



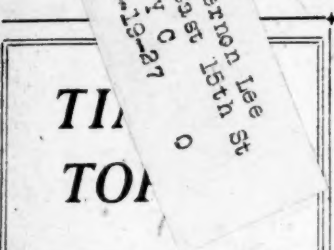
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GOVERNMENT BACKS DOWN ON BAN PUT ON DEBS' RIGHTS; "R CITIZEN NOR ALIEN"



By Norman Thomas

By Secretary Kellogg's own showing, this religious persecution business in Mexico—at least as far as it affects Americans—slimmers down to very little. A handful of Mormons, a Methodist, and a few Catholic nuns were threatened with deportation but seem to have been allowed to stay on condition of observing the Mexican law which requires that teachers in primary schools and priests or ministers administering the sacraments must be native Mexicans. Foreigners, so long as they do not meddle with politics, may act in a supervisory capacity in the churches and teach in the secondary schools. The law is too nationalistic for my taste, but there is some reason for it in the conduct of the church, and at all events it is nothing to get excited about in this country. Apparently few Protestants are now protesting, but there is a loud Catholic demand which one suspects is carefully organized that the United States "do something" to "clean up" a country which exports priests and nuns and closes church schools.

For the government to do anything would play into the hands of the interventionists, and intervention spells war. It is not the business of the United States Government to redress the wrongs, real or imaginary, of any church. The church has no right to appeal to the sword or to raise the kind of outcry that leads to an appeal to the sword. In the power of omnipotent love with which it claims to be girt, is its proper redress. To speak truth, what the Catholic church is suffering in Mexico is in consequence of its own history. If Catholic priests in Mexico had been as near to the people as, let us say, the priests in Ireland, we should not have had this fear and hatred of their political maneuvers. Non-Catholics can speak truth without religious bitterness and without upholding religious persecution. It is completely in accord with our American respect for the individual's religion, whatever it may be, to insist that that religion, neither of itself nor as a cloak for the greed of investors, should send our sons and brothers forth to war. Labor, for the sake of true religious liberty, must set itself against this sort of thing like flint. Faced with a clear statement of the issue, not many American Catholics will want to claim that war is a legitimate cure for such injustice as certain of their co-religionists may have suffered in Mexico.

Just what do some of our good labor friends who talk non-partisan politics—but usually vote Democratic—think of the present situation nationally? Was ever a sorrier exhibition than the Democrats have given? They join a coalition with the Republicans to pass Mr. Mellon's tax bill, lower estate taxes and hand back millions to the heirs of Clark, Duke and other great estates. They refused to support even an investigation of the Aluminum Trust. They have no policy or principles in Washington.

The truth is that as the South grows more industrial its representatives will be more conservative than Northern Republicans. States wanting capital always are. Witness the Constitutional amendment in Florida against a state inheritance or income tax. Witness the willingness of Southern Congressmen to lease Muscle Shoals to Ford, the Alabama Power Co., or some other private interest. When the farmers and workers got so easily discouraged about forming their own party after the 1924 election, they invited what is happening to them.

The decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission against the financial terms of the Nickel Plate merger was really an argument for national ownership. The Commission said in effect: "You can't merge because the financial terms aren't fair; you give too much power and too much profit to the promoters." Even so. But that process of merging and soaking the people has been going on pretty much all through the history of American railroads. It is going on now in super-power and coal. For every merger we pay in watered stock to promoters. The answer is: Let the mergers be made by the public interest for public use and not for profit.

International conflicts appear to be essentially conflicts between different classes situated in different countries.—J. M. Williams.

Passaic Police Arrested

WITH the arrest of Chief of Police Richard O. Zober of Passaic, N. J., and two of his patrolmen, the fight against police brutality upon textile mill strikers has begun.

Zober and Patrolmen Cornelius Struyk and Edward Hogan gave themselves up at the Passaic police station several days after the warrants had been sworn out by John Larkin Hughes, Newark attorney for the Civil Liberties Union. They were released on their own recognizance for investigation by the grand jury.

The warrants, charging assault and battery, were filed in the names of four non-strikers and one striker. All complainants swore that Zober and his men had struck them with clubs during recent clashes between the police and strikers.

John Budz, 27, ex-service man, exhibited before Justice of Peace Julius Katz bruises which he declared were inflicted by Zober when the chief and twenty-five patrolmen raided a strike rally in Neubauer's Hall on February 19. The complainants against the two policemen are Richard Nawrot and his wife Pauline, Walter Yanowicz and Mary Stasiak, all non-strikers.

The Nawrots complained that on the morning of February 26, the two patrolmen entered their grocery store, beat them, kicked them, and threw them to the ground. Mrs. Nawrot charged that Struyk tried to prevent her from entering the store while Hogan was beating her husband. Yanowicz also declared that Struyk beat him in the grocery store, and Miss Stasiak charged that Hogan struck her as she was going down the street.

Attorney Hughes has filed four civil suits for damages, based on allegations of these complainants.

This action followed the assault of Passaic and Clifton police upon a line of 3,000 peaceful picketers on March 2. During the clash newspaper reporters and photographers were attacked and cameras were smashed by patrolmen. Previously tear-gas bombs and fire hoses had been used by the police to rout the picket line.

Four picketers were arrested for disorderly conduct because they had been singing a union song, "Solidarity Forever." The hearing before Judge William C. Davidson disclosed that a secret ordinance designating the making of "any improper noises" a criminal offense had been passed by the Passaic Council on February 16 and put into effect February 26. Sigmund Unger, Passaic attorney for the United Front Committee, secured the discharge of the strikers on a technicality. Eight other strikers, however, were arrested and fined for picketing and singing. Andrew Bokowsky, 17, was sentenced to thirty days in jail for singing "Hall, Hall, the Gang's All Here."

A demand for investigation of the clubbing and arrest of strikers was made at once to Governor A. Harry Moore of New Jersey by Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the Civil Liberties Union. Dr. Ward protested that "the violence of police was only aggravating an acute situation." He insisted upon the "curbing of illegal activities against peaceful mass picketing" and urged the governor to disregard calls for State militia from city officials.

Telegrams were also sent by the Civil Liberties Union to the mayors of Clifton and Passaic declaring that prohibiting police violence and unlawful arrests was the "only effective method of protecting the public peace."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn of the Executive Committee of the Civil Liberties Union was the principal speaker at a protest meeting against the "brutality of the Passaic police" held by the Italian labor papers of New York on March 7. Other speakers were Carlo Tresca, labor leader and editor of the Italian weekly, "Il Martello," Pietro Allegra of the American Anti-Fascist Alliance, and Frank Bellanca, editor of the Italian Anti-Fascist daily "Il Nuovo Mondo."

THE NICKEL PLATE POLISH WEARS OFF AND EXPOSES THE TRUE COLOR UNDERNEATH

By Louis Silverstein

It is one of the antiquated principles of the old school of American capitalists that vigorous competition will direct profits in the direction of business men in proportion to their brains and that incidentally, mysteriously, but surely, the general public will be the recipient, as a result of this process, of the greatest possible benefits derivable from industrial development. Now, come the radical capitalists. They say this is all tommyrot. They believe in strangling competition. They aim to monopolize control and they scheme to get the most profit for themselves with the least possible outlay of capital. The public is supposed to benefit only to the extent that this will produce profits.

In the railroad business the Interstate Commerce Commission, established in 1887, represents the interests of the old-fashioned capitalists. The newer ideals are defended by such men as the Van Sweringen brothers, the industrial geniuses behind the proposed Nickel Plate merger, that created such a hub-bub in the newspapers last week. In the midst of the collapse of the stock market came the decision from the Interstate Commerce Commission on March 2, 1926, that the railroad consolidation plans of the brothers were unsatisfactory. The following day railroad stocks dropped to low levels, financiers bemoaned the blow that had been struck at railroad.

CITY CONVENTION
The Convention of the Socialist Party of New York City will reconvene on Saturday afternoon at 2 p. m. at the Debs Auditorium, People's House, 7 East 15th Street. The Convention is composed of delegates from Locals New York, Kings, Bronx, Queens and Richmond Counties, and they will assemble to hear, discuss and act upon the report of the Committee on By-Laws elected by the Convention session of February 27. As the Convention's decision upon this report will effect vital changes in the form of organization of the Locals and the Greater City organization, every member must attend.

Bakers Boost Protest Against Bread Trust

The fight of the bakers' union to unionize the employees of the huge bread trust will receive great support from a mass meeting to be held in Carnegie Hall, Wednesday evening, March 31, to protest against the growth of the trust. The meeting, organized by the People's Legislative Service, of Washington, will be addressed by Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, and Frank P. Walsh.

Mosleys Erase Class Line, Address Workers, Shun '400'

By Miriam Parson

THE class line was erased when Lady Cynthia Mosley, titled British Socialist and her husband, Oswald Mosley, former Conservative member of Parliament, recently converted to the Labor Party, spoke before an audience of a thousand Socialist workers at a reception in their honor at Cooper Union this week.

The audience was made up principally of Socialists, but interesting to note was the unusual number of "best people," who took advantage of the only opportunity given them of meeting the Mosleys, evidently to see what sort of freaks these titled Britishers were, who shunned "society" in favor of "that Socialist bunk."

But our British comrades are certainly far from freaks. Lady Cynthia and her husband are representative of the very highest strata of British aristocracy, both in appearance and manner. Only in their faith have they broken from the ranks and joined hands with the workers—the Independent Labor Party, which not only represents the Socialist working class, but also boasts of support of Britain's greatest minds, thinkers, writers, artists as Lady Cynthia pointed out.

"The essential difference," Lady Cynthia said, "between our movement at home, and yours, is that in England, the Labor Party has definitely

arrived, while over here you are only in the pioneer stage."

Her husband, however, comforted us, telling us that the pioneer stage is one which every country must pass through, which every country in Europe has experienced. Though we may view the struggles and suffering of our European friends, in a more or less detached manner, he said, we will find, once our country has declined from its present state of prosperity, that the struggle with which we will be confronted is the struggle also of every country throughout the world.

Meanwhile, Mosley continued this prosperity creates in America a dream world of prosperity.

"Every man I have met outside of the Socialist Movement," he said, "seems to cherish the certain belief that he will die a millionaire. You are a nation of wonderful optimists. There has been nothing like it since the grand army of Napoleon. I only pray that all the workers who cherish the hope that they will die millionaires, will only live to die in the arid wastes of capitalist civilization."

The appalling condition of the working class in England today was attributed by Lady Cynthia, to the trusts and combines which have taken control of the necessities of life. Wage reduction also has played an important part in this tragedy of the English workers, she said.

"The tendency now among the employers at home is to limit production so as to force up the price. They only

Joins With Workers



LADY CYNTHIA MOSLEY

think of themselves. The general tendency is to think of making profits for themselves and a few people at the expense of the vast majority. We don't think it is right for private individuals to have the power. The vital interests of life, housing, food, fuel and transportation, things that are absolutely necessary to men and women, should be controlled by the large majority of men and women. If only the whole of the industry could be reorganized on the basis of producing the necessities of life, according to the needs of the people, according to

WEST VIRGINIA STRIKE IS OFF

**Union Miners Told to Find Best Jobs Possible—
Van Bittner Jail Sentence Upheld—Indianapolis
Promises Renewal of Work Later**

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—All strikes in the southern West Virginia coal fields have been called off by the International office of the United Mine Workers' Union, which has been in charge since the district lost its autonomy two years ago. The several thousand remaining strikers and their dependents, a total of 15,000 persons, will receive no more regular semi-monthly rations of \$1.50 a head and the men are advised to get what jobs they can.

The retreat began early in February when the strikes on the Little and Big Coal rivers were terminated. The final order winds up the walkouts on Paint and Cabin creeks and other tributaries of the Kanawha and the Kanawha mines themselves. The Mingo and New River field strikes have long been over.

Strikes Ineffective
For some time the strikes have been ineffective. Companies had enough men, what with southern labor and the workers who went back, not able to stand the long pressure. Many other strikers, including some of the best men, moved into other communities

and the remainder lived in union tent and barracks colonies or found places in private homes. All had been evicted from company properties when they quit work two and four years ago.

The international union took over the district government in 1924 after the Jacksonville agreement when fresh strikes were called on companies refusing to sign. The situation has gradually been growing weaker.

Injunctions As Usual
The scrub companies were wrapped about with injunctions restraining the union from persuading men to break their individual (yellow dog) contracts and armed mine guards are numerous. The international stopped some of the aggressive methods of the former district administration, popular with many of the native West Virginia miners.

The provisional district office at Charleston will be continued. Strikes continue in the Fairmont field and there are a number of companies still having union contracts.

... A DIGEST OF THE NEWS OF THE WEEK ...

Capitalism in The Caribbean

Since the days when the late Woodrow Wilson, acting for American capitalists and bankers, chased the Haitian Congress out of office and deposed the President with bayonets, this little Negro nation has been ruled by the mailed fist. Two reports on Haiti appear this week, one by Brig.-Gen. Russell, who is the American policeman in the island, and one by Percival Thoby for the natives. Russell reports to Secretary of State Kellogg that public works, sanitation, public schools, highways and public finances are improving, but that the impious natives do not appreciate doing them good. It is true that Russell set aside the constitutional requirement for congressional elections last January and that the press is somewhat muzzled and that there is discontent with American rule and that a dummy President is maintained by American arms. We now turn to Thoby's statement made to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He objects to setting aside the elections, protests against new land laws that deprive many peasants of their lands, the acquisition of these lands by American investors, the increase of bawdy houses and prostitution under the military occupation and the secret agreement extending American control from ten to twenty years in the interest of American banks. Thoby speaks in the name of 61 committees of Haitians, and Russell speaks chiefly for the National City Bank of New York and American capitalists in the island. Haiti has had practically no voice in her own affairs since Wilson sent his raiding squads in a crusade for the "self-determination of weak nations." Wilson and Harding have gone to their reward, Coolidge is enjoying his, but American capitalism goes on forever in Haiti. Let us rise and sing the Star Mangled Banner.

Briand's Strike Quickly Ended

Off again, on again, gone again—Briand! The traditional American railroad slogan still holds good in French politics. After having handed in the resignation of himself and his Cabinet last Saturday because he had been beaten in the Chamber of Deputies by 57 votes on the sales tax clause of a financial bill, Aristide Briand, ex-Socialist and already eight times Premier, ran up to Geneva to the opening of the Assembly of the League of Nations, then ran quickly back to Paris and on Wednesday morning presented a new Cabinet to President Doumergue, and was soon on his way to Geneva again. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose. In fact the only important changes in the Cabinet as the result of all the excitement, especially on the front pages of some New York newspapers, consisted in the ousting of M. Doumer as Minister of Finance and the putting of Raoul Peret in his place and the naming of Louis Malvy as Minister of the Interior. The new Cabinet is somewhat farther to the Right than the old one, but this is of slight importance unless the old Poincaré crowd can be induced to stand by Briand and the Herriot Radicals to accept the shift in order to get the budget out of the way so as to clear the road for the new elections that seem to offer the only solution of the political tangle. The usual chatter about a reactionary dictatorship started as soon as M. Briand went on his short-lived strike, but a remark credited to Paul Boncour, the Socialist representing France at the Geneva confab, to the effect that if anything like that was started the French Socialists would finish it by setting up a committee of public safety, helped put a quietus on that agitation. The Socialist Party is gaining ground so fast in France that it apparently is ready

for a trial of strength at the ballot box, or elsewhere, if necessary.

Economic Ills Of the Farmers

A year's survey of rural and urban conditions by the National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., shows that political dissent by the city workers has declined while that of the farmers in the West is increasing. It contends that a new "Mason-Dixon Line" has appeared which corresponds with the Mississippi Valley, the new sectional antagonism being the West and the East. However, this sectional antagonism is not new. It is as old as the first settlements along the Atlantic seaboard. It appears new because the sectional antagonism between the North and the South has largely disappeared. Rural political radicalism is based on economic distress of the farmers which is due to "growth of corporate enterprise," decrease of the farmers' income, decline of production in proportion to population, increase of production costs on the farm and falling markets. The board estimates that the rate of farm failures from 1910 to 1924 has increased 1,000 per cent, while the rate of commercial failures in the same period has not increased. This indicates how urban capitalism has become the master of rural life. Throughout a vast region west of the Mississippi River thousands of workers have been despoiled as effectively as though an invading army had levied contributions to sustain it, yet the farmers do not seem happy that "we won the war." They are coming to think that "we" have our offices in Wall Street, New York, and State Street, Boston. One gets the impression from this survey that American capitalism skins the workers of the cities and ignores the farmers and then skins the farmers and ignores the workers. At any rate, this

would be good strategy and for the present the farmer is the toad under the harrow.

Mexican Unions Vs. Communists

The activities of the handful of Mexican Communists will be decidedly curbed if the government acts upon the suggestion contained in a resolution adopted by the national convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor last Sunday reported as follows: "Through the central committee we protest against the actions of the diplomatic representative of Russia accredited to Mexico and demand that his office abstain from giving moral and financial help to groups of radicals, enemies of the federation and of the government." It has frequently been asserted that, while professing the greatest admiration for the Mexican government, the Russian envoy has been supporting the guerrillas of the class war who have been sniping at President Calles and his officials from the rear, even when the President, as at present, is trying to defend the interests of the Mexican workers against foreign exploiters. Another resolution adopted Sunday voiced the delegates' indignation at the constant espionage to which Eulalio Martinez, their observer in Moscow, had been subjected and declared all relations with Russian unions suspended until they furnished a satisfactory explanation of the affair. Addressing the convention, as a comrade, a brother and a Mexican, President Calles told the delegates he and his cabinet were determined to put through their program of educating the masses and limiting the powers of the church, regardless of the howls raised by reactionaries at home and abroad. The same thing applied to his stand on the dispute with the United States Government over the interpretation of the Mexican land and mining laws, and he was glad to know that he was

Voices Across The Atlantic

The week has witnessed the remarkable achievement of talk by wireless telephone across the Atlantic, and thus, so far as communication is concerned, the whole world shrinks to the dimension of a local neighborhood. It is a long stride from the days of the post road, the Indian trail blazed through forests, the birch canoe, the stage coach and the pack horse. A hundred years ago one might see an item like this in a Boston or New York paper: "We learn from a letter by a gentleman in Illinois to his friend in this city that"—etc. Ere long there will be those who will pick up a telephone receiver and call, "Tokio, please," or "Calcutta, please." Melbourne and Berlin are brought closer to New York than New York was to Albany a hundred years ago. It is not beyond human possibilities for this achievement to be brought within the reach of every home within the next decade or two. We are even promised pictures by radio of events on the other side of the world as they are occurring. Is there an international gathering in Brussels next month? Tune in on station IBO and attend the conference. Marvelous? Yes. Why? Because in this material world of invention no taboos, superstitions, traditions and prejudices bar the way to progress. In politics and economics the dead hand of the past restrains adventure and thinking. Capitalism is revolutionary in one field and medieval in the other. In material progress it ruthlessly scrapes old formulas; in the intellectual field it fondles ghosts and goblins. Thus it staggers like a drunk sailor, not knowing its destiny and the Socialist movement grows to serve as its receiver when it reaches its end.

Bittner Explains Official Action

Fairmont, W. Va.—Calling off the strikes in the southern West Virginia field means that the United Mine Workers will be able to bring more resources to the Fairmont field in the north, says Van A. Bittner, in charge for the international union. The settlement of the anthracite strike allows further assistance for the Fairmont fight, he says, and the struggle will be waged until operators who violated the 3-year contract they signed in 1924, will agree to keep their promises.

Bittner compares the discontinuing of the southern strikes to the policy a coal company might adopt in closing inefficient operations in order to concentrate on more productive plants.

The Consolidation Coal Co., in which John D. Rockefeller Jr. is a leading stockholder, and Bethlehem Mines Corporation, dominated by Charles Schwab, are among the powerful companies that are scrapping the Jacksonville agreement. Non-union companies are guarded by injunctions and gunmen and thousands of arrests have been made since the battle started.

From Charleston comes word that provisional district president Percy Tetlow, an international union appointee, considers that the calling off of the strikes by force of circumstances does not mean permanent abandonment of the fight in the southern field and that at a favorable time the campaign to organize the state will be resumed.

Charleston, W. Va.—The Supreme Court of Appeals has dismissed a writ of error awarded Van A. Bittner, international representative of the United Mine Workers in Northern West Virginia, holding that the writ had been improvidently issued last June.

The dismissal upheld the Monongalia. (Continued on page 5)

The Field of Labor

N. Y. Amalgamated Unionizes Open Shop Firm

One of the largest firms in the clothing industry, which the union had never before succeeded in organizing, has finally yielded to the establishing of a union shop, granting all the demands of the union. This firm, known as Lifschitz & Schmitt, is well known to the workers in the industry for the many organization campaigns the union has conducted against it without result. The cutting of its clothing was done in New York by non-union cutters, and then the work was sent to small New Jersey towns to be finished by cheap non-union labor. With the incoming of the new manager of the New York Joint Board, Abraham Beckerman, a new campaign was started to organize this and many other shops. Last week the cutters were organized and were called out on strike. This move tied up the firm's production and compelled it to sign up with the union. Now its work will all be done in New York, where it will employ over four hundred workers.

According to a statement issued by the Joint Board, the majority of the locals have approved increasing the dues from 35 to 50 cents a week, in order to enable the organization to carry on aggressive work in bringing the organization back to its prime. The new dues rate goes into effect beginning April 1.

Union Shopmen Get Pay Boost

Washington.—Signing of a new wage agreement between the federated shop crafts and the Southern Railway, whereby 11,000 men get more than \$880,000 increase in their annual pay, is announced by the official organ of the standard rail organizations. The agreement provides for a raise of 2 cents an hour.

Chicago Federation Votes for Radio Station

Chicago.—Financial plans for a labor radio broadcasting station were voted by the Chicago Federation of Labor. The executive board recommendation for a \$3 per capita assessment, spread over two years was approved. The board met on Monday, and the unionists in attendance, but if everyone pays up, close to \$200,000 may be realized. Half is to be used to buy or build a station and the other half as an endowment fund to maintain and operate it.

Boston Women's Garment Workers Win Strike

Boston.—The strike of 3,000 women's garment workers ended in victory within two weeks of its inception. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and various cloak and dress jobbers and manufacturers' associations signed the agreement several days after the first break in employers' ranks brought settlements in shops employing 1,500 workers.

Silk Strikers Win Quickly

Carbondale, Pa.—The prompt answer of its 150 employees by their strike against proposed wage cuts made the Empire Silk company reconsider the situation and agree not to change wages or working conditions for the present. Striking silk workers of the Leon Ehrenbach mills won their fight for increased wages, began when the anthracite strike ended. The United Textile Workers' Union is organizing silk workers, most of them miners' wives and daughters, in this district.

Pocketbook Makers' Hearing Delayed

The committee appointed by the Joint Board of the International Pocketbook Makers' Union has been obliged to adjourn its meetings for about ten days, owing to the necessary absence from the city first of Roger Baldwin and later of Norman Thomas, committee men. Hearings will be promptly resumed after the return of Thomas to the city, and will be diligently pushed to a conclusion.

Bosses Lose Ten-Hour Fight in Bay State

Boston.—Cotton manufacturers who had sought to have the present eight-hour day law for women in industry in Massachusetts modified to permit extending the working day to ten hours received "leave to withdraw" their bill from a legislative committee today on the petition of the Arkwright Club, representing nearly all of the cotton manufacturers of the State. Labor opposed the measure.

Stonemasons Get Wage Increases

New York.—The 500 striking New York stonemasons won \$3 wage increases and helpers \$1 more per day in a two-year agreement signed after four months' negotiating and less than a week's strike. The eight stonemasons striking on the Cathedral of St. John the Divine are still out, as their contractor is an independent and has not signed. The workers are all members of the International Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' Union.

Chicago Milliners Gain Victory

Chicago.—Four thousand women millinery workers are on the road to better wages and tolerable conditions with the launching of Local 52, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, last week. A strong charter roll includes several hundred girls and women who want to see the better times they once enjoyed in the industry restored.

St. Petersburg Painters Win 12½c Hour Increase

St. Petersburg, Fla.—Union painters and decorators of St. Petersburg are enjoying a wage increase of 12½ cents an hour negotiated with the contractors after serious strike threats had been made.

Scranton Street Car Men Want More Pay

Scranton, Pa.—Scranton street car motormen and conductors want 11 to 17 cents more pay per hour, the 17 cents more for one-man-car operators, whose working conditions are particularly bad. The men get \$5, 61 and 64 cents an hour, the 64 cents after one year's employment. One-man-car operators get 72 cents and motor bus drivers get 69 cents an hour. One-man-car operators have to work 30 to 50 minutes extra every night without pay in order to report at the office after leaving cars in the barn. They have no time to eat if they try to keep on schedule, so the union asks adequate lay-over time at the end of the lines.

Movie Extras Seek Damages

New York.—Over 100 movie extras are seeking a million dollars in damages from Al Lichtman, independent producer in Tec-Art studios. The workers charge that they suffered serious burns, injured eyesight and hemorrhage of the retina from unprotected Klieg lights under which they were forced to work all day. The extras assert that they were told they would lose the \$4.50 promised for the day's work if they left to get treatment.

Wages Reduced to Guarantee Employers Profit

Philadelphia (EP).—Wages of the 10,000 motormen and conductors of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit are 3½ cents under the 1925 hourly rate because of the new "market basket" method of regulating pay according to cost of certain picked commodities. The company announces that the change is not done to reduce wages, but to make part of the workers' pay "dependent upon the continued efficiencies and economy of the men, thus relieving the principle that increased wages should require increased productive effort."

Eastern Labor in Brief Summary

New York.—John Sullivan, brewery workers' union, heads the New York State Federation of Labor, and Joseph Ryan, International Longshoremen's Association, is the new president of New York Central Trades and Labor Assembly. Stonemasons employed on the Cathedral of St. John the Divine are striking for an increase of \$4 over the present \$12 a day. Other New York building trades unions are still negotiating new agreements. Wage increases from 50 cents to \$4 are sought. The Teachers' Union, celebrating its tenth anniversary on April 15, is trying to raise lights under five financial security to work all day. The extras assert that they were told they would lose the \$4.50 promised for the day's work if they left to get treatment.

Paper Box Makers on Strike

The employees of four paper box manufacturers are now on strike for a 48-hour week, recognition of the union, and union wages. The Park Paper Box Co., Park Avenue, Brooklyn, where 200 people have been on strike for two days, has settled, granting union conditions and a three-dollar increase for every worker. The Madrigal Paper Box Co., Wooster street, N. Y. C., where the workers have been on strike now for several months, is expected to settle any day. The sixty workers employed by the Bushwick Paper Box Co., 543 Union street, Brooklyn, have been on strike not only for the above, but also want better sanitary and moral conditions. Judge Callahan, granted them a temporary injunction for a permanent decision on Friday. They have been out on strike almost four weeks, but are determined to stick it out and see it through. The Arlington Paper Box Co., Sterling Place, Brooklyn, has 20 workers out.

Soviet Russia Today

The Opening of All Avenues of Information Must Precede The Sending of Working Class Missions to Soviet Russia

By Otto Bauer

The Concluding Article of a Series of Four

The Soviets, the workers' councils, are a very fine institution, if they are freely elected by the workers. But under Russian conditions this depends upon one thing, namely, secret ballot. For open election, at which everyone must state whom he votes for, and at which he does not know whether he will not then be removed to Siberia, is no free election. We rejoice in the great progress which has been made in Russia; we consider that it is of the utmost significance for the European proletariat; but we must say to the Russian Bolsheviks that we expect this economic advance to be followed by a political one, and that the self-determination of the workers shall be realized, and freedom of action, with the freedom to compete for the approbation of the proletariat, be granted to all workers' and Socialist parties.

The second fact which sunders us from the Bolsheviks is this: That they still persist in their policy abroad of striving deliberately, artificially, and often by underhand methods, to split up parties and trade unions. In 1918 and 1919 the Bolsheviks believed that the revolution would follow the same path throughout the whole world as in Russia. This was an impossibility, because in the revolution of Central Europe the peasantry played quite a different part than in Russia; because Central Europe was economically far more dependent on the allied powers than Russia; and, finally, because the geographical and strategic conditions for the defense of the revolution against the allied powers were quite different in Central Europe from those in Russia.

The Bolsheviks, misinterpreting all this in their revolutionary zeal, denounced the Socialists as traitors and started Communist parties everywhere. Today all reasonable men amongst the Bolsheviks are aware that the position is different, and that here we must move along other roads. Nevertheless, they still persist in their methods of the first Utopian period. They attack us, and naturally we defend ourselves. This ought certainly not to go so far as to make us forget our solidarity with Bolshevism as against capitalist reaction. But I do not hold the view that we should take the Christian attitude of turning the other cheek to the Communists when they strike us.

Should Invitation Be Accepted? We must, of course, never let ourselves be prevented from defending the Soviet Republic against capitalist reaction, by their deliberate daily calumnies on Socialism; but it is quite another question whether we ought to accept invitations from people who represent us as traitors, and make trips at their expense. How ought we to stand, therefore, toward the proposal that the workers send delegations to Russia? I find the desire to see what is happening in Russia a very intelligible one. But if it is a question not of a personal tour, but of a political step, one ought to ask oneself what can really be studied in this way.

Allow me to adduce a very characteristic example of what one may see on such a journey. A few months ago a delegation of Polish Socialists visited in Vienna. We showed them the best things we had, the Fuchsenfeldhof. Home (one of the largest and most beautiful buildings with flats for workers built under the rule of the Social-

ist majority in Vienna), the children's homes and the schools. Then they went home and there Comrade Czapinski gave his impressions. I understood then for the first time the dangers of such delegations. He related how the workers in Vienna lived and then depicted the Fuchsenfeldhof; and how the workers' children are looked after, and then he described the best children's home.

Obviously, we did not mean to deceive Czapinski, nor did he mean to deceive the Polish workers, but naturally we showed him the finest thing we have organized and he described that. And thus the impression formed from these descriptions was, after all a false one, because it appeared as if all the Vienna workers were living now under the conditions of the Fuchsenfeldhof.

Since then I have understood some of the reports of the delegations to Russia. They are shown the finest holiday rest homes and told how the Russian workers spend their holidays; but it easily escapes them that this applies only to a small fraction. And there is more danger of this in Russia than in Vienna. Among the Polish comrades there were some who could speak German well, and when Czapinski wanted to ascertain facts about Vienna he could not only listen to our accounts, but could also read the daily criticism of municipal administration in the bourgeois press.

When someone visits Russia today, do you suppose that after the experience of Comrade Deviatkin anybody would dare to go to a foreign delegation and say: This or that is bad? Do you suppose that it is possible for us Socialists to go to Russia and have Russia shown to us by the Communists so long as none of our comrades there would dare to speak to us except those who are presented to us in the prisons?

Under these circumstances one can have no illusions as to what a workers' delegation can see there. Certainly, they will not see a famine-stricken, despairing Russia, but they will make the acquaintance of a Russia with a rising social economy; they will, and I emphasize this, be able to see very much in Russia that is good. But what will this prove? Does anyone really believe that our points of difference with the Bolsheviks can be solved in this matter? Can one undertake in Russia studies of the terror? Our comrades will not be able to study that there, for they would have to be able for that purpose to meet also the Russian Socialists. Or can one study in Russia the devastating effects of the Bolsheviks' splitting tactics? This has to be studied in France, in Teheco-Slovakia, in Germany.

Nevertheless, I say, very well, I can quite well admit that we might also in our turn send a workers' delegation there. But in that case we shall do it ourselves. For that we do not need the Communists.

"Innocents' Club Proposed" One of them said once that "Innocents' clubs should be founded to catch innocent people under the pretext of some high-sounding title and aim, and that one must say to them that it is now a non-party matter. I must say I should not like to play this part, or to be considered by the Communists quite as innocent as that. I believe that the comrades who lend themselves to this tactic—I will not blame them for it—have unwittingly

played the part of these innocent people. It would be prudent, therefore, not to lend any support without consultation with the Socialist Party organization or with the unions.

If anyone wants to make a tour, that is his own private affair. Obviously, no one is forbidden to make a journey to Russia. Indeed, recently some of the comrades from the Austrian Co-operatives did travel to Russia to do business with the Russian Co-operatives. That is a different matter from a political journey under political auspices at the expense of the Soviet Government.

If the Socialists, as a party, come to a decision to send a workers' delegation—and I hope that we shall soon come to it—this decision must depend on two conditions. We can only go there if it were possible to do so without damaging our links of solidarity with the Russian Socialists. Amnesty and legal recognition for the Socialist parties would give us the strongest guarantee; for this alone would afford us the possibility of gathering information from all sides, of conversing also with the Russian Socialists without their incurring the danger of suffering the fate of Deviatkin. Secondly, on such a journey one must not forfeit anything of one's own self-respect. It would be very much easier to travel there if the Communist International would abandon its very unpromising attempt to oppose, slander and vilify us in our own countries. Once these stipulations have been fulfilled, then we can set out for Russia.

Russia May Again Need Aid Situations may still arise in which Russia will need the vigorous help of the workers in all countries. It would be very unwise of the Russians to rely in such an event on the powerless Communist factions. I believe they would do much better by removing the barrier that still blocks the way against co-operation between the Socialist and trades union forces, on the one hand, and the Russian proletariat, on the other.

And, therefore, we are persuaded that we Socialists are acting in the interests not only of the European proletariat, but also of the Russian Revolution; when we seize every opportunity to say to the Bolsheviks: "Against capitalist reaction, you may count on every kind of help. Closer economic relations? Wherever possible! We ought to learn from you? Wherever we can! Co-operation against the enemy? Undoubtedly! But do your part in making the way easier for us and in clearing away the impediments! Do your share, make it morally possible for us to stand towards you freely and unreservedly, by ceasing to maltreat our comrades in your country and to attack the unity of the workers in other countries!"

And if we declare that such are the stipulations and sureties needed for a delegation to Russia, we hope thereby to produce an impression on the Russian workers and on the Bolsheviks, with the object of putting an end to the struggle between fellow-workers throughout the whole world. These effects which we desire to obtain would be negated if we were prepared to enter Russia without conditions and without guarantees, whereas by these very demands of ours for terms, what we are seeking is to influence the closer consolidation of the International Labor Movement with the Russian Revolution.

Campaign to Succor Homeless Russian Youth Started by Rusky Golos

The largest Russian daily in this country—the Rusky Golos—has undertaken to aid the thousands of homeless children in Russia whose suffering and criminal life were lately the subject of numerous dispatches in the metropolitan press from their correspondents in Moscow.

The situation of these unfortunate children who are a product of the civil war and the famine has become desperate. Government agencies dealing with this problem are overtaxed and in an effort to enlist private aid the Rusky Golos is campaigning in its columns for contributions for the benefit of the homeless.

The institutions that will benefit from this aid are the John Reed Children's Colony in Saratov and the American Industrial School for Homeless in Moscow. These institutions are presided over and in direct charge of the well-known radical newspaper woman, Anna Louise Strong (Anise) of Seattle, Wash.

In order to accelerate the growth of the fund, the Rusky Golos will give a concert and ball on April 3, the proceeds of which will go to the fund. The best known Russian artists now living in New York have offered their aid. Among these co-operating with the Rusky Golos to make the affair a success are: Vladimir Ivanovitch Nemirovich-Danchenko, head of the Musical Studio of the Moscow Art Theatre; Thalia Sabaneyeva of the Metropolitan Opera House, Paul Gregorovich Barafoff, Professor Nikolai Feshin, Misha Mischakoff, concert-master of the New York Symphony Orchestra, etc. The affair will be held in Webster Hall, 11th street and 3rd avenue, New York.

Labor Doings Abroad

Chinese Sailors on Dutch Ships Increase

There has been a big increase in Chinese seamen in Dutch ships in the last few years, their number being now put at about 4,000 by the Secretariat of the International Transport Workers' Federation. The Amsterdam shipowners, in particular, seem anxious to substitute Chinese for Dutch crews. This is causing considerable agitation among the Dutch seamen, as every Chinese employed on board a Dutch vessel means another Dutch seaman to swell the ranks of the unemployed. The obvious reason for the companies' attitude is the lower cost of Chinese seamen and their lower standard of requirements.

Organ of the Bund Suppressed, Editor Jailed

According to reports reaching the Zurich office of the Socialist and Labor International, *Unser Volkseigen*, official organ of the Bund (the General Jewish Workers' Union in Poland), has been suppressed by the authorities and its editor arrested. The Jewish workers are about to launch the *Neue Volkszeitung* in its place. The Bund is not affiliated with any International. The excuse for the persecution of the Bund editor is not given in the report, but it probably was based upon some caustic remarks about the desperate condition of the masses of workers, both Jewish and Polish, due to the economic crisis in Poland, and the failure of the Government to take comprehensive steps toward relieving their misery.

Austrian Socialist Leader Appointed by League

Emmy Freundlich, president of the International Co-operative Women's Guild and a prominent Socialist member of the Austrian Parliament, has been appointed by the League of Nations as a member of the Preparatory Committee set up to arrange the agenda for the International Economic Conference which is shortly to be held at Geneva.

Frau Freundlich has been for many years on the board of the Austrian Co-operative Wholesale Society, which won wide recognition after the world war for its enterprise and success in tackling some of the country's economic difficulties. During the war she was a director of the Ministry of Food. She also has had long experience as a member of the Socialist City Council of Vienna, while her position on the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance has brought her into contact with many international problems.

The International Co-operative Women's Guild had strongly pressed for the appointment of a woman on the Preparatory Committee, and though Frau Freundlich, like the rest of the committee, will sit as an individual, her appointment is no doubt partly the result of this action.

A. Honora Enfield, secretary of the International Women's Co-operative Guild, reports the transfer of the Guild's main office to 23 Downshire Hill, Hampstead, London, N. W. 3, England.

Belgian Mills Forced to Hire Strikebreakers

In the hope that after a fight of six months' duration the workers would be completely exhausted, the employers in the Belgian smelting industry recently reopened their works and called in blacklegs. At the same time they attempted to lure foreign workers into the country, especially German workers. According to La Wallonie, they extended that the strike was over, and did actually succeed in enlisting the services of some German workers. The demonstrations of the strikers, however, soon opened the eyes of the newcomers to the actual state of affairs, and as soon as they learned the truth they refused to take up their work, and returned to Germany forthwith.

Colombia Workers Appeal to A. F. of L.

Washington.—The Pan-American Federation of Labor has received from Bogota, Colombia, a memorial authorized by the Central National Labor of that Republic, in which they request the American Federation of Labor to give them moral support against the repression of the persecution and imprisonment of representatives of labor, without cause, as occurred previously in their country in connection with the last peaceful strike of the street railway workers of Bogota.

The memorial said the homes of the strikers were illegally searched, especially those of the representatives of the Labor Confederation, and the workers were also terrorized and denied constitutional guarantees of their individual rights, in accordance with the laws of the country. They request the American Federation of Labor to give publicity to the ill-treatment that the workers of Colombia are receiving from the officials of their local government, whom they accuse very severely of their disposition to break the strikes and disband the organizations of labor of their country.

English and Austrian Socialists Push Work Among Women

In line with resolutions passed by the International Women's Conference, which met simultaneously with the foundation congress of the Socialist and Labor International in Hamburg in 1923, the Labor parties of Great Britain and Austria have announced their plans for periods of special Socialist propaganda among women this year.

In Austria the Women's Day will be held in various places during the week of March 22. In the towns and industrial districts arrangements have been made for demonstrations. In Vienna, there will be a giant gathering of a festive kind. In addition a special news sheet, "The Women's Day," will again be published on a large scale.

In England, in accordance with a resolution of the executive of the Labor Party, the "Women's Week, 1926," which is for the special purpose of increasing the woman membership of the party, is to be held June 12 to 20.

The National Conference of Labor Women will form a prelude to this propaganda week. This conference, which every year gathers together about a thousand of the active members of the Women's Groups of the Labor Party, will be held in the Townhall, Huddersfield, May 11 to 13. The chair will be taken by the only Labor woman Member of Parliament, Ellen Wilkinson.

Socialist organizations in other countries affiliated with the S. L. L. are expected to announce their plans for Women's Day soon.

Belgium Drives to Organize White Collar Workers

A drive for the organization of the "white-collar" workers of Belgium is under way in connection with the introduction of a new pensions act into the Chamber of Deputies.

The Labor Party and the Trade Union Center have addressed a joint manifesto to the non-manual workers, reminding them that the social question is the same for all workers, whether in factory or office, and that success depends upon the strength and activity of their organizations. For the first time in the history of the country there has been a large attendance of non-manual workers at meetings and a committee of action has been formed by the seven biggest non-manual workers' unions. Of a total of some 200,000 non-manual workers, only 30,000 are organized.

The committee of action which has been formed by the commercial, clerical and technical employees' unions, the Labor Party and the Trade Union Center, has included the following demands in its program: The State to grant a gratuitous pension of 720 francs; a minimum pension to be fixed for all non-manual workers, irrespective of age; a national pensions fund to be established, jointly controlled by the non-manual workers, the employers and the State; pensions to be allowed to men on attaining their 60th year, and to women on their 55th year; funds which already exist to be maintained; the exact definition of the term "non-manual worker."

Publishers Seek to Learn What Labor Reads

The first national analysis of what is read in these United States is now being made by the Vanguard Press to determine what labor, liberal and radical classics should be put out in cheap editions by this publishing venture of the American Fund for Public Service. The exhaustive survey of reading needs and tastes covers particularly workers' groups but includes the general public.

It. J. Baker, managing editor, states that the Vanguard Press intends to make available to the poorest pocket-book the thought of various liberal and radical schools in politics, economics, race conflict, education and the position of women. "We shall also publish new works if they seem to have lasting value or great significance at the moment," Baker says. "We plan to encourage systematic, selected reading along these lines."

Books will be priced at 25 cents or less. Directors of Vanguard Press are Roger N. Baldwin, Morris L. Ernst, Scott Nearing, Norman Thomas, secretary-treasurer—all of the American Fund—and B. W. Huebsch, Robert Leslie, Ordway Tead, Saul Yanofsky and Rex Stout, president. The press is incorporated in New York. It aims to become self-sustaining.

DEBATE

Resolved: That the United States Should Not Recognize Soviet Russia

J. ROBERT O'BRIEN, National Security League, Affirmative. SCOTT NEARING, Negative. FRANK P. WALSH, Chairman.

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AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL (Lexington Ave. and 23d St.) at 8 o'clock

SATURDAY, MARCH 13th

HOUSTON PETERSON "The Dramas of Ibsen"

MONDAY, MARCH 15th

MORTIMER J. ADLER (Instructor in the Psychological Laboratory of Columbia University) "The Methods of Psychology"

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17th

DR. HORACE M. KALLEN "Why Religion?"

THURSDAY, MARCH 18th

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WALTER HINKLEY (of Russian Reconstruction Forum)

Admission Free

Why Unrest Is Stirring the Nation's Farmers

By James D. Graham

WHAT to do with the surplus of farm products is now the problem that is bothering Congressmen. At present there is a large surplus of corn in this country, more than the domestic consumption can use. At different times in the past twenty-five years the farmers have burned corn for fuel.

At the present time the surplus corn and soft wheat is bringing less money on the market than it costs to produce.

A survey of farm conditions in Iowa covering a period of ten years shows that it costs \$1.40 to produce a bushel of corn in Iowa. Corn has been selling at from 75 to 91 cents a bushel. This makes a net loss to the Iowa corn grower on every bushel he sells. How long can corn be grown and sold at a loss is the question that is agitating the middle west.

In the past the farmers of the middle west fed corn to hogs and cattle and made money on the pork and beef, but this situation has changed in the past few years. The exodus from the farms of the west has decreased the supply of hogs and cattle that were shipped into the central west to fatten on corn and later move on to the packing house.

For the past five years, with the exception of 1924, the supply of hogs has been decreasing in this country. Last year the birth rate of pigs decreased to an alarming extent. On the north Pacific coast States the packing houses have for a few years past stacked farmers to brood sows in order to increase the supply of pork.

According to press reports, Germany imported from this country 40 percent less pork in 1924 than she did in 1923. Even this decline of German exports has not created a surplus of pork in this country. The pork produced here can easily be disposed of, the surplus is bothering no one, but the shortage of pork may bother us all within the next few years. The rough deal hog raisers have received from the packing houses, railroads and bankers has driven many out of business.

In the cattle business the farmers of the corn belt have received an awful

Growers Have Produced a Surplus Which They Are Forced To Sell at Less Than the Actual Cost of Production

jolt, but from a different economic angle. Great Britain, the great beef market of the world, has been lost to the farmers of the United States. 1890 witnessed an epidemic of foot and mouth disease among cattle in Canada. Britain put an embargo on all cattle from Canada for over thirty years.

Canadian cattle, in order to reach the British market, came into this country and were bought by the farmers of the central States, fattened on corn and sold at the stockyards of Chicago, Omaha and South St. Paul at top prices as corn-fed cattle. The Canadian farmers raised the cattle, the American farmers fattened them, secured quick returns and the biggest end of the profits on the cattle.

For years the Canadian stock raisers and British co-operatives had tried to have the embargo raised against Canadian cattle into Britain. Whether the influential members of the British cabinet were interested in the profits of the American packing companies, or whether the packing concerns maintained an insidious lobby at Westminster is hard to say, but the embargo remained. When the question was raised in the House of Commons the members were informed that the embargo was necessary to protect the pure blooded stock of Britain against the Canadian scrub cattle. However, Canadian cattle reached Britain by way of U. S. ports.

When Stanley Baldwin was in this country reaching an agreement for the refunding of the British war debt, he was quoted as saying: "Britain will pay its debt to America, but in paying you we cannot buy from you also." What truth there is to this statement is hard to determine, but Mr. Baldwin was only home a few weeks when Lloyd George was displaced as Premier by Bonar Law, who within a couple of weeks after becoming Prime Minister had the embargo raised against Canadian cattle.

In 1924 only eighteen hundred head of live cattle were imported into

Britain from this country. Prior to the raising of the embargo this number would only be a week's supply to either Liverpool or Clyde ports. It is not only the loss of the British market that is injuring the cattle business of this country. The unfair classification by the railways on the freight rate of beef cattle, the extremely low price paid by the tannery for hides, unjust methods used by the packing companies at the stockyards and the bankers forcing the farmers to sell their cattle before reaching maturity are big factors in destroying the cattle industry.

A farmer cannot raise and sell two or three-year-old beef cattle at a profit. He usually takes a loss. Cattle do not put on bulk until after they have reached three years of age; between three and four years of age is the time that cattle put on their heavy weight, yet the greater number of steers shipped to the packing houses are three years of age or less.

Cattle raising is rapidly declining in this country. The assessment rolls of every State in the west shows an immense decrease of cattle. Unless there is a readjustment it will not be long until this country will have to import a large portion of the beef consumed. While the putters are talking about finding ways and means to dispose of the surplus of the American farms, it will be well for them to find out what surplus exists.

What are the products of the farm that we have a surplus of? Only soft wheat and corn. At one time America was the bread basket of the world, but that day is past. This country does not raise sufficient hard wheat to supply the home demands. For every bushel of hard wheat that is exported

from this country another bushel must be imported, and there being a tariff on wheat imported means that the farmer must pay more for the flour he purchases. A new specie of hard wheat will have to be developed that can be grown profitably where soft wheat can only be grown at present.

How are we going to dispose of the surplus soft wheat? It must be consumed outside of the United States, and who is going to be forced to buy the same at a profit to the American farmer? That is the question the wise heads at Washington are debating. Co-operative marketing, we are told, will solve the problem of disposing of the surplus of the farm, but what in the San Hill is co-operative marketing? Is what many farmers are asking?

Two years ago Coolidge advised the farmers of the northwest to quit growing wheat and take up some other line of farming, especially to go into dairying. A year later the Department of Agriculture sent out from Washington a warning to the farmers to stop increasing their dairy herds or there would be an overproduction and the price of dairy products would be decreased. This is a sample of the meddling that is going on at Washington. The fact is, there is a shortage of dairy cattle in this country and there is no surplus of dairy products.

At the end of last year there were nearly twenty million less pounds of butter in storage than there were a year ago, in spite of the fact that the last three months of the year were favorable for a larger production of milk than for the same time for a number of years past, and butter had been imported during the year from

Canada, Denmark, New Zealand, Russia and Tasmania.

The butter in storage in New York City the first of this year was 4,000,000 pounds less than a year ago, an amount equal to five days consumption, exclusive of the stock in hand of the retail trade. The cheese supply of the country is low. The amount in storage in New York, exclusive of what is offered for sale by the retail trade, will only equal half a pound per capita of the population of the city. There is no surplus of milk in this country and the consumption of ice cream only amounts to two teaspoons every two weeks for every human being in the country.

Who said there was a surplus of dairy products in the United States? There is a surplus of butter and milk in many localities, and the problem is how to get the surplus to where the demand is greater than the supply. It is impossible for the farmers of the Dakotas and the Rocky Mountain States to ship their butter to the Atlantic States without incurring a loss, even if they practiced co-operative marketing. The railroad toll would leave the farmers in the hole.

The packing trust has a nice method of making it very unprofitable for the farmer to make dairying a paying proposition. So what is the use of Congress wasting time on co-operative marketing unless it is to farm the farmers' vote?

The woolgrower is another one that is coming in for the demagoguery of the old party statesmen. There is no surplus of wool produced in this country. To supply the domestic needs, wool must be imported. There is only about six ounces of wool per capita produced yearly in this country. It is

not generally known that there are more sheep in England and Scotland than in the United States. The London wool market sets the price of the raw wool of the world, but the American Woolen Trust dictates what the American sheepman is to receive for his clip. Therefore, any increase in the number of wool growers in this country would only mean an increase in the number of farmers to be shorn by the American wool trust.

The fruitgrower must also take great losses. Climatic conditions in this country vary much. Some years the East will experience late frosts that kill the fruit blossoms, while the West will have mild weather, and opposite conditions will prevail in other years, but seldom East and West suffer at the same time. This tends to prevent a shortage of fruit for the entire country, yet a surplus of fruit will exist in one part of the country while other sections will be without. All this on account of our system of private ownership of railroads.

While the writer is not acquainted with the prices, the apple growers received for their crop the past season, yet it is known that for many seasons the orchardists of the Northwest netted 12 cents on a box of apples that retailed for \$6 in New York. More than one winter the writer has passed hundreds of acres in apple trees with the apples hanging from the branches frozen, it being unprofitable for the growers to pick the apples from the trees and market the same. At all times in this country there are large numbers of the people that hunger for apples, who cannot afford to buy on account of the price, making the fruit a luxury that they cannot afford to indulge in.

Tomatoes retail in July in Montana at from 20 to 30 cents a pound, while the farmers in Eastern Washington only realize a cent and one-half a pound for the tomatoes they grow. Thousands of tons of cantaloupes go to waste in Washington each year on account of high railroad rates making it prohibitive to ship and sell at a profit.

Many farm bureaus in Washington have tried co-operative marketing and found it a dismal failure. Then farmer organizations working co-operatively would ship car lots of cantaloupes and would in many instances receive in return 10 cents for a crate containing 45 cantaloupes, after paying all charges, including the cost of the crate, while the consumer would have to pay 20 to 25 cents for a single cantaloupe. That is, the consumer would pay from \$9 to \$11.25 for what the farmer received 10 cents for. All this on account of the private ownership of railroads and cold storage plants.

The railroad charges for a carload of fruit, including icing, from the fruit growing sections of Eastern Washington to Central Montana, a distance of about 600 miles, averages about \$50 a ton, at the same time a carload of grapes from California to New York, a trip extending from the Pacific to the Atlantic Oceans, is only \$48 a ton. Twice during the past six years there has been a shortage of potatoes in this country. During the first shortage potatoes were shipped from the British Isles to the New England States in the spring months. The present shortage of potatoes was caused by the great shrinkage in acreage planted to potatoes last year, on account of farms being abandoned, and owing to heavy frosts in the Rocky Mountain section during the month of September. The latter cause is something that was unavoidable.

Had we an efficient Socialist administration at Washington instead of the puttering one, a failure in the potato crop would soon be remedied. The Socialist administration, through the Department of Agriculture, would likely take steps to have a large acreage of potatoes planted toward the end of the year in our Southern States and by the beginning of March the shortage of potatoes would be relieved. This is the difference between the policy of Socialists and old party administrations when a shortage of food threatens the nation.

There is no use of Congress trying to cope with the agricultural collapse by means of passing legislation in favor of co-operative marketing and tinkering with the tariff. The only way to treat the farm problem is to nationalize the railroads, cold storage and packing plants, tanneries, woolen trusts; in fact, taking over of all industries. The old parties are incapable of dealing with the agricultural collapse, which threatens the food supply of the people. The Socialist party, with its industrial policy of public ownership with Democratic control, is the only organization that can successfully cope with the agricultural crisis that threatens the nation.

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The Pacifist's Real Target

Foreign Policy, Not Compulsory Training, Called the Actual Cause of Modern Wars

By Alfred Baker Lewis

ANUMBER of people are getting greatly stirred up now about compulsory military training in the schools, colleges and universities. Members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Fellowship of Youth for Peace, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Community Church, and other semi-pacifist societies are holding meetings and listening to speakers denouncing this compulsory military training, and forming committees to fight it. The facts of the matter are enough to arouse anyone to vigorous action, but much of the protest is entirely beside the point. I have heard speakers denouncing with fervor the "compulsory feature" of this training to such an extent that one would get the impression that if the training were only voluntary, they would be heartily in favor of it. Practically all the public protests against this training have been chiefly on the ground that it was compulsory.

Yet all this is beside the point. Military establishments are connected with foreign policy, and the germ of militarism lies in foreign relations. We have compulsory military training in as many of our schools and colleges as our War Department can get it into, because we have a foreign policy which, in the interests of American investors, denies to others the rights which we claim for ourselves.

Our government takes over Haiti and runs it against the will of its inhabitants in the interests of the Na-

tional City Bank which has made big loans there. When the Haitian patriots revolt, as we did ourselves under far less provocation, we call them and treat them as bandits.

The Mexicans decide that their rights and interests in their own country are superior to absentee American investors, whose only interest in the country is to get profits out of it, and whose alleged rights were acquired under the regime of Diaz, who frankly ran Mexico for the good of outsiders and not for the good of the Mexican people. They accordingly pass laws which hurt those investors. Our government promptly puts pressure to bear on Mexico to change those laws. Yet, to take an analogous situation, if foreign investors in American brewery stocks had raised a protest and demanded that we retract our prohibition laws, we would have treated such a demand with contempt.

The Chinese decided that 40 cents a day is too small a wage for twelve hours labor in factories owned by foreigners, and strike for higher pay. We send gunboats to overawe them, and our newspapers refer to them as Bolshevik rioters. Yet public opinion, with but few exceptions, would doubtless support a strike in our own country against such pay or hours.

Chinese demand the right to fix their own tariff rates, and we regard this demand as preposterous and decide after a long conference to permit them to raise their rates by 5 per cent, provided they abolish certain taxes which we don't like (the Likin or internal

tariff). Naturally, however, we claim the right to make our tariffs in any way we like without the interference of foreign countries.

In such facts as these may be found the origin of much of the demand in this country for a powerful military establishment.

The War Department naturally wishes to make this establishment as powerful as possible; and to secure for it as wide a base in public opinion as possible. Hence the growth of its interest in the schools and colleges. Hence its post-war drive to get compulsory military training into as many of our schools and colleges as possible. The more our young men can be subjected to the influence of the militaristic mind, and trained to regard the assertion by foreigners in backward countries of rights which we claim for ourselves as cases of banditry, unwarranted interference with the principles of international business, or proof of Bolshevism, the safer will be the course of the economic imperialism upon which the gigantic productivity of our nation and the huge investment surplus of our owners of industry is forcing us to set sail.

In attacking the compulsory feature of this military training, our pacifists and semi-pacifists are missing the point. The War Department has recently, through President Coolidge's appointments, come under the control of younger, more vigorous and more ardent militarists than ever before. No one can suppose that abolition of the compulsory feature of military train-

ing would stop the War Department's propaganda under such leadership. They will simply redouble their efforts on elective courses. Undoubtedly, in a year or two, when the agitation has died down, they will start again upon quiet campaign for compulsory training, which has already, without our knowing it, multiplied the number of men assigned by the War Department to military training in schools and colleges by fifteen times in ten years.

Our pacifists and semi-pacifists are acting like those who try to treat the symptoms of the disease instead of attacking its cause. Their real attack should be on the foreign policy of our country.

Their excuse for not attacking anything fundamental is that by avoiding the fundamental issue they can accomplish something in the immediate future. That excuse is poor. For as long as they avoid the fundamental issue, their success is certain to be unimportant and likely to be only temporary. Public opinion aroused to oppose only compulsory military training by agitation which avoids the fundamental issue is likely to be complacent towards a large military establishment so long as it is obtained by voluntary enlistment and elective military training courses. Also, even if once aroused to oppose compulsion, public opinion of this sort is likely to be swung back again by appeals to our ignorance about the foreigner, especially by denouncing foreign countries which want the rights which we claim ourselves as Bolsheviks, etc., relying on the well-known inability of most people to put themselves in other people's places.

On the other hand, if the issue is attacked fundamentally, public opinion may be aroused more slowly, but then the campaign against military training in schools and colleges would be productive of a thoroughly informed public opinion which would be roused not only against the present attempt of our War Department to force upon us compulsory military training through our educational institutions, but against other manifestations of militarism and even against the root causes of militarism itself. The gains made might be slower, but would be more permanent; and once the first gain was made, they would come in quicker succession. For public opinion, once aroused on the fundamental issue, would oppose both the root cause and all the symptoms of militarism, instead of only one particular symptom.

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MODERATE PRICES

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Bed-Time Stories for the Bolshies

RECENTLY there appeared in the Jewish Daily Forward a notice that, in the Moscow Pravda of December 2, appeared an item that the miners' strike in America had been lost and that the strikers had returned to work under the old conditions. Comrades Zivion and Rogoff, who commented on this picturesque bluff of the Communist organ, forgot to tell their readers that it was manufactured by no other than William Z. Foster, the pillar of the dying American Communist Party and the chief boss of the "Trade Union Educational League."

This is what Foster said: "At one time the Miners' Union was the most progressive in the American Labor Movement. Now its leaders are the worst reactionaries. These bureaucrats are powerless to fight against the crisis, and not only do they do nothing to strengthen the union but they persecute without mercy all those who wish to reestablish it."

"Despite all these hindrances, the Left Wing still wields much influence over the organized workers. In the last union-elections, the Communist Vorchev received 66,000 votes, and the president of the union, Lewis, 134,000. Had the votes been honestly counted, Vorchev would surely have gotten many thousands more. The majority of the miners are immigrants: Italians, Poles, Russians, Jugo Slavs, Lithuanians who are impregnated with radical ideas. The Americans, English, Irish and Scotch—are more conservative. The number of immigrant miners are especially large in the anthracite district, and for this reason Lewis exerts all his power to paralyze the influence of the Workers' (Communist) Party. "The strike has ended. All the de-

mands of the workers were rejected. Only the wages were raised 5 percent. Lewis's clique knowingly took advantage of the strike in order to hinder the union from standing on its own feet. She left the workers in the soft coal district to their fate. Their fate is a sorrowful one, and they are so weak that it is a question whether they will be able to hold out in another strike as in the one that was called in 1922. The unorganized districts grow fast, and they alone are in a position to produce enough to feed the country. The workers have, therefore, to fight the growing concentration of capital.

"In order to avert a catastrophe, there must be a radical change in the management. And this is impossible under the present administration. The President of the union, Lewis, is Coolidge's right hand and is so reactionary that he is against the founding of a moderate conservative labor party (after the example of the British). Green, the former secretary of the Miners' Union, and the present President of the American Federation of Labor, is not a lesser reactionary than Gompers, and perhaps a greater one. The left wing of the union must drive away these leaders and rescue the union, thus making it pursue a policy consistent with the class-struggle."

This is how the local leader of the Workers' Party shamelessly bluffs in the Moscow Communist paper, saying last December that Lewis and Green knowingly used the strike in order to persecute, with the help of the operators, the Communist miners, and that the miner's strike, which created such tremendous interest all over the country, had ended two months before it

did, with a complete defeat for the miners. We carefully examined the succeeding issues of the Pravda for an entire month and we could not find even as much as a hint that there was anything wrong with Foster's report. The Russian reader was left with the impression that the miner's strike ended December 5, that Lewis and Green had then betrayed the strikers and led them to defeat, and that the only ones who can save American workers from a catastrophe are the Communists.

And what wonder is there that the journalist-slaves of the Freiheit misrepresent facts so mercilessly about Russia sitting right here in New York if their chief, Foster, president of the Trade Union Educational League, allows himself to fabricate so shamelessly about the trade union movement here?

Sincere members of the unions who veer toward the left have proof how much truth there is in Communist papers and what wholesale bluffers the Communist leaders are.

Young woman, educated, with one child, desires position as companion for an intelligent person, or to look after children, etc. References exchanged. Address, Mrs. E. R., care of The New Leader 7 E. 15th St., New York.

PERSONAL

Hugo Miller, also known under the name of Hugo Strzalecki, formerly residing at 320 East 24th Street, is requested to communicate at once with his sister Ella. His brother Max died recently. Anyone knowing his present address may forward same to the New Leader.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Where's That Naughty Spring?

IN SPITE of all the noise I made in this column last week about her coming, Spring, that coy maiden, continues to linger so long in the lap of Winter that there may be some question of her moral turpitude when she finally applies for entrance.

But, cold as it has been, the week has had its hot spots. Over in Passaic a good, old-fashioned militant strike is still buzzing along. I spoke there a couple of times with an oddly assorted group of social rebels. There was Ben Gitlow, sitting on the same platform with our own Gus Claessens, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, several remnants from the Socialist Labor Party, a couple of coal miners from Illinois, who are students at Brookwood. All this showed that when a strike as real as this comes along it is possible to sink political and economic differences to fight the common enemy of capitalism.

Passaic capitalism is a particularly ugly breed. In the big mills that look like medieval castles, men, women, children have been driven to work for pitifully low wages. In some cases as low as nine dollars a week. On top of this came last October's wage cut of ten per cent., with further cuts threatened. These workers live in damp, dark, unhealthy tenements as bad as anything on New York's East Side. For them they pay high rents. There are long hours and tuberculosis is prevalent in the industry. Few of the mill owners live in the mill towns, the stockholders have probably never seen a mill or have the faintest idea what goes on in one. What would some of our dividend-fattened aristocrats think if they knew that in several Passaic mills the workers are not allowed to leave their machines at any time save for the fifteen-minute period at noon? Even if they leave to go to the toilet they are fined. What would they have to say to that brave mother of three little children, with a crippled mother and father to support, on the princely salary of \$16.30 a week? I talked to her and there was never the suggestion of a whine about her story. She gave the facts of her life very simply; told how she had been recently made a widow and then said without any apparent emotion, that it was tough sledding to make both ends meet on what she got as a weaver at the Botany Worst Mills. It was when she said that she would stay out on strike to the end and would never be any of "them no-good scabs" that there was a tone in her voice that made you sure she'd be as good as her word.

The Botany Mills made a net profit of more than a million and a quarter dollars last year. Salaries paid to Botany officials are good. It is true that business has been slack in this highly protected industry. It is not true that decent American wages cannot be paid. The rank and file of the strikers have plenty of guts and intelligence. They have a chance to make labor history and they are taking advantage of it. I predict that some day not so far off the mill owners will ask for a conference with the strike leaders. But if not, and if we get back of them with money and services, they can last for at least ten more weeks.

In the meantime do not forget that in the soft coal regions of Pennsylvania the organized miners of John Brophy's district are making a brave fight against the illegal attempts to break their organization by the tearing up of the Jacksonville agreement on the part of the operators.

I realize that with the general public, coal is a dead issue now that the anthracite strike has been settled. Socialists know that that was no real settlement of the matter. We know that nationalization is the only way out of the coal mess. But it's hard to get folks excited about any real plan for running coal. I know because I have been trying to speak on this subject. Most of the meetings have been wretchedly attended. After one where about six persons sat around dozing comfortably, while I raved along, the chairman came up to me and said:

"Mac, the trouble with your stuff is that it has no sex appeal. Now if you could get up a good hot-sooty talk on the 'Amours of Anthracite,' or 'What Every Young Man Should Know About Giant Powder,' you could jam up your lectures."

Which brings to mind what Norman Thomas said the other day about the Three R's that most interest the American public these days: "Race, Religion and Rum." To them should be added Romance.

Still I'm going on with this Giant Power, nationalization stuff, because it means the coming of the sort of civilization I most want. Some day we'll get the public's ear on this. The trouble is that it may take so long that when the dear people finally do decide to do something about taking over the mines and waterways for their own use, the private interests will have a strangle-hold that can't be broken. Only the other day "The Electrical World," spokesman for the big utilities, proudly announced that there was not much danger of public ownership of water power in New York State, as most of the power had been leased to private interests. Isn't that a pretty mess to set before King People?

One thing we're looking forward to with keen interest is an informal conference on the whole subject of public control of power which is to be held at the Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, N. Y., this week-end. Men who know their stuff like Morris Cooke, of the Giant Power Survey of Pennsylvania, and H. S. Rauschenbush, Secretary of the Committee on Coal and Giant Power, will tell prospective labor leaders what the present situation is and what labor can do about it. Out of such a conference some good should come, though as a rule I have a suspicion of conferences, just as I have of committees which never commit themselves.

McAlister Coleman.

The Economic Basis of Socialism

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

THE Fabians and Economic Theory. The Fabians regarded Socialism as the logical development from the present-day social and industrial situation.

During the early days of the Society, with the exception of Bernard Shaw and Sidney Webb, they gave comparatively little attention to economic theory in its relation to Socialism. When some of them did direct their attention to the more theoretical aspects, they were inclined to take as their starting point the theory of economic rent, as expounded by the classical economists, rather than, as in the case of the Marxists, the theory of value.

Bernard Shaw, a close student of the economic theories of the classical school, describes the situation among the Fabians during the 'eighties: "By far our most important work at this period (during the 'eighties) was our renewal of that historic and economic equipment of Social Democracy of which Ferdinand Lassalle boasted, and which had been getting rustier and more obsolete ever since his time and that of his contemporary, Karl Marx. In the earlier half of the century when these two leaders were educated, all the Socialists in Europe were pointing on Ricardo's demonstration of the tendency of wages to fall to bare subsistence, and on his labor theory of value, believing that they constituted a scientific foundation for Socialism; and the truth is that, since that bygone time, no Socialist (unless we count Ruskin) had done twopenny-worth of economic thinking, or made any attempt to keep us up to date in the scientific world."

"In 1885 we used to prate about Marx' theory of value and Lassalle's iron law of wages as if it were still in 1870." In spite of Henry George, no Socialist seemed to have any working knowledge of the theory of economic rent; its application to skilled labor was so unheard of that the expression

"rent of ability" was received with laughter when the Fabians first introduced it into their lectures and discussions; and as for the modern theory of value, it was scouted as a blasphemy against Marx."

Shaw and Webb on Economic Rent. In an effort to correct this defect in economic thinking among the Socialist intellectuals, and to satisfy his own curiosity, Shaw for several years regularly attended the fortnightly meetings of Hampstead Historic Club, which devoted itself to the study of Marx and Proudhon, among others, and, on alternate weeks, visited a circle of economists which later blossomed into the British Economic Association—a circle "where the social question was kept up and the work kept on abstract scientific lines."

He became fascinated with Jevons' theory of final utility and adopted it as his theory of value. He also accepted Ricardo's law of rent and was greatly influenced by the economic writings of Henry George, whose "Progress and Poverty" "beyond all question had more to do with the Socialist revival of that period in England than any other book."

In the meanwhile, Webb studied John Stuart Mill with great assiduity, accepted Mill's law of rent, and applied it to movable capital as well as to land.

Private Appropriation of Rent Leads to Injustice. To Shaw was given the task in the Essays of presenting the economic theories of the early Fabians. Naturally, he began with an analysis of the law of rent. He took as his definition the widely accepted one that rent in substance was "the difference between the fertility of the land for which it is paid and that of the worst land in the country." The workings of this law under private ownership, he contended, led to grave injustices. For illustration: Adam owns a piece of primeval land. This land is fertile and well situated. It

yields 1,000 pounds a year. Others appear on the earth and seek land. They spread the area of cultivation into the wilderness until they begin the farming of land which yields but 500 pounds annually. They push farther, and finally are brought to land of such low fertility as to produce an income of but 100 pounds a year.

When this occurs, the rent of Adam's land is 500 pounds a year, the difference between the yield of his land and the yield of the marginal land. Adam rents his land at that price—500 pounds—to a tenant. Adam retires and obtains from the mere ownership pounds, an amount equal to that retained by his tenant, who sweats from morning until night.

Suppose that other people appear on the earth and demand more land. The margin of cultivation is pushed still farther, until marginal land is reached which yields, say, but 100 pounds a year. When this happens, the rent of Adam's land goes up still further. It now becomes the difference between 1,000 pounds and 100 pounds, or 900 pounds. Suppose that the tenant on Adam's land has a long-term lease. He may then sub-let it to a laborer for 500 pounds a year. In this case, the laborer, who does all of the work, keeps 100 pounds as his share, the amount of which he would earn if he worked for himself on the marginal land, and hands over 900 pounds to the tenant. The tenant, who has by this time become a country gentleman, keeps 400 pounds, and hands over 500 pounds to Adam, while Adam continues to enjoy his leisure and his generous income of 500 pounds.

"It has, in fact, come to this," writes Shaw, "that the private property in Adam's land is divided between three men, the first doing none of the work and getting half of the produce; the second doing none of the work and getting two-fifths of the produce; and the third doing all of the work and getting only one-tenth of the produce."

Incidentally, also, the moralist who is sure to have been prating somewhere about private property leading to the encouragement of industry, the establishment of a healthy incentive, and the distribution of wealth according to exertion, is exposed as a futile purblind person, starting apriori from blank ignorance, and proceeding deductively to mere contradiction and patent folly."

The Proletarian Appears. But this condition, under which every man is a proprietor, even only of a tenant right, is "freedom and happiness" compared with the world as it is. For there finally comes a time when no more land is to be had, and at this point there appears one "who wanders from snow line to seacoast in search of land and finds none that is not the property of some one else"—the proletarian. The proletarian soon discovers that the tenant proprietors have not time or energy enough to exhaust the productive capacity of their holdings. If they could buy men in the market for less than the labor of these men would add to the product, then the purchase of such men would be sheer gain. It would, indeed, be only a purchase in form; the men would literally cost nothing, since they would purchase their own price, with a surplus for the buyer. Never in the history of buying and selling was there so splendid a bargain for buyers as this. Aladdin's uncle's offer of new lamps for old ones was, in comparison, a catchpenny. The result is that the worker sells himself into bondage. His lot becomes different from his forerunners—the buyers of tenant rights—for he renounces not only the fruit of his labor, but also the right to think for himself and to direct his industry as he pleases."

This selling of labor power becomes ever more frequent until this new traffic soon takes the place formerly held by traffic in tenant rights.

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

Chapter VI HIS FIRST SPEECH

IT was three days before Dan discovered that the girl who attended the cigar stand on the House side was Bricktop.

That discovery was like the sudden turning of a corner upon unexpected beauty. Dan was lonesome, lost, submerged in the maelstrom of House reorganization. As he sat in his room—he had moved to St. Paul to save care—he seemed to himself superior to any and all his colleagues in that gesticulating mass of people's representatives, but when he left solitude, and entered the capitol, he suddenly felt ponderous and impotent. There were committees, and precedents, and formalities and legislative courtesy, and priority rights, and parliamentary rights, and parliamentary procedure until Dan felt utterly at sea. He, a trained speaker, found difficulty in moving to adjourn, without embarrassment. So it was that when he saw the girl of the Tamborine—that face playful yet wistful—he felt as if an anchor had been let down to chaos for him.

"Well, you got your nerve staring that way at a lady," she said.

"You?"

"Sure. I saw you the first day, but I wouldn't tune in because I was afraid you would upstage me."

"Honest, Bricktop, I'm glad to see you."

"Bricktop? Where do you get that stuff?"

"You won't tell me your name."

"Billy—Billy Wentz."

"It wouldn't have guessed that in a thousand years."

"It's really Wilhelmina," she continued. "I lost the handle during the war."

"Billy just fits you," he said, conscious of the glow her presence made him feel.

"The moment I got my lamps on you at the Tam I knew you was no ordinary guy."

"Thank you, Miss Wentz." His manner had stiffened as he noted that Senator Goodnite with whom he was on speaking terms had come in for a cigar.

"Smoke, Minturn?"

Daniel accepted a cigar, smiled back at Bricktop over his shoulder, and followed Senator Goodnite out. After that, life at the capitol took on the zest of romance and danger.

2

He liked the stir which went with the opening days of the session. He never entered the entrance under the great steps, to the imposing corridor, with its marble columns, multi-colored, veined, without a consciousness of touching important affairs. However sordid the machinations of the little Machiavelli did not seem sordid, collective world did not seem sordid, or seeming sordid seemed big, momentous. It swayed human destiny—a mere clause, an inconspicuous phrase in a bill changed the course of thousands of lives. This oligarchy chosen by the electorate played Destiny to millions. Dan came to see.

"That is not a little thing," he thought. The bill that Senator Hop-

per advocated added one cent to the street car fares of Duluth, St. Paul and Minneapolis, and kept 100,000 office girls from having a vacation because of the extra tax upon their meager pay. "Damn the thing," he inwardly declared. The bill that Representative Swenson spoke for sent 20,000 waitresses and chamber-maids into a 12 hour working day. "These are not little things," he said.

One day early in the session Senator Goodnite asked Dan to trade support on a bill—both inconsequential measures—and Dan refused on principle.

"Ask Jones," he suggested.

"No use. He's wet." Goodnite replied.

That explained a lot about Jones, the popularity of his room for instance. After that Dan came to see that legislators chose to observe superficial political lines, while actually they accepted the submerged economic ones. Jones was "wet," Harvard, "chamber of commerce," Quist was "street car," Delphine, "General Electric," Biddles, "red."

Dan cogitated a bill designed to secure occupational representation, but Biddles beat him to it. It was killed in four and half minutes without debate.

Naturally these factional tags emerged earlier in the session than personal differences, but it was not long before Dan came to know the under-surface gossip of the capitol.

There was the story of Representative Quist who had been the butler in the home of old Jim Tooner, organizer of one of the local traction lines, who had held Bob Tooner, present chairman of the board of directors on his knee. Quist was no mere political partisan. He was continuing his blind devotion to the Tooner family, when he sponsored all street car legislation.

There was the romance of Representative Hurst, conservative whip, whose wife was in a hospital for nervous disorders, and whose secretary was the unobtrusive, volcanic Miss Knibbs, whose dark eyes were so restless and eloquent. As the legislators in time by tacit agreement came to recognize representation by class so they came to recognize the reality of Hurst's relation with Miss Knibbs. She was always spoken of by the men—quite respectfully—among themselves as Mrs. Hurst, while the pallid invalid at the hospital was to them already dead.

One day in the midst of a debate on a bill providing for hail insurance, Dan bolted out of the House chamber in search of an absent partisan, and up a little frequented stair. There he came upon two figures intermingled, mouth pressed to mouth. It was Hurst and his secretary. Dan was the most embarrassed. "Excuse me," he said and retreated.

That night Hurst came to him with a discomfited look in his eyes. "Miss Knibbs is afraid you will not think well of her. You know, old man, I intend to make her my wife." Dan assured him that he considered what he had seen a confidence, which he would hold inviolate. At any rate, he asserted, he was not "squeamish." Thereafter a bond seemed to be laid between him and Hurst, but Miss Knibbs seemed more distant than ever. After all, what was Hurst to

him—an "errand boy to the big bosses"—and yet there it was—their secret—holding them together in a kind of dreadful intimacy.

Dan came to think of the capital as a little world distinct. He spoke to the gray decrepit old elevator man—a pensioner of the majority machine—with hearty solicitude. He came to know that politicians—bitter and acrimonious foes on the House floor—often would go out together to dinner to discuss horses, cards, women, prize fights, and fruit trees. He saw everywhere the under-surface flow of sex preferences and antagonisms, the gay, adventurous province of romance, enveloping the sordid grind of law-making in an atmosphere of rose and gold.

He felt the lure of it, and fell into a malingering infatuation for Bricktop. Seeing her every day—he could pass out of the House Chamber, take a half hundred steps, and there she was—he became enamored.

Biddles came to him.

"Say, Minturn, take it from an old hand at this game; this is my third term. Don't play with the other side. It's an old trick, and a good one too. It never seems to wear out. They will flatter you. They will dine and wine you, but they will cripple you. They never forget. You've got to hand it to them. They never forget the class-struggle. They'll use you."

"There's Andrews now," Dan started to reply.

He was interrupted by a flood of profanity. "Andrews? He's nothing but a stool-pigeon."

Biddles, who was a thin, pallid man, in a frayed suit, and a black shirt without a tie, always made Dan conscious of his own clothes. Biddles was a mechanic by trade, and a flame by temperament.

Dan walked away from him wondering if Andrews, the minority leader, was something itching, almost morbid, about the intense and bitter pursuit of a single objective by Biddles. He was a tireless and relentless watchdog of

the other side. He fathomed motives; he steved in suspicion; no one doubted his well-intentioned loyalty to the cause he represented. Several days after this incident Dan met Biddles again. He was with a handsome, fashionably dressed girl, whom he introduced to Dan as his daughter Althea. It was then that Biddles told Dan that he expected this to be his last term in the Legislature.

"I have done my share, Minturn," he declared. "And I can't afford to stay on. I must make a living." He waited. "And, anyway, Althea here is going to enter the University in the fall."

For some reason Dan was surprised. It seemed incongruous that Biddles, heralded by the reactionary newspapers as I. W. W., a political incendiary, was making plans for little bobbed-haired Althea to go to college. He saw Biddles in a new light.

Here was another human bond tethering him to another colleague. So it went. The little world of the capitol seemed a place for confidences and comradely confession. Old Claus Spreckles, in an alcove of the House Committee room one day, began to lament the passing of the beer garden.

It was such a comfortable, cool, "herzich" place, where cares of business dropped off of one with every swallow. "There's nothing like a good glass of beer, you know," he complained. A sigh, exhaled from the heavy mouth, and the ruddy, convivial face of old Claus lost something of its habitual benignity.

Dan discovered also that politicians feel bonds other than the human, other than the economic; for instance, a consciousness of kind. He marveled to see Hurst, conservative whip, stand shoulder to shoulder with Andrews, leader of the minority, in order to oppose a measure that threatened their mutual patronage. . . .

When Alice wrote Dan to come to Minneapolis at the week-end, he used the stress of committee business as an excuse to stay in St. Paul.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Mine Strike Off

(Continued from page 1)

County Court, where Bittner was sentenced to serve six months in jail and fined \$500, on a charge of having violated Judge J. G. Lazzelle's injunction against interference with non-union labor in the Scott's Run mining field.

Headquarters Issues Statement

Indianapolis.—United Mine Workers Headquarters, in response to criticism which has followed calling off of the West Virginia strike, has issued the following:

"The settlement of the anthracite coal suspension, in which the United Mine Workers gained a vast victory, has focused attention on conditions in the partly organized fields of the bituminous coal section.

"The victory of the union in Pennsylvania is expected to have considerable effect on the morale of the union men who have been battling for their rights in West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Oklahoma. While officials of the international union have not indicated in any respect what the program will be in regard to the situation in these fields, it is believed that more intensive organization work will

begin. However, the union has a number of injunction suits pending against it wherein it has been prohibited from exercising its constitutional rights to organize in these fields. With these cases disposed of the organization expects to proceed with its work."

Stuart Chase to Lecture

Friday Evening in Bronx

Mr. Stuart Chase, director of the Labor Bureau, and noted author, publicist, and economic research worker, formerly senior accountant to the Federal Trade Commission, will deliver a lecture on "Waste and the New Social Order" this Friday evening, under the auspices of the Tremont Educational Forum, at its clubrooms, 4215 Third Avenue, corner Tremont Avenue. Mr. Chase has recently published a book, "The Tragedy of Waste," and is a master of his subject. All are invited.

Capitalism controls industry, but it is the community as a whole which has to maintain the man capitalism cannot employ.—Tom Dickson, M. P.

The Baah Sheep and Booh Sheep

ONCE upon a time, two flocks of sheep lived in a large meadow which was divided by a small creek. The sheep on both sides of this creek were very much the same kind of sheep. But having been separated for many years they had developed different languages so that when the sheep on one side of the creek, cried, "Baah," the sheep on the other hollered, "Booh." Thus they were called the Baah sheep and the Booh sheep.

In spite of the fact that in looks, conduct and character the two flocks were so much alike, there had risen a mild enmity between them. For some reason the Baah sheep were sure that their side of the meadow was far superior to the side occupied by the Booh sheep. They also believed that the Baah language had it all over the Booh language. On the other side the Boohs were sure that they were much better than the Baahs.

Although each flock gloried in its supposed supremacy, it frequently happened that some festive young ram would leap over the rocks and boulders of the dividing creek to try some of the grass that looked so luscious and grew on the other side; for with men and sheep alike, distance lends enchantment to the view and grass always looks greener in the distance.

On such occasions the invaders would be speedily butted back and no particular harm would be done. But on one dark day there came into the meadow of the Baah sheep a big black shaggy wolf with white fangs and a red tongue. At first the sheep were afraid of this newcomer and huddled about the lambs lest he should devour them. But the red tongue of the black wolf was an oily tongue as well and moved smoothly on its hinges.

"Fear not," said the wolf to the frightened sheep, "I did not come to harm you but rather to protect you against those backward Booh sheep on the other side of the creek. You know that your meadow is much richer than theirs, your language much more mellifluous, your lambs more frisky, your rams bolder, your ewes more beautiful."

This, of course, was arrant nonsense, for as I have told you there was very little difference between the meadows or the flocks. But the Baah sheep being what they were, had thick rolls of wool over their eyes—wool that was easy to pull down, and the black wolf continued:

"Sheep for sheep, you Baahs can whip any sheep that I ever saw. You could lick ten of those Booh sheep, any one of you could. But there is a great menace to you and your little ones hovering on the other side of that creek. This is a cruel gray wolf, who I hear, is being employed by the Booh sheep to slaughter you all."

When the Baah sheep heard this news, a great shudder went through them and they bleated in one voice, "Baah, baah, baah!" which being interpreted means, "What'll we do? What'll we do? What'll we do?" "Nothing easier to answer," said the black wolf, "bide me to protect you. To be sure the gray wolf is a mighty and a cunning beast but there never was a gray wolf whelped who could lick a black wolf like me."

So it came about that the Baah sheep hired the black wolf to protect them and when the Booh sheep heard about this they ran at full speed to the lair of the gray wolf that was behind their meadow and adjured him with tears in their woolly eyes to protect them against the black wolf and the Baahs. To this the gray wolf assented, claiming for his wages the right to eat every fourth lamb born to the Booh flock. On his side, the black wolf was being given the same wages.

From that day the two wolves, when not devouring the stipulated lambs of their own flock, started in making raids across the creek and generally disturbing all the former peace that had been in the meadow. While they inflicted wounds upon each other they always arranged it so that they should come home alive because if one wolf had killed the other, the good times of both would have been over, since even sheep may learn in time of the folly of paying for defense when there is none to attack.

As things went from bad to worse, the Booh sheep, in a panic by now, tried to put an end to their troubles by adding more wolves to the ever-increasing number of their protectors. But then the Baah sheep would simply hire more black wolves and the situation was the same. Both flocks were compelled to devote all their energies to feeding their respective protectors.

In the end the wolves found it was much easier to teach the sheep to do their own fighting. They would line the flocks up in battle array on either side of the creek and then drive them against each other with snarls and barks which translated meant:

"Fight for your clover and your briars, Fight for the green grass of your alms, Sacred Rams and native land."

So the green pastures ran red with the blood of the dead and wounded sheep. The stench of the corpses would rise to heaven while wheeling buzzards tore at their vitals.

The wolves, however, had the time of their lives. Of course, they stayed far in the rear where no harm could befall them. Indeed their only contribution to these encounters was their fierce barking which could barely be heard up in the front line. And of course, too, they took unto themselves all the glory for the sorry mess, issuing loud barks proclaiming that "The Army of Booh Wolf, Bloody Jaw, killed three hundred Baah sheep under the command of Baah Wolf, Tearguts. Our losses were trifling." Or on the other side, "In a raid on an advanced portion of the enemy army under Command of Field Marshall Swallow-whistle, seven hundred of the enemy troops were killed and 800 made prisoners. These will be eaten at the headquarters of our glorious commander in honor of our great victory. Our losses were insignificant."

To tell the truth, the only thing the wolves did in these battles outside of their barking was to gorge themselves on the tenderest of the wage lambs, for in times of great excitement such as those times, no one noticed or even cared much what the wolves behind the lines were doing.

At the present time there is peace in the sheep meadow as the survivors are all torn, weary and emaciated from the last slaughter. The only activity to be noticed is that small groups of lambs are being ordered about by the raucous voices of gray and black wolves in preparation for the next Great War of the Sheep.

Adam Coaldigger.

The Will's Travailings

Last at first the question rings Of the Will's long travailings: Why the All-mover Why the All-prover Ever urges on and measures out the droning tune of things. Hearing dumbly As we deem, Moulding numbly As in dream; Apprehending not how fare the sentient subjects of its scheme. But a stirring thrills the air Like to sounds of joyance there That the rages Of the ages Shall be cancelled, and deliverance offered from the darts that were, Consciousness the Will informing, till it fashions

The Political Scene in England

By Arthur Henderson
(Secretary, British Labor Party)

THE British Parliament has begun its new session, and at the beginning the Labor Party challenged the position of the Government by moving an amendment to the King's address, which initiated a discussion and threw into relief the principles which constitute the frontiers between the three parties.

The discussion promoted by the amendment as to whether trade property and a reasonable standard of living for all could be assured without "a fundamental reorganization of industry on the lines of public ownership and democratic control of the essential services" was not a mere confrontation of theoretical positions.

Material for illustration was ready at hand in the legislative plans of the Conservative Government and the projects of the Labor Party and the Lloyd George Group of Liberals.

Agriculture, coal and electric power are the three principal industries where economics and politics converge on the battlefield of British party politics. The party allegiance of the rural population of Great Britain will determine the political history of the next generation, and an alliance of the industrial working class with the rural worker would bring greater possibilities to the Labor Party than to any other party. A Liberal revival in the countryside may transform the Liberal group into a party. A Labor revival in the countryside would bring Labor into power.

Conservatives Forced to Act

Conservatism—the citadel of the landlord and the farmer—is strongly entrenched in the torpor, ignorance and fear of the rural worker and the landed gentry. But the English countryside is awakening. Even the Conservative Government must pretend to possess a national agricultural policy. They feel obliged at the outset to abandon their favorite remedy—protective duties or some form of subsidy—the remedy of their kindred in all countries. I will quote their confession: "Protective duties on imported corn would be contrary to the pledge of the Government and to the policy of the other political parties."

This is a measure of the Opposition strength. For the Conservatives, therefore, the right course is to buttress the system of occupying owner-



ARTHUR HENDERSON

ship by coming to the assistance of the farmer who is short of working capital, and to offer help to the aspirant for a small holding.

On the other hand, the whole superstructure of the Labor Party's policy for the countryside is based upon the public ownership of agricultural land. Mr. Lloyd George is now of the same opinion. All schemes for the marketing, distribution and transport of farm products, agricultural credit, insurance, education, research and communal drainage will only yield their highest economic possibilities to the rural worker when agricultural landlordism is abolished and the community takes over the functions of the landlord. The economic reorganization of this primary industry is, therefore, becoming one of the big issues of British party politics.

British journalists recently found a good market for hints and prophecies of a Liberal-Labor rapprochement when Mr. Snowden and Mr. Lloyd George both advocated public ownership of agricultural land in the House of Commons, and were later observed to speak to one another (they had not met for many months). Wise men of the press began to nod their heads and point to this proof of their inventive genius.

No Coalition Considered

May I re-state the truth about this matter for the guidance of the comrades abroad? No official of the Parliamentary Labor Party and no one representing the National Executive has ever been directly or indirectly associated with any conversations regarding such an alliance. Although discussion about its possibilities has been almost exclusively by Liberal newspapers. Labor will engage in a clean, straight fight for a majority at the next election. If Labor fails to

secure a majority, the party will not purchase Liberal support by the betrayal of its principles, the lowering of its ideals or the mutilation of its program as set out in its constitution and the decisions of its annual conferences.

Agricultural reform is not the only item on the Labor program. Mr. Lloyd George's policy has still to be endorsed by the Liberal Party. Until now, we have heard more about deserters than supporters!

But an even more urgent political problem is the future of the coal and electrical industries. Here again the failure of capitalist enterprise is compelling a Conservative Government to study the fundamental problem of the organization and control of a great industry.

About 1,000 separate and competing undertakings, operating about 3,000 British coal-pits, have reduced the mining industry to a state of chaos and bankruptcy. The coal owners cannot promise a living wage to the coal miners, nor coal at a reasonable price to the consumer, and the relative attractiveness of the industry to British capitalists as regards supplying new capital has gone. In May, the nation will have to face the issue of an industrial upheaval or reorganization.

In the meantime, the industry gets along on the crutches of a State subsidy. The coal owners would prefer to do without the subsidy, and increase the working hours of the coal miners, at the same time reducing their wages. A fight to the death with the British Miners' Federation is their contribution to economic progress and industrial peace.

The Government dares not encourage them, although it, too, would like to relieve the taxpayers of the burden of the subsidy. So long as the industry is unorganized, and the subsidy drops like rain from Heaven onto the coal owners who make profits and the coal owners who make losses, Labor regards the subsidy as nothing but a premium on disorganization and inefficiency.

Labor schemes is framed with the object of transforming the mining industry from a coal-extracting to a coal-utilizing industry. The production of coal would be combined with a comprehensive national scheme for the scientific pre-treatment of coal and the production of electrical power, transport and the manufacture of by-products as a single national service under the control of a public body composed of experts.

U.S. Backs Down On Ban On Debs' Right as Citizen

(Continued from page 1)

made on the case of Mr. Debs until it is submitted to the department," Mr. Husband said, "but I doubt very much whether he would be inconvenienced at any point of entry. Debs is not an alien. He has no other home than the United States and never had any. He may not be a citizen, but he certainly is not an alien. There are lots of people in the United States who were born here and are not citizens. Take the Indians, for instance. I do not think the immigration laws would apply in the case of Debs."

It is Husband's understanding that Debs is merely "a voteless citizen," not an alien "in the sense that he is a foreigner." He has lost his franchise rights, but not his other rights as a citizen, Husband said.

Following the introduction of a motion by Congressman Victor L. Berger asking the restoration of Debs' full rights, Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., has presented in the Senate a resolution adopted by the Milwaukee Federated Trade Council to similar effect.

The feeling seems to be that sufficient agitation by the Socialists will win Debs his full rights.

On the heels of the great criticism that has descended on the government's handling of cases of aliens, and particularly radical aliens, the administration feels in no position to make any strenuous to the fight being made for Debs.

By Geo. R. Kirkpatrick
Nat'l Secretary, Socialist Party

Chicago.—A strenuous fight for amnesty is planned by the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party will go over the head of President Coolidge and will carry the Debs amnesty case direct to the Senate and the House—and to the American people, in defiance of the President.

The Socialists observe the Federal government's soft treatment of eminent millionaire bootleggers and criminal boot-lickers and the painless treatment accorded to millionaires for 36 years under the anti-trust laws, while Eugene V. Debs continues to be victimized by stupid denial of his citizenship. On the question of political amnesty for victims of the war-madness the Socialist Party of the United States has not surrendered to the brutal Caesarism of the politically eminent and spiritually little men who in the last fourteen years have made Presidents of the American Republic.

Eugene V. Debs is the best-loved and most democratic spirit under the Stars and Stripes, yet he is still denied his citizenship for saying what everybody knows and the scholars and statesmen of the world have admitted—that the fundamental causes of the World War were economic and industrial.

The Socialists of this country note that all the countries of Europe have restored to full citizenship all their

war-time political prisoners; they see twenty-two such citizens now honored members of the British Parliament, and many others in the national legislatures of continental Europe. Angered by our country's cheap official malice, the Socialists flatly refuse to surrender to petty indifference. The fight for full amnesty for Debs and for scores of others similarly victimized is to be resumed immediately throughout the Socialist Party organization, through the Socialist, labor and liberal press, and especially in the columns of the American Appeal, of which Debs is editor-in-chief.

Debs himself has stoutly objected to making his case the major feature of the amnesty special issue of the party organ. But after much eager debating the American Appeal staff has overruled the editor-in-chief on this point, and now, with Debs' consent, all the machinery available is busy preparing a Special Debs' Amnesty edition of the American Appeal to be issued May 1. A million copies of this edition will be broadcast throughout the land, with amnesty petitions, to all local and national labor bodies and to thousands of other organizations, literary, scientific, artistic, political, educational and ethical, to mayors, governors, judges, congressmen and senators. The United States will be held up as being made ridiculous before the world by Presidents too small and cruel to be as generous and just as the Republican Party was following the Civil War, too mean to be as generous and just as either the democratic or the autocratic governments of the rest of the world.

In reply to President Coolidge's contemptuous and contemptible refusal to do a large and wholesome thing for Debs, the Socialist congressman, Victor L. Berger, has opened fire in Congress by introducing Joint Resolution, Number 177, seeking the restoration of Debs' citizenship by Special Act of Congress.

Meantime the cooperation of trade unions all over the nation will be solicited for great mass meetings and demonstrations. It is planned to make these culminate in the greatest demonstration on Labor's International holiday, May 1. All party branches and other organizations sympathetic with the object of this crusade are requested to reserve this day for a great drive not only in behalf of restoring the citizenship of Debs, but also for the release of po-

The Lecture Calendar

Friday, March 12th

DR. ANNA INGERMAN, Brownsville Labor Lyceum and City Committee, Socialist Party, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8:15 p. m.: "Bourgeois Revolutions vs. Socialist Revolutions."

STUART CHASE, Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, corner Tremont Avenue, Bronx, 8:30 p. m.: "Waste and the New Social Order."

AUGUST CLAESSENS, Williamsburgh Educational Alliance, 76 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, 8 p. m.: "Women and Modern Industry."

Sunday, March 14th

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, Community Church, 34th Street and Park Avenue, 11 a. m.: Sermon, "What's Happening to God?"

MRS. CARIE CHAPMAN CATT, Community Forum, 34th Street and Park Avenue, 8 p. m.: "Keeping Step with the World."

LEON ROSSER LAND, Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Bronx, 8 p. m.: "The Unity of Mankind."

RACHEL PANKEN, Socialist Party, 6th-8th A. D., 137 Avenue B, Manhattan, 8:30 p. m.: "New Tendency in Youth."

AUGUST CLAESSENS, Socialist Party, 1st-2nd A. D., 294 East Broadway, 8:15 p. m.: "The Evolution of Morality."

WALTER HINKLEY, Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Bronx, 8:30 p. m.: "The Russian People—Today and Yesterday."

Sunday, March 14

LOUIS P. GOLDBERG, Young Socialists, Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8 p. m.: "Socialism for the Young."

JAMES ONEAL, Socialist Party, 3rd-5th-10th A. D., at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, 8 p. m.: "A Cultural Basis for Socialism in America."

Tuesday, March 16th

SAMUEL ORR, Central Branch, Bronx Socialist Party, 1167 Boston Road, Bronx, 9:30 p. m.: "The Housing Situation and the Governor's Message."

SAMUEL J. SCHNEIDER, 15th-19th A. D., Kings, 41 Debevoise Street, Brooklyn, 8:15 p. m.: "Einstein Theory of Relativity."

Wednesday, March 17th

AUGUST CLAESSENS, Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, 8 p. m.: "Sex and Society."

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, Newark, People's Institute, Berwick Hotel Ball Room, 8:15 p. m.: "What's New in Russia, China, Japan?"

Thursday, March 18th

BLANCHE WATSON, 4th-14th A. D., Kings, and City Committee Socialist Party, 345 South Third Street, Brooklyn, 8:15 p. m.: "Talk on India."

AUGUST CLAESSENS, Workmen's Circle, Monticello, N. Y., 9 p. m.: "Socialism and Religion."

Friday, March 19th

JUDGE JACOB PANKEN, Brownsville Labor Lyceum and City Committee, Socialist Party, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8:15 p. m.: "Land, Land Values and Rents."

Sunday, March 21

LOUIS P. GOLDBERG, Young Socialists, Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8 p. m.: "Socialism for the Young."

(Continued from page 1)
mergers and public-spirited men expressed regret that the far-reaching plans for introducing further economies in the railroad system of the country had not seen fruition.

Let us go back a few years to get the background of the story. In 1920 the Esch-Cummings Transportation Act terminated the period of government operation of railroads. The roads were returned to their former owners. The advantages of unified control, however, had become apparent in the stress of war and it was, therefore, provided as follows:

(1) The Interstate Commerce Commission shall as soon as practicable prepare and adopt a plan for the consolidation of the railway properties of the continental United States into a limited number of systems.

(2) In the division of such railways into such systems under such plan competition shall be preserved as fully as possible and wherever practicable the existing routes and channels of trade and commerce shall be maintained.

(3) Subject to the foregoing requirements, the several systems shall be so arranged that the cost of transportation as between competitive systems and as related to the values of the properties through which the services are rendered shall be the same, so far as practicable, so that these systems may employ uniform rates in the movement of competitive traffic and under efficient management earn substantial sums of money for the improvement of their respective properties.

It will be noted that the underlying motive of the law was to ensure competition. An examination of the hearings before the Congressional committee which were considering the matter reveals that the immediate problem was that of combining the weak roads with the stronger to make possible the existence of the former.

In accordance with the law, the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1921 drew up a tentative plan dividing the railroads of the country into nine groups. Little action, however, was taken by the railroads towards voluntary consolidation. Indeed, the Commission itself approved several changes of ownership of property that did not chime in with its own proposals. This indicated that it considered its groupings far from fixed. But the plight of the short, weaker lines still remained the same, and legislation was introduced with a view to forcing consolidation. In the present session of Congress the Coolidge Administration is trying to push through measures assessing the earnings of railroads who do not consolidate within three years according to groupings approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In the midst of this agitation came the proposals of O. P. and M. J. Van Sweringen. Their plan was to combine five railroads into one, resulting in the creation of a new system operating between the Atlantic seaboard and the West which would equal in importance the three lines already controlling the Eastern region, namely, the Pennsylvania, the New York Cen-

tral and the Baltimore and Ohio. The Van Sweringens were able to forward their scheme because of their control of the New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad. This is the so-called Nickel Plate. 54.17 per cent of the voting stock of this corporation is owned by the Van Ess Company, a personal holding company of which the Van Sweringens own 80 per cent of the voting stock. Through their control of the Nickel Plate and the Van Ess Company, the promoters of the merger own 33.85 or only one-third of the total voting stock of the four other railroads concerned, distributed as follows: Erie R. R., 26.33 per cent; Pere Marquette R. R., 21.81 per cent; Chesapeake and Ohio R. R., 42.29 per cent, which road in turn, owns 80.35 per cent of the shares of the Hocking R. R. One notes, therefore, that the only company in which the brothers actually own a majority of the voting stock is the Nickel Plate.

Now, their scheme was to exchange shares of the new company for shares of the old roads in such proportions that the voting power would pass to the Van Sweringens, though not the ownership itself. To do this, they employed the device of non-voting preferred stock which was already in existence on the Nickel Plate, the only instance of such on an important railroad in the United States. How did this work out in practice? Consider some examples: For every 100 shares of the Chesapeake & Ohio voting preferred stock were given 115 non-voting preferred shares in the new Nickel Plate; for every 100 shares of voting common stock in the C. & O. were substituted 55 non-voting preferred and 55 voting common shares, thus dividing the original voting power in half; for every 100 voting common shares in the Hocking were exchanged 5 non-voting preferred and only 30 voting common.

The result of all these manipulations was that the Van Sweringens actually owned but 36.34 per cent of the total stock, but acquired 50.93 per cent of the voting shares, just a majority. In other words, these financial wizards contributed about one-third of the capital, but retained absolute control of the new company.

Their plans would have materialized and the Van Sweringens would have become the Gold Dust Twins of Railroad had not opposition arisen among the minority stockholders of the constituent railroads, especially the Chesapeake and the Hocking. These felt that they had not been given a fair deal, and they brought the matter before the Interstate Commerce Commission. Up to then affairs had been moving along swimmingly. A majority of the members of the boards of directors of the Chesapeake, Hocking and Nickel Plate were the same persons, and the chairman was common to the three. These boards approved the plans for the proposed merger and the majority stockholders accepted their decision. In the case of the Erie and the Pere Marquette, which were under independent control, negotiations were conducted which resulted in better terms than had been originally proposed.

The Interstate Commerce Commission began the consideration of the case at the beginning of this year. On March 2 it rendered its decision. It approved the transportation features of the consolidation plans. They did

Why the Interstate Commerce Commission Banned the Proposed Merger

not exactly agree with the groupings suggested by the Commission, but they were satisfactory, nevertheless. They would effect a saving of six million dollars annually and preserve competition by creating a new system in the East to compete on equal terms with the New York Central, the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore & Ohio, which were already in the field. The Transportation Act of 1920 would be obeyed in letter and spirit. But there was one hitch: the financial arrangements were unsatisfactory. The quotas of voting and non-voting stock assigned to the different railroads were unjust. The Van Sweringens were obtaining a majority control although they owned only a minority of the stock. The plans were disapproved.

And thereby hangs a tale.

It will be remembered that Professor William Z. Ripley of Harvard has, within recent months, been leading the chase to run down non-voting stock schemes. He has written and spoken on the subject far and wide, and a short while ago went down to Washington to explain the situation to President Coolidge. In these columns, some time ago, we showed how this kind of financing worked in the case of the sale of stock of the National Cash Register Company. Ripley's objection has been that the justification for our supposedly free-for-all system of competition rests on the hypothesis that the promoter of a business enterprise himself owns that enterprise; that, therefore, any risks he takes fall upon his own shoulders; and that, as a consequence, any profits that accrue deserve to go to him because of the business ingenuity he has displayed. Now, then, non-voting stock arrangements contradict the fundamental premise of capitalism, for the curb upon risk-taking is removed when those who have but a small interest in an enterprise can run that enterprise as they please.

Then, there is another interesting feature. It was Ripley who, as an old friend of the Interstate Commerce Commission, had worked out their tentative plan of nine groupings for the country. The Van Sweringen proposals ruthlessly violated Ripley's ideal scheme. The five roads in the proposed merger were separated among four of the groups suggested by the Harvard professor. Consequently, the latter had special cause to rail against non-voting stock. In fact, Ripley had agitated so effectively that the Van Sweringens attempted to file a brief on the matter after the hearings had closed. When this was denied them, their representative expressed the belief that the Commission would also not consider Ripley's articles.

So the Nickel Plate merger for the present is halted. Two to three million dollars which J. P. Morgan & Co., the First National Bank and the Guarantee Trust Company of New York have put into the preliminary planning will probably not have been spent in vain. Other promoters of railroad consolidations, such as Loree in the Southwest and the East, backed by Kuhn, Loeb & Co., will probably be more careful in any plans they concoct, but in the end the new school of capitalists will have their way. Otherwise, why should there be railroad mergers? Simply to eliminate waste and benefit the public? Of course, not. The chief stimulus is the attractiveness of effecting such consolidations with the expenditure of only a small amount of the promoter's money and the freedom of handling large sums of other people's capital while undertaking but little risk oneself. Old-fashioned capitalism is doomed.

Every available speaker in the United States will be required to contribute his services to this great cause in the next few weeks and especially on May Day. No meeting should be held without suitable resolutions being adopted, while petitions for the restoration of the citizenship of Debs should be on hand and the signature of every man and woman should be obtained. In the meantime signatures should be gathered in every party meeting and every meeting of a trade union or other sympathetic organization that meets in the next few weeks. The National Office is requesting all organizations to make no plans in conflict with this program, especially for May Day.

litical prisoners and those who are imprisoned under anti-syndicalist laws.

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Amsterdam International To Meet in Paris, Aug., 1927; Sends Reply to Moscow Group

THE next congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions will be held in Paris, Aug. 15 to 20, 1927. This was decided at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the I. F. T. U., held in Amsterdam, Feb. 11 and 12. The desire of the International to promote the world-wide organization of labor was shown by the adoption of the following resolution:

"The Executive Committee of the I. F. T. U. takes note of the letter of Jan. 6, 1926, in which the general council of the All-Russian Trade Unions informs us that it has received the notification of the decision taken by the general council of the I. F. T. U. at its meeting of December 4 and 5, 1925; that it maintains its proposals submitted to the I. F. T. U. in its letters of Jan. 29 and May 19, 1925, and that it declares its willingness to continue its action for the constitution of a single trade union international."

"The Executive of the I. F. T. U. places on record, therefore, that the general council of the All-Russian trade unions does not give a favorable reply to the invitation sent to it to affiliate with the I. F. T. U., and in view of this negative reply, decides to submit the decision of the All-Russian trade unions to the next meeting of the general council of the I. F. T. U."

Due consideration was given to a letter received from the British T. U. C. general council, in which the latter body expresses the hope that it will be possible for the I. F. T. U. general council to reconsider without undue delay the decision taken at its last meeting concerning relations with the Russians. It was decided to reply as follows:

"The Executive of the I. F. T. U., having duly noted the letter received from the general council of the British Trades Union Congress, asking the general council of the I. F. T. U. to reconsider its decision taken in December, 1925, considers that the Executive of the I. F. T. U. has no power to modify the decisions of the general council, and decides to submit the request of the British T. U. C. to the next meeting of the I. F. T. U. general council."

That the general council of the I. F. T. U. will accede to the Russians' request to call a general conference of all the trade unions of the world for the purpose of organizing a new, all-embracing international is improbable, but negotiations will no doubt be continued so that when the Pacific Congress meets next year it will have before it some scheme whereby certain concessions may be made to both the Russian unions and the American Federation of Labor in order to hasten their entry into the I. F. T. U. Of course much will depend upon the development of domestic politics in Russia and the United States. If the "moderate" in the former country continues gaining ground and the "radicals" in the A. F. of L. show more activity, it is possible that by 1927 the I. F. T. U. may not be too "yellow" for Moscow or too "red" for Washington.

The auditors' report to the Executive Committee on the financial administration of the I. F. T. U. during 1925 showed a credit balance on Dec. 31 of 114,510 guilders (at 40 cents each), a gain of 986 during the year.

A meeting of the Anti-War Committee (consisting of the Executive of the I. F. T. U. and the miners', factory workers', metal workers' and transport workers' international secretaries) was arranged to be held in Amsterdam on March 18. This will be followed by a meeting of the Executive.

It was decided that there should be only one international summer school this year, and that this should be held at Uccle, near Brussels. The first of the projected international study tours for trade union leaders will be spent in Belgium. Participation in these study tours will be limited to men and women nominated by the National Trade Union Centers or International Trade Secretariats. Sassenbach was appointed delegate to the Hungarian Trade Union Congress, and John W. Brown to the Congress of the World Association for Adult Education.

After a discussion of the latest communication from the Russian Trade Unions on the unity question, which, as reported at the time in The New Leader, rejected the invitation of the

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A m u s e m e n t s

DRAMA

Brookwood Shows How Workers Can Be Players

MINERS, plumbers, electrical workers, clerks, garment workers, textile workers, shoe workers, teachers and cooperators can be players and present creditable performances of labor plays the Brookwood Players group from Brookwood Labor College demonstrated to New York. Workers of the trades mentioned—all Brookwood students—and of American, English, Finnish, Hebrew, Negro, Italian, Irish, French, Polish and Slav racial or national groups gave a highly entertaining trio of plays at the Labor Temple Friday evening, March 5.

Labor paper editors can especially appreciate the one-act play called "The People," by Susan Glaspell, which shows the office of a labor paper and the invading army of critics which such an office inevitably draws. David Pinski's satire "A Dollar" is sophisticated and inclined to be cynical so that it does not carry the organization message which the labor dramatic group aims to bring. The Brookwood players played it well, as they did "The People."

But "Peggy," by Harold Williamson, from the Caroline playmakers, is the directly appealing folk play—one that can not fail to stir an audience. In this vehicle the Brookwood players performed especially well. Perhaps the playlet is too tragic for a group of oppressed workers—an unorganized, uneducated mass like the southern

farm workers it depicts or textile workers. If labor players hoped to rouse such a group to collective activity such a play would not tell the workers what to do. It is admirable for presenting to more comfortable audiences who may be moved to help harder-headed organization efforts but a group of workers similar to those whose lives are depicted would doubtless demand lighter-hearted entertainment, even though it was packed with the organization message. Plays for workers cannot afford to end in futility.

Hazel Mackaye, who coached the players, admitted her work at Brookwood in awakening the students to the value of labor plays in carrying the organization message and said that these worker-students must now go back to their local unions and central bodies to carry on the work. A. J. Muste, Brookwood director, said between plays that organized labor must use every possible means utilized by employers: radio, movies, papers, plays, etc. He urged labor plays as a method of attracting workers to unions, keeping them after they are won, and giving them a chance to release energies and emotions that in dramatics our present civilization thwarts and balks.

Brookwood's double male quartet, which sang before the plays, was repeatedly called back by a generous audience of Brookwood graduates and supporters.

JOSE RUBEN



This talented and brilliant artist is one of the principal players in the Actors' Theatre production of "Ghosts," opening at the Comedy Tuesday.

Plays for Workers Plan Of New Producing Firm

Plans for the development and production of drama suitable for presentation before the working class are now being worked out by a new firm, incorporated last week, known as The Workers' Theatre Alliance. At a meeting of the board of directors next week further arrangements will be made for the production of plays which make a special appeal to workers, according to M. Levin, attorney for the new firm. Those who established the Alliance are M. Holtman, N. Buchwald and C. Marmor.

"Blossom Time" With Us Again

Melodies Merge in Charming Schubert Operetta at the Jolson Theatre

THE name Schubert has a hold in musical memory that even the efforts of J. J. Shubert cannot embellish. Rather, as Lincoln might have said, it is for us the living to be dedicated to the high task of rendering fitting homage to the dead whose works will live long after our own activities have been forgotten. And it is equally true that the world will soon forget what has been done here in the name of the immortal songwriter, while it will long remember what he himself has given.

Nonetheless, the revival of "Blossom Time," which Dorothy Donnelly has with no small degree of theatrical effectiveness woven around the music of Franz Schubert, fills the air of Jolson's Theatre with more than the immortal strains of the composer. Of chief interest, of course, is the extent to which the melodies have been preserved intact or blended in special consideration for the theatre. Through-out the play the influence of Broadway is visible—or audible. Every last moment of breath-taking effect is strained out of the music, so that it holds in long tremolos and final soaring throbs or peaks of swift sound that draw the applause as honey calls the bear. The opportunity for part singing are intertwined with harmonies that outvie the barber-shop four, though in sentimentality unsurpassed. And the voices of the players keep admirable company with the exigencies of the music. Knight MacGregor as Schubert has a rich timbre, which he exercises most dramatically in the despair that watches Miltzi leap into another's arms; Miltzi herself (Beulah Berson) and the rest of the company move similarly attuned.

The story, with its complications of intrigue, desperate amour, moves alternately in the tempo of operatic heavy stuff that ought to be burlesque, and lighter comic stuff that is. Robert Lee Allen as the jeweler to the emperor had many a minute of typsy overplay that was elegant; his facial contortions are more than relishing in the usual woodenness of singing actors (the real interest on the face of Beulah Berson is also infrequent in singing stars; she watched her fellow-players as though her doings were really to be influenced by theirs). While the love scene has points not unlike the famous Priscilla and John Alden conversations, "Speak for yourself, John!" it bears in other respects a more sentimental resignation; the daisy fortune-telling song reveals the theory that sorrow is commonly reserved for genius; so Schubert sorrows. What measure of genius there is in the audience we can only judge from the ultimate reception of "Blossom Time," which is now having its fifth revival, and reveals no signs of weakening in its theatrical appeal.

J. T. S.

Guild to Present Repertory

THE Theatre Guild next season will make a radical change and produce with a permanent company in repertory. The experiment will test the value of repertory in comparison with the usual system of playing a play for the longest possible run with its accompanying inartistic results.

So far these people have been signed for the permanent company: Alfred Lunt, Lynn Fontanne, Claire Eames, Margalo Gilmore, Henry Travers, Edward G. Robinson, Helen Westley. "Establishing this acting group in a repertory system, reads the statement, is the first step in an effort to develop the actor as the present system of casting and producing is unable to do. For seven years the Theatre Guild has been thinking about it and promising its subscribers that repertory would be its aim. For this reason the stage of the new theatre was built so as to house four plays at once. Six plays will be presented as in previous years. During the first fifteen weeks, three plays will be alternated according to a special system of alternation which is being worked out to fit the Theatre Guild's subscription policy.

"The Theatre Guild feels that the advantage to the actor is clear. They

will not all appear in every play but some of the group will. Plays will be chosen far in advance. With the company already under contract no time will be lost in casting. The actor can read and study long before he will be a delicate sensitive instrument ready to act the part, not chosen to fit the part and play himself and it is expected that a play will receive more understanding and fuller performances than from actors chosen to, in some measure, act themselves. The actor will find variety. The business man hates to do the same job throughout the year. The actor needs change to bring freshness to his work, and besides giving him variety in roles alternation will permit him to come back to the same role with a fresh attack.

"There is of course a conscious sacrifice of the commercial value of each play but if the system makes better actors, better productions will result. The author may come too to feel a willingness to have a play presented for successive years rather than drained utterly by one production. With the repertory system too it will be possible not only to repeat the fine and vital productions of succeeding years but to present plays which are sure to have an appeal for a few performances only."

"The Chief Thing" Opens At Guild Theatre March 22

"The Chief Thing," by Nicholas Evreinoff, will be presented by the Theatre Guild Monday evening, March 22nd at the Guild Theatre. In the cast of over thirty are McKay Morris, Kay Johnson, Dwight Frye, Helen Westley, Ernest Cossart, Henry Travers, Alice Belmont, Cliffe, Esther Mitchell, Edward G. Robinson, Edith Meiser, Romney Brent and Stanley Wood.

Three Lyric Dramas at Neighborhood Playhouse

THE Neighborhood Playhouse will present three short productions on its next subscription bill, beginning Tuesday night. This triple bill represents considerable novelty in the form of highly stylized presentations of a Chinese musical fantasy, a Burmese ballet-entertainment, and Joseph Haydn's opera-bouffe, "Pills and Potions."

The new bill will run consecutively for a week, with a matinee on Saturday, and commencing March 23, will alternate in repertory with "The Dybbuk," each production playing four times a week (including matinees Wednesday and Saturday) until April 25. Thereafter the new bill will be discontinued and a new play will run with "The Dybbuk" until the opening of the 1926 Grand Street Follies.

The three productions in the next bill are new to the American stage. The Chinese fantasy is the work of a Russian composer, A. Averbach, who has spent many years in China and has devoted much of his musical education to a study of Chinese themes. It is called "Kuan Yin," meaning the Goddess of Mercy, and had its first performance last year in Peking under the patronage of many distinguished Chinese and Europeans resident there. The libretto was written originally in English by Carroll Lunt, an American newspaper man in Peking. The neighborhood Playhouse Company, however, will sing it in Chinese, and for that purpose a translation has been made by Mr. K. L. Shi. The highly conventionalized manner of the Chinese theatre will be preserved. The costumes and setting are by Ernest de Weert.

The Burmese number will combine pantomime and the dance, and will follow the form of entertainment so popular among the natives of Burma known as a "Fwe." It is based on impressions gathered by Irene Lewisohn while traveling in the East. The costumes and setting are by Esther Peck. The musical score has been written especially by Henry Eichheim.

Haydn's opera-bouffe will be treated in the gay and charming spirit in which

ZELDA SEARS



Author of the new musical show, "Rainbow Rose," which opens at the Forrest Theatre next Tuesday night.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

The program at Moss' Broadway next week will have on the stage—Ann Cooze, French comedienne; Jack Ryan and Company; Pearson, Newport and Pearson, and on the screen Syd Chaplin, with Patsy Ruth Miller, in "Oh, What a Nurse," from a story by Robert E. Sherwood and Bertram Bloch. Du Caillon and other vaudeville acts complete the bill.

PALACE

Nan Helprin in "A Historical Song Cycle"; Leo Carrillo in a one-act adaptation of "Lombardi, Ltd.," with a company of eight; Edythe Baker and Eight Boys; Charles Withers in "Withers' Opry"; El Brendel and Flo Bert; Charles Derickson; Imanette; Ben Hassen Troupe and others.

The Actors' Theatre will continue "Hedda Gabler" after Saturday night. The play will be played for matinees at the Comedy, the first of these Thursday night.

It was conceived. The original score has been revised by Howard Brown, and the English version is by Ann MacDonald. The costumes and setting are by Aline Bernstein.

THEATRES

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Symphony Orchestra of 40
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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; Saturday Matinee, Best Seats, \$3.

"HEDDA GABLER"
this Saturday, Mat. and Eve.
Special mats. next Thurs. and Fri., 2:30., with Actors' Theatre cast, including Emily Stevens, Patricia Collinge, Louis Calhern, Frank Conroy and Dudley Digges, at Comedy Theatre, W. 41st Street.

Premiere Tuesday, March 16, of Ibsen's "GHOSTS"
with Actors' Theatre cast, including Lucile Watson, Jose Ruben, Edward Fielding, Hortense Alden and J. M. Kerrigan, at Comedy Theatre, Mats. Wed. & Sat. Seats Now.

49TH ST. Theat., West of Broadway.
Evs. 8:30, Mats. Wed.-Sat.
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CHARLES K. GORDON
Presents

"HUSH MONEY"

A Comedy Drama of New York Night Life with
JUSTINE JOHNSTONE
and a Strong Broadway Cast

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OPENING TUESDAY EVENING at 8:30
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A NEW MUSICAL COMEDY OF THINKING IDEAS & TUNES
RAINBOW ROSE
with SHIRLEY SHERMAN LOUISE GALLOWAY HANSFORD WILSON
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MARY and FLORENCE NASH
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MATS. THURS. & SAT.
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Staged by GUTHRIE MCCLINTIC
KATHARINE CORNELL-MARGALO GILMORE and LESLIE HOWARD
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is pleased to announce the great success of
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PATSY
Richard Herndon's Production of
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with **CLAIBORNE FOSTER**
BOOTH THEA. 45th St. W. of B'WAY
Evs. 8:30—MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30

Georgette LeBlanc-Maeterlinck
in "The New Enchantment"
At the Klaw This Sunday

The premiere of "The New Enchantment" by the Film Associates for showing at the Klaw Theatre this Sunday afternoon and evening not only brings to America a modernly conceived cinema that set all Paris talking, but celebrates the screen debut of the famous actress, Mme. Georgette LeBlanc-Maeterlinck. For six years Georgette LeBlanc lived in seclusion and almost disappeared from the memory of Parisians. It was said that the loss of her voice forced her to forsake the stage which had witnessed so many of her triumphs; "Mona Vanna," "The Bluebird," etc. In her retirement she devoted herself to literature, and her book on Helen Keller is a touching tribute to that brave woman. Now, after six years of retirement into private life, Georgette LeBlanc emerges with the beauty and vitality of her first youth and at the age of forty-six makes her screen debut in an extraordinary film specially chosen for her by Marcel L'Herbier, famous French director. Among the distinguished artists who have collaborated in the making of this film are Fernand Leger, Mallet-Stevens, Darius Milhaud, and Paul Poirat.

Says a critic on the Neue Fre. Presse of Vienna: "The reappearance of Georgette LeBlanc, to play the leading role in 'The New Enchantment' was naturally a sensational event. Amongst this elegant and dazzling woman on the screen is obliged to believe in miracles."

Broadway Briefs

This Friday evening, New York's latest restaurant, the new Cafe de Paris, will open its doors to the public. Located on the veranda of the Century Theatre, the restaurant overlooks Central Park. Theodore and Leo, of Restaurant L'Aiglon, will manage Cafe de Paris, which is to be directed by Rene Racover of "Le Perroquet de Paris."

"The Girl in the Garden," a new Cosmo Hamilton comedy adapted from the original French version of Louis Verneuil, opened Monday night at the

WILLIAM COURTENAY



Is featured in William Anthony McGuire's melodrama, "Twelve Miles Out," now in its fifth month at the Playhouse.

Broad Street Theatre, Newark. Lee Shubert is presenting the play.

A noteworthy addition to the "Casino de Paris" revue, "A Night in Paris," is Lucienne Boyer, celebrated French artist, who is also appearing in Parisians, the French cabaret in the Century Theatre basement.

With "The Girl Friend" for which they did the lyrics and music opening soon and another musical comedy in preparation, Dick Rodgers and Larry Hart have completed most of the music and lyrics for the second edition of the "Garrick Galettes" which will go into rehearsal the first of April.

"The Emperor Jones" with Charles Gilpin in the title role is continuing at the Provincetown Playhouse. "East Lynne," the Provincetown fourth subscription bill opened at the Greenwich Village Theatre Wednesday night.

There are three companies of "The Student Prince" playing in greater New York this week. One is at the Century Theatre; the other two are in Brooklyn at the Majestic and Shubert Teller Theatres.

Caroline Andrews is now singing the prima donna role of "The Student Prince" at the Century Theatre. She is well known.

Martha Hedman and H. A. House have changed the title of their comedy, which Richard Herndon will shortly present here, from "First Fiddle" to "What's the Big Idea?" The out-of-town opening at Bridgeport, Conn., Monday night.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"HUSH MONEY," a mystery comedy by Alfred G. Jackson and Mann Page, will open at the Forty-ninth Street Theatre Monday night. The cast is headed by Justine Johnstone, Richard Gordon, Kenneth Thomson, Joseph Lertora, Ruth Lee, Frederick Burton and Calvin Thomas. The producer is Charles K. Gordon.

"JUNO AND THE PAYCOCK," an Irish folk play by Sean O'Casey, will open at the Mayfair Monday night, presented by the Celtic Players. Augustin Duncan heads the cast.

"30 HORSE POWER," a comedy by Francis De Wit, will open Monday night at the Ritz Theatre. Ramsey Wallace and Allyn King have the leads.

TUESDAY

"GHOSTS," by Henrik Ibsen, opens at the Comedy Theatre, Tuesday evening, presented by the Actors' Theatre. The leading players include Lucile Watson, Jose Ruben, Edward Fielding, Hortense Alden and J. M. Kerrigan. Staged by Dudley Digges.

"KUAN YIN," a Chinese Fantasy; "A BURMESE FWE," and a HAYDN OPERA-BUFFE will be the program at the Neighborhood Playhouse, opening Tuesday night.

"RAINBOW ROSE," George MacFarlane's musical comedy, opens at the Forrest Theatre Tuesday night. In the cast are Jack Squire, Louise Galloway, Hansford Wilson, Shirley Sherman, Jack Whiting, Alexander Clark, Viola Gillette, Margaret Walker, Billie Tichenor and Paisley Noon. Zelda Sears wrote the book. Walter DeLeon made the adaptation with Harold Levey and Owen Murphy supplying the musical numbers. Messrs. DeLeon and Murphy wrote the lyrics.

"THE GIRL FRIEND," a new musical comedy, will be presented by Lew Fields at the Vanderbilt Theatre Tuesday evening. Music by Richard Rodgers, book by Herbert Fields and lyrics by Lorenz Hart. Eva Puck and Sam White head the cast.

THURSDAY

"EASTERN," by Strindberg and "ONE DAY MORE," by Joseph Conrad, will be the next bill of The Players at the Princess opening Wednesday. The cast for the Strindberg play will include Morgan Farley, Rita Romilly, Judith Lowry and Arthur Hughes. The Conrad curtain raiser will have Josephine Hutchinson, Whitford Kane and Warren William in the leading roles.

"SCHWIGER," by Franz Werfel (author of "Great Song"), is due at the Fifth Avenue Theatre Thursday night. Jacob Ben-Ami plays the principal role.

THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1926

AN IMPORTANT CAMPAIGN!

WITH the beginning of the campaign by the National Office of the Socialist Party for the restoration of the citizenship of Eugene V. Debs, every Socialist and sympathizer in the United States have a cause that should enlist their activities. The issue involves something more than justice to a man, much as Debs has meant in the great human struggle of the past three decades. It also involves the elementary right of human beings to think and to speak without pompous bureaucrats placing them in jail and depriving them of the civil rights that go with citizenship.

At the same time, this campaign is intended to include a drive for the release of those unfortunate who are held in prison under anti-syndicalist acts. These acts are a menace to every trade union in this country. The war reaction brought a rapid increase of them in the States. They are dangerous to every form of trade union organization. The most reactionary owners of industry and their political agents in the legislatures have inspired this legislation, and so long as it remains in force the freedom of every member of a trade union is jeopardized.

It remains for the executives of Socialist Party organizations to take this matter up at the earliest possible moment and to plan for the circulation of petitions, obtain the cooperation of all systematic organizations, arrange for a campaign of publicity, mass meetings, demonstrations and educational drives. All this work should look forward to great demonstrations on May Day all over the country, so that this campaign will acquire national importance. Every man and woman capable of rendering service should be ready to respond to the call to service in whatever form it may come to them.

The New Leader will heartily cooperate in this crusade. The party organizations should act, and act without delay. A petition blank will be found in this issue. Clip out, attach to a sheet for signatures, get signers, and forward to the National Office at Chicago.

SACRED HOKUM

THE Employing Printers' Association of America flies at its masthead the "American plan" or "independent shop." In its March Bulletin it defines the creed as "the right to work and earn one's living without interference by any other person," which is "a fundamental principle of Americanism." Its denial is a violation of the most sacred rights of American citizenship.

Now, we have no desire to be rude, don't che know, but we assert that this organization believes in nothing of the kind. What it really means is this: If workers in the printing trades or in any other industry strike for improved conditions, other workers should have the "sacred right" to take the jobs that are vacated. But if the workers are thrown out of employment by the millions because the owners of industry are unable to extract profits from their labor power, then the "sacred right" of both organized and unorganized workers to "earn a living without interference by any other person" does not hold good.

This is what the "American plan" means, and it has never meant anything else. If the Employing Printers and other employers' organizations really believed this creed, as they state it, they would surrender their ownership of industry when in an industrial crisis they failed to guarantee the "sacred right." Instead of such surrender, they close their plants and turn millions of workers adrift in the streets. The "sacred right" thus becomes hokum, sacred to those who do not believe it but who advertise it for the shoddy article it is.

WE ROUT THE ENEMY!

GOOD news from the front! The Socialist Party has conquered in a sector of the struggle that will come as a surprise to our readers. Without suspecting our designs we executed a clever maneuver and captured the Corps of Engineers of the Army. Isn't that glorious news? And our intentions were not even suspected until after we had bagged the Engineers.

Probably our conquest would not now be known if it were not for R. C. Marshall, Jr., of the Associated General Contractors of America. He suspected us, made an investigation, and then went before the Judiciary Committee of the House and exposed the whole affair. "I charge that the Corps of Engineers of the Army," he solemnly said, "whatever its vocal protestations, functioning as it does as the official engineering advisor of the Government, is engaged in the specific and constantly repeated practice of Socialism."

Then he became specific. The Corps of Engineers purchases its materials and hires its work without the intervention of contractors! Sensational! A member of the House Committee faints. The chairman of the committee ordered an oxygen tank for emergencies. Two physicians were summoned. Then Marshall

continued: "I challenge this committee," he said in dramatic tones and with a sweeping gesture, "to point me to any single agency in America that by actual performance convicts itself of Socialism as inescapably as does this Corps."

But Marshall is too late. We Socialists have captured this branch of the Army and we are going to hold on to it. We are getting Socialism by the pound in the army with every quantity of material purchased without the intervention of the contractors. Isn't it a glorious triumph for us and a miserable defeat for capitalism?

SOCIALISM AND LABOR

WE AGREE with the Labor World of Montreal that "Socialism has not progressed hand in hand as it should have with organized labor." This view is expressed in relation to the editorial on this page in the issue of February 13 regarding the fight of the open shoppers against the Socialists and trade unions of Milwaukee.

But the Labor World goes on to credit us with this sentence: "Labor grew into ascendancy in public life through the Socialists" and proceeds to disagree with this view. We also disagree with it if applied to the United States, but we also assert that the sentence ascribed to us did not appear in these columns at all. Where the Labor World got it we do not know.

However, we did assert that in Milwaukee Socialists and trade unionists have for many years cooperated in political action just as they do in England, the nations of Europe, and nearly all other nations. We also claimed that as a result of this cooperation in Milwaukee the workers have not realized the many disappointments which workers have in cities where they have endorsed this and that "friend" of labor on the tickets of the capitalist parties.

We are sure that the Labor World would not intentionally misquote us, and we hope that it will reprint this by way of placing The New Leader right before the workers of Canada.

IMPERIALISM IN CHINA

CHINA is still the sore spot of the capitalist world as well as the greatest prize of the modern robber barons. Thomas F. Millard, one of the best informed men on Chinese problems, cables the Times that all classes of Chinese "believe that the year 1926 will witness almost continuous civil wars and other internal turbulence." It was the chaotic Balkans out of which issued the World War and the measureless greed of alien capitalist exploiters in China may send millions to their deaths in another imperialist war.

The Customs Conference is drawing to a close and the Powers have agreed to permit China a new revenue of \$90,000,000 each year, but with the continued struggle between Chinese factions, some of their leaders being tools of alien imperialists, the intelligent Chinese do not think that the increased revenue will help matters. They fear that it will only increase the determination of each faction to obtain control in order to gain access to the national funds.

It is the peculiar contradiction of the Chinese "problem" that China needs funds to put her house in order, but the prospect of increased revenue only stimulates the rival generals to obtain control for their own purposes. The fundamental responsibility for this situation rests not with the Chinese, but with the capitalist Powers of the West. By carving China into various "spheres" to satisfy their appetite for loot, these powers have rendered China weak. Imagine the New England States a "sphere" of the French, the Mississippi Valley a prize of the British, the Pacific Coast administered largely by Japanese, while in various sections bandits, adventurers, generals and careerists leading armies, each adventurer more or less a tool of some one of the invading Powers, and we can understand something of the enormous difficulties which the Chinese people face.

Meantime millions of Chinese men, women and children are kept in the lowest depths of poverty while aliens luxuriate in abundance. It is only natural that the Chinese masses should acquire a consuming hatred for the authors of their miseries and only knowledge that the armed might which restrains them from expelling their enemies. Certainly, the polished gentlemen who rule the world are accumulating explosives in China that may yet set marching millions at each other's throats.

Song of Labor

Where'er the eye its glance may throw,
Earth's fairest hills and valleys viewing,
There Labor toils with beaded brow,
Her rich gifts in the sunlight strewing.
'Tis Labor sows the seeds and finds
The wealth of autumn's golden treasure,
And shapes the whirling wheel that grinds
Our daily food's abundant measure.

Then high aloft be borne her banner,
Through fiercest fights she wins her way,
Free as the winds of heaven that fan her,
'Tis Labor now that wins the day.

She delves the mine to forge her swords
Though ne'er so deep the ore be lying;
Builds palaces for living lords,
And shapes their coffins for the dying.
The iron rails that link the lands,
The ships that o'er the waves are driven,
Are wrought by Labor's mighty hands;
To her be all the glory given.

She works and weaves while others rest,
Has naught for roof but heaven above her;
For others spins their silken nest,
With scarce a rag her limbs to cover.
Provides the robes that pleasure wears,
With want and misery around her;
And knowing not her strength, she bears
The chains in which her lords have bound her.

Yet see! the dawn for day gives token,
The mists of night disperse and die;
Her chains at length are burst and broken,
And Labor's triumph lasts for aye.

—Andreas Schew.

Jefferson Versus Hamilton

The Early Struggle for Democracy in America

By James Oneal

WHETHER Mother Goose tales are to be the substance of historical writing in this country is to be determined in the next few years. There is a marked struggle being waged between those who are really historians and those who believe that history should be a drug to administer to the masses in support of the present order. Even in the American Historical Association we may observe two groups, the professional academic mandarins who know the truth but think it inadvisable to tell too much and the new school that for nearly twenty years has been rewriting our history in terms of reality. Whether Mother Goose or the scientist will be the victor in this struggle the future alone can answer.

More than twenty years ago the Democrats of the Fifth Congressional District of Indiana nominated a reporter of a Terre Haute daily. The nomination had gone begging. The candidate was an unknown quantity as a speaker but, to the surprise of all, he proved to be one of the most accomplished and resourceful speakers ever nominated in the district. He was not elected and it is fortunate that he was not. He who probably would have become a bad politician has become a realist historian. The second important historical work of Claude G. Bowers (Jefferson and Hamilton, The Struggle for Democracy in America, Houghton Mifflin Co., \$5) is the most vivid account of the struggle between the nascent capitalist aristocracy and the agrarian democracy of the last decade of the eighteenth century that has been written. It is a worthy successor of his earlier book, "The Party Battles of the Jackson Period."

The previous decade had witnessed two struggles of a similar character. In the revolutionary period the mechanics of the cities, the debtors and poor farmers, constituted what may be called a proletarian element which attempted to wrest control of the revolutionary movement from the upper classes. The masses were defeated in this struggle. Then came the peace of 1783 with its economic stagnation, widespread poverty, unemployment, debtors' revolts, dis-

illusionment and marked tendency of the masses to reach for the power possessed by the aristocracy. It was in this period that a group of the "fathers," fearing the ascension to power of the "lower orders," suggested to Prince Henry of Prussia that he accept the American throne and urged that his answer be sent by secret code to avoid any embarrassing publicity.

Henry wasn't willing. If he had accepted the whole course of our history would have been changed. The constitutional convention was a substitute for Henry. In that body the ruling classes obtained what they wanted and the masses lost for the second time.

IN 510 pages Mr. Bowers considers the third struggle, which he visualizes for his readers as an unfolding drama of social, economic, political and personal antagonisms but fundamentally representing two forces, the infant capitalist aristocracy, determined to reap the fruits of the revolution, and the agrarian hosts determined to share in the conquests of the struggle with England. Into the narrative of this struggle is sketched the economic and social life of the masses, the mass meetings, the marching hosts, the liberty poles, the gossip of the coffee houses, the Jeffersonian gazettes and the dramatic struggles in Congress. Even the theatres dramatized the class feeling of the period. Imagine the "gallery gods" . . . selecting some inoffensive "aristocrat" in the pit and demanding that he doff his hat to the gallery. Naturally ignored, a hundred stentorian voices would call out for his punishment. Thereupon the gods would pelt the unfortunate victim with apples and pears, sticks and even stones, and assail him "with scurrility and abuse." Certainly, the holy "fathers" and their intimate associates were not regarded with that religious reverence which is observed by our generation.

The two forces in the social struggle were represented by Hamilton for the ruling classes and Jefferson for the agrarian democracy. The structure of the infant capitalist edifice which has become the empire of financial and industrial capital of today stands out in clear outline. A national bank in which the prizes went to those in Congress who created it; a tariff to nurse manufacturers so that the labor

of women and children might be exploited; funding of debts by which measure speculators reaped a harvest of grain; repudiation of the paper paid as wages to soldiers, indentured servants, mechanics and farm laborers, and an excise tax favoring the big distillers of the East but which bore heavily on the farmers of the interior. The political philosophy of Hamilton, Washington, Ames and Adams was aptly expressed in the statement of Jay that "those who own the country ought to govern it."

Naturally, the rising commercial and industrial centers of the East and the upper class planters of the tidewater region of the South constituted the Cossacks of the Federalist Party. In the private papers of these gentlemen and in the Federalist gazettes of the period we may read a profound faith in an exclusive aristocracy resting on property and a fear of the "mob." "Virtue" was associated with property and "vice" with lack of it. With the capitalist structure erected by Hamilton's measures, but one thing was needed to impress the "mob" that "gentlemen" were in the saddle. This one need was a show of military force.

The pretext came when the farmers of Pennsylvania revolted against the payment of the excise tax on their whiskey. Impassable roads made it impossible for them to ship their corn to eastern markets. Indian wars to the West closed that outlet. By distilling their corn into whiskey it was reduced in bulk and was easy to transport but the tax was almost confiscatory. Moreover, when charged with some offense the accused farmers were sent over the mountains for trial in Philadelphia. Even if acquitted the expensive journey was beyond their means and they were often left bankrupt. In all the frontier settlements from Pennsylvania to South Carolina there was unrest and in some communities there was talk of a separate government.

IN modern parlance, Hamilton decided that it was time to show the "hicks" who was boss. Had not this class and its mechanic sympathizers in the cities tried to obtain control of the revolutionary movement? Did they not try to oust perfect gentlemen from control of the states after the peace? What they needed was a demonstra-

tion of military force. So Hamilton and Washington marched into the discontented region at the head of an army. A reign of terror followed. Prisoners were taken and dragged across the mountains to Philadelphia. Bowers paints the portrait:

"A pitiful spectacle—that march—and more significant than many realized. The soldiers were of the first Philadelphia families in wealth, gorgeous in their blue uniforms, made of the finest broadcloth, all mounted on magnificent bay horses so nearly uniform in size and color that 'any two of them would make a fine span of coach horses.' A proud show they made with their superb trappings, their silver-mounted stirrups and martingales, their drawn swords gleaming in the sun. Patriotic avowals blustering in their caps, mounted on nondescript plough and pack horses—old men who had fought for American independence, young men all hunched by the weather, some pale and sick, some sad, others flushed with fury that they should be used to make a show for the rich Philadelphians who looked upon them with complacent smiles. It was the East and frontier—it was Aristocracy with drawn sword and Democracy, with the insulting paper in its hat."

That paper carried the inscription "Insurgent." What a Roman holiday for the ladies and gentlemen in the upper windows! The sequel shows that out of all the arrests but two were convicted of overt acts and they were later pardoned. The "mob" was to be taught the lesson that it was timely for it to recognize its place at the bottom of the social order. But the "mob" did not remain quiet. Therefore an alien act to deport the base fellows of alien origin who hailed the French Revolution. A sedition act to close the mouths and paralyze the pens of the impious. A congressman goes to jail. Editors are prosecuted. Homes are invaded and editorial offices are mobbed. It reads like "making the world safe for democracy."

But the reign of terror passed with the triumph of Jefferson in 1800. The two Dwights in Connecticut, Ames, Adams and Otis in Massachusetts, other Federalists in other states, believed that the end of the world had come. Government, property, the family, religion and virtue had all been thrown into the pot to make a dirty stew for the "rabble." Thank God the "best people" still ruled in Connecticut, Massachusetts and other states and if the worst confronted them they could withdraw from the Union and go into business for themselves. But with the passing of time the old oligarchs became reconciled and in the next generation the old order of the Federalists states also passed without realization of the fears of the old ruling class.

It is impossible to do justice to this book. Its merit lies not so much in the presentation of new material but in taking the old sources and presenting the struggle as a vivid and absorbing drama of a definite historical period. A writer trained in the technique of the academic historians would not be capable of this achievement. Where the professional historian is dry and verbose, Bowers is as interesting as a novelist without losing the realist perspective. We hope that this is not the last book to come from his pen.

The New Leader Mail Bag

A Pre-Cambrian Fossil

Editor, The New Leader:
I think you will be interested in the evidence as to the existence of pre-Cambrian fossils in our public life, as illustrated by a letter of date of March 6 received by me from the Hon. Edmund B. Jenks, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the State Assembly, which letter was in reply to my communication requesting favorable consideration by the Judiciary Committee of a bill for the abolition of capital punishment. Mr. Jenks writes as follows:

"Replying to your communication of March 4, addressed to Senator Gibbs and myself, would say that it was hardly necessary for you to express your views to me and the sentiment of your party against capital punishment."

"Having served on the Lusk Legislative Committee which investigated the seditious activities of people largely members of your party, and after having sat in judgment upon, and helped to expel the disloyal members of your party from the New York State Assembly, I am well aware that you would be opposed to the retention of any statute which would tend to protect property and personal rights from invasion by mass action and mob violence."

Obviously Mr. Jenks considers the death penalty as a deterrent of masses and mobs, and hence will set his face against any favorable report on any measure calculated to do away with the death penalty in this state.

HUBERT M. MERRILL,
State Secretary, Socialist Party,
Albany.

Hear the Truth About Matteotti This Sunday

While the Fascist government is secretly going through the gestures of trailing the slayers of Giacomo Matteotti, Socialist leader murdered at the behest of Premier Mussolini, anti-Fascists of New York City have arranged for a mass meeting for this Sunday afternoon, March 14, where the truth about the Matteotti case may be heard.

The meeting will be addressed by Judge Jacob Finken, Dr. Charles Fana, Carlo Resca, Luigi Antonini, Mossalys J. Oigin, Frank Bellanca, Ennea Sormenti and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. It will be held at the Manhattan Lyceum, 65 East 4th Street, at 2 p. m.

S. A. de Witt.

THE CHATTER BOX

Bein' Ma

You bet I'm glad that I'm a boy, an' went grow up like Ma is.
Yup, Ma's O. K., but say! My goodness gracious! Gee whizz!
My Ma don't never have no fun, she don't know how to play.
Just all she does is work an' work, she plugs along all-day.
Ma washes, bakes, an' boils, an' stews. You'd orter see her ples;
If you say your Ma's good as mine I know you're tellin' lies.
Dad sez that Ma's a good old sport, an' I'm a-tellin' you.
What Dad sez goes—pervidin'—Ma lets him put it through.
My Ma can't smoke, or play baseball, an' she can't clumb a tree,
But when I've mumps, or sumpin' else, she knows what's good for me;
An' when I go to bed at night my Ma sets down to rest,
By sewin' patches on my pants, an' buttons on Dad's vest;
An' Dad he sets an' reads an' smokes, reads Ma the football scores;
My Ma sez "Umph" an' Dad reads on, then falls asleep an' snores.
Then Dad wakes up an' yawns an' sez, "I'm tired an' goin' to bed";
An' Ma comes into my room, puts her hand upon my head,
She whispers sumpin' soft an' low. Say! honest now an' true!
My Ma's the best they ever is, now I'm a-tellin' you.
—G. Harrison Riley.

A La Edna St. Vincent Millay

'Tis true, I loved thee yesterday,
Today I love thee not,
And anything that thou would'st say
Will seem like awful rot.

So hie thee hence, my fair young lad,
Another lassie woo;
'Tis true I loved thee yesterday,
Today thou art taboo.

Song

Dreams were born at twilight,
At purple, lucent twilight,
When drowsy flowers glisten
With tears of dying day;
When shadows, unreflected,
Can never be detected,
And naught is then suspected,
That dreams must fade away.

—Kate Herman.

The March Wind and we have always been close friends. We hold many weird secrets between us. The things we have confided to each other these thirty-odd years would give any Grand Jury between here and Peoria, Ill., sufficient evidence for indictment on such crimes as sedition, treason, heresy, revolutionary anarchism and just plain vagrancy. This Monday evening he banged most unpolitely on the window. Usually we meet him outside in the park right under the walnut tree where our pet squirrel hibernates. He kept alarming so persistently that we reasoned he must be anxious to get in out of the cold and get a little of the warmth that was sizzling in the radiator air-valve. For old times sake we opened the window and let him in. He literally blew in, and with such bluster that all the loose leaves of our latest unpublished "greatest American novel" uprose from the table and flapped about like a flock of frightened doves in circumambient confusion. We hastily pulled down the window. Then a howl from the outside informed us that all of him had not as yet entered. These invisible personages give us hosts many awkward moments, particularly when they call on us for an evening or a