



THE NEW LEADER

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of the Socialist and
Labor Movement

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TIMELY NEWS

By No. 1 as
OF COURSE the on he terms fall any ex- men which do not any ex- excuse to coal dealers increased profiteering. But it would seem incredible if it had not happened that so great a strike with so much suffering should have been fought for no greater issue than appears in the truth—we cannot call it a settlement—which ends the warfare.
Coal chaos still remains.
It remains in the anthracite field. The problem of the high cost mine, the problem of private monopoly and of extortionate profits are untouched. Only national ownership with democratic administration can reach these evils.
Worse chaos remains in the bituminous field. Here is a tangle of wild profiteering and bankruptcy. Twice too many mines are open. Civil war is chronic. Ghastly waste of life is common. From West Virginia, Central Pennsylvania and Oklahoma come tragic appeals for help for thousands of dispossessed miners and their families now housed, in midwinter, in rude shacks or barracks. Relief is imperatively needed without delay. Despite the heroism of the rank and file, the union is losing ground. President Lewis and his organizers for one reason or another are not making headway. The union needs new energy. A national program might help give it. Nationalization of the bituminous mines is essential to any real solution.
Chaos continues in wholesaling—chaos and robbery. Soft coal in New York at \$15 a ton and coke from \$20 to \$30 is robbery, robbery for which wholesalers are probably mostly to blame. The end of the strike will lower prices. It won't solve this problem.

After the strike comes the blah. Everybody, it appears, won. Coolidge, the consumers, the miners and the operators.
Coolidge won because he did nothing. As a columnist put it: That man could fall in the river and come out dry.
The consumers won because they proved they could get along without anthracite. Our notion of a boob consumer is a man who gets robbed for substitutes which are only second or third best. It isn't even proved yet that the anthracite people won't run up prices on the consumers.

As for the operators and miners we can't see that either of them won much. On the whole we think the miners won the more. The beginnings of a political storm and the fact that substitutes for anthracite were being used did force the operators and their banker backers to make some concessions.
From the miners' viewpoint the concessions were small and constitute a poor reward for the heroism and suffering of a six months' strike. Some of the terms of peace are purposely vague and unless we are mistaken will give rise to endless quarrels. This is true about the modified check-off which isn't even mentioned by name and the machinery of arbitration and adjustment. On the whole, it looks to us as if it were a strike in which everybody (except some soft coal mine owners, the coal wholesalers, the laundrymen, and the sand-blast people who clean off the fronts of buildings) lost.

New York State, it appears is about to join the Federal government in playing Santa Claus at the people's expense to Secretary Mellon's Aluminum trust. That trust is said to control two of the three water power companies—the third is a giant power combination headed by former Speaker Machold—to which the State Water Power Commission proposes to give leases to state water sufficient to generate about 2,000,000 horse-power. No private corporation, whether or not it is controlled by Secretary Mellon or Mr. Machold should be given this rich prize. We have given away oil and coal. Must we now bestow our sole remaining great resource upon private interests? No regulation of these interests will or can be effective. The regulation will be in the hands of politicians who have made the original grants. It will be hindered by court decisions wholly favorable to the companies. The people must develop their own water power. This is true in New York State as it is true at Muscle Shoals. I have repeatedly urged every Socialist, every Labor man, every Progressive, in short, every intelligent citizen, actively to support Senator Norris in his fight for Muscle Shoals. By the same token I urge all of you who live in New York State to get busy and by letters to your legislators and by resolutions of unions, etc., back up Governor Smith in his fight to prevent this monstrous gift of our wealth to any private corporations whatsoever.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF FRANCE GAINING

Organization Holds Itself in Readiness to Assume Office Soon

Paris.
THE Socialist Party of France is gathering strength so rapidly that in case of a general election being forced in the near future over the nation's financial problem the 100 Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies will come back so heavily reinforced as to make it impossible for any old party combination successfully to resist the Socialist demand for balancing the budget and restoring credit by making the war and post-war profiteers and wealthy bourgeois in general let go of a substantial share of their ill-gotten gains.
This growth of Socialist sentiment helps explain why at the special national convention held Jan. 10-11 the delegates (as reported at the time in The New Leader) voted by a good-sized majority against entering any government as a minority, preferring to preserve the right to support or oppose whatever cabinet might be in power, according to circumstances. In the same resolution the Socialists reaffirmed their willingness to try their hand at either an all-Socialist cabinet or one with Socialists in control. There is small chance, however, of President Doumergue limiting King George and giving the labor forces a chance to run the government for a while as a minority, as Ramsay MacDonald.
To Start Daily Paper
While the party membership is rising fast, being close to the 125,000 mark, the lack of a daily paper is greatly handicapping the Socialists' work of education and agitation. It will be remembered that at the time of the split engineered by the Communists the great daily founded by Jean Jaures—L'Humanite—was captured by the scoundrels. They still hold it, and its prestige is largely responsible for the strength still shown by the Communists in Paris and the environs. The Socialists were very weak in numbers and funds immediately after the split, and their attempt to run their organ, le Peuple, as a daily soon failed, and it was transformed into a semi-monthly.
But now the party is strong again and feels confident of being able to (Continued on page 2)

An Open Letter to the Miners in the Anthracite

By Eugene V. Debs

AFTER almost six months of idleness in the anthracite region the mines are to open again and the miners are to return to the pits. The long strike is over.
It was a siege rather than a strike; a pitting of working class stomachs against capitalist class bank-vaults.
It was from first to last an unequal struggle and in many of its phases an unspeakably tragic affair.
The men stood bravely and they and their families suffered with stoic fortitude. No body of men in the history of American labor ever endured more grimly the hunger and privation of a prolonged labor strike.
Few people outside of the strikers themselves and their loyal wives and children knew what terrible suffering there was in the anthracite; what keen hunger-pangs tormented the victims, what despair there was in their cold shacks and cabins, and what bitter cries went up for bread and relief during that cruel and agonizing period.
The operators and strike leaders knew no such suffering and torment. They ate their ample meals each day and slept each night in comfortable beds.
It was the strikers and their wives and little ones, and they alone, who paid as the rank and file of a strike always pay, in hunger, privation and want.
And they lost the strike!
I am prompted to address this letter to the miners in the anthracite for the reason that the capitalist press and some of the strike leaders report and would have the strikers and the people in general believe that the strike was won.
It is not true and it does not seem possible that the strikers can be deceived by such a spurious claim to save certain faces.
Let us see for a moment what the strike consisted of and what the miners got out of it.

THE MINERS SUFFERED IN VAIN

The number of strikers was estimated at 158,000 who, with their families, aggregated three-quarters of a million of people.
The daily loss in wages was estimated at \$1,150,000.
The total loss in wages was estimated at approximately \$190,000,000.
Now what did the miners actually get out of this vast loss in wages, this enormous waste of time and the unimaginable suffering and wretchedness to which they were subjected during all those weary and agonizing days?
They struck for a 10 per cent. increase in wages and they received no increase at all.
They struck for the check-off and it was denied them.
The one claim to which they are entitled is the right to collective bargaining, and they had that before.
And this amounts to practically nothing, for, after all, the right to collective bargaining is merely the right to ask the bosses for something which they may or may not grant, and not infrequently the right of collective bargaining amounts to the right of collective starvation.
So that the miners in the anthracite after all their grim fortitude and their heroic sacrifice are just where they were before. All their deprivations, misery and suffering have been in vain, so far as any tangible result is concerned.
The miners can now go back into the pits to begin over again the weary and hopeless round until the next strike gives them an opportunity to repeat their tragic experience.
For a period of five years they are now tied to the mines during which they may not strike but have the privilege once each year of asking the bosses for a trifle more than is being allowed them.
The whole strike from the day it was declared played into the hands of the operators and the strikers were foredoomed to defeat and disaster.
The strike came at the precise time it was wanted by the operators and they had long been preparing for it, and in the long run the strike not only will have cost them nothing but will have strengthened their position and fortified their mastery in the anthracite.
The operators have triumphed and there is no use of the miners trying to deceive themselves or allowing themselves to be deceived by the capitalist press or their own leaders.

(Continued on page 3)

The Kind of a Trust Mr. Ward Is Planning

William B. Ward says:
"The United States Steel Corporation, through its policy of service to its employees and to the public, became known as a 'good trust' and in that way put out its defenses and outposts against attacks by radicals. Another example of welfare work is that done by some of the great insurance companies. We are simply planning to do similar things."

PENN CANNERIES PRACTISING PEONAGE

Labor Department Finds Virtual Slavery Existing in the Industry

Harrisburg
Virtual peonage has been found in many Pennsylvania fruit and vegetable canneries, state department of labor and industry investigators report. Migratory working families are obtained by a "roe-boss," who contracts with the canner to supply labor for the season. The roe boss gets a bonus of 50 cents or \$1 a head for all help furnished.
Many canners do not pay their workers until the end of the season, giving them metal checks which are accepted by storekeepers for supplies but cannot be exchanged for cash until the employer is ready. This system prevents workers from leaving or rebelling against the very bad conditions under which they are forced to live and work.
Overcrowded, fire-trap, flimsy wooden barracks are given the workers to live in. One family to a room—one straw-filled wooden bunk, one window (some without glass and almost all without screens), thin and incomplete partitions. Toilets are all outside and "their condition was universally bad."
Usually one water pump for the camp, no bathing facilities, no soap sink, poor drainage, few garbage receptacles and these seldom covered.
Many minor children were working unlawfully. The report says "It seemed likely that the number of children actually working was considerably larger than reported, as investigators repeatedly saw little figures peering from the canneries and disappearing into the woods."

RESTORE RIGHTS TO DEBS, IS DEMAND

Berger Introduces Measure to Return Citizenship of Socialist

A RESOLUTION providing that Eugene V. Debs, four times Socialist candidate for President of the United States, be readmitted to the rights of American citizenship, which he lost when he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for opposing American participation in the war, has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Victor L. Berger, Socialist Congressman from Wisconsin.
In a statement he issued, Berger said:
"Our country evidently is being governed by a queer mixture of pot luck and stupidity, with a deplorable lack of gray matter. Chancellor Oxe-stierna, when he penned that famous sentence about the world being governed by a minimum of wisdom, must have had a prophetic vision of the 'gem of the ocean.'
"It is true there is great prosperity for our ruling class owing to the fact that its forbears received the richest continent on the globe as a gift. That class also had for centuries a continuous stream of willing and able workers who had been raised and trained at the expense of Europe. But there is no particular wisdom or virtue in our ruling class.
"In fact it has often been said that there is a special angel protecting the children, the feeble-minded and the United States of America. I may have to subscribe to that doctrine. For instance, our country's entry into the World War was not only a criminal error, but also a misfortune for the world and for the white race, which, it is said, includes the native and Protestant 'Nordics' of the United States.
"What has Debs done?
"He was opposed to our entrance into the war.
"In England there are no less than 23 members of Parliament who have served short prison sentences because they were opposed to England's participation in the war. Not a person in any country is being punished today for opposition to the world slaughter except in the United States of America. Robbing Eugene V. Debs of his citizenship is simply a disgrace to the country—not to Debs."

A DIGEST OF THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

More Mergers on The Program

Mergers continue in the glare of the spotlight and Coolidge as Ajax defies the lightning. Following on the heels of the suit against Ward bread interests last week another suit was filed against the National Food Products Corporation which proposes to gather in the chain stores and small retail business throughout the country. In Pittsburgh the Federal Trade Commission was refused a list of its stockholders by the Aluminum Company but was later forced to yield its records. Coolidge's manager of the Federal funds, Mellon, is associated in the ownership of 23 aluminum companies and there are holdings in other countries. The empire of American capital is becoming more extensive than such pliers as Caesar and Napoleon ever dreamed. Meantime some members of the United States Senate are organizing a drive against the mergers. The move against the Nickel Plate merger of five railroads is in the hands of Senator Wheeler while LaFollette expresses the opinion that the Government suit against Ward will prove "abortive." While conceding the good intentions of these Senators we cannot agree that industrial and financial consolidation can be materially checked. They are the fruits of capitalism. The issue is, shall we take them over as collective property for the good of all, or shall we proceed to smash them.

Miners Ratify Agreement

As was forecast for several days the Tri-District Convention of the United Mine Workers at Scranton ratified the strike settlement. Of 700 delegates in attendance only two voted in the negative and the miners returned to the pits Thursday morning. Although members of the committee who negotiated the agreement defended it as a victory it is certain that many members regard it as otherwise. On its face the settlement is a truce. It was dictated by necessity, the necessity of the miners being more compelling than that of the mine owners. The miners made a gallant fight, certainly one of the most heroic in the history of American labor struggles, but four months without any income had brought stark want into

many households. On the other hand the mine owners began to face bitter criticism by many organs of the capitalist class which contributed to the settlement. Coolidge remained in the caverns of the White House and did nothing, yet his sycophants attempted to credit him with having brought an end to the struggle. One Communist was ousted by the delegates at Scranton. In June, 1923, another convention in the same city chased several out of town. An organization whose publications continually denounce all non-Communists as scoundrels, fakery, and betrayers of the working class and that can contribute nothing but personal billingsgate and factional strife to the organized working class has only itself to thank when it meets retaliation.

Oxford University Escapes Peril

Oxford University, London, has been notable for its tolerance of all views. Last week its vice-chancellor compelled two undergraduates to sign a pledge not to propagate Communist ideas under threat of expulsion. This caused an uproar and the Oxford Union adopted a motion censuring the vice-chancellor by a vote of 218 to 92. It is significant that many members of two young Tory clubs voted to censure on the ground that freedom of speech had received a blow. The dissent of other conservatives, however, resulted in a decision to poll the membership of the Oxford Union which includes graduate members as well as undergraduates. The censure was reversed by a vote of 493 to 367. And there the matter rests. In the United States the action would have taken the form of kicking the students out of the university and solemn hundred percenters would thank Gawd that the noble republic had been again saved. Many British Tories are at least civilized while their kind here belong to the lower slurlian period of world history.

Belgium Reduces Army Service

Unintimidated by threats of resignations on the part of a number of high army officers, said to include the Chief of the General Staff, and near-Fascist militarist demonstrations in the streets, the Socialist-Catholic combination governing Belgium has

Law Limps After Oil Offenders

The second list of indictments of Fall, Doheny and Sinclair, of oil fame, have been sustained by a Federal Court in Washington, D. C., and another chapter has been opened in the serial that has been running for two years. Justice is growing a beard and ere long the beard will turn white and our children may still be reading installments of this exciting story. Had these three wretched petty thieves driven to picking pockets, they would long ere this have been doing time for the offense. Even the Times becomes weary of the farce and observes that for two years the case has been "knocking around the courts. First the original indictment was quashed. Then it was sustained on appeal. Meanwhile a new indictment had been found. Motions to quash it, in turn, were duly made. For the present they have failed. But nobody knows what will happen on appeal. And even if there is a trial and con-

MEET THE MEN WHO WRITE FOR THE NEW LEADER AT THE DINNER

WITH the New Leader successfully launched on its third year, the coming annual dinner to be held Thursday, Feb. 25th, at the Park Palace, 110th Street and Fifth Avenue, will be in a nature a celebration for deeds accomplished and the planning of bigger things to come.

post-war fight for American liberties; Henry G. Alsberg, brilliant journalist, translator of "The Dybbuk" which is making such a sensational run at a local theatre; Morris Hillquit, International Secretary of the Socialist Party; Abraham Cahan, of the Jewish Daily Forward, and Norman Thomas, director of the League for Industrial Democracy.

The arrangement committee reports an unusually heavy list of early reservations. Make yours now by calling up Stuyvesant 6885 or by writing to The New Leader, at 7 East 15th Street.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—After a battle of eleven days with fire and poisonous gas within the south entry of the Morning Mine, the bodies of fourteen of the twenty men who lost their lives Feb. 3 were brought to the surface.

Meeting of the Third House

The Third House is meeting in Albany as usual. For the benefit of those not acquainted with this branch of the Legislature, we wish to explain that it consists of the agents of the manufacturers, banks, railroads, super-power and other interests. These gentlemen constitute an upper chamber whose duty it is to see that the material welfare of the "best people" is taken care of, if you get what we mean. Of course, it would be foolish to look for the Third House, in the State Constitution. It isn't there. It is in Albany, alive, alert, active and functioning very well. This week the Third House took action on an important matter. The Forty-eight-Hour Week Women Bill is said to have been vetoed by the Third House and the Republican boys downstairs have been ordered to work for another "investigation" of women labor instead. To be sure that the Third Chamber itself would not neglect this duty it is reported that a number of manufacturers personally attended its session and urged the "investigation" as a substitute for the Forty-eight-Hour Bill. This action will make the Tammany agents all the more active in defense of the bill, so that they can return to New York with an appeal to the proletariat. Watch the decisions of the Third House, beloved freemen. Its actions are often more important and decisive than the deliberations of the statesmen downstairs.

12,000 FURRIERS ON STRIKE

Entire New York Industry Shut Down by United Walkout

TWELVE thousand New York fur workers are striking—cutters, squarers, operators, nailers, ironers, examiners, finishers, fur cap makers, tail and head makers. All union shops are closed by the strike. The three demands of the workers which the employers' association refused to grant are: 40-hour work week; 3 percent of payroll to be paid by employer for unemployment insurance; equal division of work and no discharge without proper cause. The workers also ask a 25 percent increase in minimum wage rates.
The Associated Fur Manufacturers, Inc., locked out the 4,000 workers employed in its members' shops several days before the general strike was declared by the New York Joint Board, International Furriers Union. The workers in Greek shops, whose employers were negotiating through another association with the union, are also on strike to prevent employers' stalling.
Special occupational diseases with which fur workers become afflicted are noted by Ben Gold, joint board manager, in justifying the union demands. He says that the employers "are just as much aware as the union is of the fact that a special medical examination has established that the fur workers suffer from a special 'furriers' asthma: bronchitis, nose and throat catarrhs, skin and blood poisoning and various other afflictions peculiar to the trade. It is a well-known fact that the life insurance companies have special provisions for fur workers."
"Why, then, do the employers refuse to grant a 40-hour week, which aims to give the fur worker two days of rest and escape from the polluted atmosphere of his shop? The fur industry is one of the richest needle trade industries, and the fur workers maintain a high standard of production. The profits of the manufacturers have been increasing by leaps and bounds while the fur workers are being employed no more than six or seven months during a year, and our hardy make both ends meet"

Remember The New Leader Dinner Feb. 25. Make Your Reservation Now. Call Stuyvesant 6885.

The Field of Labor

Pocket Book Makers to Elect New Manager

Elections for a new manager of the Pocket Book Makers' International union to replace Oasip Wallinsky, resigned, will take place Friday and Saturday, Feb. 19 and 20. The polling places will be at the union headquarters, 11 West 15th Street; at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, and at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th Street. On Friday the polls will be open from 5 to 7 p. m. and on Saturday from 12 to 2 p. m.

Former Assemblyman Abraham I. Shiplockoff is one of the two candidates for the office of manager, having been nominated at a large meeting of the union. It is believed that his election is assured by an overwhelming majority. Elections for chairman and secretary-treasurer of the union, which were held about a week ago, resulted in the election of Charles Kleinman, former secretary-treasurer, as chairman, and Charles Goodman, as secretary-treasurer. Officers of the various branches will be elected some time in the next week.

Police Club Woolen Strikers on March

Pasadena, N. J.—Police clubs came down heavily on girls and women as well as men woolen strikers of Pasadena as they attempted to cross into Clifton toward the Forstmann and Huffman mill to persuade other workers to join their fight for better working conditions. Four of the workers were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, although they showed plenty of bruises from disorderly police clubs.

Switchmen's Union Seeks More Pay

Buffalo, N. Y.—The Switchmen's Union of North America asks approximately \$1.17 per day more pay, the amount varying according to service. Government statistics show that switchmen are in the most hazardous of railroad jobs and are used to support the union demand. One switchman of every four was killed in 1914—more than the war casualty rate for American soldiers in France.

Laundry Owners Back Down

Seattle—Members of the local Laundry Owners' Association, who posted notices announcing the establishment of the open-shop policy, now have issued other notices in which they rescind that action and declare that they will continue to employ their help from members of the Laundry Workers' Union.

Police Want Pay for Part in Strike

New Britain, Conn.—New Britain police are trying to collect \$323.40 from Regina Towers for "special protection" of his brickyard during the fall strike of clay workers.

Unions Fight Incoming Plant

New Brunswick, N. J.—New Brunswick unions are combatting the removal of Wolf & Abrahams Clothing Co. here from Bridgeport, Conn., because the firm refuses to make an agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union. Union building trades workers will not do necessary alterations on the building picked by the anti-union concern.

Boston Clothing Strike Settled

Boston—A two weeks' strike against the Commonwealth Clothing Co. conducted by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers brought the company to terms with the union.

Philadelphia Union Forms Demands

Philadelphia—Union dressmakers of Philadelphia in International Ladies Garment Workers voted approval of demands for 10 per cent. increase in wages, joint board of sanitary control, cash security from contractors to insure enforcement of agreement, unemployment insurance. An intensive organization campaign has been in progress and these demands are the result. A strike will be resorted to if employers do not grant the union agreement.

Cap Makers Win Twelve-Week Strike

Chicago—Union hours, wages, working conditions and union recognition are now granted by Isidor Brandy, Chicago cap manufacturer, after a 12 weeks strike successfully carried through by Local 5, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International union. Brandy is also forced to contribute the regular 2 per cent. of payroll to the unemployment insurance fund which is managed by the union, though the cash is paid in by the manufacturers, without any deduction from wages.

Snow Shovelers Strike at Second Storm

Salem, Mass.—One hundred snow shovelers in Salem freight yards struck for \$1 an hour instead of 50 cents when the second big storm hit New England. The contractor paid them off at the old rate and tried to find other workers.

Bakery Workers Convene in New York Aug. 9

Chicago—The nineteenth national gathering of the Bakery & Confectionery Workers International union will convene in New York August 9.

Disqualified for Aiding Amalgamated Clothing

Cincinnati—Disqualified for membership in the Cincinnati Central Labor Council on the charge of "having been instrumental in the organization of the I. N. Nash Tailoring Co.," is the fate of Phil E. Ziegler, editor of The Railway Clerk, the official journal of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. The "disqualification" of Ziegler was really superfluous since the control body already had orders from President Green, A. F. L., to suspend all railway clerk lodges, as the charter of their brotherhood had been taken up when the refusal of the clerks to surrender their express wagon drivers to the teamsters' union was reaffirmed.

Mather Stock Car Lockout Still On

Chicago—The lockout of union railway carmen against the Mather Stock Car Co. in Chicago remains in force. The men have voted to go back only as a body to prevent victimizing of the active union leaders. The union has maintained conditions and wages at this plant far above the average in the industry. The company runs a union shop at St. Louis and an open shop at Ridge, near Chicago.

Elect John R. Turner I. W. W. Secretary-Treasurer

Chicago—John R. Turner, for 13 years active in the Industrial Workers of the World, was elected by referendum of the membership as general secretary-treasurer for one year, beginning March 1. Most of his activity has been among the lumber workers, whom he helped to organize in the Pacific Northwest in 1916, serving on the strike committee in 1917. In 1918, during the war, he was tried in Chicago with 102 other I. W. W., including Haywood and Ralph Chaplin, and sent to Leavenworth, where he was confined five years.

Miners' Trial Ends in Eight Convictions

Benton, Ill.—Eight union miners of the Zeigler mine local stand convicted and five acquitted here for assault with intent to kill the union subdistrict vice-president, D. E. Cobb. The convicted unionists will move for a new trial the end of March. The case arose out of factional differences in the local union.

Pioneer Youth Conference Coming

The third annual conference of Pioneer Youth, organized labor's organization for children, is to be held in New York, March 3, at the International Ladies Garment Workers' union building, 3 West 15th Street. President Thomas J. Curtis, vice-president New York State Federation of Labor, expects over 100 local unions and central bodies and at least 15 international unions to be represented. The conference will plan the establishment of children's clubs and summer camps throughout the country.

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Park Ave. and 34th St.
Sunday, February 14th
8 P. M.

Anna Louise Strong
"What's New in Russia, China, Japan?"

11 A. M.
John Herman Randall
"Carl Sandburg's Abraham Lincoln"

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

AT COOPER UNION (8th St. and Astor Place) at 8 o'clock
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19th
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"The Meaning of a Liberal Education"

AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL (Lexington Ave. and 25d St.) at 8 o'clock
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20th
HOUSTON PETERSON
"The Dreams of Ibsen"

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22nd
SCOTT BUCHANAN
"Varieties of Scientific Experiments"

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 24th
DR. HORACE M. KALLEN
"Why Religion?"

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25th
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
"The Evolution Theory"

Admission Free
Open Forum Discussion

Admission Twenty-five Cents

Soviet Russia Today

Lifting of Restrictions on Peasantry Brings A Progressive Tendency to Russian Agriculture

By Otto Bauer

ONE of the chief events of this past year is unquestionably the notable progress of the economic life and of the standard of living of the Russian working classes. It is beyond doubt that for about a year past a notable alteration for the better has occurred.

In order to understand this, one should take Russian agriculture as a starting point, for Russian is a land of peasants. The Russian towns and industrial centers are only islands in a boundless sea of peasant life, the fortunes of Russian agriculture are decisive for Russian industry. What then has occurred in Russian agriculture? As a result of the war, of civil war, and also the Bolshevik experiments, it had fallen into a state of indescribable decrepitude. The stocks of cattle were almost entirely destroyed, the majority of the peasants had no oxen, no cows, no horses, no manure. Consequently, more than one-half of the soil remained untilled.

Towns Were Hungry
The result of this was the strange situation that a predominantly agricultural country, in which the urban population forms quite a small factor of the whole, which, before the war, exported vast quantities of corn, that this land was now incapable of feeding the towns; and so men literally died of hunger. This state of things was little by little overcome, and one can now record with satisfaction that it may be considered as definitely ended. It was overcome in the first place by lapse of time; since the civil war five years have passed away, and it is quite natural that in a few years the stocks of cattle have been replenished by breeding; with more cattle there is also more manure, and there are once again draught cattle.

Thus agriculture restores itself organically by mere lapse of time. This process of restoration in Russia has been immensely furthered by the decision of the Bolsheviks to abandon the utopian experiments of their first years. They did incredible things! They decreed—and not as an emergency measure determined by the war—that no peasant might have anything more than he needed for his own use. The result was that no fresh land was brought under cultivation.

Free Peasant Control Restored
In 1917 all wage labor in agriculture was forbidden. This law endured until last year; it was evaded in various ways. For example, the peasants adopted their farm hands and farm girls, or else the peasant contracted a fictitious marriage with the woman servant. Nevertheless, it came about that where there was a large estate or when the peasant was alone and his powers of work were insufficient, part of the soil simply remained untilled.

In the first years attempts were made to start so-called land communities to compel the peasants to pool their land and to manage it communally. In quite a short time this led to fearful chaos. It was of primary importance that the Bolsheviks did away with all these experiments, that in 1921 with the N. E. P., initiated by Lenin himself, they restored free peasant control so that the peasant could now dispose freely of his harvest, and finally that this prohibition of wage labor was rescinded. Today the peasant can manage his

Bauer Noted as Great Authority on Russia

Otto Bauer is a fighting member of the Austrian Parliament, an active Socialist newspaper man and one of the best posted writers of Europe on foreign affairs in general and Russian matters in particular.

While a prisoner of war he got a grip on the Russian situation and language which has never slipped under the most trying circumstances.

Bauer's close acquaintance with Russian affairs is never questioned, even by his most hostile critics.

Years Harvest Is Good

In addition, this year there was a very good harvest, although indeed, the extent of the Russian harvest has

Socialist Party of France Gaining

(Continued from page 1)

launch a new daily and make it a success. At the great banquet held here Oct. 31 to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the United Socialist Party and the attainment of a dues-paying membership of 100,000 by the present Socialist Party, when Secretary Paul Faure announced that since the banquet plans were made the membership had reached about 108,000, the applause of the 1,000 guests was punctuated by many cries of "Now we must have our own daily again!"

So a drive has been begun to raise 2,000,000 francs (about \$75,000 at present exchange rates) and get 25,000 subscriptions pledged in order to start the new daily under conditions favorable for its success. A large part of the capital has already been paid in or subscribed, and the paper will probably be under way within a short time. The January convention voted unanimously to approve the action of the Permanent Administration Committee in launching the campaign for the daily and urged all the comrades to fall into line. It was emphasized that it really seemed ridiculous for a party with 100 Deputies, some 600 Mayors and no fewer than 10,000 members of local legislative bodies to have to get along without a central daily organ.

When the semi-monthly Populaire disappears with the advent of the daily the field for the circulation of the new Socialist monthly, La Nouvelle Revue Socialiste, will be materially enlarged. The new monthly was started near the end of 1925, and is edited by Jean Longuet and L. O. Frossard.

Young Militants Organize
Another addition to the fighting ability of the party is the final definite organization of the young militants into groups closely linked with the regular party machinery and devoted to promoting education and athletics as well as Socialist propaganda.

While the French Socialists are thus preparing for further victories, their Communist competitors for the support of labor are badly divided among themselves, and their membership has been reduced from 45,000 in 1924 to about 15,000 at the beginning of 1926, according to a statement made by Boris Sou-

varine, editor of the Bulletin Communiste, organ of the dissenters kicked out of the old Communist Party early last year for having dared to support Leon Trotsky, then in temporary eclipse in Russia. An attempt to "Bolshevize" the French Communist Party by reorganizing it on the basis of shop nuclei seems to have worked out about as badly as a similar move in the United States has done. In Roubaix, one of the big industrial cities of the North, the Communist membership is now about 50, compared to 600 before the reorganization. The same condition obtains in many other places.

Of course, L'Humanite continues to print big stories of great gains by the Communist organizations, but those on the inside know better. It is reported in the Bulletin Communiste that 250 leading Communist party members, including 11 of the 26 Communist Deputies, have signed a letter sent to the executive committee of the Communist International in Moscow complaining bitterly at the results of the tactics adopted by the French party leaders and demanding a house cleaning.

SOCIALIST REVIVAL IS REPORTED IN RUMANIA

Revival of Socialist activities in the Kingdom of Rumania, after a lengthy period of quiet forced by government oppression, is reported by the Berlin Vorwarts.

At a Socialist Party conference held in January plans for reorganization were made and it was decided to take part in the recent local elections, in most cases in combination with the Democratic Party. Several speakers said that many Rumanian workers who had been disillusioned regarding the prospects of Communism were returning to the Socialist Party.

The Rumanian trade unions also held a well attended conference recently at which resolutions were adopted rejecting the ideals of revolutionary syndicalism and calling for education and organization along regular trade union lines.

Labor Doings Abroad

Labor Prepares for Migration Convention

A preliminary conference was held at Paris Jan. 20 to make arrangements for the coming International Labor Congress on Migration. It was decided at this meeting (which was attended by J. W. Brown, L. Joubaux and C. Mortens of the I. F. T. U., and L. de Broecker, M. Diamond and C. Cramp of the Socialist and Labor International) that the following bodies should be invited to the congress: The national trade unions affiliated with the I. F. T. U., the various countries affiliated with the S. L. I., the International Labor Office, the International Trade Secretariats, and a number of organizations from countries not affiliated with the I. F. T. U., viz: United States of America, Mexico, India, Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, Japan and others.

The chief subjects to be discussed at the congress, which is to be held in London from May 18 to 21 next, are the regulation of migration, the position of the immigrant in respect to social insurance, labor migration policy and economic conditions in relation to migration.

New Zealand Labor Loses Four Seats

Although the Labor Party of New Zealand lost four seats in the general elections of Nov. 4, last, having its Parliamentary representation cut from seventeen to thirteen, out of a total of eighty, it cast 25,919 more votes than in 1922, bringing its poll up to 131,067, out of a total of 654,855, reports Walter Nash, secretary of the party. Comparisons with the previous elections are not easy, as in 1919 the party contested 35 seats; in 1922, 40, and in 1925, 56. Of the 35,919 votes gained since 1922, 13,587 were won in the forty constituencies which the party also contested three years before. That in spite of this increase in votes four seats were lost is accounted for by the fact that both capitalist parties, the Reform party and the Nationalist party, united in many constituencies, and thus the Labor party came out last.

Czech and German Unions Draw Closer

Another step has been taken toward the eventual unity of the Czechoslovak and German trade unions in Czechoslovakia. As has been reported in The New Leader, negotiations between the leaders of the two organizations held early last year resulted in material progress, under the direction of Jan Oudegeest, one of the secretaries of the International Federation of Trade Unions, with which the Czechoslovak union is affiliated. At a council held Jan. 20-21, also presided over by Comrade Oudegeest, an agreement was effected which is to be submitted to the two national bodies for ratification. If the settlement is approved a conference will be held April 27-28 to decide upon the form of the working agreement. The good example of the trade unions is expected to help toward smoothing over the differences dividing the Czechoslovak and German Socialist Parties in the republic.

New Federation Forming in Argentina

Out of the conflict among the labor bodies of Argentina there will soon arise a new national Federation of Labor, embracing the bulk of the organized workers and affiliated with the Pan American Federation of Labor and the International Federation of Trade Unions, judging from reports from the big South American republic reaching the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U., and a letter recently sent by Comrade Juan B. Justo, Argentine senator, to Santiago Iglesias, Spanish secretary of the Pan American Federation of Labor in Washington.

While the various trade union organizations of Argentina have always been militant bodies, they have suffered much from Anarchist influences in their early days and Communist disension during the last few years. At last some of the stronger and better unions, including the Cabinet Makers' Union and the Railwaymen's Union, have come out for the calling of a congress at which a new national organization, freed from Communist and Anarchist handicaps, is to be founded. As the Railwaymen's Union is already affiliated with the International Transport Workers' Federation (one of the Amsterdam International bodies) and many of the promoters of the new federation are members of the Socialist Party of Argentina, affiliated with the Socialist and Labor International, it may easily be seen that the course of the new organization is likely to be laid along true international lines.

In his letter to Comrade Iglesias, as quoted in La Vanguardia of Buenos Aires, Comrade Justo expressed great satisfaction at the efforts being made by the Pan-American Federation of Labor to unite the working class organizations of the Americas, pointed out the difference existing between the Latin-American labor movement and that of the United States and voiced the hope that the coming Pan-American Labor Congress would be attended by delegates from the organized workers of Argentina, including the Socialist Party.

Notwithstanding the fact that Comrade Justo stated expressly in his letter that the new Federation of Labor would affiliate with the I. F. T. U., but that this would not stand in the way of linking up with the Pan-American Federation, a labor news service with headquarters in Washington has, by some weird process of reasoning, sent out a story halling the news from Buenos Aires as "a check to the effort of the Amsterdam International to break into the American labor family as a challenge to the American Federation of Labor." In view of the fact that the Amsterdam Bureau has never opposed the formation of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, but has welcomed it as a step in the right direction, the comment of the news service in question seems a little mixed.

All-India Trade Unions Convene

The recent All-India Trade Union Congress in Madras was attended by 130 delegates representing about 65 unions, says a report received via the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U.

The congress condemned the discrimination practiced against Indians in South Africa, and passed a resolution calling upon the international labor organizations to prevent the Indians of Natal from being deprived of their civil rights. Other resolutions demanded representation for the workers in the various Indian legislative bodies, and also legislative measures for maternity protection.

The congress proposed to appeal to the Government to undertake an inquiry into unemployment conditions and to introduce unemployment, old-age and sickness insurance. Resolutions were also passed calling for the abolition of the punishment system which is employed among railwaymen and commercial and industrial workers; the establishment of labor exchanges and arbitration courts for the settlement of labor conflicts; legal recognition of the eight-hour day. The congress expressed its thanks to the British and Australian labor parties for the support given to the Indian trade unions in the past. Another resolution demanded that India should immediately receive the status of a Dominion.

The experiences of the Bombay textile workers have taught them the value of solidarity.

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Portrait of President Peewit

By Jacques Le Clercq

THE gentleman whose portrait I am about to sketch is so essentially of America that it is difficult to present him in the accepted manner of portraiture. His figure cries for a very special technique that could bring out in proper magnitude his extraordinary progression and his pathetic conservatism, his mental untidiness and his practical graces, his moral purpose and his actual performance of it. For besides being President Peewit, head of an enormous occidental university, he is Brigadier-General Peewit, and, before he is finished, he will no doubt be either Governor or Senator or both. Again, he is not only the spectacular individual whom we observe adding to his country's moral, social, ethical, material and, yes, artistic uplift, he is also, in a very special sense, the expression of the aspiration of his state. Thus, though he speaks to his classes of Caesar's "Gaelic" War, when he wears a gown and mortarboard that implore an Urban setting, he is the great and world-renowned scholar. Photographs and descriptions of him in this guise circulate about the hinterland; the yokels can even evoke his alleged contribution to scholarship while they congratulate themselves on the possession of such an eminent educator. Does he not possess more honorary degrees than the president of the Rapid Transit Company or the State Bishop or the owner of the monster department store of the state's main city? Has he not always been a student (his M. A. and Ph. D. both are from the State University he now rules) and a teacher? Well, then—

More Than a Scholar

But to suppose President Peewit no more than a mere scholar is to fall very wide of the mark. It is fitting for an effete and reactionary institution (somehow everything is called an institution out there!) like Harvard University to be headed by a President Elliot or for a very special institution that isolates womenfolk like Smith College to be headed by a president like Mr. Neilson. "Out in the golden remote west" they are democratic; there are no social, no sexual—and, parenthetically, no educational—barriers; the president of a State university must be a man of affairs as well as a scholar. His affairs are particularly political. It is his function to insure an ever-increasing appropriation from the State Legislature.

In the case of President Peewit, the chief point of contact is twofold—agriculture and mineralogy. There lies the State's wealth and the double door of farmer and miner opens the way to success. If President Peewit is to remain a success-man, then he must cater to hog men and oil men. To the schools of agriculture and mining go the lion's spoils of the swag; to their learned pedagogues the richer salaries. The College of Arts and Sciences is a luxury, if it be compared to the other departments. Of course, any hogman's or oilman's son can enter it by virtue of having finished the time one serves in the local high school; he can "get" an education; he can study Polish A. Business 4 or Navigation 1B. This is only just in a democratic educational system. But what makes it possible is the appropriation which comes from the elected representative of the rural interests. So President Peewit must go to the Capitol and, often with a picked and trained staff of super-contact-men, he must lobby. Great scholar as he is, President Peewit is an even greater lobbyist. Through his energies the university has more and bigger buildings than ever before; its enrollment is yearly larger and with certain qualifications (which President Peewit never mentions when he addresses Rotarians, Lions or Chambers of Commerce) it is justified in terming itself the largest in the country; hence, in the world. That the average graduate proves to be not only an ignoramus and a dullard, but a person incapable of rudimentary

An American Educator, A Soldier And A Politician Rolled in One

thought consecrated by the prestige of university "sol-disant" education does not worry anybody. **NUMBERS TALK!**

Also a Super-Lobbyist

President Peewit is a super-lobbyist, of necessity and of choice. For by serving the higher education he is synchronously getting into politics. President Peewit will never be content with remaining merely the president of the largest, etc., university in the world. There are bigger plums hanging ripe on the bough waiting to be plucked. Was not a college president, Dr. Butler, frequently suggested as Republican candidate for President? Did not a college president, Dr. Wilson, storm the citadel? President Peewit has more than Dr. Butler in his favor, they say out there, because it is high time a westerner occupied the White House; President Peewit is more, too, than an idealistic scholar like Dr. Wilson. Even before President Peewit's eyes gazed pleasurably on Governorship or Senatorial station the local press in hifalutin editorials urged his name for the Presidency of the United States!

There, then, is the scholar and the man of affairs. But the perfect compound represented by President Peewit possesses another highly important ingredient to leave the mass satisfactorily. For, though it is thrilling to see him awarding yearly some thousands of diplomas, and though it is thrilling to behold him making an impassioned plea for education, though his notions of "Weltpolitik" and his views on pedagogy form startling contributions to human knowledge, all this is as nothing when one considers him in his supreme moment. President Peewit is a soldier! He is a Colonel, and, as it is said, a Brigadier during the Woodrowian Crusade. He brought the gospel of democracy into places where even the word had hitherto been unknown. It is not said whether this iron soldier faced shell-fire; probably he did not, for the public prints would certainly have chronicled it time and again.

What He Did in the War

But he had an extremely significant function. He was at the head of the Intelligence of the A. E. F. on one of its most critical Oriental fronts. To this ex-school teacher, ex-professor and National Guard officer fell the duty of controlling matters of universal import. As to how President Peewit acquitted himself of his office, the present writer is not privy. But his

actful denunciations of conscientious objectors, his flamboyant declarations that "all radicals should be lined up against a wall like Bolsheviks and shot," his eminently soldierly qualities, would seem to point to Napoleonic measures.

When he reviews the S. O. T. C. or when he parades on Armistice Day with the National Guard, or when a distinguished generalissimo turns up in his province, then truly President Peewit is at his most magnificent. The largest fruit in one valley, the possibility of oil being struck somewhere else, the salaries of teachers, the ordering of the student body, are far away. He has cast them from his mind. Erect, proud, handsome, his head held high, he marches as no Don Juan of Austria or Prince Eugene of Savoy ever marched to battle. His eyes gleam; his hands move rhythmically; his hamstrings are taut under the shining leather puttees; his feet move in perfect cadence. If one were interested in such things as the insignia of the Elks, one could probably recognize among the many ribbons on his swollen chest the tributes of such glorious nations as New Poland, Resurrected Czechoslovakia and Greater Yugoslavia. The Legion d'Honneur glows very red against his khaki, even though he would attribute to "Verdigris" a sanguinity common to Cuchulain. As you watch him go by, you know he means what he says when he counsels the shooting of radicals; the soldier who passes is a man of his word. Who would not follow such a splendid leader into a thousand engagements? Who would not congratulate himself on being from the same State as this heroic warrior? Scholars are all very well, so are men of affairs. But when your president is a soldier in the bargain . . . !

II

Though President Peewit's political and military duties keep him inordinately busy, it must not be thought that his scholarship is suffering. His information on current events is being constantly added to. His ear is to the ground; the latest literary and artistic developments are not evolving without his earnest study. He is, what is more, being kept abreast of the times by his colleagues and disciples.

For instance, in the matter of the theatre. He rarely attends the really competent productions of Greek or Elizabethan drama performed in the "biggest and best auditorium in America," though he naturally graces the

Senior Musicality with his presence. Nor is he aware of the repertory company within his gates, unless the Town Mothers' Club or the University Ladies' Guild informs him that his students are giving such immoralities as "Vidrac" "Tenacity" or Richman's "Ambush."

Then he scratches his head, appears to ponder a minute, and briskly calls for his secretary or for the Assistant to the President or for some highly placed Christian student, such as the President of the Associated Students, the Editor of the University Lit., or the President of the Silver Totem Society.

"Vidrac?" he says smartly. "Vidrac? Now who is he?" Or, "About these plays, I really don't know. I shall stop them, of course. There must be plenty of other plays to do!" The specialist in question invariably lends his lights to the illumination of the problem in accord with President Peewit's policies—that is, if the specialist really knows anything about the subject. A presidential decree has caused all dramatic societies to present their plays to the President's office for his sanction on the manuscript. Someone in that office is receiving an excellent education in the drama of the world. Is it too much to hope that President Peewit can fall to profit thereby?

A Student Editor's Fate

There exists another diverting account of post-presidential education; this time administered through the agency of a lowly sophomore. This ribald fellow founded a journal of considerable sprightliness. In the course of his editorial policy he called upon Mr. D. H. Lawrence to indite a review of a book of the moment, "Fantazius Mallare." Mr. Lawrence's critique proved more than pungent; it fairly bristled with phallic and papilian locutions. The letter was published with a substitution of dashes for words that might give offense. The resultant document was largely dashes, quite innocuous in itself and patent to the more civilized.

The President called upon a literary lion: "Who is this D. H. Lawrence?" There was a slight pause. His informant hesitated. Then: "Oh, it's probably a pen-name of Witter Byner's."

For this issue of his magazine the editor was incontinently expelled from the university and, in medieval fashion, banished from his public grounds. The letter from Mr. Lawrence was the

excuse, though it was two other features that most troubled President Peewit. The first was a challenge from our most celebrated Socialist to answer certain questions that placed President Peewit in something of a political stew. The second was the exposure of President Peewit's historical super-rally. The Gods have been prodigal in their largesse of gaiety to the nations in the case of President Peewit.

Shortly before the attack by the propagandist, whether dependent upon it or not cannot be known, President Peewit offered his resignation to the trustees. On the whole, little regret was expressed save among the very simplest students. A rally was staged to demand in the name of the students of the university that the President reconsider his resignation. Instead of wild acclamation, the affair proved to be a very snide spectacle indeed. Moreover laughter greeted it when it was ascertained that the recipient of the petition had not been a stranger to certain phases of the organization of the entire procedure. For once the soldier failed the politician. But the man did not fall either when he hailed the luckless editor into his office:

"You are a decadent, sir!" thundered the moralist.

It gives one to wonder precisely what President Peewit considers decadence to comprise.

III

When President Peewit resigned, there was much speculation as to what role he would play. He was no Baptist divine like his predecessor, who could assume a dignified emeritus rank through age and godliness. He was not a scholar like his successor, so that no avenue of retirement in scientific research or erudite compilation bared a grateful vista to his sight. But he had been prominent politically and in a military way; he still owned contacts at the Capitol and his rank in the Reserve Corps. Naturally rumors of a legislative future ran riot.

Would he stand for Senate? Would he not make an excellent governor? The breadth of his opinions was plain as a plikestaff; the proud carriage of his person was inured as a legend. Would he not be the ideal representative of that state where liberty was most bitterly opposed by legislation, and where some sort of outward dignity was most lacking? President Peewit said never a word in the beginning. The rumors continued. President Peewit half-heartedly suggested he would return to teaching history or economics or whatever cognate subject he had previously taught. And then all the rumors died, leaving President Peewit high and dry.

It was a difficult moment, but President Peewit was of a stature to solve the dilemma in truly characteristic fashion. At the end of his term, he would ask for a year's leave of absence and repose from his arduous administrative duties. He would be able, by then, to find some occupation suitable to so strenuous a temperament; something Rooseveltian. It might prove to be an Arctic expedition or a river to be explored in South America, or some such semi-public undertaking.

A Lion Hunter

The year wore on. Subsequently it is related that President Peewit went big-game hunting. Lions in Lybia or sport of that sort. But it is not known by the public at large whether any skins adorn his study today. For a retired State University president cannot command the attention of a wide public even in his own province. Nor can a possible governor or senator, whose chances appear to be, suffering a temporary eclipse. So, his lions laid low, President Peewit returned to his alma mater as a mere professor in his chosen field.

National scholarship in this department of learning has displayed no sign of influence on his part. Is he resigned to his fate or does he bide his time? It is a matter of entertaining speculation to wonder what President Peewit thinks about as he crosses the bridge in Faculty Glade, the bridge whose Latin inscription indited by the department of classics bore only one grammatical error in a half-dozen words. Are his meditations purely scholastic as he gazes at the monster Renaissance bell-tower whose peaks, ever out of tune, ring brazenly across the air and whose height is eternally being likened in gaudy speeches to the aspiration of knowledge? Does a thought other than that of books enter his mind as he walks into the library down a passage whose entrance reproduces that of a Manchester mill? Is his expression one of melancholy as he surveys the presidential mansion he graced so gallantly, where he shook thousands of hands in one short moment?

What of His Future? He will never, it is a foregone conclusion, become president of this long-suffering republic. For one thing he is chary of even professional soldiers by now save in minor capacities; and for semi-professional soldiers he have assigned entertainment in the government of the American Legion. President Peewit found in the late war his making and undoing. Military life offered him his opportunity and for the present it has taken it away. Unless the heralded Japanese war were to occur, President Peewit's role is not a national one. Yet in local and especially state politics he can still be a factor. Already there are rumors of his being appointed here and there upon investigation and public service boards. He is eminently suited for success in state politics to go very far indeed in a part of the world where democracy has been reduced to the absurd. As governor he would caricature the monarchistic and aristocratic man of action competently enough to stand as the beau ideal of the boob.

A Letter to the Miners

(Continued from page 1)

And the operators in the anthracite are as greedy and pitiless a lot of exploiters and slave-drivers as there is to be found in America. They rule the anthracite region with the mailed fist and the iron heel. For fifty years I have had personal contact and knowledge of conditions in the anthracite. Many times have I covered the principal points in this field and as many times have I had occasion to know how the mining pirates rule in the anthracite.

To my own personal knowledge the miners in the anthracite have been striking against this monstrous monopoly for half a century, and after all these years of toll and agony, of slavery and martyrdom, nothing has been settled. Conditions remain substantially the same, and in due course the miners will strike again and again, and with the same inevitable result.

Continuous State of War

Ever since the Molly Maguires, and even before, there has been war in the anthracite. To this day the names of those martyrs may only be mentioned in whispers. On one occasion I was

shown the gallows with which a number of them were hanged.

Franklin B. Gowen, the suicide, king of the Reading, and his infamous tool, McParland, who framed the "Mollies," are recalled as these lines are written.

There has been little change in the anthracite region since those working class executions took place fifty-two years ago. The owners and operators have steadily grown richer and more powerful; more brutal and autocratic, but there has been no material change in the standard of living or in the general condition of the miners.

In making this statement I speak from my own personal observation and experience.

Nationalization Only Solution

There is but one way under the sun to break this steel-clad, flint-faced, stony-hearted monopoly in the anthracite, and that is by nationalizing the mines, taking them away from their greedy private owners and turning them over to the people and having them operated for the benefit of the people.

That is the Socialist program, and every pirate in the anthracite and elsewhere is opposed to it and will fight it to the last ditch.

And so powerful is this opposition to national ownership that through its press, its politicians, its preachers, professors, and its menials and mercenaries in and out of office, these colossal exploiters so intimidate even labor leaders that they dare not suggest this remedy to their benighted followers.

Not one word in favor of national ownership fell from the lips of a strike leader during the entire period of the strike, and yet it is the only remedy that will emancipate the miners in the anthracite from wage-bondage to their brutal masters.

A New Policy Needed

It is true that until the workers have their eyes opened to this fact they can meanly do something through their organization to maintain some semblance of their rights and a comparatively decent standard of living, but it will require a different policy than that hitherto pursued if the miners are to hold the "little they have instead of sink"; deeper into wage-slavery.

Why in the name of common sense, for instance, should the contract with the anthracite operators expire at one time and the contract with the bituminous operators at another time?

Will some defender of the present policy oblige me with an answer? For years I have insisted that these contracts should expire at one and the same time so that if the miners are driven to strike they can strike together solidly from end to end of the country and thereby stand far greater chances of winning for all than by stupidly allowing themselves to be played against one another as they

have for years, notably in the strike just closed.

But they still strike one section at a time and with the same general result, which can be seen in the wretched, tragic, pitiful conditions which prevail in practically all of the mining regions of this country.

Another feature of the situation for miners to understand is that voting for capitalism will insure the perpetuation of capitalism and all its consequences, including long and hopeless strikes, poverty, hunger, dirt and slavery.

Miners Vote Bosses Ticket

In the anthracite the miners as a rule vote for the Republican ticket, and they ought to know at the close if they did not know at the beginning of the strike what the Republican party stands for and what they get under its administration.

As long as the miners and the workers in general support the political party of their masters, whether it be the Republican wing or the Democratic wing, they will get what they are getting now, the right to collective starvation, provided they starve in a peaceable and law-abiding way, for if they dare to make any fuss about it they will promptly receive bullets in exchange for the ballots they gave to the candidates of their masters. Most earnestly do I hope for their own sake and for the sake of their suffering wives, mothers and children, that the bitter lesson of this terrible lockout (that is what it was in fact, not a strike) will not have been in vain, but that they will open their eyes to the conditions which confront them and marshal their industrial and political forces for the overthrow of the capitalist system and for the establishment of the Working Class Republic in the United States.

Make Your Reservations Today for the New Leader Dinner, Thursday Evening, Feb. 25. Just Call Stuyvesant 6885.

Oneal on "Cultural Basis for Socialism" In the Bronx Friday

James Oneal, editor of The New Leader and historian of American labor, will deliver a lecture this Friday evening, under the auspices of the Tremont Educational Forum, at its headquarters, 4215 Third Avenue, corner of Tremont Avenue. A large audience is expected, and readers are urged to be at the hall at 8:15 prompt, if they wish to secure seats.

Oneal, in his historical researches and studies, came across some old American publications, not generally known, in which criticism of capitalist industrial society, very much analogous to that of the literature of modern Socialism is to be found and discussed. Oneal will analyze and discuss, among other things, this old and interesting literature.

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Porto Rican Masses Reach to Socialism for Freedom

By Santiago Iglesias

(Porto Rican Senator; President of the Socialist Party; President of the Free Federation of Laborers of Porto Rico.)

THE harder the conflict, the greater the triumph," are words which aptly apply to the work of the Socialist Party at Porto Rico.

The principles of Socialism began to spread through the island in 1896, simultaneously with the international organization of workers. The development of Socialist ideals is the first years was slow and its results small, due to ignorance concerning Socialist doctrine. The existing Spanish colonial regime was not propitious to its growth, the local authorities considering militant Socialism enormously destructive to order.

The first advocates of Socialism brought from Spain and Cuba the ideals of the movement and those of international labor organization. Since then the party has been steadily propagating these ideals throughout the island, among all classes and conditions of people.

Great Suffering Endured

The work caused many sacrifices, prison terms and personal attacks. The creation and growth of the Socialist Party had to face great per-

Exploited Workers of American Empire's Colony Build Movement Despite Ruthless Persecutions

sec and private hostility, and the repression of its advocates everywhere. Public speakers were imprisoned and many times accused of imaginary delinquencies.

In May, 1897, the writer published in "Ensayo Obrero" the first suggestions concerning the Socialist organization. The first meeting of importance in the island, called to advocate the cause, was held at the Municipal Theatre, March 25, 1898. At this meeting the first novices among the workers were born as Socialist public speakers. This gathering was dissolved by the authorities.

On October 18 of that year, the American forces took possession of San Juan and the entire island. Five days later, October 23, the Socialist Party first issued "El Porvenir Social," the paper to which the island owes the most intensive diffusion of Labor and Socialist ideals, and which was destined to serve as a guide to the multitude of workers throughout Porto Rico.

Editor is Threatened

So great was its apostleship that the government threatened to suppress it and to exile its director, the authorities accusing the paper of advocating subversive political ideas. But the military governor, General Brooke, announced that this paper could not be suppressed nor its director exiled.

On May 1, 1899, the workers issued a petition and manifesto. Soon after General Brooke, as military governor of the island, issued a general order proclaiming the eight-hour work day, this being the first effective acknowledgment of the demands of the Socialists. From that time the Socialists and Labor organizations commenced to exert great influence.

Industrial strikes began to occur, accompanied by some conflicts between the Socialists and the authorities which attracted the attention of the Socialists of the United States. In April, 1899, the Socialist leaders, Daniel DeLeon, John W. McFall, and especially Henry Kuhn and Ernest Bohm, offered their support to the growing Socialist Labor movement of the island.

Formation of Party

The first essay at the formation of the Socialist Labor Party in Porto Rico was made at the assembly of October 20 and 22, 1899, at which, besides Socialists, only those were recognized who were members of trade unions.

The intolerable hostility with which the first Socialist Labor organization in the island was received resulted in the denial of electoral political rights. By a general order General Davis, the military governor, granted the right to hold municipal office only to taxpayers and those engaged in the professions. The Socialist Party then decided not

to take part in the election and to send a commission to the United States, said body being composed of Eduardo Conde and the author.

These Porto Rico delegates appeared Executive of the Socialist Labor Party which was presided over by Morris Hillquit and asked them for protection before the members of the National public rights that had been denied to the workers and Socialists of Porto Rico and solidarity in defending the Rico.

Cordial Reception Given

The Socialists and the Central Labor Union of New York received the delegates from the island with great sympathy and sincerity. On March 8, 1900, a great meeting was held in Cooper Union, New York, six thousand men and women being present at that demonstration held for the purpose of giving publicity to the complaints and petitions of the Porto Rico Socialist delegates.

In this meeting a leading part was taken by the most prominent American Socialist leaders, such as Hillquit, Sabin, Ben Hanford and Julius Gerber. Speeches were made by Eduardo Conde and the author of this article, and translated into English. The meeting unanimously approved a resolution addressed to President McKinley asking for an end to the military regime, acceleration of the concession of civil government to Porto Rico. The New York press gave great prominence and praise to this demonstration.

First Socialist Congress

On May 1, 1900, two important happenings for the island took place—the inauguration of Porto Rico's first Civil Governor under the Foraker Act which had been approved by Congress in Washington, April 12, of that year, and the holding of the first Congress of the Socialist Party at the Municipal Theatre of San Juan. In that same year, too, Insular Socialism was represented at the United States Socialist convention at Indianapolis by the author.

In 1902-1904 the Socialist Labor Party did not enter the elections, its retirement being due to the exceptional conditions which then existed in the island and to the lack of legal guarantee which obliged the Socialists to temporarily disavow the party.

In the elections of 1906, the Socialists of the island voted under the name of "Federacion Libre," and obtained 1,345 votes, and in 1910 the Socialist Party obtained 64 votes in San Juan and 802 in Arecibo.

The Free Federation

In 1912, the Free Federation of Laborers having prohibited the use of its name on the electoral ballots, the Insular Labor Party obtained 2,365 votes

in Arecibo, and in 1914 the party obtained 4,398 all over the island, being victorious over the Unionist Party in the municipality of Arecibo.

In 1917 the Socialist Party, already better organized, and understood, polled a vote of 24,468 and elected a Senator. In 1920 the strength of the movement was demonstrated by the force of 59,140 votes, electing one senator and four representatives to the Insular Legislature. The party also elected a representative in the Workmen Compensation Commission, and in the Commission of Insured Homes, besides being victorious in the Guayama, Arroyo, Fajardo, Rio Grande, Carolina, Luquillo and Ceiba municipalities, as well as in half of that part of Ponce.

The Socialist propaganda in Porto Rico and its doctrines are completely united with that of the trade unions, as in Europe. The initiation of Socialism was the laborers' movement. The influential leaders of the Socialist Party are the organizers of trades unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Socialist organization reached undeniable importance at a later period, this being due to the ill treatment and poor conditions of the urban and rural laboring classes. The concentration and exploitation of the great industries of the island were made by means of great corporations of what may be termed the "American Wall Street" type. Absentee capitalists drew their annual profits without employing them in the island.

Consequently, this system has changed Porto Rico into a huge factory of what may rightfully be called, half slaves, proletariats and countrymen, who work for miserable wages, and most of the time are left without work; half hungry, half naked, and without adequate places to live in. It was not strange, therefore, that Socialism has made such surprising progress and that, for the people, it constitutes the hope for a better future.

The Socialists on Wealth

Defining wealth, the Porto Rican Socialist Party says: "Wealth is, undoubtedly, all welfare; all elements of obtainable and enjoyable life; all tangible or intangible matter that furnish welfare, food, strength, instruction and recreation. In a word, wealth is all that is useful to satisfy man's needs and intellectual, aesthetic and nutritive desire. But before and above all, wealth is the direct emanation of the functions of human work, intellectual, spiritual and physical, applied to the various primal sources of nature. In fact, they agree with Abraham Lincoln, 'that capital is the product of work.'"

present social, economical and political organization, which is unscientific, unjust and confusing to cooperation and the increase of population."

The Doctrine Matters

The Socialist Party of Porto Rico declares that it is partisan to the closest unity of Porto Rico and the United States, and that the constitution ought to be extended to all Insular American citizens, because it thinks it is the most stable guarantee for the development of the public interests and for protection against its absence by the American nation.

The short immediate program of Socialism in Porto Rico is defined in three desires, as follows: "Democracy in the Government of Porto Rico." That is: just and proportional representation by election of all the productive capacities, of all the tendencies, with the unequivocal purpose of insuring just consideration and opportunities of establishing a perfect economic welfare of all the social groups.

"Fraternity in Society." Equality of rights and privileges in the enjoyment of natural wealth through the efforts of labor, and the diffusion of universal education to advance Porto Rico in culture and intelligence, the extension of its knowledge and the enjoyment of equal opportunities.

"Social Democracy." This is the highest ideal of humanity, the most exact form of liberty, equality and fraternity that move the heart and nourish the mind of all altruistic men and women of the world.

Society Women, Short Skirts and Sex

By Gertrude Weil Klein

"Blame her not if for a day she flaunts her glories while she may; she half perceives, half understands, snatching her gifts with both her hands."

ALL THAT is necessary, nowadays, it seems, to get into the newspapers, is to proclaim that the members of the well-known younger generation are sinks of iniquity, or, contrariwise, to assert that the members of the, as above, younger generation are models of chaste modesty. Neither those who "view with alarm," nor those who "point with pride" can do anything about the matter; and they would be foolish to try.

We can't help feeling that people who are always crying about somebody else's depravity have their own little sores festering away somewhere under cover. But it is only when some futuristic mediator organizes a Society for the Increase of Skirt Lengths or for the Abolition of Cigarettes, in order to clean the sinks, that we are moved to pessimistic protest.

The latest skin clearer to break into print is Mrs. John B. Henderson, social leader and third wealthiest woman in Washington. She is enlisting in her crusade such worthy organizations as the Daughters of the American Revolution. Her aim is to bring skirts down to ankle length, to destroy the cigarette smoking habit among women, and to banish other fashions supposedly borrowed from the underworld.

Why Long Skirts?

Why anybody not knock-kneed or bow-legged should sponsor long skirts is something of a mystery to us. As far as sex allure is concerned, the long swishing skirt, occasionally displaying a discreet ankle, held more sex allure to the inch than the modern, honest, short skirt does to the yard. In the days when men frequented burlesque and musical shows for their leg displays, legs caused titillations. But no longer. The savage, surrounded by nudity, thinks nothing of it.

When the modern girl goes so far that beauty is outraged, it is to be regretted, but blame her not. Competition for male favor is so fierce that every girl must carry her own window display and put her best charms where they will attract most attention. Not a pretty state of affairs, no. But not of her choosing or making, either.

If all children were surrounded by the comforts that would enable them to grow up into healthy beauty (barring accidents) and, given cultural advantages that would make them interested and interesting, human beings; if they could be assured that too soon the factory, the stuffy office, the daily subway battle, would not rob them of their youth and charm, we should be spared most of the hysterical display. If young men did not have such a terrific struggle to keep a footing—usually just a job—in the business world, that they became wild, shy creatures when any likely miss threatens to take their attentions seriously and become fond of them, we should eliminate the rest of the hysteria. Only the most careless or most stupid young men plunge or are plunged into matrimony these days. The others consider themselves impetuous when they permit a girl to kiss them. The girl who meets our newest crusaders' standards will get as much male attention as a new scratch on a four-year old car.

A beautiful production of "The School For Scandal" came to New York for one performance. It could not stay longer because the producer would not and could not pay the exorbitant rental for the lease of a theatre. Many mediocre productions of mediocre plays find places in the New York theatres because somebody is

ready with financial backing to see them through. It is an open secret that the indifferent production of "The School For Scandal," which has been holding the boards for several months, is bought and paid for by a certain Chicago society woman, once an actress, who has come back to the stage after an absence of twenty-five years to play the part of Lady Teazle. Write your own head on this example of art flourishing under our competitive system.

Pity the poor working girl! With little opportunity for indulging her natural desires for a good time, it is no wonder she is tempted to take a chance when a sporty boy with a car offers her a ride, with the possibility of its including a supper and a show. But she had best be wary, for if our courts of justice are going to follow the example of Judge Davidson of Passaic, she's going to get equal rights and equal responsibilities with a vengeance. One such girl brought two young men to court because of indignities she suffered while on a joy ride. Judge Davidson let the men go and reminded the girl that these are the days of equal rights and responsibilities and that on her own head be the consequences of her folly.

Woodworkers' International Won't Visit Moscow Group

An invitation from the All Russian Woodworkers' Union to send delegates to its January convention in Moscow was turned down by the Executive Committee of the International Union of Woodworkers at a meeting held December 18, in Amsterdam, on the ground that the Russian organization belonged to "an International which fiercely attacks the International Federation of Trade Unions, whose platform we adopt."

Affiliation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was approved by the Executive Committee and became effective January 1. It is reported that the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers of South Africa, with a membership of 3,000 and headquarters in Johannesburg, has decided to affiliate with the Woodworkers' International as an independent national union. Up to July 1, 1925, this organization was affiliated with the International through the British Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.

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The Lecture Calendar

- Friday, February 19**
DR. CECILE L. GREIL, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, and Socialist Party City Committee, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn. "Interpretation of Dreams." 8.15 p. m.
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, People's Forum, 167 Tompkins Ave., Brooklyn. "Militarism in the Colleges." 8.15 p. m.
JAMES ONEAL, Socialist Party, 7th A. D., 4215 Third Ave., Bronx. "A Cultural Basis for Socialism in the United States." 8.15 p. m.
Sunday, February 21
NORMAN THOMAS, Central Forum, City Committee Socialist Party, at the Labor Temple, 14th St. and Second Ave. "Immediate Issues Before the Workers and Socialists." Musical program. 11 a. m.
CEDRIC LONG, Co-operative Educ. Ass'n., 400 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn, 6.30 p. m.: "Co-operation on the Continent."
AUGUST CLAESSENS, East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. "The Elements of Marital Incompatibility." 8:30 p. m.
WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM, Socialist Party, 6-8 A. D., 8 p. m.: "J. Keir Hardie."
Monday, February 22
A. I. SHIPLACOFF, 23d A. D. Kings Socialist Party at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St. "Public Speaking." 8.15 p. m.
Tuesday, February 23
OSWALD G. VILLARD, People's Institute, Berwick Hotel, Broad St., Newark. "Politics and Patriotism." 8 p. m.
SCOTT NEARING, Educational Frontiers Committee, at the Community Church, 34th street and Park avenue, 8:15 p. m.: "Education in Soviet Russia."

- Friday, February 26**
H. S. RAUSHENBUSH, The People's Forum, 167 Tompkins Ave., Brooklyn. "The People's Fight for Coal and Power." 8.15 p. m.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

The High Cost Of Holes

THE Senate sub-committee headed by Senator Couzens, which investigated the wholesale rebating of taxes to big corporations by Andy Mellon's revenue bureau, found that depletion charges furnished most of the loopholes through which the big tax dodgers escaped.

A sulphur company which invested some \$250,000 in a property from which it then took \$4,000,000 worth of sulphur, received \$2,000,000 allowance for depletion of the original deposit underground. Mellon's oil companies did wonderfully in the same direction. His Gulf Oil Co. got rebates amounting to \$3,850,000, much of which was allowance for depletion.

Couzens showed that while this depletion was put into the tax scheme in order to encourage small concerns to risk drilling for oil on untried territory, 97 per cent. of the allowance granted last year went to old established companies in rich fields. It was a jail-delivery instrument for tried tax dodgers.

While on the subject of depletion, it may be worth while to say a few words in explanation of the system. Depletion in high finance lingo means payment for vacuum created by the taking out of substances already paid for. Depletion of coal, for instance, means that after you paid royalty to the royalty owners who permitted the Almighty to put coal in the ground and after you paid the coal operators for permitting the miners to take the coal out of the ground, there is a cavity in the ground whose total value equals the thing that used to be in it.

To make depletion still more plain, let's assume that you are in the cheese business. You buy five dollars worth of Swiss cheese and sell it to me for ten dollars. You have now your original investment back and five dollars extra for your trouble. Then the government comes along and charges you one dollar income tax on the five dollars you made out of me. Thereupon, you show the government the hole where the cheese used to be to prove that instead of making five bucks, you're out of your five dollar's worth of cheese which sounds so reasonable to the government that it rebates to you the taxes which I paid for you when I bought the cheese.

The essential difference between buying Swiss cheese and coal is that when you buy Swiss cheese the holes are thrown in while when you buy coal you pay for both coal and hole.

Another endente cordiale.

Sugar, Saints and Sinners

It seems an honest man has strayed into the Tariff Commission. This is the body that is supposed to lower the tariff on commodities which have graduated from the infant class and can walk on their own pegs. The honest man in question is a Mr. Costigan who is about to be beheaded because he thinks that the tariff on sugar can be lowered without turning it into salt brine.

Mr. Costigan recently told a New York audience that the commission was packed by beneficiaries of the high tariff; that the packing was started by Mr. Coolidge and that more packing is to follow. Among other things, he protested against the appointment of Commissioners Brossard and Baldwin. Thereupon, Senator Smoot of Utah countered with a resolution calling for an investigation of Mr. Costigan's tariff commission by the Senate finance committee of which Mr. Smoot is chairman.

Now of all the Smoots that ever came down the pikes, Senator Smoot is the smoothest. On his spiritual side, Smoot is one of the twelve apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. On his earthly side he is the owner of 400 shares of the Utah-Idaho (beet) Sugar Company of which the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is the trustee. Incidentally the above church, its twelve apostles and the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company are a large beneficiary under the tariff on sugar.

Comes now the strong silent man in the white house and appoints one Brossard on the tariff commission which may or may not interfere with the tariff on sugar. Brother Brossard is not an apostle. He is a plain and unassuming Mormon whose connection with Utah-Idaho-Mormon, twelve apostle, Smoot, sugar, and saint syndicate is purely of an earthly nature. When therefore, Senator Smoot as chairman of the finance committee asked that he be permitted to investigate Mr. Brossard's presence on the tariff commission he really asked to investigate himself.

Meanwhile, Senator Norris, a dour sort of a fellow, has started an investigation of the sweet things on the tariff commission and around the strong silent man in the White House on his own hook, which is a barbed hook as everybody knows. Mr. Norris revealed that the revelation he is about to reveal will shock the conscience of the country which sounds encouraging in view of the fact that the country's conscience is still groggy from the shocks administered by the Tea Pot Dome revelations.

Among other things, Norris wants to know how come that Smoot and the Silent one almost broke the heart of the world trying to make Beat Sugar Charley Warner, Attorney General of this United States. He wants to know why in 1921, Sugar Apostle Smoot threatened the cane sugar Cubans with raising the tariff unless they reduced the acreage on cane sugar, a move which cost American cake eaters, millions of dollars. And last but not least, he wants to know why the free and independent citizens of this nation should pay \$200,000 per day into the coffers of Latter Day Saints from Utah-Idaho and yesterday Democratic Sinners from Louisiana.

Adam Coalidigger.



WISDOM OF THE POOR FISH

Jimmie Walker is Mayor. Olovan Says So.

Why Shouldn't Evolution Be Stopped Now?

The Open Shop's Constitutional, Ain't It?

Respect the Sabbath. Sunday Trains Lose Money.

Why Should Fish Divide Up With Them Socialists?

The Views of the Fabians

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By Harry W. Laidler

THE first result of the industrial revolution was that of unrestrained license to appropriate the means of production for private gain. Ignorant or unreflecting capitalists speak of those terrible times with exaltation. It was not five per cent or ten per cent, says one, but thousands per cent that made the fortunes of Lancashire.

"Mr. Herbert Spencer and those who agree in his worship of individualism apparently desire to bring back the legal position which made possible the 'white slavery' of which the sins of legislators have deprived us; but no serious attempt has ever been made to get repealed any one of the factory acts. Women working half naked in the coal mines; young children dragging trucks all day in the foul atmosphere of the underground galleries; infants bound to the loom for fifteen hours in the heated air of the cotton mill, and kept awake only by the on-lookers' lash; hours of labor for all, young and old, limited only by the utmost capabilities of physical endurance; complete absence of the sanitary provisions necessary to a rapidly growing population; these and other nameless iniquities will be found recorded as the results of freedom of contract and complete *laissez faire* in the impartial pages of successive blue book reports. But the liberal mill owners of the day, aided by some of the political economists, stubbornly resisted every attempt to interfere with their freedom to use their capital and their hands as they found most profitable, and (like their successors to-day) predicted of each restriction as it arrived that it must inevitably destroy the export trade and deprive them of all profit whatsoever."

Webb maintained that this emphasis on individual freedom was partly a result of the blundering interference with economic laws by the kings in preceding decades—their debasing of the currency and their surprise prohibitions, prices skyrocketed and many fled the country. So the political economists joined with the utilitarians in the belief that every man must fight for himself and the "devil take the hindmost."

A revolt against this doctrine and its tragic results soon began to show itself. The first revolt came from the artistic side. Coleridge, Owen, Carlyle, Maurice, Kingsley, Ruskin, were its leaders. It was furthered by the conception of the social organism elaborated by Comte, Mill, Darwin and Spencer.

Practical men were forced to seek a remedy to the ills of individualism. Numerous factory, drainage, mine, and public health laws, were passed. The liberty of the property owner to oppress the propertyless began to be circumscribed, obstructed and forbidden. "Since after silice has gradually been cut from the profits of capital, and therefore from its selling value, by socially beneficial restrictions on its user's liberty to do as he liked with it. Silice after silice has been cut from the incomes from rent and interest by the gradual shifting of taxation from consumers to persons enjoying incomes above the average from the kingdom. Step by step the political power and political organization of the country has been used for industrial ends, until today the largest employer of labor is one of the ministers of the Crown (the Post Master General); and almost every conceivable trade, is somewhere or other, carried on by parish, municipality or the national government itself without the intervention of any middle man or capitalist."

"The theorists who denounce the taking by the community into its own hands of the organization of its own labor as a thing economically unclean, repugnant to the sturdy individual independence of Englishmen, and as yet outside the sphere of practical politics, seldom have the least suspicion of the extent to which it has already been carried out. Besides our international relations and the army, navy, police and the courts of justice, the community now carries on for itself, in some part or another of these islands, the post-office, telegraphs, carriage of small commodities, coinage, surveys, the regulation of the currency and note issue, the provision of weights and measures, the making, sweeping, lighting, and repairing of streets, roads and bridges, life insurance, the grant of annuities, shipbuilding, stockbroking, banking, farming, and money-lending."

"It provides for many thousands of us from birth to burial—midwifery, nursery, education, board and lodging, vaccination, medical attendance, medicine, public worship, amusements and interment. It furnishes and maintains its own museums, parks, art galleries, libraries, concert-halls, roads, streets, bridges, markets, slaughter-houses, fire-engines, lighthouses, pilots, ferries, surf-boats, steam-tugs, lifeboats, cemeteries, public baths, wash-houses, pounds, harbors, piers, wharves, hos-

pitals, dispensaries, gasworks, watering works, tramways, telegraph cables, allotments, cow meadows, artisans' dwellings, schools, churches and reading rooms. It carries on and publishes its own researches in geology, meteorology, statistics, zoology, geography, and even theology.

"In our colonies the English government further allows and encourages the communities to provide for themselves railways, canals, pawn-broking, theatres, forestry, cinchona farms, ir-

rigation, leper villages, casinos, bathing establishments, and immigration, and to deal in ballast, guano, quinine, opium, salt and what not.

"Every one of these functions, with those of the army, navy, police, and courts of justice, were at one time left to private enterprise, and were a source of legitimate individual investment of capital. Step by step, the community has absorbed them, wholly or partially; and the area of private exploitation has been lessened."

"Our religion, if it is to survive, must be positive, scientific, and social, having as its end the more perfect socializing of humanity, emphasizing love and sacrifice and community of interest."

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Labor's Dividends

Falling from the third floor to the cellar of a building under construction in New York City, Charles Anderson, a carpenter, died a short time later.

GLOUCESTER, Mass.—Eighteen fishermen stood on the rocks at Briar's Neck and saw three of their shipmates swept to death.

Harry Coords, Brooklyn, a trainman, employed by the B.-M. T., was coupling cars of a subway train when two cars between which he was standing crushed him.

An Open Letter To My Black Cat, Isabel

Springfield, Illinois.

MY Dear Isabel: I hear that you are feeling low in your mind. I deeply sympathize with you. When you and I, my dear black cat, look out upon this world of tears, there is, to be sure, very little to meow about. It is a world filled with labor fakers, open shoppers, company unionists and snapping dogs. To it you have contributed in the neighborhood of fifty-two very charming kittens and you may well reserve the right to regard it with critical eyes. If so frequent and fertile a Great Mother as your adorable self cannot, on occasion, enjoy the luxury of weltschmerz, there is no justice in the scheme of things.

However, Isabel, do not allow yourself to prolong your present mood beyond bounds. After all, it is always darkest before dawn. There is a possibility that the two-footed American public may some day achieve the fine sense of freedom, sophistication and complete independence that you black cats have so thoroughly acquired. Except for those occasions when that insolent Chow dog comes into your yard, you are always above the battle, looking with large and yellow eyes and a feeling of detached amusement upon the writhings of its child-like men and women who dare to call ourselves your superiors.

You know as well as I do, Isabel, that no community of cats, white, black or gray, would ever choose for their head so poor a specimen of cathood as now sits in the White House. You know too that no one could ever persuade a cat that had not eaten for days that she was really enjoying unprecedented prosperity. And yet by dint of words written on paper, hungry workers who can't get jobs are daily being convinced that they are actually as rich as John D. You know furthermore that if you cats got up a union you would hardly choose for the head of it, one who writes, "The present policy of the United Mine Workers of America is one to which every thinking business man should gladly subscribe." And again you would not lie down and give up all your nine lives because you had become a "tired radical."

No, Isabel, once you make up your mind that a certain goal is worth attaining, you go straight towards it, obstacles or no obstacles. Do you remember that rather frowzy tiger tom that you chose for your last husband? There were indications that he was not overly responsive to your advances. Did that discourage you? Not for one moment. You went right out and got him. Again, when you were forbidden from going upstairs into the apartment of our neighbors was it not necessary to call on the service of two strong carpenters to build a barricade against your invasion?

Surely it is not you who should become low in your mind, but rather those of us who have so little strength of character, so feeble a passion for justice that we let all the stuffed shirts and Babbitts of the nation parade upon our prostrate forms.

Give us, I beg of you, the strength of your philosophy, your Spartan indifference to the barricades. Let us learn from you to practice a fine indifference to the petty things of life, to have a keen sense of direction and goal.

Before long now, Isabel, I shall be back to scratch your ears in person. I've had a grand time in this little prairie town that masquerades as a city, but now I yearn for the roar of the subway, the tooting of the traffic cop's whistle, the unearthly noise of your prowling lovers. There are very few cats visible in this town. The bulk of them flee at the approach of a human. They have not that contempt for us that you Greenwich cats have learned so well.

An exception to this general rule is the gray cat in the Illinois Mine Workers' Building. I had quite a talk with her the other day and told her all about you. She sends her best and says that some day she would like to come to New York and visit you. She says that while she might be interested in looking over the city, she is sure that she would never want to live there. She asked particularly about the quality of New York garbage and was skeptical when I informed her that it was fully as rich as Springfield's.

This particular cat is, of course, organized one hundred per cent. She is a strictly union cat and will sit at no mouse-hole longer than eight hours. She tells me that some of her friends are getting up a company union. She has warned them against this and told them that it is simply a dodge on the part of the employing cats to let the dogs loose on them.

I don't think they will get away with this company union stuff. What few cats there are here are pretty good unionists and the scab cats are poor stuff, as scabs are everywhere. Do you remember how you half murdered that scab tabby who tried to bust up the G. V. of A. C.'s? (I mean, of course, the Greenwich Village Association of Amalgamated Cats.)

I must close, Isabel, so that you may get this in time. If I have said anything that will in any way lighten the gloom that now seems to surround you, I will be happy. There is no need in my telling you not to let anyone pick on you. If that miserable Chow is still hanging around, give him a good scratch for me. I'm sure he's one of those exploiting aristocrats. Show him what a proletarian pussy can do when her back is up. My best to your daughter and any other additions to the family that may have arrived during my absence.

With the humblest of affection for your sterling self, I am, etc.

McAlister Coleman.

Sparks and Flashes

THE debate between Morris Hillquit and Clarence Darrow on the World Court and the League of Nations was a huge success in every way. The crowd was there, the debaters were certainly "all there," and their arguments were both here and there. Neither of them succeeded in unsettling the settled. And Morris Hillquit broke another lance in his tilt with a windmill. Otherwise no damage was done and it was an enjoyable affair all around.

Now to us, it sounded something like this—Be it resolved: That we favor Rivington Street. Morris Hillquit said we had to favor it whether we liked it or not; that it was there and would remain, continue and flourish—but, he insisted, it was a vile street, conceived in inequity, born of capitalism and steeped in sin and that only under Socialist auspices could it become clean and wholesome. He predicted that with Socialists in power Rivington Street would be transformed into a boulevard and that it would bloom as a rose. Clarence Darrow said he didn't doubt the existence and persistence of Rivington Street but that he was opposed to it on general principles. (He is opposed to anything and everything on general principles—except the Democratic Party and he opposes it also after he has favored it.) He doubted whether Rivington Street could ever be clean, as it always was dirty it always would be dirty; human nature as it is, this filthy thoroughfare must eventually become dirtier and more foul.

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Gurley Flynn Honored

By Esther Lowell

THE crowd which assembled at the League for Mutual Aid invitation to honor Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's twenty years in the American labor movement was most unique—a united front that could hardly be duplicated by another person. In addition to 200 friends at the dinner, there were many others absent whose messages were read by Roger Baldwin.

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, sent regrets and his appreciation; Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Morris Sigman, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers; Ed Nockels, for the Chicago Federation of Labor; J. W. Johnston, for William Z. Foster; Arturo Giovannitti, Joe Ettor, Clarence Darrow, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, in Paris; Eugene V. Debs, Felix Frankfurter, of Harvard Law School; Charlotte Anita Whitney—these are only a few of the diversely opinioned friends who sent greetings. Ralph Chaplin sent his in a poem.

Speakers recalled when they first met Miss Flynn, a girl of 15, slim, beautiful and a thrilling speaker. They related incidents of her life—of the free-speech fights in Spokane, Wash., and other activities with Western Industrial Workers of the World; Baldwin Locomotive strike, Philadelphia, 1911; hotel workers' strike, New York, 1912; Lawrence textile strike, 1912-13; Paterson strike, 1914; Ettor-Giovannitti defense, 1912, in Massachusetts; Joe Hill defense, Utah, 1914; Mesaba range iron mine strike, Minnesota, 1916; Everett, Wash., I. W. W. case, 1916, and Sacc-Vanzetti case, Massachusetts, 1920-26.

Gurley Flynn herself was the main speaker, a dark-haired, good-looking woman with 20 or twice 20 years more for activity. She gave several possible reasons for her presence in the labor movement—her fighting Irish blood, inherited from "Paddy, the Rebel"; her good parents (both of whom were present, as well as her son, now a young giant five inches taller than she); she said she had no regrets for her life, and withal had had much fun. She held the assemblage, not a tribute to her personally, but to the labor movement. She expressed

her pleasure at having "all here as my friends in spite of our differences of opinion."

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Ford Freed, But Co-worker Is Still In California Jail

FEW cases in modern Labor history invoked such widespread interest as the trials of Richard Ford and Herman Suhr in California in 1914. These two men were the victims of the famous hop riots of the previous year. Harris Weinstock later investigated for the State the foul conditions which surrounded the workers. The late Carleton H. Parker, the most noted authority on the casual laborer, also went over the ground and their conclusions constitute a shocking indictment of the feudal proprietors of the hop fields. Nevertheless, Ford and Suhr were sent to the penitentiary.

The recent acquittal of Ford on a charge of murder gives hope that Suhr may eventually be released. This acquittal shows a more tolerant atmosphere in California and it is expected that a drive will soon be made in behalf of the freedom of Suhr. The recent trial of Ford was in such marked contrast with the former trial that it is interesting to recall the frightful injustice of which he was the victim at that time. In the trial of Ford eleven years ago, W. H. Carlin for the prosecution referred to Ford and Suhr as "rippers" and "conspirators," the assumption being that the accused in protesting against the abominations of the hop fields were prompted by pure cussedness.

After the riot District Attorney Stanwood employed the Mendell Detective Agency of San Francisco to investigate and arrest parties who were connected with the shooting. His orders were to investigate the hop pickers and NOT the ranch owner or members of the posse.

In compliance with those instructions, Burns and Mendell men were to be found on every hand, maliciously arresting anyone whom they thought

might have been at the ranch working as a hop picker. Countless numbers of such people were thrown in jail and held from 30 to 90 days without even as much as a hearing or a complaint being lodged against them. During this period of incarceration many of them were mercilessly beaten and grilled by every method new and old that these Mendell and Burns scoundrels could conceive.

Herman Suhr was especially picked out and treated in a manner so base that it compelled the Sacramento Bee to comment most unfavorably. The Bee held an investigation of the acts that had been perpetrated against Suhr and for many days carried full columns of comment on them. They interviewed Sheriff Henry Daken (the man who fired the first shot in the riot and the man who admittedly killed the Porto Rican, yet has never been prosecuted for the act, and Daken made the statement that the detectives had treated Suhr in the most shameful manner. He also stated that he could not help the man or stop the persecution as he had telegraphic orders from District Attorney Stanwood to the effect that he was to allow the detectives full sway and that they could use any means they saw fit to make Suhr confess.

The Sacramento Bee, in commenting on the vicious tactics employed, stated in an editorial for January 18, 1914, "In the name of Justice, in the name of Righteousness; in the name of Law, turn the prisoners out of Marysville jail and put the detectives in their places." It cannot be denied by any thinking person that whenever it comes to pass that a paper such as the Bee raises its voice in protest at some treatment that has been accorded a worker, that it is certainly high time that something be done for the worker involved, for there is not a paper in existence anywhere in the United States that is openly more antagonistic to workers and workers' rights than this same Sacramento Bee. And by their remarks it certainly cannot be disputed that the District Attorney's Office of Marysville was in full cognizance with what the detectives were really doing in the ends of "Justice."

Jury is Prejudiced
Next to the treatment accorded workers who were arrested because of that unfortunate affair, the manner in which the jury was handled throughout the trial is by far the rankest injustice.

A regular panel of eighty jurors and two special venires were used in the process of securing a jury. After the regular panel had been exhausted the defense asked that the sheriff, whose duty it is to secure the special panels, try and get people from sections of the country not adjacent to Wheatland, as they had very conclusively proven it was impossible to get a jury from Marysville or Wheatland. This request the sheriff seemed to ignore for he continued getting people from these particular neighborhoods. There was reasoning in this sheriff's acts. Reasoning perhaps prompted by other sources than his own mind.

All of the prospective jurors were in the court room and many of them who were decidedly prejudiced against the defendants, launched into vicious verbal denunciations of the men; and their tirades were all heard and digested by the prospective jurymen who had not yet been questioned. Ultimately, of course, a jury was selected, the defense had to take them—they had no more challenges.

The trial began, and contrary to all customary rules as followed in murder trials, the jury was not locked up by themselves at night. Instead each went his own way; read his own papers and talked with whom he pleased. They were admonished by the court not to discuss or read about the case, but then, how could they be expected to follow out the admonishment when on every side all one could hear was adverse opinions on the case; and when every newspaper in the state was carrying columns on the case.

Not only that, but it happened that a motion picture was being displayed at a local theatre called "The Hour Before Dawn" and in it was such that no juror should have seen it who was sitting on a murder case. Yet it was known that at least three of the trial jurors went to view it. No comment was forthcoming on any of these phases from our worthy friend Mr. Carlin. He did not object to the jurors retiring to their homes at night, no, Mr. Carlin well knew what effect the motion picture, newspapers, and common talk might have on their opinions.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Connecticut

Mayor Tower of New Haven went into office upon a campaign of economy promises and now proposes a bond issue of \$350,000 to purchase land in the rear of City Hall as a site for part of a city hall to be built. At a recent hearing Morris Rice who had been the Socialist candidate for Mayor spoke in vigorous terms against the Mayor's proposal. He asserted that some gentlemen who had helped to elect the Mayor had an interest in the land to be purchased. One politician asked if Rice had not been the Socialist candidate and he answered that he had been and was proud of it.

New Jersey

The State Committee met on Feb. 14 and among the more important matters considered was the distribution of Congressman Berger's speech on the tax bill. Branches are urged to distribute it. Copies can be obtained from Berger for \$3 per thousand. Moser of Trenton reported negotiations with Norman Thomas for a meeting which will probably be held in April. Renewed activities were reported in Camden with Comrade Harkins as volunteer organizer. A well-attended educational class meets each Tuesday night, the South Camden Branch is being reorganized, and the American Appeal is being pushed. Essex County has established a lecture forum in Newark. Hudson County reported that Morris Hillquit will speak in Jersey City in April and that the proposed ball has been postponed till fall. Miller of Passaic reported that the strike in the Passaic worsted mills was led by Communists who desired it more as a publicity stunt for themselves than anything else and that it was called when half the workers were not employed and the other half were working only half time. State Secretary Lee-man will be unable to go as a delegate to the National Convention as required by the state constitution and branches are now nominating two candidates. The treasurer reported a balance, Jan. 10, of \$492.56; receipts to date, \$128; total, \$620.56; disbursements to date, \$91.75; balance Feb. 14, \$528.81.

New England

There seems to be a general activity among the members of the party in New England for Socialist propaganda. Reports from the different centers indicate that the Socialists have taken to the idea of pushing American Appeal cards. They feel enthused with the work that the American Appeal is doing in New England. The Classens lectures are proving very successful. These are the second lectures in the course, and at every one Classens reports an increase in attendance. Worcester had shown the greatest increase, Boston and Lynn have also shown an increase in attendance, and enthusiasm by those who have attended. The lecture by Brent Allinson, from the point of view of attendance, was a success. Allinson delivered a very able and instructive talk on the "Lorraine Treaty."

The Socialist Women in Boston are arranging a luncheon for the last Classens lecture on Friday evening, Feb. 26. We are also arranging with local Socialists to continue the meetings in the different cities, after Classens' course has ended.

Harry Laidler, who is to deliver a lecture at Smith's College, has volunteered his services for an entire week from March 18 to March 29 inclusive. Another supper is being arranged for the meeting at which Laidler will speak for March 28. The State Secretary feels greatly en-

couraged with the assistance the party members are giving him in arranging the meetings and distributing literature, and selling subscriptions to the New Leader and the American Appeal.

Newkirk of Onondaga, and Sander of Onondaga county. The committee will determine the apportionment of the organized counties into election districts for the nomination and election of delegates to the National Convention to be held at Pittsburgh, beginning May 1, and adopt a policy to be followed by the State Office during the current year.

State Secretary Merrill has taken up with Congressman Berger the defects in the White Radio-Regulation bill. The bill is so worded as to give the Secretary of Commerce the power to censor matter to be broadcast. The possibilities of such censorship are obvious so far as the labor movement is concerned, the matter broadcast being subject to rules that the whims or personal opinions of the Secretary might dictate. The kind of "character" approved by the Secretary in an applicant for a license to broadcast might be such as to exclude from the ether every modern and liberal idea.

Local New York

2nd A. D. meets Thursday, Feb. 25, 204 East Broadway.

6th, 8th, 12th A. D., Friday, Feb. 26, 137 Avenue B. Will hold a debate on "Should the Socialist Party support the League of Nations." Comrade Raphael will speak for and Comrade Anna Wenger against. The Branch Executive, the educational and the theatre party committees will report.

Upper West Side Branch will meet Monday, March 1, at 360 West 125th street.

14th, 15th, 16th A. D. will meet on Thursday, Feb. 25, in Room No. 5 of the Labor Temple, 247 East 84th street. A speaker will be present. The committee on the debate will report. The Bowling and S. P. Club will meet in the bowling alley Saturday night.

Finnish Branch meets Sunday, Feb. 21, 2056 5th Avenue.

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German Branch meets Friday, Feb. 26, Labor Temple, 247 East 84th street.

Italian Branch meets Thursday, Feb. 25, Room 505, 7 East 15th street.

Clockmakers meet Tuesday, Feb. 23, 73 East 104th street.

Local New York has tickets on sale for the Provincetown Playhouse for the performance of "The Emperor Jones" with Charles S. Gilpin. Tickets are on sale in the office of the Local, Room 505, 7 East 15th street. This performance is for two weeks only beginning Feb. 15. Tickets are \$2.20 each.

Bronx

At the general membership meeting of Local Bronx, Patrick J. Murphy was elected as Executive Secretary. A thorough canvass of the enrolled Socialist voters and sympathizers within the county will begin on March 1 under the direction of Comrade Stille. A new executive committee is being elected by the branches, and its next meeting will be held on Monday, February 22. Watch for announcements of further activities.

BROOKLYN

Celebrate the Paris Commune
A get-together dinner and Paris Commune celebration will be features at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, at 219 Sackman street, Saturday evening, March 13. The thrilling story of the Commune and the heroic deeds of the revolutionists will stir us to renewed activity in behalf of Socialism.

Among the speakers will be Morris Hillquit, James Oneal, Norman Thomas and B. Charney Vladeck. A musical program will be added and dancing will follow. Tickets may be secured of Kings County Local, 167 Tompkins avenue, or through the branch secretaries of the Brooklyn districts.

People's Forum Friday Nights
The People's Forum, which has been conducted on Sunday afternoons at

167 Tompkins avenue by the 5th and 6th A. D., will now be continued on Friday nights.

"Militarism in American Schools and Colleges" will be the subject of an address by John Nevin Sayre of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, at the first Friday night meeting of the Forum on Feb. 19.

On Feb. 26 N. S. Raushenbush, of the League for Industrial Democracy, will speak on "The People's Fight for Coal and Power."

The 6th A. D., the 13th and 19th A. D. and the 4-14th A. D. will hold a special joint membership meeting on Tuesday evening, Feb. 23, at the headquarters of the 6th A. D., 167 Tompkins avenue, at 8.30 p. m. All members are urged to attend. The business is of the highest concern to all Williamsburgh comrades.

Yipseldom

Circle 3, Juniors, has been steadily growing since Sept. 1, and its membership is now forty, twice as many as in the fall. The circle has elected the following officers: S. Hertzberg, organizer; J. Wasserman, vice-organizer; W. Polan, treasurer; Esther Milgram, educational director; I. Bassof, organizer of social affairs, and Ben Levine, to take care of athletics.

This new circle was started about six weeks ago with a nucleus of three, and now has a total of fifteen good standing members. Credit is due to the energy and efficiency of S. Hertzberg, who was elected Bronx County organizer for Juniors at the recent convention. He is now negotiating with a social club of sixteen members in regard to joining the new circle, and to all appearances his efforts will be crowned with success.

The Community Church

Rev. John Herman Randall will preach at the Community Church, Park avenue and 34th street, Sunday at 11 a. m. Subject "Carl Sandburg's 'Abraham Lincoln!'"

Miss Anna Louise Strong will address the Community Forum, Park avenue and 34th street, Sunday at 8 p. m. subject: "What's New in Russia, China, Japan?" Miss Strong went to Russia in 1918 and has lived there continuously since that time. She knows the Soviet Republic better than any other living American. Returning from this country in the early winter, she crossed Siberia and spent time in China and Japan. Her address will be the latest authoritative word from these important sections of the world.

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We are offering to the readers of the New Leader the following Music Rolls for Pianola at cost price. Offer good only to the end of the year.
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The Solidarity
I Have Never Been a Socialist
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SPORTS INTERNATIONAL URGES WORKING YOUTH TO ORGANIZE ATHLETIC GROUPS

YOUNG able-bodied workers the world over are urged to organize labor athletic societies in connection with their Socialist and union activities and form national federations, which in turn can be affiliated with the International Workers' Association for Sports and Physical Culture, in an appeal issued by the Paris congress of that International. It is emphasized that the aim of labor sport societies should be to train the workers physically and mentally for participation, not only in games, but also for their part in the struggle against capitalism.

The Paris meeting of the Lucerne Sports International, as the organization is popularly called, was attended by thirty-eight delegates from nine countries, representing about 1,300,000 members. Secretary Jules Devilleger and President Bridoux gave enthusiastic reports of the progress of the International and the great success of the first Labor Olympiad, held in Frankfurt-on-the-Main last July. The deficit of 200,000 marks (\$47,600) incurred at Frankfurt had already been made up when the Congress met, early in November. It was decided to hold the next Olympiad in 1931, and in the meantime to promote a series of international games every year, the big events for 1926 being scheduled for Latvia, Finland, and Austria in July and Switzerland in August. Reports in the Socialist press of those countries show active preparations under way for the games.

A step toward eventual unity of the labor sports organizations of the world was taken at the Congress when it was unanimously decided that, although at present it was not advisable to comply with the Communist Sport International's plea for union, as voiced in Paris by its Secretary, Fritz Reusener, of Moscow, contacts might be arranged with labor sport organizations in countries not affiliated with the Lucerne International, provided that the athletes and their companions be selected by the societies participating and that these guests be pledged to refrain from taking part in political or sporting demonstrations, except as permitted by agreement between the national organizations concerned. The resolution concluded by noting that if events should indicate the possibility of an effective union with the Communist Sport International the matter would be put up to the next congress. The Presidium of the Communist Sport International has welcomed the Paris resolution as affording a chance for "boring from within" and trying to convince the rank and file of the Lucerne International of the need for speedy unity. Outside of Russia, where the labor athletic society is said to have considerable strength, the only country where the Communist sporting groups amount to anything is Czechoslovakia, where the split in the regular Socialist organization in 1921 gave them about 80,000 members. The Paris resolution placed a ban on games with organizations that had seceded from the Lucerne International. The Paris congress voted for the founding of an international labor sports journal and a picture service. The old officers were re-elected and the headquarters retained in Belgium. The next congress will be held in Hel-singfors.

Syria and Sincerity

France governs Syria nominally under a mandate from the League of Nations. Partisans of the League have assured us that the mandate system will cure imperialism. Let's see. Syria never wanted French government at all. Prof. Edward Mead Earle, an authority on the Near East, tells us in the Nation that French government has been "arbitrary, unsympathetic and brutal." The present insurrection which brought about the wanton bombardment of Damascus by the French is the sixth since French rule began. Professing the loveliest sentiments France has almost ruined the country by taxes to pay the Algerian and Senegalese and French troops who oppress it. They have debased the currency to conform to the depreciating French franc. Today a Syrian pound, which was the same in value as the Turkish pound, is worth only 50 percent of the latter. Yet Turkey was down and out in 1918 and has had no mandatory power to help it.

All these years of Syrian complaint the League has done nothing—not even to make Syria's wrongs public. If the League continues this policy it will prove itself an instrument of imperialism in Asia whatever it may be in Europe. We know it is easier for the League to stop a Greco-Bulgarian war than to interfere in French affairs, but if it is powerless now it will surely disappoint true friends of peace. Prof. Earle suggests some simple steps that might be taken to make it easier for the Syrians to tell their troubles to the League and to set them forward on the road to independence. We wait with curiosity to see what the Permanent Mandate Commission of the League will do about it.

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UNION DIRECTORY

BRICKLAYERS' UNION LOCAL 34. Office: 29 EAST 84th STREET. Telephone Lenox 4530. Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION LOCAL NO. 9. Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4821 Stage.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America LOCAL UNION 488. MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 498 East 166th Street.

Carpenters and Joiners of America Local Union 368. Regular meetings every Monday evening.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA LOCAL UNION NO. 808. Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum.

DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS LOCAL UNION 1466, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA. Regular meetings every second and fourth Monday.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163. Day room and office, 160 East 50th Street, New York.

COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS UNION, Local 69, I. H. C. & C. L. of A. Office, 12 St. Marks Place.

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60. Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the National Building Trades Council.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261. Office: 88 East 106th Street. Telephone: Lenox 3141.

N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6. Phone Watkins 9188. LEON H. BOVEY, President.

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418. Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Stillwell 8391.

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers LOCAL UNION No. 482, of NEW YORK CITY. Office 2032 Fifth Avenue.

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers LOCAL No. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK. Office: 19 Fourth Avenue.

Amalgamated Lithographers of America, New York Local No. 1. Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 305 WEST 14th ST.

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N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET.

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1. Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday. Executive Board meets every Monday.

United Hebrew Trades 175 EAST BROADWAY. Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board, Every Saturday, 12 Noon.

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION Local 324, A. C. W. & S. W. of N. A. 178 E. 57th St. Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS' UNION, LOCAL 68, I. L. G. W. U. 7 East 15th Street. Tel. STAYVANS 3637.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS' Union, Local 9339, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th Street. Stayvans 7078.

HEBREW ACTORS' UNION Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y. Phone Dry Dock 3360. REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager.

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Office: 175 East Broadway.

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Structural Iron Workers UNION, Local 361, Brooklyn. Office: 571 Pacific Street. Columbus 9129.

N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association. Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday. Board of Officers Meet 2nd & 4th Friday.

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PAINTERS' UNION LOCAL 802. Office and Headquarters: 215 E. 84th St. Tel. Regent 5225.

German Painters' Union LOCAL 488 BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS. Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening.

WAITERS' UNION Local 210, B. R. E. I. A. & R. I. L. of A. Office and Headquarters 137 E. 102d St., N. Y. PHONE LENOX 1874.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Telephone Chelsea 3148.

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office 221 East 14th Street. Telephone Lenox 4199.

DISTRICT COUNCIL MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK. INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION. Office: 2 WEST 16TH STREET.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers Office, 221 E. 14th Street. Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lenox 6449.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS' UNION Local 6, I. L. G. W. U. Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday.

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Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local 99, I. L. G. W. U. Affiliated with Joint Board of Clothing and Dressmakers' Union.

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New York Clothing Cutters' Union' Office: 44 East 15th Street. Stayvans 5886.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY.

Children's Jacket Makers OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10. Office: 350 Bushwick Ave., Pulaski 3129.

Lapel Makers & Pairers' Local 151, A. C. W. A. Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3809.

Children's Jacket Makers OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10. Office: 350 Bushwick Ave., Pulaski 3129.

Pressers' Union Local 1, A. C. W. A. Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple.

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor. GENERAL OFFICE: 11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3084.

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK. Phone Orchard 1269. Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Mark's Place.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24. Office: 210 West 14th Street. Phone Spring 4548.

N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 523).

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U. 130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1924.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 3, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union. Office and Headquarters, 249 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 9798.

FUR FLOOR WORKERS UNION LOCAL 8, F. I. L. U. A. Office and Headquarters, 249 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 9798.

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Amusements

DRAMA

MAUDE EBURNE



Furnishes a big percentage of laughs in "Puppy Love," the amusing farce at the 48th Street Theatre.

Whenever It Gets You

"The Right Age to Marry" Wins Double Demonstration at the 49th Street

MOLIERE'S story of the bourgeois gentleman can be rewritten for every generation—the picture of the newly rich man who sets out pretentiously to mingle with "high society," and gets what he deserves. Mr. Malby has brought such a study down to the pitch of our day in "The Right Age to Marry," which Mr. and Mrs. Coburn make pleasant at the Forty-ninth Street Theatre. That is to say, the attempts of the Bradley millionaire to mingle with Brighton society reveal his ignorance, on the slapstick level of humor, and his business recalls him to a proper sense of proportion, in rather melodramatic fashion. But there is a sense of good humor, an easy capture of the Lancashire attitude, that make the play graceful, while Hilda Spong adds the extravagant touch, Charles McNaughton the ludicrous, and the two Coburns the mingling of pathos and satire.

The chief element of interest in the play to one whose ideas on social levels and the impudence of a mere worker-millionaire trying to enter society, are less weighted than his thoughts of social equity, lies in a point the author does not stress. To such a watcher the tragedy is less in the fire that brings Ramsden back to his work or the foolish desire he had to ape society, than in the fact that long labor has taken away from him any knowledge of how to play. After he has spent his life earning time to enjoy himself, winning through steady toil without vacation or holiday for thirty-three years a large measure of financial independence, the man has made himself wholly unfit for the freedom he has won. Many work, and work vainly, hoping to achieve this goal of final freedom. The few who attain it are thus, by the very years of their labor, frustrated, destroyed in that fundamental right to play and to joy that should be the heritage of every human being. In some peculiar fashion the author draws a lesson from this more consoling to the dupes of the system; when Ramsden finds dissatisfaction with his new life, the moral drawn in the speech of the play is that true happiness is in the job, that he should—instead of finding holidays during his long years of work—have stuck to his toil without the final release he took, have plucked along as foolishly the remainder of his days as he had up to his forty-fifth birthday. And to stress this idea, the contrasting picture of a man who has had sense enough to think of his joy in life, and cared more for happiness than accumulated wealth, is made an object of pity, almost an imbecile. This, I repeat, is not made part of the conflict of the play; the author does not try to prove it; he assumes it, he takes for granted the essential rightness of his point of view, and thus in insidious fashion drives deeper beneath the unsuspecting skin the virus of the capitalistic poison. These probably unconscious drives, by those so victimized by the lure of wealth and the doctrines that drupe it, are the more effective in that they come slipping slyly in, on the train of a play that, being well performed and adapted to present-day tastes, is likely to win a warm reception. The play should be enjoyed without the folly of accepting its underlying philosophy.

J. T. S.

A special "Princess Flavia" edition of the "Prisoner of Zenda," Anthony Hope's popular story, will be published this month by Harcourt, Brace & Co. The book will be illustrated with scenes from the operetta, now at the Shubert Theatre.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"MAMA LOVES PAPA," a comedy by Jack MacGowan and Mann Page, will open Monday afternoon at the Forrest Theatre. The cast includes Robert Emmett Keane, John E. Hazzard, William Roselle, Loren Baker, Helen Broderick and Sara Sothorn.
"THE VIRGIN," a new play by Arthur Coring White and Louis Bennison, will be presented by Jules Hertig Monday afternoon at the Maxine Elliott Theatre. The cast is headed by Louis Bennison, Marion Cookley, Lee Baker, Bertha Mann, Arthur Albertson, J. D. Murphy, Jessie Ralph and others.
"THE CREAKING CHAIR," a mystery play by Allens Tupper Wilkes, will be presented by Carl Reed at the Lyceum Theatre, beginning Monday night.

Franz Werfel and 'Goat Song'

IN producing "Bocksgesang" ("Goat Song"), the Theatre Guild introduces to the American stage the man who may well be called the representative poet of a new youth in Germany. Although he is still in his thirties, Werfel sprang into prominence fifteen years ago, with the publication of his first volume of verses. That first book, like all his subsequent verses, dramas, and novels, not only revealed a rich poetic talent, a brilliant fantasy and a remarkable way of giving new color to common, work-a-day used up words, but it revealed a definite ethos, and philosophy of life, which was to give Werfel the spiritual leadership of a true poet of the time.

Werfel belonged to, and wrote for, in those early days, the most promising youth which Germany ever had. The whole "expressionist" movement, which was moving toward its crest when he appeared upon the scene, was a kind of renaissance of the spirit; a crusade of youth into the inner meaning of life; a challenge to the standards, ideals and attitudes of the immediate past. To this youth belonged Stefan George, a number of young painters, including the young Kojoschka, who were breaking away from the impressionism of their predecessors and trying to paint the heart in things, instead of the light upon them; and that child phenomenon, Otto Braun, from whose letters and diary a veritable light exudes; a light which war, and even worse, the six years of "peace" have, unhappily, almost quenched. As in England, some of the most promising of this youth fell in the war. The young painter, Franz Marc, whose picture, the Tower of the Blue Horses, is the pearl of the Kronprinzen Galerie in Berlin, and whose memoirs are as revealing of the spirit of this youth as are his pictures, did not survive the war; and Otto Funke, a boy of twenty, fell at the front. Even more disastrously did the times weigh upon the spirit of this group. The valor and idealism which characterized it in all its many manifestations gave way to cynicism and love of sensation, and Adolph Hitler, the Fascist, won disciples from Werfel and George. A movement which might have inflamed all Germany remains in the mists and hearts of a few who cherish it against better days to come. And of these few, Werfel is easily one of the most significant.

Werfel's work, all of it, is in the service of humanity. He is in no sense whatever a preacher; he is far too great an artist for that. But with pen-

etratingly poetic vision, he sees the eternally tragic position of mankind; the unbreachable gulf between man's aspirations and nature's realities. "The world into which mankind is born is mad," he wrote in the preface to one of his earliest dramatic works, an adaptation of the "Trojan Women" of Euripides. "Impulse and accident govern every path, and intelligence, that terrible attribute of man, is asked to stand unshaken before the brutal drama of the elements. . . . There is an essential tragedy in the world. . . . a break . . . an original sin, wherein all participate and from which the understanding soul suffers most." The fate of man is from nature out, tragic, according to Werfel; all men are pitiable; great and low, rich and poor, the wise and the beast-like. The only sense in the universe is the sense which man gives it by courage and self-sacrifice. "In the end nothing survives except personal character," might have been written by Werfel instead of by Whitman. Werfel's work is a direct challenge to the neo-Nietzschean, militaristic, intellectual spirit. It is also a challenge to the romantic. In his novel, "Verdi," which has been published in America, he makes his position clear when he takes up the cudgels against Wagner and the romantic spirit, in defense of Verdi, and humanism.

As a man of letters, Werfel uses many forms. After his lyric poetry came poetic drama, among which "Bocksgesang" written in 1920, was his third play. It is a play of terror, in the purest sense, tragic; a play of terror and pity, built on big lines; the outward action illustrative of profound universal conflicts; the solution the eternal tragic solution of salvation through vicarious suffering.

"Goat Song" was built, Werfel told the Berlin representative of the Guild, around a newspaper item. In a Serbian village a monster was born to a rich peasant family; a creature half beast, half man. They regarded it as a deep disgrace, to the race of which they were proud, and kept it secret, hiding it in a hovel on the estate, until it grew to maturity. Finally, the revelation caused a social upheaval in the village. Out of this stuff, Werfel has made his drama. "I knew the scene well," he told me, when we spoke together about the production in America. "I was a soldier in Serbia during the war, and the strange combination of selfishness and mysticism, of narrow greed and sudden flashes of intuitive insight is characteristic of the Slav peasant, whom I also know from my native Bohemia."

MARTHA-BRYAN ALLEN



Has the principal feminine role in "The Monkey Talks," the interesting play of the circus at the National Theatre.

Actors' Theatre Special Prices For Students and Workers

The Actors' Theatre, beginning with this Monday, will institute a plan whereby all students of the drama, art, music, etc., as well as workers who are interested in worthwhile plays, may avail themselves of first and second balcony tickets at the Comedy Theatre on Monday nights at a flat rate of 50 cents for each ticket. The regular scale for these seats is \$1.10 and \$2.75. In the execution of this plan the Actors' Theatre is enlisting the aid of schools, clubs, societies and organizations which will assist the theatrical group in the distribution of membership cards to those entitled to the privilege. Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler" is the current play.

"Uncle Tom" in Music Form Planned by Shuberts

And now we will have our good old friend Uncle Tom as a hero of a musical play. The Shuberts have announced the presentation early next fall of a new musical comedy based on the story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Jay C. Flippin, now appearing in "Hello Lola," has already been assigned to the famous role of Uncle Tom, which is to be devoid of its well-known pathos in the musical version.

Thomas Mitchell, who has the principal male role in "The Wisdom Tooth," has become a playwright. "Glorious Hallelujah," a play written in collaboration with Bertram Bloch, has been accepted by Guthrie McClintic for production.

"The Great God Brown"

Eugene O'Neill's New Play a Gripping Study of Man at the Greenwich Village

EUGENE O'NEILL has given us a play of rare beauty and supreme insight into the human soul in "The Great God Brown," his newest play that is now at the Greenwich Village Theatre. Employing a new technique, so far as I know original with himself, Mr. O'Neill has created something that I believe will live.

In "The Great God Brown" practically all the characters wear masks. When they are acting like their real selves they hold them in their hands; when they present to the world a false and fraudulent character they place the mask over their faces and speak in the character they want the world to know them as.

William A. Brown is a rising young architect, son of a man who had built up a contracting business with Mr. Anthony, a brilliant though uneducated fellow.

Dion is the artist, the dreamer, the genius. William A. Brown is so forthright and blunt and unimaginative that for the better part of the play he wears no mask. Both love Margaret, but Margaret loves Dion and in a tender love scene gives herself to him. But not before she has been terrified by the lovely, dreaming idealist with his mask off and has compelled him to replace it on his face, where it remains for her to the end.

Years later we find Dion and Margaret living in poverty, their funds from the proceeds of Dion's sale of his share of the business to William dissipated in five years of delightful living in Europe. He is an artist, but in his heart he believes that his work is not fit to compete with the great artists, and he destroys it. There are three children and to them he ever keeps on his mask. But money is needed; the family is starving.

Margaret repairs to William Brown's office, there to plead for a job for Dion; Brown is so devoted to the mad, erratic, lovable Dion that he gladly gives him work. But meanwhile Dion is enjoying the tender favors of Cybel, an understanding daughter of joy. With their masks off the two speak as two human beings, understanding the meaning of life and love and work. Brown's business prospers, Dion

supplies just the note of beauty, of mad laughter to the designs that pass through Brown's hands. But in a spirit of mockery he debates each building to Silenus, the mocking companion to Dionysus, the half-god who told the fabled King Midas that the greatest gift for all mankind would have been never to have been born; but lacking that the second best gift in the gift soon to die. All the sardonic humor, all the anguish of a chained Dionysus Dion pours into the cathedrals, jails, the courthouses and the State capitols that he designs for Brown, who gets credit for them, as well as much money.

Little by little Dion can no longer endure it; little by little Brown feels that his love for Margaret is consuming him. After the acceptance of a design for a great cathedral that Dion had made into a grinning temple of Silenus Dion goes off to celebrate. With his mask on his face he roars into Billy Brown's home and mocks him; taking the mask from his face he sobs out the sorrows of his life and he dies at his friend's feet.

With Margaret at the door Billy drags the body into the garden, where he buries it; he dresses in Dion's clothes and assumes his mask and takes over Dion's home and his wife. Little by little Dion's soul creeps into him and he, too, in his office, where they think Dion has been discharged, assumes a mask. He works on plans for a State capitol. The committee rejects the plan because it hasn't that warmth, that beauty that Dion had been wont to put into his designs. Taking it home to Margaret as he wears Dion's mask, he works upon it and makes it what the committee seeks.

Home again, the police rush in to apprehend the murderer of William Brown. Margaret is prostrate, embracing the mask of her beloved Dion; William, without his mask, is facing the police and bids a tender farewell to Cybel, who had followed him to his home. And when he is shot, Cybel proudly erect gives the police his name. "His name is Man!"

A daring concept, a beautiful concept, and a supremely beautiful production. The contrast between the tender dreaming Dion and the mocking, laughing, jeering man he presents himself to be. Mr. O'Neill is growing into a man of Titanic stature not alone for craftsmanship, but for his profound understanding. May he live long and prosper.

ALBERT CARROLL



Plays the Chassidic student with sympathetic understanding in "The Dybbuk" at the Neighborhood Playhouse.

Bertha Kalich in "Magda" At Bronx Opera House

Bertha Kalich as the heroine of Hermann Sudermann's dramatic masterpiece, "Magda" will be at the Bronx Opera House for the week commencing Monday. The engagement will open with a matinee on Washington's Birthday.

Her company includes Henry Stephenson, Warburton Gable, Charles Waldron, Josephine Royle, Louise Muldener, Sybil Carlisle, Albert Hecht, Lester Alden, Selwyn Scott, Mathilde Baring, Jenny Dickerson, Florence Pendleton and Emily Bolleau.

"Houdini" the noted magician, will be the following attraction.

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"It certainly made all the 'touts de Paris' that I've ever seen—and I've assted at a few—look like thirty cents." —Alan Dine

2nd YEAR in NEW YORK The Comedy Knockout



By James Gleason & Richard Taber Now at the Central Theatre 67th St. & W 42nd St. Eves. 8:15

Three Matinee Next Week: MONDAY, WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY

BIJOU THEA. 46th St. W. of W. Eves. 8:15

4 Matinee Next Week: Mon., Wed., Thurs. & Sat.



MARY and FLORENCE NASH IN "A LADY'S VIRTUE" By RACHEL CROTHERS with ROBERT WARWICK

Movies of Primitive Man on Way Here

FROM Capetown, South Africa, comes a report that new light upon one of the darkest parts of Africa has been flung by the return of the Capetown-Denver African expedition, which penetrated the heart of the Kalahari desert and the Kaoko veldt. Movies were taken of the natives and also of herds of big game proving the Kaoko veldt the richest game country in the world. On one occasion the expedition counted 150 elephants gathered round a water hole; the members also saw herds of wild cattle numbering 15,000 head, leaving the dense forests in the daytime to escape the pest of flies, returning at night time. These immense herds were filmed.

The expedition lived for several weeks among the bushmen of Kalahari and found them the most primitive race in the world, eating roots, snakes and vermin. After living with the natives for six weeks, the expedition found themselves unable to pronounce one of the seven clicks comprising the bushman language. While in the desert, the expedition heard of a lost ancient African tribe inhabiting a coastal strip between Walvis Bay and Cuene River, a country impregnable from the west by a rocky coast, south by the Atlantic, while a desert 100 miles wide bars approach from the east. This tribe has never been seen by a white man, they never see the ap-

CENTURY THEATRE, 62d St. and Central Park W. Eves. 8:15
3 Matinee Next Week: Monday, Wednesday and Sat. (Direction LEE and J. SHUBERT)
Most Glorious Musical Play of Our Time



HOWARD MARSH and OLGA COOK Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN Symphony Orchestra of 40 Singing Chorus of 100

SECOND YEAR IN NEW YORK FIRST TIME AT POPULAR PRICES! 3,000 Seats at \$3.00. First Balcony, \$2.50, \$2.00 and \$1.00. Wednesday Matinee, Best Seats, \$2.50; Fri. & Sat. Mat., Best Seats, \$3.

49th ST. THEATRE, West of B'way. Extra Matinee Washington's B'day MR. LEE SHUBERT Presents MR. and MRS. COBURN



A NEW PLAY By H. F. MALBY Distinguished Supporting Company includes

Wilde Soars, Walter Riegman, Margaret Malar, Alexander Kirkland, Charles McNaughton, W. C. Mason, Lillian Booth, Lucien Adams and Charles Eddle

You do not know anybody who has not seen -- or will not see -- The GREEN HAT

BY MICHAEL ARLEN with KATHARINE CORNELL MARGALO GILLMORE and LESLIE HOWARD Direction of A. H. WOODS

BROADHURST THEATRE, 42d St. W. of B'way. MATINEES THURS. & SAT. Prices \$1 to \$250. Eves. 8:15 Extra Mat. Washing-ton's Birthday, \$1-\$2.50

RITZ THEATRE, 48th W. of B'way. Eves. 8:30. Mata. Wed. & Sat.

ESTELLE WINWOOD RALPH MORGAN FRANK MORGAN in the daring comedy

A WEAK WOMAN

"Replete with wit." —George S. Kaufman, Times. "Brazen and bright." —Burns Mantle, News. "Light, sparkling, debonair and naughty." —John Anderson, Eve. Post. Extra Matinee Washington's Birthday

Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler," the brilliant Actors' Theatre production at Comedy Theatre, W. 41st St., Eves. 8:30; Mats. 2:30, Wednesday & Saturday. Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday.

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

A STRANGE ADVENTURE.....A GRIPPING ROMANCE... 12 MILES OUT! MILDRED FLORENCE FRANK SHANNON WARREN WILLIAM JOHN WESTLEY ALBERT BRUNING PLYHOUSE-W 48th St. W. of B'way. Eves. 8:15. Mats. 2:30. Extra Mat. Wash. B'day

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTION

GOAT SONG

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

EVERYBODY'S FAVORITE, ~ THE

PATSY

Barry Connors' Delightful Comedy with CLAIBORNE FOSTER BOOTH THEA. 45th St. W. of B'way Eves. 8:15 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 EXTRA MATINEE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY

Broadway Briefs

Richard Herndon's production of "The Patsy," with Claiborne Foster, began its third Monday at the Booth Theatre last Monday.

"A Night in Paris" and its house, the new Casino de Paris, celebrate their fiftieth performance Wednesday night.

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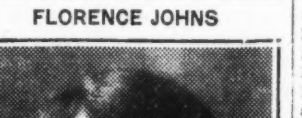
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FLORENCE JOHNS

Gives a fine impersonation of Mame Walsh in "Love 'Em and Leave 'Em" the new comedy at the Harris Theatre.

THEATRES

ANNE NICHOLS Presents PUPPY LOVE A Comedy Dedicated to Laughter 40th St. Theatre, East of B'way.

The Playgoers, under the direction of Edgar MacGregor and Orson Kilbourn, present MARJORIE RAMBEAU in 'THE NIGHT DUEL'.

LOVE 'EM AND LEAVE 'EM SAM H. HARRIS THEATRE, W. 42d St. Eves., 8:30

VANITY FAIR says that most of the wise men put 'The Dybbuk' at the head of the season's list. THE DYBBUK By ANSKY

'The Shanghai Gesture' has power, thrill and wickedness up to any audience's most fervid demand. A. H. WOODS Presents FLORENCE REED in 'THE SHANGHAI GESTURE'

Bronx Amusements BRONX OPERA HOUSE 19th St. E. of Third Ave. POP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.

'The Masque of Venice' Due on Broadway Soon 'The Masque of Venice' has been placed in rehearsal by Brock Pemberton.

MUSIC

With the Orchestras NEW YORK SYMPHONY A new work by Ernst Krenek, young modernist composer, is the high light on the program which Otto Klemperer is offering next week.

Music Notes Pablo-Casals, cellist, will give his final recital of the season Monday evening at Town Hall.

PHILHARMONIC The Philharmonic Orchestra, under the baton of Wilhelm Furtwaengler, will give the following program this Sunday afternoon at Carnegie Hall.

SAMUEL DUSHKIN Gives his violin recital next Wednesday at Carnegie Hall.

DRAMA

OLGA COOK CHAPTER IV (Continued) SO AS they hung over the open book cases filled with second-hand classics in Rakov's underground library...

Is featured with Howard Nash in 'The Student Prince' at the Century Theatre. The operetta is now in its second year.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday will present a varied comedy stage program, featuring Irene Ricardo; Ross Wyse, Jr.; Murray Gordon and Ben Pierce; Billy Lytell and Tom Fant.

PALACE Hassard Short presents Charlotte Greenwood in 'Her Morning Glory'; Norma Mitchell, and Martin Brookes; Frank Keenan in 'The War Within'.

Broadway Briefs 'The Eskimo,' a satirical play by Gene Markey and Samuel Hoffenstein, has been purchased by A. H. Woods.

Liszt: Reed, Reed, Rustle, Sibelius-Palmgren; Mountain Trolls at Their Evening Play; Kaski; Indian Pipes, and the Prelude in F sharp, Marion Bauer; Scherzo in B flat minor, Chopin.

Katherine Groschke will give her piano recital at Aeolian Hall this Friday evening.

Georges Barre Little Symphony and Ensemble will give the first of their three concerts at the Heary Miller Theatre this Sunday night.

Samuel Dushkin, violinist, gives his recital at Carnegie Hall Wednesday evening.

Joseph Calleis, who plays the part of the Spanish Ambassador in 'Princess Flavia' at the Schubert Theatre, will give a song recital this Sunday evening at Steinway Hall, under the auspices of the Metropolitan Music League.

MUSIC AND CONCERTS PHILHARMONIC FURTWAEGLER, Conductor. CARNEGIE HALL, This Sunday Aft. at 3.

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES After supper, he took to the streets, made a turn through the shopping district, appraising again with his eye the gorgeous contents of the show-windows, and finally found himself in Loring Park where the snow flakes fell murmuringly upon sere leaves, and the winds stirred a low song in the branches of the oaks.

Problems of the N. Y. Socialist Party

By A. I. Shiplacoff THE City Committee of the Socialist Party has issued a call for a city-wide convention which will take place at 2 p. m. on February 27, at the Rand School Auditorium.

A Question of Economy The arguments that were given for uniting the separate boroughs into one Greater New York organization were then and still are today approximately as follows:

BERTHA KALICH Will pay a visit to upper New York in her famous role of Magda, which opens at the Bronx Opera House Monday.

The New Cinemas BROADWAY—Reginald Denny in George Broadhurst's 'What Happened to Jones.'

CAMEO—'The American Venus,' with Fay Laupheimer, Ethel Balfour and Lawrence Gray.

CAPITOL—Vicente Blazco Ibanez's 'Torrent,' with Ricardo Cortez, Greta Garbo and Gertrude Olmsted.

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

RIALTO—'The Girl from Montmartre,' with Barbara La Marr, Lewis Stone, from Anthony Pryde's novel, 'Spanish Sunlight.'

RIVOLI—Francis Brett Young's 'Sea Horses,' with Jack Holt and Florence Vidor.

WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ORGANIZED 1881 MAIN OFFICE: 9 SEVENTH STREET, N. Y. C.

WORKING MEN, PROTECT YOUR FAMILIES! in case of sickness, accident or death! Death Benefit, \$250. Sick Benefit, \$300 to \$900 for 30 Weeks.

THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1926

THE NEW LEADER DINNER

THE annual dinner of The New Leader has come to be a feature looked forward to by our friends with anticipation.

It is doubtful whether more conscientious service has ever been given to any other publication of its kind in the United States.

Remember the time and the place, Thursday, February 25, 7 p. m., at Park Palace, 3 and 5 West 110th street.

STUPID BUREAUCRATS

IN the evolution of society the time comes when a new ruling class ceases to think. It is satisfied with its supremacy, becomes reactionary in its outlook, and its intellectual leaders tend to become mediocre.

This law of social progress has a striking demonstration in the amazing stupidity of government officials who ordered the detention of Countess Cathcart on the ground of her "moral turpitude."

Of course, intelligent people immediately thought what would happen if Europe were to take the same attitude toward Americans. At the moment when this hypocritical farce was staged, banker Stillman and his wife were on the Atlantic destined for an European port.

With this background of American social life, the official actions of a few government bureaucrats in relation to Countess Cathcart are revolting.

Following the Scopes trial, the exclusion of Countess Karolyi and Saklatvala, our Ku Klux contribution to philosophy and the general tendency now to rewrite American history in terms of Frank Merriwell's nickel terrors, all Europe may well laugh at us.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

GEORGE WASHINGTON stands out as a cold figure in the perspective of a hundred years. He was the finest flower of the Virginia aristocracy possessing the fertile lands of the tidewater region.

racy was conspicuous for its upper class habits, customs and manners.

Representing this class, Washington does not have the human appeal that Lincoln has. He was the richest man in the States and knew the social prestige that goes with the accumulation of property.

It is because we like fairy tales and because our ruling classes need them in their business that the mythical Washington still survives.

THE CASE OF DEBS

THE introduction by Congressman Berger of a resolution in the House for the restoration of the citizenship of Eugene V. Debs should provoke an instant response all over the country.

Debs is deprived of his citizenship because of his opposition to the war. He was jailed not for disagreeing with Woodrow Wilson, but for disagreeing with Wilson at the right time.

Debs confined his actions to making speeches. Other rebels in American history have been taken in arms. The poor farmers in western Pennsylvania opposed the collection of the excise tax on their whiskey in 1794.

In the early forties Thomas Dorr led farmers and mechanics in a suffrage rebellion in Rhode Island. An extra-legal convention of the masses framed a new constitution and had it adopted in a referendum vote.

Debs, we repeat, did not urge physical force. His offense was to think so that others could hear him. Though born in the United States, he is now an alien.

REPRESENTATION

BY A VOTE of 73 to 2 the Senate has voted in favor of the constitutional amendment which provides that the President, Vice-President and members of Congress shall take office the third Monday in January instead of thirteen months after their election, as now.

The present system is a survival of the age that knew no railroads. It required months for some members of Congress to reach New York and later Washington.

But this is not the only absurdity of an eighteenth century charter. The old system of district representation and plurality elections which have been discarded by most progressive nations survive here.

Not to be outdone by the National Security League recently, the American Defense Society has discovered in William N. Haskell, appointed by Governor Smith to command the New York National Guard, a Bolshevik.

Blushes From Long Neglected Contrib

Not to be outdone by the National Security League recently, the American Defense Society has discovered in William N. Haskell, appointed by Governor Smith to command the New York National Guard, a Bolshevik.

The Greater American Tragedy

By V. F. Calverton Editor, The Modern Quarterly

ASIDE from its sex candour, An American Tragedy (An American Tragedy. By Theodore Dreiser. N. Y. Boni & Liveright. 2 vols. \$5.00) is not peculiarly modern in spirit or peculiarly original in structure.

It was Voltaire, however, who wrote in his Preface to Herod and Marianne that:

"When the passions are to be described, nearly the same ideas occur to everybody; but it is in the expression of them that the man of genius is easily discerned from the wit, and the poet from the scribbler."

And art is concerned fundamentally with the emotions and not the intellect. Art is devoted to the projection of the passions in their relationship to their social origins, limitations and development.

American literature has few important novels to record. The Scarlet Letter has historical significance. Nothing of Holmes, nothing of Howells, nothing of Frederic, Bellamy, Phillips can be placed in that category, from an aesthetic point of view.

Strangely enough and quite contrary to Dreiser's purpose, "An American Tragedy" is a feast for the moral critic. If we could eliminate its treatment of sex and introduce in its place an element of artificiality and sentimentalism, the novel, through no conscious desire of the author, would please the palates of the bourgeois critics of the early eighteenth century.

An American Tragedy is not written in an arresting style that detains through sheer joy of rhythm or pure euphony of phrase. Like all of Dreiser's



Theodore Dreiser

novels, it is written in a halting, circumlocutory, obese prose. In places, however, Dreiser has outwitted himself and actually achieved the elegant.

The excellence of 'An American Tragedy' resides in its strong description of the ends to which vice will bring those who encourage and cultivate it.

George Barnwell. It is true the bourgeois class is not extolled in "An American Tragedy" as it was in "The London Merchant" (1731), but that might even be forgotten in view of the great lesson of moral retribution that the novel may be said to inculcate.

And the irony—the incisive, caustic irony—of it all is that such moral purpose was remotely alien from the intention of the author. Theodore Dreiser was drawing the picture of a character as he grew out of his social environment, regardless of moral, evil or edification. His method was unselfish and objective.

Yet the moral critics in the United States, still living mentally in the eighteenth century, will read into the novel a score of ethical lessons. This is a greater American tragedy.

A Death House Scene

By Theodore Dreiser (In "An American Tragedy")

"Beginning with his, Clyde's, arrival, as he learned, Pasquale had begun to pray night and day. For already, before that, he had been notified of the approximate date of his death, which was to be within the week. And after that he was given to crawling up and down his cell on his hands and knees, kissing the floor, licking the feet of a brass Christ on a cross that had been given him. Also he was repeatedly visited by an Italian brother and sister fresh from Italy and for whose benefit at certain hours he was removed to the old death house.

"One Italian, sentenced for the murder of a bank watchman, became hysterical, screamed, lashed the chair and table of his cell against the bars of his door, tore the sheets of his bed to shreds, and even sought to strangle himself before eventually he was overpowered and removed to a cell in a different part of the building to be observed as to his sanity. . . . So this was what death was like here; men cried, prayed, they lost their minds, yet the deadly process was in no way halted, for all their terror. Instead, at ten o'clock, and in order to quiet all those who were left, a cold lunch was brought in and offered, but with none eating save the Chinaman over the way.

"And then at four the following morning the keepers in charge of the deadly work coming silently along the main passage and drawing the heavy green curtains with which the cells were equipped so that none might see the fatal procession which was yet to return along the transverse passage from the old death house to the execution room. And yet with Clyde and all the others waking and sitting up at the sound.

"It was here—the execution! The hour of death was at hand. This was the signal."

THE CHATTER BOX

Ghetto Idyll—III

On the block where I lived the first years of a boyhood. That made for such lieutenant of industry as Kid Twist and Johnnie Spanish, there stood, and still stands, A church, a big roomy church called Saint Something or other.

The Williamsburg Bridge was being built then, and half a block of tenement property had been cleared away, right in front of the church—good riddance at fancy condemnation prices.

We boys, Spanish included, used to play pussy cat And ball in the lot. One day, by chance a ball rolled behind the spiked grating That enclosed the sacred edifice. The boys yelled for me To get it. I warily climbed the fence; warily only because Of the sharp rods. I reached the ball and started over again.

I had no sooner gotten back to the sidewalk, than a Raven, feeling from our Hell of a Shore— Quoth Kid Craven: "Never again, old topper. . . . Oh, Moral Turpitude, what a mess you've gotten our saintly dumbbells into at Washington."

Was a naked man's midgeture. I recall these things clearly, as clearly as I remember What he said and did. "Get to hell out of here, you dirty Sheeny!" This I heard. Then I felt a full fist on the cheek, that swung me around On a pivot to involuntarily follow Christ's bidding. By turning the other cheek. Then he showed me some of the skill He had acquired at Fordham, by kicking me full in the stomach. Since then Johnnie and others have gone to hell. So far I have Refused to follow that part of his malediction. But I have Always remembered that I am "a dirty Sheeny."

Who but yesterday expressed a heartfelt solicitude for a nation Of Jews in Palestine. But then, that was perhaps because He was speaking then to Clean Sheenies, like Schiff, Morgenthau And Strauss. These men are Hebrews, Zionists, Or maybe it was with deeper motive, this flow of milk and honey Unto the oppressed of Israel from their olden oppressors. These moneys are as shrewd in dealing with gods and men As they are in real estate.

Perhaps, if there were a nation of Jews established eight thousand Miles from Cannon Street, the sacred fence of Saint Something Or Other, would not be defiled anymore by the intrusion Of dirty little Sheenies. —Ver Vase?

Gondola

Afternoon of Afternoons! Let me remember; I was alone and singing, too, Thirteenth of September.

Afternoon of Afternoons, Sunny, golden lark! I dreamed the while of Venice And rowed in Central Park. —Sara Owen.

Worship

I was a white wave, sobbing, You were the sea; I was a young leaf, trembling, You were the tree.

I was a pale dream, fading, You were the sun; You were God, re-creating, You gave me life. —Kate Herman.

Disillusion

Yesterday my planet moved Around you as its sun; You and I were universe, In ecstasy I spun, Now you hang in firmament, A charred and flameless brand, You who seemed so firmly fixed, Stood on a base of sand. —Jemis Khento.

Softcoal

Grimy, smutty, belching smoke, Have a care for all these folk! Coughing thru the gassy air— The stuffy, sooty, smoky air. —Sidney Hertzberg.

Torch Bearers

Bearers of the Torch are we; A light lit long ago; Wherever burden bearers be We keep the Torch a-glow; And wending far on life's highway, And passing around the turn, The message that we leave shall say "Let the Torch still burn."

—G. Harrison Riley.

Strikers

They know not why they strike, and yet I know; They strike because they need a cure for ills Inflicted by that iron beast that kills Their souls. Their time is counted by the slow Clock-beats and factory whistles, as they blow The measured hours which destiny fulfills. For thought of God, are substituted mills! For peace and idle singing, pain and woe.

They strike because their babes they want to feed Instead of hot and hungry mouths of steel Which never have small teeth to bite for fun The father's finger; and because they need More time their sore and aching limbs to heal. More time to dream before their day is done. —Thomas Bell Sweeney.

THE DUTCH UPLIFT

FROM Rotterdam comes one of the most suggestive, news items that have appeared in a decade. A Dutch East Indian rubber syndicate has been formed which combines a number of rubber and tobacco shipping companies. The merger is intended to displace Chinese who have engaged in the shipping business because the Dutch business men charge that the traffic between "the Chinese buyers and native Malays has been exercising a bad influence upon the latter."

We are curious to know what this evil influence is and are informed that the big profits realized by the Malays have infected the latter "with the vices of the newly rich. Their overbearing attitude has become such as to make it desirable in the interests of Dutch prestige that the trade be taken over entirely by Dutch hands."

The "morality" of capitalist civilization toward the less advanced peoples has rarely been so aptly portrayed. The accumulation of wealth by Malays exercises a "bad influence" upon them. They tend to acquire the "vices" of white business men by assuming an "overbearing attitude" toward others. What are the Dutch business men to do about it? Easy enough. They will deprive the Malays of the opportunity to accumulate wealth and indulge in vices by grabbing the opportunity and indulging in the vices themselves. In this way "Dutch prestige," which has suffered, will be recovered.

It is a peculiar "moral" twist which these Dutch capitalists exhibit, but like their kind in all countries they are capable of reconciling contradictions if it pays them good hard cash.

The New Leader Mail Bag

Solidarity and a Labor Party

Editor, The New Leader: In your Jan. 9 issue you have a story of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. I am pleased to see that this union plans to eliminate the Communist left-wing element, but why does such a forward-looking organization as the A. C. W. continue its policy of being an "outlaw" union of labor? Its leaders are forever preaching "solidarity" of labor on both the economic and political fields but they don't practice what they preach. The clothing workers and the shoe workers are all split up all over the nation, on both fields, and it's my opinion that it is the selfishness of the leaders that causes this.

Why should any of us become down-hearted over the result in the last national election? LaFollette had almost 5,000,000 votes. This was a splendid start. We should have kept everlastingly at it and built up a powerful labor party in this nation.

As I see it that's the only thing for us to do right now; and, the sooner we begin work for a real labor party along the lines of the British Labor Party, the sooner we will get somewhere. As an old time Socialist I can see no great future for the Socialist Party. A successful political party is necessarily a compromise here and there, but without any sacrifice of real vital principles. On this our leaders in every school fail to agree; there are too many selfish leaders ambitious to lead and boss things in both the trades union and the labor political movements, and thus we have division in place of solidarity. There are millions of men and women ready for a real labor party. Why not begin the work now and build for the future success of the workers? Joseph W. Kelley, Brockton, Mass.

Our correspondent is mistaken about the Amalgamated. This union and other unions in the needle trades have been considering closer organization in the needle trades. As for affiliation with the A. F. of L. we are inclined to think that the Amalgamated is favorable but a small union that is now recognized objects to an equitable arrangement. As for a labor party, one year ago a convention in Chicago that was representative of many organizations failed to persuade some of the more powerful unions to organize a labor party. The convention shows that more education is needed.—Editor, The New Leader.

Make Your Reservations Today for the New Leader Dinner, Thursday Evening, Feb. 25. Just Call Stuyvesant 6885.