height, of great dignity, of unmistakable beauty, with a wealth of reddish hair. She laid the holly wreaths down, and Dan saw that she held a spray of mistletoe in her hand. Glancing toward the old man, who drowsed in his chair, she held the mistletoe above her own head, and smiled faintly.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Bronx Junior Circles Elect New Officers

Junior Yipsel Circle 3, Bronx, is making good headway with a membership of 40. The following were elected officers at a recent election: Organizer, Sidney Hertzberg; Vice-organizer, Jacob Wasserman; Recording Secretary, Simon Schwartz; Educational Director, Esther Milgram; Financial Secretary, William Polak; Social Director, Isadore Bassoff; Athletic Director, M. Levine.

It was decided to train five of the more active members to act as chairmen of the circle's meetings, one each Friday. Local Bronx committee on YPSL affairs strongly endorses this idea, which will eventually qualify members to act as organizers in the new circles which the committee is going to build up.

Isadore Bassoff was elected Fraternal Delegate to the Seniors' executive committee. He takes a keen interest in the senior circle; the time is approaching when Bassoff, reaching the age of 18, will take a transfer to the Senior Circle, and it is expected that several other Juniors will do the same, so as to feel "at home" from the start.

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Amusements



DRAMA

FRANK SHANNON



Who does such splendid work in "12 Miles Out," Anthony McGuire's melodrama at the Playhouse.

Symbols Walk The Stage

Gustav Blum Sets Us on "The Beaten Track" at the Frolic Theatre

THE eternal conflict of life and death is the central idea out of which J. O. Francis has evolved the drama of "The Beaten Track," which Gustav Blum gives earnest presentation at the Frolic Theatre. Life is ever reaching out to its own continuance; death is ever waiting, patient, insatiable. This conflict is worked out through characters that, while they are particularized in the countryside of Wales, are nonetheless pure symbols; Dafydd Evans the graverdigger representing the eternal patience of death, the octogenarian Mrs. Powell the eternal longing of life, Dr. Hughes the eternal struggle of the life-force to persist. In the younger generation the conflict is complicated by another impulse; Myrny Rees is the young woman in whom there burns the need for a home and children; against her there is pitted Vaughan Morgan, summoning forth for adventure and pioneer work in distant lands; these two forces tug at the undecided nature of the average man, represented by Owen Powell, for the average man yields to the commands of the life force and domesticity.

This struggle has considerable promise and a first act that sets anticipation keen, but, despite the attempted comic relief of Mrs. Rees the characters are too little human and too greatly symbol; they become walking lectures on their individual parts. The production, aiming perhaps at stressing the symbolic nature of the play, seemed to add to this effect; even the singing off-stage grows into its appointed portion, representing the inevitable human chorus, of joy or grief as the case may be, but equally loud and equally omnipresent. The theme of Mr. Francis deserves a better play. Also, the earnestness of the players should have produced better acting, either more wholly naturalistic or more avowedly artificial as symbol. Yet the evening had moments, such as that of the grandson's coming, when few in the audience were dry-eyed, and the idea it embodies must start self-examination and speculation as to how we shall face Dafydd Evans when time comes for him to prepare our final resting place. J. T. S.

Evreinoff's "The Chief Thing" Next Theatre Guild Production

The Theatre Guild's next production will be "The Chief Thing," by Nicholas Evreinoff. The translation is by Herman Bernstein. The Theatre Guild has long wanted to do this play and the fact that Evreinoff is now in this country, brought over by the American Operatic and Allied Arts Foundation, inspired its immediate production. Nicholas Evreinoff ranks with Meyerhold and Stanislavsky as chief of the creative minds in the Russian theatre. "The Chief Thing" had its premiere in Petrograd in 1921; opened Frandello's new theatre in Italy last spring and has spread throughout Europe.

"Goat Song" is now in its final two weeks at the Guild theatre.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"SQUARE CROOKS," a comedy by James J. Judge, will open Monday night at Daly's Sixty-third Street Theatre. The cast includes Russell Mack, Dorothy Appleby, Annie Mack Berlein and Norval Keedwell.

"STILL WATERS," a comedy by Augustus Thomas, will open at the Henry Miller Theatre Monday night.

TUESDAY

"THE MASQUE OF VENICE," a comedy by George Dunning Gribble, an Englishman, will be presented by Brock Pemberton, Dwight Deere Wiman and William A. Brady, Jr., at the Mansfield Theatre Tuesday night. The cast includes Arnold Daly, Kenneth McKenna, Antoinette Perry, Selena Royle, Wilfrid Seagram, Osgood Perkins, Elizabeth Taylor and Ned Badami.

WEDNESDAY

"NIRVANA," John Howard Lawson's new play, opens at the Greenwich Village Theatre Wednesday night, presented by Robert Peel Noble. The cast includes Earle Larimore, Crane Wilbur, Juliette Crosby, Edith Shayne, Marvin Byron, Elise Bartlett, Aldrich Bowker, L. Estrange Allman, Julie Barnard, Ludmilla Tereliska and Murray Bennett.

Abbey Theatre Celebrates Its Twenty-first Birthday

THE Abbey Theatre has come of age. The twenty-first anniversary of the little theatre on the edge of slumland is certainly an occasion for a retrospect of Irish drama, for the success of the Abbey has given an impetus to the small art theatres of Europe.

It was not the forerunner, writes the Dublin correspondent of the "Christian Science Monitor," Miss Horniman, who bought and subsidized the Abbey Theatre in 1904, had a repertory playhouse in Manchester before the little group of Irish intellectuals came on the scene. She saw this brave little body of amateurs in London. That was in 1903; but a beginning had been made in 1898 by the Irish Literary Theatre group, of which W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory and Edward Martyn were the prime movers.

The first public performance was given on May 8, 1899, when they took the Antient Concert Rooms and presented Mr. Yeats' "The Countess Cathleen" and Mr. Martyn's "The Heather Field." Subsequently, English professionals, including Dame May Whitty, and the Benson Company produced other Irish plays, but it was thought that it would be well to have the works of Irish dramatists interpreted by Irish actors and actresses so that the Irish atmosphere of the plays would not suffer. Then the Brothers Fay, William and Frank, became interested and got together a company of amateurs who played in some of the smaller halls in Dublin, and subsequently made a London visit which brought Miss Horniman into the picture.

The Abbey was opened on December 27, 1904, with "On Balle's Strand" and "Kathleen ni Houlihan," by Yeats, and "Spreading the News," by Lady Gregory. Of the players on that first night, Miss Allgood and Mr. Wright are still members of the Abbey Company. It was difficult to obtain an audience in those early days, and Lady Gregory has given a picture of the troubles with which they were faced. She says: "Often have I gone out by the stage door when the curtain was up and come round into the auditorium by the front hall, hoping that in the dimness I might pass for a new arrival, and so encourage the few scattered people in the stalls."

In 1905 the name Abbey was first officially attached to the company, and the society was from that time forward styled National Theatre Society, Ltd. The following year was a famous one at the Abbey; for there were produced no fewer than five new plays, including "The Eloquent Dempsey," by William Boyle, a comedy which brought

to the theatre what may be described as the popular "clientele."

The production of Synge's "The Playboy of the Western World" on the last Saturday in January, 1907, began a battle of a week, with free fights. Every night the police were in, but the play went its advertised run. Lady Gregory writes: "It was a definite fight for freedom from mob censorship." Today the "Playboy" is one of the most popular plays that the management puts on. The Abbey continued on its hard way, producing many new plays to houses generally thin, indeed. In October, 1905, there was produced "The Clancy Name," by Lennox Robinson, who was led to playwrighting by seeing a performance of the Abbey company in Cork. In Robinson, the Abbey found one who, for 17 years, has, as playwright, manager and producer, been a tower of strength to the theatre. St. John Ervine, now an established playwright in London, filled the position of manager for a short time.

What was probably the Abbey's biggest fight for existence came in 1909, with the proposed production of George Bernard Shaw's "The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet." The authorities of Dublin Castle objected to the play because it had been banned by the English censor.

Despite official objections, however, "Blanco" was played on Aug. 25 as announced. There were no protests on any side. This comedy, though still forbidden in England, is still played in Dublin and always with success.

For several years past one of the most faithful of Abbey patrons has been Ernest Blythe, the Free State Minister for Finance. In his this year's budget he provided for £800 as a subsidy, and the hope is that this will be continued. He was amazed at the small sums paid as salaries to the Abbey players.

At the celebration of the twenty-first anniversary of the opening of the Abbey, the theatre was filled with persons well known in the intellectual and artistic life of Dublin, and theatre-goers who for years had gone to the Abbey for love of drama and of acting. Lady Gregory received an ovation when she came on the stage to make a short speech.

Three favorite one-act plays were selected for the celebration, "The Hour Glass" (Yeats), "The Shadow of the Glen" (Synge), and "Hyaline Halvey" (Lady Gregory). In the first of those appeared Frank Fay and Adolphus Wright, who were in the cast of the first play ever seen on the Abbey stage.

The souvenir program contained a list of the 216 plays by 86 authors produced at the Abbey, and a facsimile of the first program.

The Coburns Plan Special Shakespearean Matinees

Mr. and Mrs. Coburn, now starring in "The Right Age to Marry" at the 49th Street Theatre are preparing a series of special matinees to run on Tuesdays and Fridays, of infrequently given Shakespearean plays. The first two will be "Twelfth Night" and "Merry Wives of Windsor." Mr. Coburn will play Sir Toby Belch and Falstaff, while Mrs. Coburn will enact Viola and Mistress Page. The other characters will be played by members of "The Right Age to Marry" company.

"Great God Brown" Benefit For Rand School, March 9th

A benefit performance of Eugene O'Neill's sensational new play, "The Great God Brown," to help further the work of the Rand School of Social Science is to be given Tuesday evening, March 9, at the Garrick Theatre.

The benefit is being run under the auspices of the Women's Committee of the Rand School which has secured the entire house for the evening of March 9. Tickets, tax free, may be obtained at the School, 7 East 15th Street, and at the theatre box office.

The new "Garrick Galettes" will go into rehearsal the 1st of April, and open about the 1st of May.

BLANCHE YURKA



In the Theatre Guild production of "Goat Song," Werfel's interesting drama at the Guild theatre begins its final fortnight on Monday.

'The Wisdom Tooth' Is Fantastic Comedy

Marc Connelly's Play Should Appeal to the Intelligent Theatregoer

"THE WISDOM TOOTH," a fantastic comedy in three acts, by Marc Connelly, staged by Winchel Smith and produced by John Golden, at the Little Theatre last week, can be recommended as a worth-while play.

"The Wisdom Tooth" is a story of a senior clerk's struggle to find himself. Charley Bemis, besides being a white-collared cog in the wheel, outwardly displays all the earmarks of a "boob." Although Charley does his work well at the office, saves money and plods along honestly and faithfully, in reality on the surface he appears to be just another carbon copy of a man. The fantastic part of the comedy occurs when Charley sits down before the fireplace at the boarding house, after being buffeted about mentally by the other boarders and goes back over his life to his boyhood in search of the courage characteristic of his youth. In the end, of course, he recovers his character and wins the girl in the boarding house whom he

MARY PHILLIPS



Gives an excellent performance in Marc Connelly's latest comedy, "The Wisdom Tooth," at the Little theatre.

has adored but not impressed by his general lack of expressing character. No doubt Mr. Connelly was inspired to write this history by the success of his "Beggars on Horseback" and the vogue that fantastic comedy achieved. The two plays, however, have few points of similarity except that if one enjoyed the peculiar flavor of the former play he should undoubtedly also like the quieter tone of the new bizarre comedy.

A long cast of characters in the course of seven scenes tell the story. The chief role is excellently acted by Thomas Mitchell, so excellently, in fact, that his performance stands out as one of the individual pieces of outstanding work of the season.

The other roles are likewise well played. Mary Phillips as the heroine, Sally Field, and Kate Mayhew as Mrs. Poole, the landlady, give well rounded performances and their efforts are aided and backed by the way in which the other roles are convincingly portrayed.

It is not to be gathered that "The Wisdom Tooth" has not its dull minutes and is technically perfect, but it has a fresh and clear note and one that should appeal to the person who likes something else than an evening of the same old thing in the theatre.

Broadway Briefs

The Shuberts will celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the Winter Garden next month with a gala performance of "Artists and Models" and the appearance of numerous stars of the Winter Garden alumni.

The next Frohman production will be "The Duchess of Elba," a satiric comedy by Rudolf Lothar. Francine Lawrence will be starred in the leading role. Rehearsals will begin next week under the direction of George Cukor. The American version of "The Duch-

THEATRES

WINTER GARDEN
Matinees Tues., Thurs. and Saturday
Now, AS ALWAYS, THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS REVUE

ARTISTS AND MODELS
PARIS EDITION
with
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 SUCCESSSES AND OTHER HEADLINE ACTS
JACK ROSE, Master of Ceremonies

CENTURY THEATRE, 624 St. and Central Pk. W. Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wednesday and Saturday
(Direction LEE and J. J. SHUBERT)
The 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.

THE NEW CASINO de PARIS
Century Theatre Building
62nd and Central Park West. Phone Columbus 8800. Eves. 8:25. Matinee Thursday and Saturday
The Best All New York Is Talking About!

A NIGHT IN PARIS

"IT SWINGS ALONG AT A TERRIFIC CLIP."—Evening Post.

BIJOU THEATRE, 48th St., W. of B'way. Eves. 8:30.
3 MATINEES Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday
The Dramatic Sensation!

MARY and FLORENCE NASH
IN

A LADY'S VIRTUE
By RACHEL CROTHERS
with ROBERT WARWICK

2nd YEAR in NEW YORK
The Comedy Knockout

IS ZAT SO?

By James Graison & Richa & Taber
Now at the Central Theatre 47th St. & B'way Eves. 8:15.
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday

ess of Elba" has been made by Avery Hopwood. The story revolves around Napoleon's exile at Elba.

Now that "Love 'Em and Leave 'Em" is all set at the Sam H. Harris Theatre, Jed Harris is getting ready to stage his next. This will be "Vicky," a comedy by Alice Duer Miller.

Lucille Watson will be the Mrs. Alving and Jose Ruben the Oswald in the forthcoming production of Ibsen's drama "Ghosts," which the Actors' Theatre will offer in the near future. Dudley Digges will stage it.

Michael Strange (Mrs. John Barrymore) will make her first New York stage appearance in the next production of The Stagers, which will open at the Princess Theatre on March 15. Miss Strange will have a role in Strindberg's "Easter." On the same program will be Joseph Conrad's one-act play, "One Day More."

The senior students of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts will present this Friday afternoon at the Lyceum Theatre Susan Glaspell's "Trifles" and W. S. Gilbert's classical comedy, "Pygmalion and Galatea."

"Love's Comedy," one of Hendrik Ibsen's earlier plays, is announced as being in preparation for an early March production.

SHUBERT THEATRE, 44th West of Broadway, Eves. 8:25
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday

THE OPERETTA TRIUMPH
PRINCESS FLAVIA
MUSICAL VERSION OF
"THE PRISONER OF ZENDA"
Cast | Symphony | Singing of 300 | Orch. of 60 | Chorus of 125
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN

49TH ST. Thea. W. of B'way, Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat.
"Surprisingly refreshing."—Times

MRS. & MRS. COBURN
in the everlasting question
"THE RIGHT AGE TO MARRY"
You'll Laugh and Learn!

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTION

GOAT SONG

By FRANZ WERFEL
With This Brilliant Cast
ALFRED LUNT LYNN FONTANNE BLANCHE YURKA
GEORGE GAUL DWIGHT FRYE HELEN WESTLEY
FRANK REICHER EDWARD G. ROBINSON HERBERT VOST
ALBERT BRUNING, WILLIAM INGERSOLL AND OTHERS
GUILD THEATRE, 52d St., W. of B'way
EVENINGS, 8:30. MATS. THURSDAY and SATURDAY, 2:30

Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler," the brilliant Actors' Theatre production at Comedy Theatre, W. 41st St. Eves. 8:30. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday, 2:30.

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

THE PARISIAN COMEDY SENSATION!

A
ESTELLE WINWOOD
WEAK
RALPH MORGAN
WOMAN
FRANK MORGAN
RITZ THEATRE, 48th St., West of B'way. Eves. 8:30.
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday

PLAYHOUSE West 48th St. Mats. Tom. W. & Sat.
A GREAT ROMANCE OF THE SEA WHERE MEN ARE MEN AND WOMEN LOVE A GOOD FIGHT

Wm. Anthony McGuire's Successful Comedy...
12 MILES OUT

The GREEN HAT

THE BIGGEST DRAMATIC HIT IN NEW YORK
By Michael Arlen. Staged by Guthrie McClintic, with KATHARINE CORNELL, MARGALO GILLMORE and LESLIE HOWARD
BROADHURST THEATRE, 44th St., West of Broadway. Eves. 8:30. Matinees Thursday and Saturday at 2:30.

Comedy Champion of the Year
The PATSY
Barry Corneil's Latest Comedy
CLAIBORNE FOSTER
Now in its 3rd Capacity Month
BOOTH
45th St. & B'way
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

HOUDINI



The noted "Man of Magic," will play a return visit to the Bronx Opera House beginning Monday evening.

opening at the 86 Fifth Avenue Theatre here.

Edwin Justus Mayer, author of "The Firebrand," brought back the script

of a new play titled "The Mountain Top" when he returned from Europe recently. It will be produced by Horace Liveright next season.

"The Emperor Jones," which was to have ended its engagement at the Provincetown Playhouse this week, will be continued. The announced revival of "East Lynne" has been deferred.

"The Rubicon," which Henry Baron produced several seasons ago, will be revived in a few weeks at special matinees at the Ritz Theatre. Estelle Winwood will play her original role.

Milton Aborn, who staged the "Mikado" last spring, is preparing a revival of De Koven's "Robin Hood" for early production with an all-star cast.

Low Fields will re-enter the field of musical comedy production, with "The Girl Friend" as his first offering. The cast will be headed by Sam White and Eva Fack. "The Girl Friend" was written by Herbert Fields, Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart, authors of "Dearest Enemy."

Robinson Newbold and Virginia King have been added by the Messrs. Dowling, Anhalt and Bachelor for important roles in the operetta, "Cherry Blossoms." The show is at the Auditorium in Baltimore this week.

THEATRES

FLORENCE REED

THE SHANGHAI GESTURE

By JOHN COLTON. Staged by GUTHRIE MCCLINTIC
THEATRE, 45th St. and 8th Ave. Evenings, 8:30.
Matinee Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30.

ARTHUR HORNBLow

Arthur Hornblow
says in "The Theatre Maga-
zine": "The Dybbuk is
full of beauty and enchant-
ment."

the DYBBUK

By ANSKY
English Version by Henry G. Alsberg

EVERY EVE. (Except Monday) at 8:20. Mat. Saturday only at 2:30.

HEYWOOD BRON IN THE WORLD SAYS: "YOU OUGHT TO SEE 'LOVE 'EM AND LEAVE 'EM'."

A COMEDY IN AMERICAN

LOVE 'EM AND LEAVE 'EM

SAM H. HARRIS THEATRE, W. 42d ST. Eves., 8:30
Matinee Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30

Bronx Amusements

BRONX OPERA HOUSE

140th ST. E. of THIRD AVE.
POP. PRICES | MATS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT
The Greatest Magician of the Age

HOUDINI

Presenting the Most Novel Entertainment
Ever Staged

2 1/2 Hours of Magic, Illusions, Escapes
and Fraudulent Medium Exposés

3 SHOWS IN 1

Week of March 8th
"THE KISS IN THE TAXI"
with Arthur Byron and Janet Beecher

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

TOWN HALL, TUESDAY EVE., MARCH 2, at 8:15

FRIEDA WILLIAMS

Soprano
Mgt. Haensel & Jones At the Piano, Richard Hageman Klavier Piano

N. Y. SYMPHONY

KLEMPERER

Guest Conductor
SOLOIST IRENE SCHARER

MECCA AUDITORIUM, THIS SUN. APT. AT 3
Concerto Grosso No. 2.....BACH
Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks.....STRAUSS
Concerto No. 4 in G major.....BEETHOVEN
Prelude and Fugue, Triton and Isolde.....WAGNER
GEORGE ENGLER, Manager. Steinway Piano.

Lillian Hunsicker, soprano, will
make her debut at Aeolian Hall, Mon-
day evening, March 8.

Theatre Benefit

for the Rand School

Eugene O'Neill's

NEW PLAY

THE GREAT GOD BROWN

Garrick Theatre, March 9

Tickets at Rand School, 1 East 19th St.
and at Box Office

"The Troupers," by J. C. and Elliott
Nugent, will be the next offering at the
52nd Street Theatre, with J. C. Nugent
and Ruth Nugent in its cast.

PHILHARMONIC

FURTWÄNGLER, Conductor

CARNEGIE HALL, THURS. EVE., 8:30.

FRU. APT. 2:30

BEETHOVEN: "Prometheus" Overture.

STRAUSS: Entr'acte and Waltz Scene
from "Intermezzo" (1st time in Ameri-
ca). SCHUMANN: Symphony No. 1 in B flat.

CARNEGIE HALL, Sun. Aft., Mar. 7, at 3
Soloist: SCIPIONE GUIDI, Violinist.

HAYDN: Symphony No. 13 in G. MRY.
DELBOSCH: Violin Concerto. STRAUSS:
Till Eulenspiegel. SCHUMANN: Symphony No. 1 in B flat.

Concert Manager: ARTHUR JUDSON announces
Carnegie Hall, Fri. Ev., March 5, at 8:30

ZIMBALIST

Only N. Y. Recital This Season
Emanuel Bay at Piano. (Steinway Piano)

DRAMA

ARNOLD DALY



Returns to our midst in "The Masque
of Venice," a new comedy opening at
the new Mansfield theatre Tuesday
night.

"The Unchastened
Woman" Revived

The Stagers Preseat Anspacher's
Artificial "Comedy" at the
Princess Theatre

THE success of Louis K. Anspacher's comedy, "The Unchastened Woman," when Emily Stevens made her fame in the stellar role, prompted Edward Goodman and The Stagers to revive the play at the Princess Theatre. In its presentation today the drama reveals the artificiality of its construction. There is, doubtless, in the main character a creature worthy of study and productive of much conflict that could well be made material for drama; there lies in the young couple, as well, the substance of a good development. But Anspacher seemed content to stress only those elements that make for theatrical effectiveness, instead of filling out the characters to the suggestion of actuality; with the passage of time this tends to leave the play bare. The exciting moments now seem rather melodramatic; the comedy seems also overdone; the satire obvious lest it be overlooked. Those who accept the play, however, as frankly artificial melodrama will still find excitement enough.

Emily Stevens, if my pleasant memory of her performance be correctly particularized, was a more sinuous, more emotional creature, in her deliberate preying upon the young artist, than Violet Kemble Cooper. The siren of the present actress reveals is more restrained, more calculating, less involved in the love she weaves around the artist in seductive promise of success and wealth; from this she can rise to a greater height in her final thrust of anguished passion. Morgan Farley, despite a tendency to overstress his acting in the more hysterical moments, catches the spirit of the weak, sensitive artist effectively enough to make him the most real person in this drama, where truth has been sacrificed to effectiveness, and the stir of the evening's thrill is gained at the loss of the after-joy. "The Unchastened Woman" is still good for the night's entertainment, but the years that have passed since its writing have borne away more permanent values it may have seemed to possess.—W. L.

on the program will include Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks by Strauss, and the Prelude and Finale from "Tristan and Isolde" by Wagner.

MUSIC

Premiere of "La Vida Breve"
and "Le Rossignol" at
Metropolitan Next Week

"L'AFRICANA" will open the
eighteenth week of the Metropolitan
Opera season Monday
evening with Rosa Ponselle, Mario,
and Lauri-Volpi, Danise.

"Bohème" Wednesday evening with
Mueller, Hunter and Gigli, Scotti.

"Die Walküre" will be the third of
the Wagner Cycle Series on Thursday
afternoon with Larsen-Todsen, Easton,
Melchior and Schorr.

"Glanni Schicchi," "Skyscrapers" and
"Pagliacci" Thursday night. The first
sung by Dalossy, Howard, Lauri-Volpi
and DeLuca; the second, danced by
Miss De Laporte and Messrs. Troy and
Dodge; the last sung by Mario, Fillin
and Scotti.

"Andrea Chenier" Friday evening
with Rosa Ponselle, Bourskaya (Flex-
er debut) Gigli and DeLuca.

"La Vida Breve" and "Le Rossignol"
will have their first performance in
America at the Saturday matinee; the
former with Bori, Howard, Tokatyan
and Picco; the latter with Talley,
Bourskaya, Errolle and Didur.

"Tristan and Isolde" Saturday night
with Larsen-Todsen, Branzell, Leubenthal
and Schorr.

At this Sunday night's concert
Sundellus, Fullin, DeLuca, Mardones
will be the soloists.

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

The first American performance of a
new Respighi work will be featured
at next Sunday's, March 7, concert of
the New York Symphony Orchestra in
Mecca Auditorium. It is the overture
to "Belfagor," an opera which has thus
far been performed only twice in
Europe.

Irene Scharer, English pianist, will
make her debut as assisting artist for
the New York Symphony Orchestra in
Mecca Auditorium this Sunday after-
noon. Miss Scharer will play Bee-
thoven's Concerto No. 4 in G. Otto
Klemperer will repeat Ernst Krenek's
Concerto No. 2. The other numbers

CLAIBORNE FOSTER

The charming and dainty actress, who
is the heroine of "The Patsy," the
Barry Connors comedy at the Booth
theatre.

Benjamin Riccio, baritone, will
make his debut at Aeolian Hall, Sun-
day afternoon, March 7.

Sara Sokolsky-Freid will give a
piano recital this Sunday afternoon at
Aeolian Hall.

Marshall Bartholomew will give a
concert of American folksong at
Aeolian Hall this Saturday morning
at 11. One section will be devoted to
the songs of the mountaineers of North
Carolina and another to Negro spirituals
and plantation melodies.

Anne Bertner will give a song re-
cital at Town Hall Wednesday eve-
ning.

The National Grand Opera Company
will open its season at the Manhattan
Opera House this Saturday evening
with "Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pag-
liacci."

The first of a series of "Soirees Ar-
tistique" is announced for Hampden's
Theatre for this Sunday. Mabel Row-
land will offer her original "Cartoon-
ologues." James Kemper will be seen in
dramatic character interpretations.
Carroll Weller will present "Dance Ex-
pressions," adapted by herself from dif-
ferent national dances. Beatrice Weller
will be heard in harp solos and will
play the harp accompaniment for two
of her sister's dances.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

Eugene V. Debs has left Chicago for
his home in Terre Haute. A confer-
ence of the office staff and the staff of
the American Appeal was held, and
before leaving Debs issued a statement
regarding the increasing circulation of
the American Appeal and the growing
activities of the National Office.
"Those who think the Socialist Party
is stumbling are much mistaken," he
said. "The rank and file are busy and
increasingly demanding greater ac-
tivity."
He continued:
"The lusty young newspaper, the
American Appeal, started on January
1, 1925. This paper has been forging
ahead by leaps and bounds. But the
Socialists are insatiably eager for still
swifter progress and for practical pres-

ent-day service. Huge bundles of let-
ters, with general praise, long lists of
subscribers and bundle orders arriving
with every mail delivery, please the
Socialists, of course, but don't satisfy
them. They are bent on a big plot.

"The enterprise in general is to ad-
dress the American people on the most
important immediate and pressing
problem now before the country with a
sane, practical and scientific contribu-
tion to the nation's thought for the
practical guidance in present-day prac-
tical politics and social service.

"The Liquor Traffic Special of a
million copies of the American Appeal
will on May 1 startle the country, will
please millions of people regardless of
party preference and make multitudes
respect the Socialists, not only for their
idealism but for their solid common
sense."

Future of Drama
In U. S. and Russia

THE future of the world's stable
drama is largely in the hands of
this country and Russia, accord-
ing to Professor Albert H. Gilmer, of
Tufts College, Medford Hills, Mass.,
who has just returned with Mrs. Gilmer
from a six months' trip abroad.

Professor Gilmer early last June ob-
tained a half year's leave of absence so
that he might go over to Europe and
study the theatre, drama and produc-
tion methods of that country at first
hand. With his wife he visited Eng-
land, Ireland, France, Germany, Lat-
via, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Austria,
Hungary, Greece, Italy and Monaco.
He attended plays and operas in all
these countries and among the noted
continental stage craftsmen with whom
he had interviews were Reinhardt,
Stanislavsky, Gielgud, Gordon Craig,
Meyerhold, Jessmer and Antoine.

Russia, according to Professor Gilmer,
is doing the greatest amount of
experimental work and is the most ac-
tive country in a general theatrical way.
All the old theatres have been pre-
served and are being packed nightly
with the lower classes. Many of the
fine buildings, including the wonderful
palaces of tea merchants, have been
made into gorgeous playhouses, and
these are occupied by groups somewhat
similar to the little theatre organiza-

tions in America.
The spirit of the Russian people, to-
gether with the active part being taken
by the Soviet government, toward the
preservation and advancement of the-
atrical art is regarded by Professor Gilmer
as a promising sign that the stage
of Russia will soon dominate all
Europe.

As for the American stage, the pro-
fessor said he was glad to find it more
active and ambitious than ever; and he
declared that the new ideas and energy
being injected into our theatre by many
new producers, together with the un-
limited financial resources available
over here, makes it possible for this
country to do more than any other na-
tion in the line of theatrical progress.

"Daoma," New Opera by
Cadman, Planned for Spring

Edouard Albion, founder and general
director of the Washington Opera
Company, is preparing to produce a
new American opera, "Daoma," by
Charles Wakefield Cadman, of Holly-
wood, Cal., as part of the Spring music
festival planned here as a civic enter-
prise.

The opera is based on an Indian
story, written by Francis La Flesche,
Chief of the Omaha Indians.

MAURICE SCHWARTZ



Director of the Yiddish Art Players,
will make his debut on the screen in
Z. Libin's "Broken Hearts," due at
Moss' Cameo theatre Sunday.

The New Cinemas

BROADWAY—Zane Grey's "The
Vanishing American," with
Richard Dix.

CAMEO—Marcel Schwab's
Lila Lee in "Broken Hearts,"
from the play by Z. Libin.

CAPITOL—Vicente Blasco Iba-
ñez's "Torrent," with Ricardo
Cortez, Greta Garbo and Ger-
trude Olmsted.

COLONY—"The Cohens and Kel-
lys," from Aaron Hoffman's
play, "Two Blocks Away," with
George Sidney, Charles Murray
and Vera Gordon.

RIALTO—"The Cow Man," with
John Patrick, Myrna Loy and
Phyllis Haver.

RIVOLI—Richard Dix in "Let's
Get Married," from Du Sou-
chet's play "The Man From
Mexico."

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvanians desiring to learn
more about the Socialist Party can do
so by writing Socialist Party of Penn-
sylvania, 415 Swede street, Norristown,
Pa. News items concerning labor and
radical groups should be sent to the
same address for publication in the
New Leader.

State Office Notes

From different parts of the State
there are indications that the Socialist
movement is on the upgrade. Recently
two comrades from Mercer county
wrote for information, and it is ex-
pected that some organization work
will be done there in the near future.
Nomination petitions for State office
have been sent to some twelve coun-
ties, and it is hoped that sufficient
signatures will be secured to place the
entire ticket upon the ballot at the pri-
mary election. The State Office is go-
ing over a number of its old lists of
members, sympathizers and subscribers
to Socialist papers, and canvassing
comrades in all parts of the State in
an effort to revive organization activity.

Montgomery County

Local Montgomery county is deter-
mined to put on the best campaign in
years. A full ticket has been nomi-
nated, as follows: For Congress, Ninth
District, Edwin S. Orr, Pottstown;
State Senator, Twelfth Senatorial Dis-
trict, A. V. Kaiser of Whitpain Town-
ship; for Representatives in Assembly,
First District, Claude B. Armstrong, of
Upper Merion Township; Second Dis-
trict, Walter F. Kern of Norristown;
Third District, Albert S. Horne, East
Greenville; Nathan Pollock of Potts-
town, and Darlington Hoopes of
Worcester township.

Branches Norristown and Pottstown
are waking up. The former recently
held the largest meeting in years. The
latter has repainted its headquarters
and covered the floor with a fine new
linoleum. Both are boosting Socialist
papers and expect to build up the cir-
culation within their respective dis-
tricts.

New England

The lectures in Providence, Lynn,
Worcester and Boston, with August
Claessens as the speaker, have been
very successful. As this is Claessens'
last week, we have been fortunate in
being able to secure the services of
Comrades Bearak, Rowser and McBride
to follow up the Claessens lectures.
The Boston Central Branch is plan-
ning to give an entertainment Friday
evening, Feb. 26, in honor of Claessens
after he delivers his lecture. There will
be a surprise in store for all those who
attend. Come and bring your friends.
Please note that Claessens' lecture will
be held Friday, Feb. 26, instead of Sat-
urday, Feb. 27.

In order to make this entertainment
and all other entertainments success-
ful, the Boston Central Branch must
have a piano before Feb. 26. If there
are any comrades who have a piano
or know of somebody who has, that
they would like to donate for a worthy
cause, please let us know, and we will
send for it at once.

Connecticut

State

The regular monthly meeting of the
State Executive Committee will be held
at MacIntosh Hall, 99 Temple street,
New Haven, Sunday, February 28, at
2 p. m.

New Haven

The monthly meeting of the local will
be held at the headquarters of the
City Printing Company, 30 Congress
avenue, Wednesday evening, March 2.
All members of the local should be
present, as business of importance will
be transacted.

Prof. Sheffield of Wellesley College
spoke at the Trades Council Forum
Thursday evening. His subject was
"Science of Discussion and Human En-
gineering." The meeting was well at-
tended. The speaker for the March
meeting will be A. J. Muste of the
Brookwood Labor College.

A special meeting of the local will
be held at the home of W. E. Davis,
48 Belmont street, Friday evening,
February 26, for the purpose of nomi-
nating candidates for delegate to the
National Socialist Party Convention.

New Jersey

State Secretary Robert Leemans has
sent a communication to all branch
secretaries covering five important
points, as follows: 1. All national pe-
titions should be returned to the state
office; 2. Copies of Congressman Ber-
ger's speech on the income tax should
be secured from Berger in Washing-
ton and liberally distributed; 3. A.

locals should proceed to make nomi-
nations for the November elections; a
great effort should be made to have a
full ticket; 4. The branches should im-
mediately make nominations for two
delegates to the national convention;
5. every branch should see that its
members are subscribed 100 per cent
to the New Leader.

Bergen County

A meeting of the Bergen County
Committee will be held this Sunday,
Feb. 28, at 2 p. m. at the meeting room
in the Bertha Hose Company, No. 2,
Central avenue, between Queen Anne
road and 23d avenue. Important busi-
ness will be transacted.

New York State

The State Executive Committee met
at People's House last Sunday. All
members except Feigenbaum and Riley
of Kings were present, also State Or-
ganizer Stille. The committee ap-
portioned the counties of the state accord-
ing to paid up membership for the
purpose of electing two delegates and
two alternates to the national conven-
tion to be held at Pittsburgh begin-
ning May 1. The usual 25-cent as-
sessment stamp was authorized to
cover the railway fare of delegates to
the state convention. The dates se-
lected for the state convention were
July 3 and 4, and the place, New York
City. Reports indicated that the sub-
scriptions for Debs Liberty Bonds had
already topped the \$4,000 mark, but
nearly \$10,000 worth of bonds must be
sold to provide for the budget planned
for the current year. Most of the
time was devoted to the consideration
of organization work. The need of work
in some counties of the Greater City
was stressed, and the committee will
ask the co-operation of Bronx or the
City Committee in the employment of
Comrade Stille for intensive canvass
for membership during the winter and
spring. The committee will take up
arrangements for the state convention
at its March meeting, to the end that
a large and representative gathering
may be assured in July. Convention
committees, required by the state con-
stitution of the party, will be desig-
nated and the agenda of the convention
especially considered.

Buffalo

Local Buffalo has elected the follow-
ing officers: James Battistoni, orga-
nizer; Charles Roth, financial secretary-
treasurer, and Martin B. Heister, sec-
retary.

The new Executive Committee met at
the organizer's office, 682 Washington
street, Friday, February 19. Reports
showed that the work of organizing
a Jewish and a Polish branch is pro-
gressing.

Two thousand copies of Berger's
speech were ordered to be mailed to
affiliated voters, and an additional 3,000
to be ordered as soon as the first are
disposed of. Five applications of
former members were accepted.

The local will try to obtain the ser-
vices of the Russian Prof. Marco
Stonin, who will tour the country un-
der the direction of the Italian Federa-
tion.

The Executive Committee ordered the
next General Party Meeting to be held
Thursday evening, March 4, at 8 o'clock,
at the East Side Labor Lyceum, 1644
Genesee street. All members are urged
to be present, and to bring back some
of the former members.

Local New York

There are still a few tickets left for
the Provincetown Theatre performance
of Emperor Jones. The last perform-
ance will be on Sunday, February 28.
Comrades who want tickets can get
them from Local New York, Room 565,
People House, 7 East 15th street. Tele-
phone Stuyvesant 4620. The office will
be open all day Saturday.

The monthly meeting of Local New
York was well attended. Alfred Baker
Lewis was elected a member of the
Executive Committee in place of Alex
Schwartz. Norman Thomas was nomi-
nated for delegate to the national con-
vention and Algernon Lee as alternate.
The following were elected delegates at
large to the city convention: Norman
Thomas, William Karlin, Algernon Lee,
Julius Gerber, G. A. Gerber, S. Berlin,
Morris Novick, Jacob Panken, Morris
Hillquit and Joshua Lieberman. Al-
ternates: E. Kaufman, J. Brylowsky,
A. Merkin, Ed Dutton, A. B. Lewis, Ed
Porter and Sophi Segaloff. The Ex-
ecutive Committee was empowered to
fill vacancies.

Executive Committee will meet on
Saturday, March 7, at 2:30 p. m.

Branch Meetings

The 1st and 2d A. D., Thursday eve-

ning, March 4, at 204 East Broadway.
The 3d, 5th and 10th A. D. Monday
evening, March 8, at the People House,
East 15th street.

The 6th, 8th and 12th A. D., Friday,
February 26, at 127 Avenue B. There
will be a debate on the question "Shall
the Socialist Party Favor the Entrance
of the U. S. in the League of Nations?"

The Upper Westside, Wednesday
evening, at 360 West 125th street. A
good speaker will address the meeting.

The Yorkville Branch (14-15-16 A.
D.), Thursday, March 11, at the Labor
Temple, 247 East 84th street, Room 6.

The Harlem Branch (17-18-19-20 A.
D.), Thursday, March 5, at the Harlem
Center, 62 E. 106th street.

General

This Saturday at 2 p. m. the city
convention meets at the Peoples House,
7 East 15th street.

At the last meeting of the Executive
of the Local almost every branch re-
ported renewed activity. Judging by
the sale of dues stamps it looks like
old times. It is a long time since the
Local sold as many stamps in a month
as it did during January and February.
Only one branch is lagging and a spe-
cial committee will see that an active
Branch is established in Washington
Heights. Socialists living in Wash-
ington Heights (above 130 to Spuyten
Duvil) should communicate with G. A.
Gerber, 7 East 15th street.

As soon as the enrollment lists are
out, the executive committee intends
to get in touch with every enrolled
Socialist and endeavor to get them to
join the party.

The Upper West Side Branch will
meet Wednesday, March 3, at 360 West
125th street. This is a correction of
the error in last week's New Leader
which said they would meet on Mon-
day, March 1.

Bronx

A general party membership meeting
is called for Monday, March 1, at the
headquarters, 1167 Boston road. The
special order of business is the plan of
organization, under the direction of
Comrades Stille, Murphy and Claessens.
Comrade Stille will be present, and the
membership drive will begin at once.
Every Bronx Socialist must be present.
One of the largest organization ven-
tures will be undertaken by Local
Bronx.

BROOKLYN

Central Committee

On account of the City Convention
on Saturday, Feb. 27, at the People's
House, the meeting of the Central Com-
mittee has been postponed. The dele-
gates will be notified by mail when
the next meeting will be held.

The celebration of the Paris Com-
mune will take place in the Brownsville
Labor Lyceum on Saturday, March 13,
1926.

It will be celebrated with a banquet,
speeches, music and dancing. A good
time is assured all who attend. Do not
miss this great opportunity to spend
a pleasant evening. Make your reser-
vations now. Do not wait until the last
minute.</

THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1926

THE BERGER RESOLUTION

SOCIALISTS will heartily approve the statement of Congressman Berger in support of his resolution requesting the President to call an international conference to revise the Treaty of Versailles. He contends that the Treaty rests on the lie that Germany was solely responsible for the war. Only the ignorant and the insane now assert that the German ruling classes alone were responsible. The belief is in conflict with the secret bargains of the Allied Powers negotiated before and during the war.

In fact, the document which Germany signed was not a treaty. A treaty implies two or more parties freely negotiating with each other. Germany did not negotiate and was not even permitted to argue the matter. She was told to sign under threat of dire penalties. A bully astride an exhausted man with a knife at his victim's throat would force the man to admit that he murdered his grandmother in order to ward off death, but the document signed under duress would not be accepted even by the courts of capitalism. The Treaty of Versailles is a document of this character.

But it was not only extorted by force. It required the representative of Germany to admit a lie which the allies themselves knew to be a lie. Clemenceau and Lloyd George knew it was a lie because the dirty secret bargains were known to them. Other Allied peace representatives also knew it to be a lie. We are glad that the one Socialist member of Congress has raised the question. The action rounds out the Socialist Party position regarding the war and makes our record an honorable one.

TWO LITTLE THINGS

SOME years ago a Tammany politician was asked how Tammany got on with the Republicans. He answered: "Oh, we fight on little things like the tariff, but we agree on the main issue, that them as works in politics is entitled to make a living out of it."

This story will serve as an introduction to a recent Washington dispatch to the Brooklyn Eagle. Speaker Longworth has an itching ambition to succeed Coolidge, providing the latter decides that he does not want to be underwritten again by textiles, steel and railroads. Longworth is now being quietly groomed as a statesman and a candidate in 1928. Who is supporting him? The Eagle correspondent tells us:

"The Longworth backing is bi-partisan. That is to say, it comprises all the men in controlling positions in the House, Democrats as well as Republicans. There is a close working understanding among Mr. Longworth, John Q. Tilson, Republican leader, and Finis J. Garrett, minority (Democratic) leader. When it is necessary to stage a fight on the floor the procedure is arranged so as to cause the minimum of irritation or bad feeling. It is worth remarking that when Mr. Longworth and the organization wish to discipline recalcitrant Republicans the Democratic leadership can always be depended upon to assist."

Yes, "we fight some on little things," to quote the Tammany bruiser, but co-operation in the lower house of Congress extends to the party leaders agreeing on the Republican candidate for 1928 and arranging soft pillow fights with the "minimum of irritation or bad feeling." Mr. Longworth and his Republican dummies will no doubt return the favor by helping some Democratic favorite to get the nomination in 1928.

Then we will have two "little things" to fight over, one Republican and the other Democrat. Remember, "them as works in politics is entitled to make a living out of it." But the voters? you ask. Oh, they are to be skinned as usual.

BEING A SOLDIER

AS A RULE, the professional militarist is not noted for intellectual brilliancy. His trade does not encourage thinking. Perhaps this fact accounts for the distribution of a recruiting circular by army officials which is stupid, to say the least. It is the duty of militarists to encourage unthinking affection for the present social order and to get willing service for the extension of capitalism into other countries.

Stripped of all hokum, that is what modern armies mean. But the circular in question draws an indictment against capitalism, making prospective recruits dissatisfied with it, in order to get them to desert civilian life. Fourteen reasons are given why the wage worker should join the army and the following seven head the list: (1) the soldier's paymaster never fails him; (2) unlike the factory, the army does not lay off its employees when things are dull; (3) the soldier never has to strike; (4) he does not have to worry about getting a job; (5) he loses no time because of bad weather or sickness and his pay goes on just the same; (6) he doesn't worry about the cost of clothing, food or rent; (7) doc-

tors' and dentists' bills do not disturb him because Uncle Sam pays them.

Now there is no reason for mentioning these things unless they are real problems that face the working class. As a politician Coolidge must deny them by talking "prosperity" while the army officials must assert them to get recruits. It is because army officials know that they are grim realities that they are stressed and even placed at the head of the list of reasons why men should join the army. Moreover, it should be observed that the circular is addressed to workmen, not bankers, brokers and capitalists. The latter are not expected to give up civilian life. Not one appeal is addressed to the privileged classes to join the army. Giving life is regarded as the exclusive duty of workmen.

PLOT AGAINST MEXICO

WHEN the French Government before the World War repealed the extra privileges which the Catholic Church enjoyed from the Government there was no protest by the United States. There was no American oil investments in France to give our ruling class a "spiritual" interest in the matter.

Not so in Mexico. For more than a week our imperialist organs and politicians have brought the United States perilously near intervention in Mexico. The oil gang has not been very successful in recent years in promoting this adventure. Now a "religious" issue is dangled before us to support intervention. Never has there been such a shameful campaign to prostitute the religious motive for the dirtiest of material gains.

Mexico has been trying to carry out the provisions of her Constitution which provides for the complete separation of Church and State. If she desires to exclude alien priests and ministers that is her affair. California, if we are not mistaken, has legislated against Japanese priests. The American Government is now following a policy of selective exclusion of aliens. If there were no American dollars invested in Mexico there would be no "religious" issue raised against that country.

It is significant that the Herald Tribune squints back with affection to former dictator Diaz and his terrible regime as "the sane Diaz tradition." Church and State were one under Diaz. Mexico and alien plunder were one. The laborers of Mexico were slaves. They were literally worked and whipped to death in Yucatan and the hell of Valle Nacional. Strikes were rare and the few that occurred were suppressed by wholesale massacres. This was the "Diaz tradition" which appeals to the Herald Tribune.

General Bullard also gets the "spiritual" urge. At a Y. M. C. A. meeting a militant "Christian" asked the pompous general: "Don't you think the English-speaking nations should clean up Mexico?" His answer was: "Porto Rico, Cuba, Santo Domingo and Haiti used to be public nuisances and are no longer." Aye, spiritual regeneration has been brought to these weak nations by American bayonets, banks and investing despoilers. Congressman Fairchild pays homage to the monster, Diaz, and refers to Mexico as "a sore fist thrust up into the very bowels of the United States."

Thus venom is spewed upon Mexico whose crime is that it threw off a medieval despotism and is trying to consolidate its institutions so that some measure of decent human existence may be enjoyed by the masses. Our ruling classes do not care two whoops in hell for "spiritual" values and they would crucify Christ again if it would increase their dividends.

Watch this carefully planned propaganda against Mexico. If its aims are consummated, workmen will be forced to give their lives in order that our ruling classes may hold Mexico for their enrichment.

SELAH!

WHILE our God-fearing and freedom-loving patriots are thinking of incorporating Mexico into the American firm of imperialism it is well to take a look at some of the outlying crown colonies. In the Philippines, it will be remembered, a Manila councilman was recently fined for criticizing Governor Wood. Rather than incur the royal displeasure again the Filipinos devoted their time on Washington's birthday to prayers for independence. Down in Haiti where President Borno rules for American banks an editor was thrown into jail for publishing an article against Borno's re-election.

While the little brown peoples are enjoying the rare blessings of American freedom we turn to the holy land itself. We venture into the shire of Queens where Selah B. Strong, a man of parts who believes that virtue is associated with property and vice is due to lack of it, sits on the august bench of the Queens Supreme Court. A few years ago Selah casually observed that it is the duty of the courts to represent capital. Nearly 200 aliens apply for admission as citizens. Of this number 160 are admitted and 25 are denied. The latter are denied because they did not fight as subjects of Allied powers.

Thus the onward march of human progress continues. The torch of liberty beckons, the oppressed shake off their chains, wounds are healed, the stranger is gathered to our bosom, virtue is vindicated, vice is rebuked, God's in His Heaven and the government still stands. Selah!

Recently the central organ of the dying Workers' (Communist) Party informed its child-men readers that the infamous Hillquit favors our entrance into the League of Nations. We have filed this dictum away for use within a year. We shall then report a "Thesis" of the elder mandarins preparing the child-men for the entrance of Russia into the League of Nations. If the dying party is alive then we will recall the above dictum. If it is dead we can use it as an obituary. Whatever happens, we shall use it.

Before departing for Central America Cardinal O'Connell melted over the "spiritual life" of our great money bags. "They are generous to the poor," said the Cardinal, "and will have little difficulty in entering Heaven." We at least thought that we would not have to bear with them in the future, but it seems that capitalism is to survive death itself.

STEEL---A Poem : : By Joseph Auslander

THIS man is dead.
Everything you can say
Is now quite definitely said:
This man held up his head
And had his day.
The turned his head a little to one way
And slept instead.

Young horses give up their pride:
You break them in
By brief metallic discipline
And something else beside: . . .
So this man died.

While he lived I did not know
This man; I never heard
His name. Now that he lies as
though
He were remembering some word
He had forgotten yesterday or so,
It seems a bit absurd
That his blank lids and matted hair
should grow
Suddenly familiar. . . . Let him be
interred.

Steady now. . . . That was his wife
Making that small queer inarticulate
sound
Like a knife:
Steady there. . . . Let him slip easy
into the ground;

Do not look at her;
She is fighting for breath. . . .
She is a foreigner. . . .
Polak . . . like him . . . she can
not understand. . . .
It is hard. . . . Leave her alone with
death
And a shovelful of sand.

"O the pity of it, the pity of it,
Lago!" . . .
Christ, what a hell
Is packed into that line! Each syllable
Bleeds when you say it. . . . No
matter: Chicago
Is a far cry from Cracow;
And anyhow
What have Poles
To do with such extraneous things as
hearts and souls?

There is nothing here to beat the
breast over,
Nothing to relish the curious,
Not a smell of the romantic; this fel-
low
Was hardly your yearning lover-
Frustrated; no punchinello;
But just a hunky in a steel mill. Why
then fuss
Because his heavy Slavic face went
yellow
With the roaring furnace dust? Now
that he is in
The cool sweet crush of dirt, to hell
with your sobbing violin,
Your sanctimonious 'cello!
Let the mill bellow!

There is nothing here to beat the
breast over,
Nothing to relish the curious,
Not a smell of the romantic; this fel-
low
Was hardly your yearning lover-
Frustrated; no punchinello;
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with your sobbing violin,
Your sanctimonious 'cello!
Let the mill bellow!

Let the mill bellow!

II
If you have ever had to do with
steel:
The open-hearth, the blooming-
mill, the cranes
Howling under a fifty-ton load, trains
Yowling in the black pits where you
reel
Groggily across a sluice of orange
fire, a sheet
Tongued from the conduits that bub-
ble blue green; if
Ever you have got a single whiff
Out of the Bessemer's belly, felt the
drag
And drip and curdle of steel spit his-
sing against hot slag;
If ever you have had to eat
One hundred and thirty degrees of solid
heat,
Then screwed the hose to the spigot,
drowned in steam,
Darted back when the rods kicked up
a stream
Of fluid steel and had to duck the ladle
that slobbered over, and scream
Your throat raw to get your Goddam!
through—
Then I am talking to you.

Steve did that for ten years with quiet
eyes,
And body down to the belt caked wet
With hardening cinder splash and stif-
fening sweat
And whatever else there is that clots
and never utterly dries.
He packed the mud and dolomite,
made back-wall,
Herded the heat, and placed his throw
in tall
Terrible arcs behind smoked glasses,
and watched it fall
Heavy and straight and true,
While the blower kept the gas at a
growl and the brew
Yelled red and the melter hollered
"Heow!" and you raveled
Her out and the thick soup gargled
and you traveled
Like the devil to get out from under
. . . Well, Steve
For ten years of abdominal heft and
heave
Worked steel. So much for that. And
after
Ten years of night shifts, fourteen
hours each,
The Bessemer's burn your nerves up,
Rebellion out of your bones; and
laughter
Sucked clean out of your guts becomes
More dead than yesterday's feet mov-
ing to yesterday's drums. . . .
And so they called him "Dummy."
The whole gang
From pit boss down to the last mud-
slinger cursed

Steve did that for ten years with quiet
eyes,
And body down to the belt caked wet
With hardening cinder splash and stif-
fening sweat
And whatever else there is that clots
and never utterly dries.
He packed the mud and dolomite,
made back-wall,
Herded the heat, and placed his throw
in tall
Terrible arcs behind smoked glasses,
and watched it fall
Heavy and straight and true,
While the blower kept the gas at a
growl and the brew
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Let the mill bellow!

And squirted tobacco juice in a hot
and mixed harangue
Of Slovene, Serb, Dutch, Dago, Rus-
sian, and—worst—
English as hard and toothless as a
skull.
And Steve stared straight ahead of
him and his eyes were dull.

Anna was Steve's little woman
Who labored bitterly enough,
Making children of stern and tragic
stuff
And a rapture that was hammered
rough,
Spilling steel into their spines, yet keep-
ing them watchful and human. . . .
Anna had her work to do
With cooking and cleaning
And washing the window curtains
white as new,
Washing them till they wore through:
For her the white curtains had a mean-
ing—
And starching them white against the
savage will
Of the grim dust belching incessantly
out of the mill:
Soaking and scrubbing and ironing
against that gritty reek
Until her head swam and her knees
went weak
And she could hardly speak.

A terrible unbeaten purpose persisted:
Color crying against a colorless world!
White against black at the windows
flung up, unfurled!
Candles and candle light!
The flags of a lonely little woman
twisted
Out of her hunger for cool clean
beauty, her hunger for white!—
These were her banners and this was
her fight!

No matter how tired she was, however
she would ache
In every nerve, she must boil the meat
and bake
The bread, and the curtains must go
up white—for Steve's sake!
One thing was certain:
That John and Stanley and Helen and
Mary and the baby Steven
Must be kept out of the mills and the
mill life, even
If it meant that her man and she would
break
Under the brunt of it: she had talked
it through with him
A hundred times. . . . Let her eye-
balls split, her head swim—
The window must have its curtain!

III
LATELY Steve had stopped
talking altogether
When he slumped in with his
dinner pail and heavily
Hunched over his food.

Steve did that for ten years with quiet
eyes,
And body down to the belt caked wet
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fening sweat
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ing to yesterday's drums. . . .
And so they called him "Dummy."
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slinger cursed

Let the mill bellow!

So Anna and the children let him be;
She was afraid to ask him why or
whether
As he sat with his eyes glued
On vacancy.
So Anna and the children let him
brood.
Only sometimes he would suddenly
look at them and her
In a ghastly fixed blur
Till a vast nausea of terror and com-
passion stood
Blundering in her heart and swarming
in her blood—
And she shivered and knew somehow
that it was not good.

And then it happened: Spring had
come
Like the silver needle-note of a fife.
Like a white plume and a green lance
and a glittering knife
And a jubilant drum.
But Steve did not hear the earth hum:
Under the earth he could feel merely
the fever
And the shock of roots of steel forever;
April had no business with the pit
Or the people—call them people—who
breathed in it.
The mill was Steve's huge harlot and
his head
Lay between breasts of steel on a steel
bed,
Locked in a steel sleep and his hands
were riveted.

IV
AND then it happened; nobody
could tell whose
Fault it was, but a torrent of
steel broke loose,
Trapped twenty men in the hot frothy
mess. . . .
After a week, more or less,
The company, with appropriate finesse,
Having allowed the families time to
move,
Expressed a swift proprietary love
By shoving the dump of metal and
flesh and shoes
And cotton and cloth and felt
Back into the furnace to remelt.
And that was all, though a dispatch so
neat,
So wholly admirable, so totally sweet,
Could not but stick in Steve's dulled
brain.
And whether it was the stink or the
noise or just plain
Gertia combined with heat,
Steve, one forenoon, on stark deliberate
feet,
Let the charging-machine's long iron
finger beat
The side of his skull in. . . There was
no pain.

For one fierce instant of unconsciousness
Steve tasted the incalculable caress;
For one entire day he slept between
Sheets that were white and cool, em-
balmed and clean;
For twenty-four hours he touched the
hair of death,
Ran his fingers through it, and it was
a deep dark green—
And he held his breath.

This man is dead.
Everything you can say
Is now quite definitely said.

For one fierce instant of unconsciousness
Steve tasted the incalculable caress;
For one entire day he slept between
Sheets that were white and cool, em-
balmed and clean;
For twenty-four hours he touched the
hair of death,
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Is now quite definitely said.

The New Leader Mail Bag

Organizing the Unorganized

Editor, The New Leader:
Organized workers are asking read-
ers of The New Leader to patronize
union made goods. "Eat your bread
with a clear conscience," advertise the
bakers. Do they mean unorganized
workers too? Are they aiding the un-
organized in any way that they might
be able to pay the high price of bakers
products? Have the higher wages of
the Jewish bakers nothing to do with
the high price of bread and rolls?
Workmen in hundreds of shops are
waiting for aid to be organized, but
in vain. They can not do it them-
selves, because in every shop is some
one who will squeal to the boss and
the agitator is thrown out.
Shops making steel doors for large
buildings are still working 50 hours
a week, and union carpenters are not
ashamed to put up this "scab work."
After all scabbing on union men is
no shame. One should gladly do them
all the damage if he gets a chance.
LOUIS LOCKER.
New York City.

The reasoning of our correspondent
is absurd. If high wages of Jewish
workers is responsible for an exces-
sive price for bread then it follows
that if bakers work for nothing we will
get bread for nothing! As for hun-
dreds of shops waiting to be organized
in various trades "in vain" we suggest
that our correspondent send us the
names and addresses of men in these
shops who are anxious to organize and
who want a union organizer. We will
guarantee him to get a competent
union organizer for all such shops. We
know nothing of the alleged scabbing
by union carpenters mentioned by
the writer. It may occur occasionally be-
cause of some mistake and there may
be individuals now and then who in-
dulge in this action throughout the
country, but it is not typical of union
men. Even where a case is found it
does not justify any workman to
act on the principle of scabbing on
union men. That means systematic
treachery to the whole cause of Labor
and ranges its advocate with the
meanest and most contemptible of the
employing class.

To a Young Lover

You are nineteen,
Beautiful and shy;
Your eyes are gray pools of eloquence,
But your words slip and fall in embarrassed
confusion.

To a Middle-Aged Lover

You are forty,
Pot-bellied and suave;
Your eyes belch the lovely phrases
With which you endeavor to convince me of
your love.

KATE HERMAN.

Flotsam

I am adrift on an alien sea,
In a lonely skiff, so frail;
The ruthless winds shake it woefully.
While it rocks with the sea's travail.
I sit with chill, and a shuddering frame,
Only fear and darkness mine;
The twinkling sky sparkles knowingly,
As I gaze at the tempting brine.

JOSEPH RESNICK.

Whimsies

He wrote poetry
That spoke of Death. The women
Who read his poems
Sighed as they thought how wretched
He was. But he was happy. . . .

When he wrote humor,
They dismissed him with a laugh,
Saying, "Humor is
unimportant," not knowing
That he was really sad. . . .

At twenty-one he
Killed himself because the world
Had not recognized
His worth. He should have waited
Until he was eighty-one. . . .

He murdered himself,
Thinking, "Now the world will learn
How great were my books."
When they read his manuscripts,
They said: "His books are stupid."

HENRY HARRISON.

Quite a number of inquiries have come in as to
just when, how, where and what about our long-
announced Poetry Prize Contest in which ONE
HUNDRED DOLLARS will be awarded for the best
poem submitted. The delay in publishing the terms
and conditions has been occasioned by a series of
circumstances, among which the most important has
been the choice of proper judges. It appears that
every well-known poet we have approached has evi-
dently been for or his desire to enter the contest, and so,
naturally, our field of choice has narrowed down to
Jim O'Neal, U. Solomon, Eddie Levinson and Frank
the Elevator Operator. We ask for volunteers. Which
one of you, O Muses, is so well fixed in ducats that
these Hundred Simoleons hold forth no temptation?
Answer at once. We must make definite announce-
ment before the ides of March are upon us.

S. A. de Witt.