

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

# The New Leader

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

Vol. 1, No. 24

Twelve Pages

NEW YORK, N. Y., JUNE 28, 1924

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

Price 5 Cents

## DEPORT THE FACIST AMBASSADOR!

### TWO CLEVELAND CONVENTIONS NEAR

C. P. P. A. Believed Cold to Labor Party Until After This Election.

By MARX LEWIS

WASHINGTON.—Senator Robert M. La Follette's prayer to be delivered from his friends has been answered by the nomination of candidates at the St. Paul conference, and the movement to place him at the head of an independent political force which will enable him to take care of his enemies is assuming definite as well as nation-wide proportions as the day for the Cleveland meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, set for July 4, draws near.

In the City Auditorium of Cleveland, where only a few days ago the La Follette delegation was hissed when it attempted to have the machine which selected Calvin Coolidge and Charles G. Dawes consider a program that would afford partial relief to the suffering masses, representatives of millions of farmers and workers will gather to lay the basis of what is believed will eventually result in the formation of a party of the masses. The Engineers' Auditorium, in which it was originally planned to hold the meeting, was found to be inadequate to accommodate the tremendous number of delegates and visitors who are expected to attend.

The prospect of the immediate formation of a party in which the producers of the nation will have a political force all their own is not bright, if the reports which come to the National Office of the Conference for Progressive Political Action are to be taken as a possible indication of what the representatives of labor and of agriculture will do when they assemble in Cleveland.

But if the prospect of the immediate organization of a new political movement which will be altogether separate and apart from the old political parties is not encouraging, the possibility that some such political organization will be effected after the national elections is considered to be good by those who are watching and directing developments.

So far as I have been able to ascertain from conversations with those who are taking a leading part in the work preparatory to holding the Cleveland conference, there does not seem to be any doubt among the leaders that a new political party must and should result from the activities of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, even though the convention to be held on July 4th fail to take immediate action looking towards the formation of a new party.

That, likewise, seems to be the attitude of Senator La Follette, who is said to have intimated to friends that he did not wish this movement to confine itself to an individual.

But the difficulties with which La Follette and the leaders of progressive political movement think the formation of a new party in this campaign will be beset are such as to make it seem preferable to them that in the pending political campaign the activities of the progres-

(Continued on Page 2)

### Eyes On Cleveland

HENRY W. PINKHAM: Mobilizing the Church Against War.  
A. I. HARRIS: The Retirement of Arthur C. Townley.

JAMES ONEAL: Diagnosing a Sick Nation.

WILLIAM MORRIS FEIGENBAUM: The Babbitts Stick Together.

ADAM COALDIGGER: From Loony Land.

GLENGARRY'S REVIEW:

And,

The usual features that have made The New Leader indispensable to socialists and radicals who desire to keep informed; news of the Labor and Socialist movement of the world; reviews of important books; the Scrap Book; the Chatter Box; informing editorials, etc.

And,

IMPORTANT NEWS OF AND EDITORIALS ON THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCES, SOCIALIST AND CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION.

In

The New Leader

Next Week.

### "Send Caetani Home," U. S. Socialists Urge; International of Labor Attacks the Fascisti

Mussolini, Black Shirt Dictator, Still in Troubled Waters as a Result of Killing of Socialist Leader—U. S. Socialists Demand Coolidge Cause Withdrawal of Fascist Ambassador in Washington—International Condoles With Italian Party on Loss—Laborites at The Hague Refuse to Sit With Fascists—Big Demonstration in Carnegie Hall.

While in Italy, Premier Mussolini's bluster and bravado failed to smooth the tempest caused by the brutal murder of Socialist Deputy Matteotti, the workers of the entire world joined in denunciation of Fascism this week.

In the United States, the Socialist Party launched a drive for the deportation of the Fascist Ambassador, Prince Caetani. This move was supported by a huge meeting in New York City. The Socialist Workers' International issued a message to

the Italian Socialist Party regretting the loss of Matteotti and condemning Fascism.

The incident nearly disrupted the League of Nations Labor conference at The Hague, the Labor group refusing to sit with the Fascist-chosen Italian "laborites."

A big International demonstration at The Hague, ignoring orders by the Holland Government, denounced Mussolini and Fascism.

### International Attacks Fascism

LONDON.—Sorrow for the death of Giacomo Matteotti, and determination to fight on against Fascist terrorism are expressed in a tender tribute to the late Socialist deputy by the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, made public through the London office of that body. The document is a letter to the Socialist party of Italy and it reads:

Dear Comrades,

We kept up hope till the last moment, but now it is only too true that Matteotti is dead. Our pain is all the keener because only a little while ago he was here in London amongst us. We discussed with him the work of the proletarian campaign in Italy, and the better we knew him the more we felt that he was not only a brave worker, but a man, through and through, ready to offer any sacrifice for the cause to which he had consecrated his life.

In Matteotti lay one of the greatest hopes for the reconstruction of the Socialist movement in Italy, for courageous and unbending resistance to the dreadful terrorism of Fascism, to which you are a prey. We had been looking forward to seeing him again at the meeting of the Labour and Socialist International Executive in Vienna. He was refused a passport by Mussolini and compelled to remain within the grip of Fascists, and still they did not hesitate to add the worst to their string of misdeeds. With the strict impartiality and critical exactitude of a scientist Matteotti collected accounts of Fascist crimes, grouped them under towns and months, and published them without comment. This calm collection of Fascist doings, however, contained in his book "A Year of Fascism," constituted a flaming attack on Mussolini's tyrannical Government. He was in the midst of his work for the publication of a second edition, extended to the second year of Fascist Government. Through his death he himself is now a martyr at the hands of the Fascists. The historian has now become part of the history. His life and his death will not have been in vain. Matteotti's fate will again make proletarians of all countries aware that Fascism, the most bestial form of capitalist "Order" is threatening them from all sides, and that they must unite forces in a tenacious and decisive fight against this most treacherous enemy of the working class.

In love and gratitude we mourn our dear Comrade with the Italian Socialists, and we know that at the grave of their friend they will promise: We shall let nothing intimidate us—at whatever cost.

The Secretariat of the Labour and Socialist International, London, June 1924.

### British Laborite Here, Sees Election by Xmas

Voicing her conviction that there would be a new general election in Great Britain before Christmas, Miss Edith Picton-Tuberville, member and candidate of the British Labor party, returned to England after a six weeks' speaking tour through the United States and Canada. Miss Picton-Tuberville, who is a Church of England preacher, possessing a license from the Bishop of London, and a well-known social worker, announced that she was again to be a candidate for the Labor party.

Miss Picton-Tuberville is another one of a growing number of very old English family scions who have been throwing in their lot with the Labor party. She is a daughter of Col. Picton-Tuberville of Ewenny Priory, in the County of Glamorgan, Wales. The family has lived there since Sir Paine Tuberville, one of Fitzhamon's twelve knights with William the Conqueror, got an estate there from the Crown in 1091.

### "Sweep Mussolini Aside," Debs Cables Italian Socialists on Murder of Matteotti

CHICAGO.—Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman of the Socialist Party, has sent the following cable to the Unitarian Socialist Party of Italy:—

"The Socialists of the United States are profoundly concerned in the tragic state of affairs in Italy brought about by the despotic, lawless and murderous regime of Mussolini, the infamous usurper, and the Fascisti, his army of mercenary assassins. We deeply deplore the cruel murder of the courageous and high-hearted friend of the people, Giacomo Matteotti, and earnestly hope the outraged Italian people will rouse in their power and indignation and sweep the atrocious regime forever from the State."

### GOMPERS BACKS WIS. SOCIALISTS IGLESIAS MEET

A. F. of L. Refuses to Encourage War on Porto Rican Socialist Party.

WASHINGTON.—Absolute faith and confidence in the sincerity and integrity of Senator Santiago Iglesias, president of the Porto Rico Socialist Party, and of the Porto Rico Federation of Labor, is expressed by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, in reply to a joint letter sent him by the leaders of the two capitalist parties of that island in which they ask aid in their fight against Iglesias.

The Unionist and the Republican parties, in an attempt to destroy the great influence of the Socialist Party in Porto Rico, have formed a "united front" all their own, and appealed to Gompers to give them his moral support. The reason they gave is that Iglesias is a Socialist, is a Socialist Senator, and is head of the Socialist Party in Porto Rico, which is affiliated with and an integral part of the Socialist Party of the United States.

"Mr. Iglesias believes in and carries out the policy of the American Federation of Labor," says Gompers. The A. F. of L. President continues:

"For twenty-seven years Mr. Iglesias has given his time and energy to better the conditions of his fellow wage earners. He has been punished a number of times for his courage in advocating their cause. He has been thrown into prison and suffered many indignities because he was endeavoring to protect his people from the greed of those who thrived on the wage earners. He speaks for the working people of Porto Rico. He is their chosen representative."

"Mr. Iglesias is true to Porto Rico, and the Republic of the United States. He has fought with all his might against the secessionists. He has struggled as best he could against the encroachments of the owners of the industries to lower the standards of the mass of the people. He has brought light into the lives of the workers. He has pointed the way for them to gain still better conditions. Because of these facts he has incurred the opposition of those who seek to enslave all who work for wages."

"The American Federation of Labor has every confidence in Mr. Iglesias. I have known him personally for many years and have appreciated the sincerity with which he has struggled to bring about higher standards of life in the Island. I am certain that the people of Porto Rico believe in the integrity and sincerity of Mr. Iglesias and I have no doubt but that they will rally behind him in the coming campaign."

"Every charge you made in your joint letter to me against Senator Iglesias, was well known to you before you joined with him in the Porto Rican mission to the United States."

(Continued on Page 2)

### Urge Caetani Be Sent Home

SEND CAETANI HOME!

That is the substance of a demand that has been made by the Socialist Party, through its national and State organizations, and that is being echoed by other organizations in every part of the country.

The murder of Giacomo Matteotti, heroic Socialist deputy of Italy who was put out of the way to silence him when he threatened to tell what he knew of the crookedness of the Fascisti rulers of Italy, has created a world-wide revulsion against the bloody black shirt bandits. Prince Caetani, the Italian ambassador, is an avowed member of the Fascisti, and he has been carrying on a spirited campaign in this country for Fascism. Those who have always opposed Fascism and all its works are now raising their voices in the demand that President Coolidge give Caetani his passports and that no representative of Italy be received so long as there is a Government there based upon assassination.

Eugene V. Debs, national chairman of the Socialist Party, has sent a cable to Italy, while Giralmo Valentini, national organizer of the Italian Socialist Federation, has cabled to The London Daily Herald, as follows:

"Daily Herald, London, England.  
"Fearing Mussolini's censorship, New York Italian Socialists, through your international Labor daily, express condolence Italian Socialist movement over loss Deputy Matteotti and protest against savage outrages. May Matteotti's martyrdom mark Freedom's restoration in Italy."

It is certain that Matteotti was murdered and that the murder has created havoc in the highest circles of the Fascisti. The deputy was kidnapped, and when he was murdered the thugs mutilated and burned his body. That is why Mussolini will not permit the body to be found. The excitement in Italy is intense, and demands are being heard everywhere for the resignation of the Fascisti Cabinet and the election of a new chamber under the old democratic election law.

In a letter addressed to President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes, the Socialist Party of the United States demands that, until orderly and representative government has been established, Italy shall no longer be recognized in the sisterhood of nations. The letter says in part:

"The Italian Government is now—and for many months has been—in the hands of a brutal usurper, one Benito Mussolini. This man has openly and defiantly outraged the most sacred rights of freedom of discussion. This man leads the Fascisti whose acknowledged purpose and practice are the savage suppression of all opposition to his lawless will, whose wholesale outrages against law and order, whose approval and practice of outrage and actual murder, are now known all over the civilized world."

"This official fostering of lawlessness, outrage and murder has very recently reached its logical and natural result and climax of anarchy in the kidnap, ping and murder of Giacomo Matteotti, secretary of the Unitarian Socialist Party, and deputy in the Italian national Legislature. This murder is due to the usurper's and Fascisti's fear that Deputy Matteotti planned the early exposures of the nation-wide corruption in the nation's affairs administered by the usurper and his Fascisti organization, and to the belief that Matteotti had come into the possession of overwhelming evidence of this wide and wild corruption."

"This usurper's Government is now represented in Washington by Ambassador Prince Caetani, a member of Mussolini's lawless and cruel organization, the Fascisti. This representative of a usurper's power shamelessly commends Mussolini (Continued on Page 2)

### 40,000 STRIKE IN CLOTHING INDUSTRY

Union Moves to Bring Better Conditions to Employees in Men's Clothing Trade.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union in this city once again demonstrated its remarkable solidarity and strength in the men's clothing industry this week with a strike of its 40,000 men and women that stopped every machine in the industry in New York City and vicinity.

With an impressive show of its power, the men and women marched to thirteen halls where the strike was organized. Socialist and Labor leaders of the city, addressing these gatherings, drew tremendous applause with appeals for a strike to the finish.

The closed shop is the foremost demand of the union.

Among the speakers at the mass meetings were David Wolf, manager of the New York Joint Board; J. Gold, of the Children's Joint Board; James Oneal, editor, and William M. Feigenbaum, of The New Leader.

The strike was announced Wednesday, just as the conciliating commission appointed by Governor Smith to take up the threatening strike of 50,000 cloak workers was concluding its hearings.

"In both Chicago and Rochester clothing markets" read the announcement, "the union has recently renewed its agreements with the manufacturers of these cities without either a strike or a threat to strike. The largest clothing manufacturers in the United States are maintaining satisfactory relationships with the Amalgamated and through civilized industrial machinery, maintained by both the manufacturers and the union, the industry in these markets enjoys peace and efficiency."

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have struggled to bring about the conditions in New York only to be met constantly by opposition on the part of some of the manufacturers who do not seem to understand that only through the maintenance of decent conditions can the clothing industry prosper as it should."

Explains Strike Call

Sidney Hillman, General President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, said the manufacturers had taken advantage of the business depression to lower standards.

"The decision," he said, "made by the committee representing the joint boards for a general strike in the City of New York and vicinity, and unanimously endorsed by the clothing workers at their various meetings, has been necessitated by the policy pursued by a great number of manufacturers in New York City who have utilized the business depression for breaking down the standards of the workers and reducing wages."

"This has been most glaring among the employers who send their work to contracting shops, which constitute the largest portion of the market. They withhold work from (Continued on Page 2)

### LABOR WINS SPLENDID VICTORY IN BRISBANE

BRISBANE, Australia.—Labor has just won a notable political victory in Brisbane, the third largest city in Australia and capital of the State of Queensland, under control of the Tory party for the past 60 years.

M. J. Barry, Labor candidate, defeated A. H. Raymond, Tory, for mayor by a majority of 5,188 votes.

In the three largest municipal areas embraced in Greater Brisbane, Labor almost literally swept its opponents off the board. In Ithica it did so, winning every seat in the municipal council. In Brisbane itself it missed doing the same thing by only the narrowest margin, as the council will now be made up of 12 Labor and 2 Tory aldermen.

In South Brisbane, where Labor had a single seat before the election, the new council will consist of 9 Labor and 4 Tory aldermen.

In the three municipal divisions, Labor will have 32 of the 38 aldermanic seats, against only eight held by Labor prior to the election.

Organized Labor, functioning politically as the Labor party, now controls the Government in four of the six states of Australia, will soon claim another (New South Wales), and expects soon to capture the Commonwealth Parliament.



# SOCIALIST AND LABOR CONVENTIONS NEAR

(Continued from Page 1)

sives be confined to weaning away the voters from the two old parties by gaining their support for one who is not running on an old party ticket.

One of the major difficulties, in the opinion of those leaders, is the effect that the organization of a third party will have in State contests in which Progressive candidates can win or stand a better chance of winning if they continue to run, in this campaign, on the old party tickets. Senator Norris, of Nebraska, and Senator Brookhart, of Iowa, both of whom are candidates for re-election, and whose defeat would be a set back for the Progressive movement, would, it is stated, endanger their chances of re-election if they ran on a third party ticket and permitted their opponents to make use of the Republican party emblem.

That this fear is justified is considered doubtful by those who know how deep-seated the political unrest is in the Middle West. What the Farmer-Labor party going it alone in Minnesota has been able to do to the two old parties can be duplicated also in Iowa, where conditions are as bad as they are in Minnesota, and possibly, also in Nebraska.

But whether the fear is justified or not, it is real in the minds of those who declare that to take the chances of losing these two seats to the reactionaries would be an act of folly for which there would be no compensatory advantage or redeeming feature in the formation of a third party while that possibility obtains.

There is also the other fear to which some of them are giving expression, and that is that while the leaders of trade unions are ready for an independent political party, those leaders are not certain that the rank and file are prepared to follow.

One of the leaders to whom I spoke, and whose desire to have a new political party established at the earliest possible moment is unquestioned, declared that by weaning away the voters from the old parties first and then organizing them, the danger of an abortive movement will be averted.

"Reports that I receive from various parts of the country, show that the work of organizing a new party must proceed cautiously if it is to safely avoid the pitfalls into which the Bull Moose party fell twelve years ago," he said. "The workers can make only one step at a time, they can see but one thing at a time. It might be possible to lead them, but it would be ruinous to attempt to drive them."

Whether this ground for delaying the formation of a third party is any better than the one previously assigned is at least as doubtful. But here again the fear is genuine, and while it prevails little hope can be entertained for the formation of a third party.

A study of political developments as they have been shaping themselves here would seem to indicate that the difficulty seems to be that the leaders are as suspicious of the rank and file as the rank and file are of the leaders, and with much less reason. It is known, for instance, that several Labor leaders have been actively campaigning for McAdoo while professing friendship for La Follette. La Follette was aware of these activities and that is said to be the reason he hesitates to declare himself.

That there will be a substantial element in the Cleveland conference which will insist on the formation of a third party immediately is certain. The Socialist party of Wisconsin, which just held its State convention in Milwaukee, instructed its delegates to the Socialist convention to refuse to endorse La Follette unless he heads a third party ticket instead of being merely an independent Republican. Socialists of other States will probably take a similar position. Representatives of the needle trades and of a number of the more progressive of the trade unions are expected to take a similar view of the situation.

To avoid a break in the conference, it may go on record as favoring the organization of a new party after the national elections, and setting a date for the holding of a national convention. This may reconcile those demanding a new party at once, and they will have to choose between accepting the independent candidacy of La Follette and preserving the unity of the Labor forces or rejecting it and beginning anew the task of leading the workers and farmers to a new political deal.

But no matter what happens at Cleveland, it is considered certain that nothing will be done to tie the hands of each of the organizations which will want to put candidates into the field in various Congressional districts.

## Socialists Ready For Campaign

By W. M. FEIGENBAUM  
The Socialist Party will be ready.

The organization campaign that has been carried on in every part of the country has created a greater Party, better spirit and more enthusiasm than in years, and that spirited organization will be at Cleveland, ready to do its share in consolidating the Labor forces for the presidential campaign—and for the future.

There are three possibilities: 1. That the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action will endorse the candidate of the New York Democratic convention as a "Progressive." Such action is possible if Madison Square Garden names either Governor Alfred E. Smith or William G. McAdoo.

2. That the conference names Senator La Follette as "Independent" candidate for President but does not launch a movement looking toward a new party. And

3. That the conference decides to form a party to be a permanent fixture in American life, based upon an appeal to the workers and working farmers.

The Socialist Party's position in the event of the first and third possibilities is clear. If the first possibility eventuates, the Party convention, July 6th, will call upon all the Labor forces in the country, and those parties already formed, such as in Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Idaho and other States, to unite with themselves on a Labor and Socialist ticket. Candidates most frequently mentioned are James H. Maurer, Senator Shipstead and Eugene V. Debs.

In the third eventuality, the Socialists will enthusiastically join with other elements and become an integral part of the party and place all their political and propaganda experience at the disposal of the new party. In States where there will not be any State "third" party the Socialists will name their own ticket and carry on their usual campaign for Socialism and for the building up of a great Labor party. In any case, the Socialists will retain their organization as an educational and propaganda body.

In the second case, the Socialists will throw out their stand at the convention. Opinions are divided.

If Senator La Follette is named, it is my opinion that the Socialists will strive in the conference to prevent the movement from becoming a mere political insurgency against political dishonesty. They will make a fight to make the campaign merely the beginning of a permanent force in public life. If that happens they will support it. They will fight for Maurer or some other Labor or Socialist candidate.

### Candidate for Vice President

Many Socialists are willing to support such a ticket. However if the Vice Presidential candidate is merely a political insurgent, like Senator

Wheeler or Senator Walsh, the Socialists are hardly likely to support it. As one Socialist put it, "I don't like the idea, but I am willing to make the sacrifice of accepting La Follette as the price of getting a Labor party—if I am convinced that a Labor party will come out of it." The Socialists will be guided in their decision by what happens in the conference and the temper of the Labor men.

Other Socialists are confident that such a nomination cannot help but lead to such a party, and will urge that the Party go along.

Still others have expressed the opinion that nothing but the formation of a Labor party will get their support.

A year ago it appeared that a Labor party was the most improbable eventuality, but the great success of the British Labor party and its Government has broken down the prejudice against going into politics with a class party in the minds of large sections of the Labor movement, especially the railroad men.

The call for the conference provides for action on the two old party nominations, "or the formation of a Labor party"—the first time the unions that launched the conference have admitted such a possibility.

That is the line-up. But whatever happens, the Socialist Party is ready—and it is going ahead with its organization and propaganda campaign, ready for whatever happens.

## A. L. P. General Council Meets

The general council meeting of the American Labor party held on Tuesday, June 24, at 231 E. 14th street, was very well attended. Beside the regular delegates a number of the delegates who are to attend the Cleveland conference representing such unions as the International, the Furriers, the Neckwear Makers, the Fancy Leather Goods Workers, and other organizations were present and took an active interest in the proceedings.

Jerome De Hunt was in the chair. The organizer's report on the work done toward making the Cleveland conference a success was given, and also a general survey of the work done since the last meeting. The report was accepted as rendered.

The Executive Committee submitted a resolution, which was as follows:

1. "That the position of the American Labor party and its affiliated groups at the Cleveland conference be that they work for the formation of an independent party of Labor, industrial and agricultural, including professional workers.

2. That they favor the direct nominations of candidates, national,

State and local upon a platform that will be adopted by that convention assembled.

The resolution was presented by Abraham Lefkowitz.

A very lively and interesting discussion followed in which nearly all the delegates participated. The resolution was adopted with only one dissenting vote.

Morris Hillquit, who was to have addressed the delegates, sent word late in the afternoon that a series of conferences with the I. L. G. W. U. made it impossible for him to be present.

### S. John Block Is Delegate

The Labor Secretariat of New York City, well-known for many years as a cooperative organization of Labor unions organized and maintained for the purpose of protecting the legal rights of the unions and their members, has unanimously elected S. John Block, to represent the organization as its delegate at the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland on July 4. Block is attorney and counsel for The Labor Secretariat.

## CAFETERIA WORKERS ARE WINNING STRIKE

Cafeteria workers are enthused with their victory in the strike which has so far lasted less than a week. On the East Side, where the organization campaign has been centralized, 48 establishments have already yielded the reasonable demands of the workers for a nine-hour day, six days a week, and a twenty per cent increase in wages, with union recognition.

An association of 36 other cafeterias are negotiating for settlement at the present time. The Melrose Cafeteria, 316 Grand street, has secured a temporary injunction against the union, which will be heard at the Supreme Court this Friday morning, June 27, where the workers will be represented by Harry J. Cohen, their attorney.

The workers are so enthused with the present results that a vigorous campaign will now be made in an effort to organize all the cafeteria workers in the city, as they are slaving under the most intolerable conditions such as twelve to fourteen hours a day, in many cases seven days a week, at such meagre wages as twelve to fifteen dollars a week.

The campaign of the Allied Cafeteria Workers Local 219, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance, under whose direction the strike is being conducted, is being ably led by Charles S. Lowy, its secretary, and Meyer Schachter, business agent.

## FASCISM IS UNDER FIRE OF LABOR

(Continued from Page 1)

and the Fascisti and their deeds and methods to the people of the United States, both through the press and from the public platform.

"For years the United States Government refused diplomatic relations with Mexico, alleging such facts as these as justification for refusal.

"The Socialist Party of the United States protests against the presence of Ambassador Caetani in this country, and protests against further diplomatic relations with Italy while sacred human rights are trampled under foot by the Fascisti and its approving chief, Mussolini."

The State Executive Committee of the Party, at its meeting last Sunday, authorized sending a letter to President Coolidge and Secretary of State Hughes.

The letter of the State Committee of the Socialist Party urges that the Italian ambassador, Prince Gelasio Caetani, be given his passports and that "no other ambassador be received so long as Italy is ruled by Benito Mussolini."

The statement further points out that "Prince Caetani has openly avowed himself a member of the Fascisti, and that he made speeches in various parts of the United States glorifying that organization. We submit that no member of such an organization is a fit person to reside in the United States, and that a nation governed by such a body does not deserve recognition as a sister nation to the civilized states of the world."

Attention is called to the fact that the Government did not recognize Victoriano Huerta and later Venustiano Carranza as heads of the Mexican Government on the ground that they came into office as the result of assassination, in the first case, and of armed revolution, in the second. "Your own administration," the statement reads, "has likewise failed to recognize the Soviet Government of Russia, even though it is one of the most stable governments in the world, because of the claim that it does not represent the will of the people."

After pointing out the facts of the brutal rise and domination of the Fascisti the document concludes with the statement: "The Italian people have given the world many noble things. Italy has been an inspiration to us in art, in music, in literature, and in the spirit of Freedom. Let us aid her in winning back her

freedom by refusing to recognize any Government headed by a man and organization that is the very antithesis of everything the Italy of tradition stands for."

### At a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall, Thursday night, held to protest against the murder of Giacomo Matteotti, the audience that packed every corner of the big hall demanded the dismissal of Ambassador Caetani, Fascisti propagandist. Arturo Giovannitti of the Italian Chamber of Labor, read a letter identical with the letter of the State Committee of the Socialist Party, (printed elsewhere in this issue) which was approved by a roar of "ayes."

Speakers at the meeting included Morris Sigman, Judge Jacob

Panken, Sidney Hillman, Norman Thomas, Giuseppe Bertelli, Joseph Schlossberg and others.

## Gompers Backs Iglesias

(Continued From Page 1.)

States. There must be some convert cause then why you should not flaunt this. I have said that the American Federation of Labor and I have absolute confidence in the integrity of Santiago Iglesias to serve the people of Porto Rico. I am constrained to say that in view of your communication to me and your conduct it discloses, I can not express the same estimate of your course or conduct."

## Amalgamated on Strike

(Continued from Page 1.)

the contracting shops in order to get reduced prices, with the consequent reduction of the wages of the workers of these contractors.

"A number of employers have also attempted to bring back the so-called 'social' shop, which in reality is the old sweatshop, where no protective standards prevail. The competition that results from these sources has demoralized to a great extent the New York market, and if not stopped will bring complete confusion."

"The Amalgamated is attempting through its efforts at this time to place the New York market on a basis where these irresponsible elements, which are detrimental to the industry as well as to the workers, will be held under control."

"The demands of the union at this time are for a complete union shop, against wage reductions, and for the introduction of minimum scales of wages, not for the purpose of adding to the cost, but rather to stabilize cost. In this connection the union is ready to discuss the regulation and control of production. It also demands at this time the introduction of unemployment insurance, which the employment situation of the last few seasons has proved to be of necessity for the clothing industry. This need is based not only on justice to the workers, but on the ultimate benefit to the clothing industry."

"The union will welcome any constructive suggestions from the responsible employers for placing the relationship between the employers and employees on a more rational, just and equitable basis to all concerned in our industry. It therefore does not expect this to be a long struggle between the employers and the workers. It rather hopes that the responsible employers will make a speedy adjustment possible, and in this manner not affect the standing of the New York market in the country."

**Hopes for Regulation**  
"The New York market today has a cost basis that is comparable with that of the rest of the country, and, with orderly procedure in industrial relations, it may expect to hold its place as one of the leading clothing markets in the country. While the union will leave nothing undone to

stop the attempt to make wage reductions and to safeguard the interests of our membership. It is hopeful that the responsible employers will see the wisdom of regulation as against chaos in this market, and will join in an effort toward stabilization."

The cloak and suit hearings were held at the City Hall, with George Gordon Battle, chairman of the committee, presiding.

F. Nathan Wolfe, chief auditor of the International Ladies' Garment Union, submitted figures from the books of sixty Manhattan jobbers to show that many executed contracts with outside shops.

M.J. Roth INC.

Third Ave. at 84th St.

KODAKS

Sporting Goods

Stationery

Toys, Books, Dolls

Sixty Cups of the Finest Tea you ever tasted—for 10 cents.

WHITE LILAC TEA

At All Grocers. 10c a Package

## PAINTER AND DECORATOR

Finnish Painter Contractor would welcome an opportunity to estimate on Painter's, Decorator's, or Paper-hanger's Work. Address: George Paldan, 1285 First Avenue, corner 69th St., or 419 East 64th St. Telephone: Rhineland 10204.

## Restaurants

### The Center Restaurant

204 East Broadway  
East Side Socialist Center Bldg.  
Catering for Parties  
Our Specialty  
Zatz, Props.



The Fox Restaurant  
Ladies' and Gents' Table D'Hôte  
and a la Carte  
123 Fifth Avenue, New York  
ALEX. FUCHS, Prop. Tel. 19th and 20th

## Trusses

When your doctor sends you to a truss maker for a truss bandage or stocking, go there and see what you can buy for your money.

Then go to P. WOLF & Co., Inc.

COMPARE GOODS AND PRICES  
1499 Third Ave. 70 Avenue A  
Ret. 8th & 9th Sts. Ret. 4th & 5th Sts.  
(1st floor) (1st floor)  
Open Even., 7:30 p.m. Open Even., 9 p.m.  
SUNDAYS CLOSED  
Special Ladies' Attendant

## UNITY HOUSE

A Workers' Summer Resort at  
FOREST PARK, PA.

700 acres of woodland and a magnificent lake.  
Unexcelled food. Unlimited outdoor sports. Incomparable comfort and pleasure at minimum cost.

### REGISTER NOW

For Reservations, information, etc., apply to Room 6, 16 West 21st Street, New York City.

stop the attempt to make wage reductions and to safeguard the interests of our membership. It is hopeful that the responsible employers will see the wisdom of regulation as against chaos in this market, and will join in an effort toward stabilization."

The cloak and suit hearings were held at the City Hall, with George Gordon Battle, chairman of the committee, presiding.

F. Nathan Wolfe, chief auditor of the International Ladies' Garment Union, submitted figures from the books of sixty Manhattan jobbers to show that many executed contracts with outside shops.

## SPEND YOUR SUMMER AT

### The Strunsky Atlantic Hotel,

Belmar, N. J.

A delightful sea-shore resort. All conveniences. Best bathing, fishing, rowing, dancing, tennis, riding.

### MODERATE RATES.

Special Rates for the 4th of July.

Send for Booklets.

Belmar Telephone: 1147: 655. New York office: Spring 9275.

A Leader in Clothes and a Friend of The New Leader

## SUITS

Tailored in accordance with the F. & S. standard; the kind of clothes you can depend upon for service and appearance. For the young fellow as well as a generous range of conservative clothes for the mature man.

\$27.50

For Summer Comfort

GENUINE

PALM BEACH and MOHAIR SUITS

\$12.75

Not More and Not Less

THE F. & S. STORE

S. E. Corner 84th Street and Third Avenue

Remember the Address!

Just Off the "L" Station

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



## 5 LABOR CONVENTIONS PROMISE SUPPORT TO BROOKWOOD SCHOOL

Five recent trade union conventions have promised financial assistance to Brookwood Labor College, and the second commencement day in its history on May 30 found Brookwood accepted and approved as organized Labor's own college. Conventions of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers, which has already established two scholarships, Pennsylvania and Virginia State Federations of Labor, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have all gone on record to establish scholarships or to make direct contributions.

Brookwood has been endorsed by nine international unions, by eight State Federations of Labor, and by numerous central bodies and local unions. Its policy is directed by a cooperating committee of ten Labor men and women, headed by James Maurer of Pennsylvania. The educational advisory committee consists of Walton H. Hamilton, Joseph H. Willits, Leo Walman, and William F. Ogburn of Columbia University.

A Brookwood Fellowship was formed on commencement day by the graduates, for the purpose of keeping in touch with Brookwood and linking it up more closely with the Labor movement through their activities. Of the 1923 class, the first to graduate from Brookwood, several now hold positions as organizers or business agents for their respective unions and others have been organizing and conducting workers' classes in different cities. This year's graduates are all union members. Some will return to their unions to work in an official capacity; others are returning to work in their industry; and all expect to devote their efforts to building up the Labor movement, which the Brookwood college course is designed to serve.

## BAKERY WORKERS WIN

Washington.—Organized bakery workers secured a renewal of their wage contract just before the hour set for a suspension of work. The employers demanded a wage reduction of \$10 a week, and informed employees they would be enjoined if they struck. The unionists refused to be scared, and at the last minute the bosses weakened. More than 1,000 workers are affected.

## Death Knell of British Communism is Sounded

LONDON.—There can be no agreement, no friendship, between the Socialists of Great Britain and the Communists. That was definitely settled when the Communists in a single week adopted resolutions declaring their purpose to "steal" the leadership of the Labor party, and presented a seat in Parliament to the Tory party by their lunatic election tactics in the Kelvingrove, Glasgow, by-election.

The Glasgow Forward, official organ of the Clydeside Socialists which is edited by Tom Johnston and Tom Dixon, two of the Glasgow M. P.'s, has come out point-blank in the most scorching denunciation the Communists have ever been subjected to. The effect of this denunciation is the greater because the Communists have always considered the Clyde Socialists close to themselves and a possible "left wing" in the Labor party that they could use in a hoped-for split.

While Aitken Ferguson, Communist party member but candidate of the whole Labor party in the constituency, was making a fight for Parliament aided by the Independent Labor party and the rest of the Socialist forces, the Communist "revolutionaries" were meeting in Manchester denouncing the Labor party. They declared their purpose in public life to be—

The Communist party considers its duty to enter into the ranks of the Labor party in order to strengthen the militant and fighting elements in the Labor movement, and to unmask the treacherous elements in the Labor party, and free the workers from their influence. The Communist party does not aim at a united front with MacDonald, Snowden, and Thomas, but at the organization of the mass front of the workers. It enters Parliament not in order to delude the workers that they can achieve their emancipation by its means, but to use Parliament as a tribune whence to issue rallying calls and watchwords to the masses. The congress therefore reaffirms the decision of the Communist party to apply for affiliation to the Labor party.

This resolution was used to good effect by Tory speakers in the campaign, who weaned away enough Labor votes with it to defeat Ferguson.

"The election was lost," says Forward, "because the candidature was obviously counterfeit. The candidate's

lip service to the Labor Government convinced nobody. In the midst of an election he endeavored to blend two opposing elements—the Communist party and the Labor party. At his final meeting while he was promising to support the Government proves that there is no basis were being sold the Workers' Weekly and reading in its editorial that 'The Labor Government is a sham Labor Government.'"

P. J. Dollan, veteran Socialist of Glasgow, in the same issue of Forward quotes resolutions of the Communist convention denouncing the I. L. P. as full of "bourgeois ideology and defenders of capitalism," and he says "The I. L. P. will be able to defend itself against Communist attacks, whether made in the open or in secrecy. We have known of attempts to undermine the I. L. P. from within. The attempts have failed. We are now to be attacked in the open. The latest development proves that there is no basis of agreement between the I. L. P. and the C. P. The I. L. P. believe in Socialism by education and democratic procedure; the C. P. believe in the attainment of Communism by the methods of minority dictatorship. The I. L. P. are affiliated to the Labor party because they believe in the Labor party; the C. P. want affiliation so that they may 'steal the leadership' of the working-class movement."

One result of this Glasgow "unmasking" is that J. T. Walton Newbold, who was elected as Communist party candidate in 1922 and defeated in 1923, announces that he is anxious to be the official Labor party nominee for the next election and he gives his word that he will abide by the program and constitution of the Labor party that he so contemptuously rejected before.

Communism as an organized movement has collapsed.

## Less Than Half Ill. Mines Now Running

WASHINGTON.—Less than half the mines in Illinois are operating and that half is running about two days a week, according to the coal division, Department of Commerce. The output of Illinois mines is running approximately 20 per cent of potential capacity of the State and not to exceed 50 per cent of the normal output for the same season of other years.

## "NO NEED TO TAKE ST. PAUL SERIOUSLY," MRS. KELLY SAYS

"There is no need to take the St. Paul convention and the party formed there seriously."

This was the comment of Mrs. Florence Kelley, head of the National Consumers' League, on learning that the St. Paul meeting had placed a plank in its platform favoring the "equal-rights" amendment of the National Woman's Party.

The "equal-rights" amendment, in the action of the St. Paul gathering, has received approval for the first time from an organization that speaks in the name of Labor. The amendment has been bitterly fought by the organized workers of the nation because it would mean the end of protective legislation for women in industry.

"I have no interest in the Communists," Mrs. Kelley declared, commenting on their approval of the "equal-rights" bill, "and there is no need to take the St. Paul convention and the party formed there seriously."

## EXPENSIVE TO READ SCAB HEARST PAPER IN SEATTLE, WASH.

SEATTLE.—It will cost a union baker in Seattle just \$25 to be caught reading William Randolph Hearst's non-union morning daily, The Post-Intelligencer. Hearst was notified of the union's action, which is a material protest at his letting the paper appear with non-union crews. Printers walked out when the daily refused after many months the terms quickly agreed to by the other Seattle dailies. Stereotypers and mailers were locked out for refusing to touch strikebreaker type. Union pressmen remain at work.

## MARIUS HANSOME SAILS FOR DENMARK

Marius Hansome, instructor in the Rand School and active Socialist Party worker, sailed Wednesday morning for his native Denmark on the S. S. "Hellig Olav." Hansome, who spent several years of his early life as a sailor, shipped as a common sailor. Hansome is going over as delegate to the International Congress on Workers' Education that is to be held in August in England. He will travel in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and other countries, and while abroad he will write articles for The New Leader.

## Let's See Your Tongue!

If you don't feel so well today, if you lack energy and ambition, if you are tired and lazy and feel as if you would like to run away from yourself, just take a mirror and look at your tongue. If your tongue is white and coated, it is a sure sign that your liver and bowels are not in perfect order and must be regulated at once.

# EX-LAX

## The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

will, within a few hours, cleanse your system, evacuate your bowels, regulate your liver, and restore your ambition and vitality. Get a 10-cent box at once and be convinced.

## LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

### Yugoslavs in Convention—Unemployment in Czecho-Slovakia—Dutch Unions Active

#### Yugoslav Unions Hold Congress

Encouraging reports on the progress being made toward organizing the industrial and agricultural workers of Yugoslavia were made by most of the 140 delegates who attended the First Congress of the Yugoslav Trade Union Center, held in Belgrade April 27 and 28. These delegates represented thirty-one unions with 36,755 members, which form the larger part of the organizations affiliated with the national central body, which in turn is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions. There are a number of local non-affiliated unions in the various national territories making up the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, but they are reported to be lining up gradually with the central organization, despite the opposition of the Communists. The congress adopted a sort of national trade union constitution, and made arrangements for liaison work among the unions of different nationalities. The union movement in Yugoslavia has had a hard row to hoe ever since the setting up of the war-born kingdom. In old Serbia the World War about wiped out the unions, while in the newly acquired territory what was left of Labor organizations had formerly belonged to the Austrian and Hungarian central bodies. Internal rows between Communists and Socialists handicapped the work of re-organization and on December 29, 1920, the Belgrade Government used political trouble as an excuse for dissolving most of the unions. Since then the unions have reorganized again, this time with the Communists on the outside, and are steadily gaining ground.

#### Unemployment Hits Czech Unions

Details of the report for 1923 recently given out by the central office of the Czechoslovak Federation of Trade Unions show that the unemployment crisis last year, due largely to the stabilization of the currency, not only increased the expenditures of the affiliated national unions for unemployment benefits from 10,700,000 crowns, in 1922, to 15,000,000 (about \$450,000), but reduced the membership from 388,394, on January 1, 1923, to about 340,000, on Jan. 1, 1924. Since the first of the year, however, conditions have improved all around, and at a meeting of the Executive Committee held several weeks ago it was reported that the membership was around 650,000, but the Communist agitation, and the resultant splits, combined with economic difficulties, wrought great havoc in the Federation's ranks. The number of affiliated national unions was reduced during 1923 from forty-nine to forty-two, partly through consolidation. For instance, the blacksmiths united with the metal workers, the bakers and confectionery workers with the union of food workers, and the farm and forest workers with the union of small farmers. The waiters, the miners and smelter workers, and some small unions left the Federation, while the transport workers and the bank clerks joined up. The year was marked by the setting up of a committee for the organization of women as part of the Central Commission and the organizing of a cartel of unions of public employees. The commission took part in sixty-nine strikes and eleven lockouts, and

helped conclude 376 collective agreements covering 410,000 persons. Little progress was made last year toward uniting with the unions organized in the German-speaking Trade Union Federation, which has some 275,000 members, mostly living in Bohemia. The Communist unions claim about 250,000 members, while there are some 300,000 workers organized in Czech nationalist unions, with about 100,000 others in clerical unions, and "yellow," or employers', organizations. Roughly speaking, nearly 10 per cent of Czechoslovakia's population of 13,500,000 belong to some kind of a Labor organization.

#### Dutch Unions Extend Activities

At a national congress of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions, held in Amsterdam, May 14 to 17, the delegates voted to extend the organization's activities in several directions. A commission was named to study the question of establishing a Labor bank, it was decided to found an information bureau for affiliated organizations, to agitate for workers' factory control, and to co-operate with the Social Democratic Labor Party of Holland in workers' education. President R. Stenhuis gave a detailed report of the recent work of the affiliated unions, including the carrying on of the big textile strike in the Twente district, and pointed out how the Roman Catholic and Protestant unions had fallen down on the job, and had strengthened the hands of the bosses. Stenhuis also told of the close cooperation obtaining between the central union body and the Socialist political center, and defended it as something calculated to advance the cause of the Dutch workers. There was considerable discussion as to the advisability of linking the political and industrial movements so closely, but the consensus of the delegates seemed to favor it. Although the membership of the affiliated unions suffered a loss during 1923, being put at 182,893 on Jan. 1, 1924, against 201,045 the year before, the Federation, which is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, remains by far the strongest Labor organization in Holland, and the only one that really does anything for its members or Labor in general. The Catholic unions had 101,110 members on Jan. 1, last; the Protestants, 53,967; the neutrals, 32,222; the Communists, 13,000; the syndicalists, 10,000, and the "intellectuals," 32,000.

#### Cuban Rail Workers Ask Moral Support

WASHINGTON.—Cuban railroad workers have appealed to President Gompers and other American unionists to aid them by giving publicity to their strike. In a cablegram from Havana to Canute Vargas, Spanish language secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the Cuban workers say:

"For 12 days we have maintained complete strike on railroads in defense of our agreement which has been violated by general manager in his efforts to break our brotherhood. Please ask Mr. Gompers to assist our cause and inform American brotherhoods. Reports of Ambassador Crowder are untrue. We await reply."

## Problems of an American Labor Party Are Discussed at Conference of League for Industrial Democracy

The problem of an American Labor Party, from its many angles, is occupying the attention of the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy now in full swing. Many men and women connected with the Labor movement and their sympathizers are planning to spend the coming week-end at the conference which is being held at the New Columbia Hotel, Belmont, New Jersey, a couple of hours' ride from New York City. Trains leave for the conference practically every hour from Pennsylvania Station (Penn. System), from West 23rd St. and Liberty St. (C.R.R.N.J.) and Hudson Terminal (H. & M. R.R.). It is also possible to go by way of Sandy Hook Route from West 42nd St. and Cedar St. by boat leaving West 42nd St. at 7:45 A.M. (Eastern Standard Time), 8:50 A.M., 11:30 A.M.; 2:45 P.M.; 3:55 and 6:45 P.M.

Norman Thomas, Director of the League, called together the conference at the first session which was devoted to "Possibilities and Limits of Political Action."

Benjamin Stolberg, magazine writer, traced the development of the third party movement from the Greenback, Granger, Free Silver, Populist and Socialist party stages and declared that almost invariably the grievances expressed by these movements were sooner or later—though only partially and vicariously—

ly—met in the platforms of the more powerful parties.

### Unity a Recent Development

"Until the beginning of this century the third party movement was chiefly social reformist or just simply libertarian. Only since 1900 are the poorer tenant farmers and the industrial workers developing into the nuclei of what necessarily is growing into a class-conscious third party movement."

Mr. Stolberg sketched the personnel and tactics of recent movements for independent political action and gave the reasons why, in his opinion, the "radical" development was here to stay.

Prior to his talk, Professor Alfred Sheffield, of Wellesley College, analyzed the technique of discussion.

Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich at the Thursday morning session dealt with the need for cooperation between farmers' groups and workers' groups in a Labor party, if such a party ever hoped to obtain a majority of votes.

After careful analysis into all of the data available regarding the relative strength of various classes of workers and owners in the community, Dr. Hourwich concluded that industrial wage-earners constituted in 1920 42.4 per cent of the entire wage-earning population in the United States as compared with 34.1 per cent in 1900. Furthermore, the industrial wage-

earners together with farmers and hired farm hands represent 63 per cent of all bread-winners, a potential majority of all voters.

### Farmer Backing Indispensable

"No amendment to the Constitution which may be required to put Socialism in operation can be carried by the votes of the industrial proletariat alone.

"From the available statistics the time when the industrial proletariat will have become a majority of the voters in three-fourths of all the States cannot be foreseen.

"If Socialism is to be put into operation, there is either the alternative of a Communist coup d'état or the fusion between farmer and Labor groups in regard to candidates at election time, each party retaining its political identity. The effect of this form of political cooperation is that two or more minority groups by combining become a majority and can control legislation."

Dr. Scott Nearing also dealt with the necessary relations between Farmer and Labor groups and the desirability of cooperation.

At the Thursday evening session on "The Propaganda Technique for an American Labor Party," McAlister Coleman, publicity expert, declared that sooner or later a Labor party must take a page from the methods of the old parties and set up a central press bureau in charge of experts.

### A Publicity Policy

"As to our publicity policy in general we must agree that in the first place our material will be presented in simple, newspaper English, carefully avoiding the technical jargon of the new economics and keeping in mind the fact that most Americans have an instinctive aversion for anything that is new and most especially anything that requires effort on their part. Furthermore we must be careful not to oversell our product. There is danger in telling people that Utopia is here the day the Labor party comes into power. Again we should beware of stunt publicity, tempting as that may be to the founders of a new party."

Mr. Coleman declared that backing up newspaper propaganda, there must be articles in the general magazines, letters to the papers and pamphlets. He declared that more attention is paid by newspaper owners to letters from readers than one might suspect.

Marie MacDonald, organizer of the American Labor party, spoke effectively of methods of oral propaganda.

"In our approach to masses of people two great human needs must

always be considered; first: economic security which embraces more or less material needs and comforts; second: self-respect, emphasizing the spiritual and intellectual yearnings of human beings. The great essential in an approach to any group is to recognize that you owe them consideration, tolerance and respect and that your hearers are paying you a compliment by the attention given your message. In my many years of experience in meeting audiences, I have learned to know that respect wins respect.

"The object of all propaganda technique must necessarily be, first, to stimulate people to action, second, a definite kind of action for Labor's greater power. Thirdly, as Labor our interest must be distinct from those who through special privilege have withheld the sources of supply from the mass. Fourth: that our interests must be expressed in a party specially dedicated to the interests of Labor."

Mrs. MacDonald gave a number of excellent hints in regard to the arrangement of hall meetings, the need of getting publicity in the newspapers, attractive handbills, striking placards and personal contact; a good chairman who can be brief and snappy and a speaker who thoroughly knows his subject and knows how to get it across. Your organization committee should always be present to make everybody in the hall comfortable.

"Our object with the trade unions is not to teach them trade unionism, but the value of political action along class lines and for class purposes. In order to win the confidence of both the officials and the rank and file we must assure them that under no circumstances shall any business affairs of the union or its policies as a union or of the administration of the union by officials or committees be considered in a branch of a Labor party. We must confine ourselves and our activity exclusively to the affairs that relate to a Labor party in the task of trying to establish a political party in this country.

"The task of reaching in to that vast group of organized Labor in America must be our first consideration."

An international program for an American Labor Party will be discussed Saturday evening and Sunday morning by Morris Hillquit, James G. McDonald of the Foreign Policy Association and S. A. Gulick, an authority on Japan, and others. A summary of the conference discussions, "A Social Utopia and an American Labor Party," will

## SPEND JULY 4th AT CAMP TAMIMENT

### Entire Week's Program:

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| Monday, June 30th:   | Tennis, Campfire, Singing and Get-Together.   |
| Tuesday, July 1st:   | Tennis, Barn Dance, Games.  |
| Wednesday, July 2nd: | Reading of "Tsar Ivan."   |
| Thursday, July 3rd:  | Preliminary Boxing, Jazz Dance.   |
| Friday, July 4th:    | Tennis Tournament, Basket Ball and Baseball Games, Election for Police Court, Amateur Vaudeville Night. |
| Saturday, July 5th:  | Grand Pageant, Legend of Lake Tamiment.   |
| Sunday, July 6th:    | Water Sports, Musicale and Old Fashioned Waltz.   |

## Make Your Reservations Today

7 EAST 15th STREET  
Telephone STurveys 3094  
Open Until 8 P. M.

CAMP TAMIMENT  
Forest Park, Penna.  
Telephone 71-R Stroudsburg

### Mt. Airy

Near Harmon on the Hudson  
A new community for Radicals, one mile from Croton Lake, two miles from Harmon station. 34 minutes from Grand Central, three miles from Croton River Beach.  
4 acre plots (4 city lots of 25x100) \$150 to \$400. Cash or terms. Address Harry Kelly, Room 411, 70 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Chelsea 0422. Office hours 2:30 to 6 P. M.

### FINANCIAL

#### NOTICE

The First National Bank of Okmulgee, located at the city of Okmulgee, and State of Oklahoma, is closing its affairs. All note holders and other creditors of the Association are therefore hereby notified to present the notes and other claims for payment.

PAUL E. STADT, Cashier.  
Dated, May 22, 1924.

Special rates of \$4 a day for a room and board have been secured for the conference for two in a room and \$5 a day for single rooms. Those desiring to attend should send a \$3 deposit with their orders for reservations to the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.



# Coolidge and Dawes: Stepping Stones to a Dictatorship

## Election of G. O. P. Ticket May Bring Us a Mussolini All Our Own.

By MARX LEWIS

Four years of dictatorship, rivalled only by the dictatorship which Mussolini has been able to inaugurate in Italy, and destructive of what little there remains of even the theory of popular rule in the United States is brought several steps nearer realization by the nomination of Calvin Coolidge and Charles G. Dawes as the Republican standard bearers in the coming presidential campaign.

It may differ from the regime of which Mussolini is the head in that it will have something of a constitutional sanction, since the Federal Constitution has conferred upon the Chief Executive powers which enable him to defy the will of the elected representatives of the people. But in all other respects—in the effect that it will have upon the worker, the farmer, and the small businessman—in the denial of rights to political minorities and in the suppression of every progressive thought—it will be very much similar to the castor oil regime now in vogue in Italy.

The tendency to establish such a dictatorship became notoriously evident during the first session of the present Congress. It reflected itself in more than one way, both by the repeated exercise by President Coolidge of the executive veto, and by the denunciation with which the capitalist press met what little effort there was made in Congress to enact legislation that would relieve the people of some of their present burdens. The trend of capitalist propaganda has been towards making the Chief Executive the custodian of the people's affairs and the judiciary the second line of plutocracy's defense, and regarding the legislative branch of the Federal Government as a sort of necessary evil.

**Foresight of Alexander Hamilton**  
The fathers of the Republic, when they provided that the President should exercise what they called a "qualified negative" upon the acts or resolutions of the two

mind the coming of a day when a large majority of the people would become restive under a system which denied to them the opportunities that were being handed to a few. Alexander Hamilton, defending this proposal, declared that it "established a salutary check upon the legislative body, calculated to guard the community against the effects of faction, precipitancy, or of any impulse unfriendly to the public good, which may happen to influence a majority of that body."

And when it was urged by some that the power of preventing bad laws includes that of preventing good ones, and may therefore be used to the one purpose as well as to the other, Hamilton, who was particularly anxious to give the people as little power as possible in the Government he was helping to establish, replied that even so it would be better, because the greater danger arose from excessive law making. He argued that it was best "to keep things in the same state in which they happen to be at any given period."

To keep things in the present state is, likewise the purpose of those who have been growing powerful under a system which affords

every protection and assures every possible defense to a few at the expense of the many. And—the executive veto, designed for just such an emergency as this, when the people are beginning to look through the sham battle which the two dominant parties have fought while they are in fact united in defense of special privilege, has been resorted to by the President to defeat the wishes of the people as expressed, imperfectly but none the less democratically, by their elected representatives.

### Results of the Veto

The effect of the veto is to defeat the legislation enacted by a majority of both houses unless two-thirds can be mustered to re-enact the bill notwithstanding the President's veto. That is what happened to the Bursum bill which sought to increase the pensions of those who had served in the Spanish-American war. That is what happened to the bill increasing the salaries of postal employees—a bill which had the almost unanimous support of both houses of Congress—unless the bill is reenacted when Congress reconvenes in December. And this is what almost happened to the emasculated soldier's bonus bill.

Nor is the provision that as much as one-third of both houses must agree with the President before a law can be killed a substantial limitation of the dictatorial powers exercised by the President. The patronage which the President controls enables him to a very large extent to control the political life of members of Congress, whose organizations back home live or die as patronage is given or withheld. Members who incur the enmity of the President have an uphill battle ahead of them. Even Senator Lodge, powerful figure that he has been, has been swept aside because on one or two occasions he ventured to exercise the powers of his office. His fall from grace—or disgrace—will long be remembered by those who may ever consider opposing the Chief Executive and his policies.

### Last Trench of Capitalism

When all this is considered, it is found that the final legislative authority rests not in Congress but with the President. And if it should ever slip by him, it will come up against the last line of capitalist defense, the tribunal which has always been the refuge of the plutocrat—the Supreme

## Shearing of Powers of Supreme Court Needed to Safeguard Democracy.

Court of the United States, presided over by a pensioner of the Steel Trust, and composed of corporation tools and discredited politicians.

But with Coolidge in the White House and Dawes, of "open-shop" fame to assist him, the Supreme Court will not have occasion to consider any "hastily-enacted" legislation—the kind of legislation which does not embody the views of the powerful minority.

This tendency to reduce the legislative branch of the Government to a useless adjunct, expressed in the several vetoes of the President, and supported almost unanimously by the press of the nation, by Elbert H. Gary, by Chambers of Commerce and Rotary Clubs, all of whom join in deprecating Congress and in hailing the President as the bulwark against dangerous doctrines in legislation, will become more pronounced should the Republican ticket succeed in the elections next November. Just now there may be some fear of the wrath of the voters, but during the second—and necessarily the last—term, Coolidge will have little or no occasion to fear the election results, four years hence. Assuming—and the presumption is a violent one—that they can get by this time.

In view of the situation which is thus created—a situation which is made possible by the Constitution enacted a century and a half ago—the Progressives in the coming election will be fighting for more than an improvement in the conditions of the large masses. Their struggle will be one for the advancement of democratic institutions—for the retention of what little popular rule they are supposed to enjoy—and for the right of the people to solve their problems in their own way, without the check conferred upon the executive branch of the Government.

A law providing for the re-enactment by Congress of laws held invalid by the Supreme Court is necessary to prevent the establishment of a dictatorship of the kind towards which Coolidge is heading.

## The G. O. P. Flies Under its Own Colors for a Change

By NORMAN THOMAS

The notion that Calvin Coolidge is a strong, silent man with the primitive New England virtues has grown somewhat thin. This President by accident was in a position to dominate the Republican convention. He could not control a Republican Congress and even the New York Times grew a bit impatient at his failure. His dominance of the Republican convention led to some extraordinarily bad politics in passing the vice-presidency around looking for a taker. That is not the act of a first rate political leader. And if Mr. Coolidge has not strength he has little else to recommend him. True, he did not belong to the Ohio gang. He has not been personally concerned in

their scandals. He probably desires to get a competent business administration. He is a frugal New Englander but his alleged Puritan virtues have never kept him from being the henchman of Murray Crane in Massachusetts politics, the friend of E. B. McLean in Washington, and always regular in politics. He has never stood for a big ideal or a great principle. Even when he has been right, there has been no attractive quality about his rightness.

His associate General Dawes is in every way an abler man than his chief. He belongs to the front rank of American business men. He has a record for efficiency in France, in Washington as a director of the budget, and in Germany as head of

the commission bearing his name. It was at its best a business efficiency calculated to maintain the present order of things by correcting their more obvious wastes and insanities. Such ideals as he has are militantly business ideals. He is avowedly anti-union, avowedly a one hundred percent. Politicians trained in their own game like the Old Guard Republicans, however much at heart they favor big business, would scarcely have risked his nomination. It is fortunate for the country that the eclipse of the Old Guard and the inept leadership of Coolidge's advisers left the convention free to show to the workers the real colors of the Republican party by the nomination of Mr. Dawes.

## The Moron-Making Machine

After the State machines see to it that no one is nominated for offices "who will not stand without hitching," the moron-making machine for candidates dictates what he may say in his speeches, what policies he may advocate and what legislation he may approve. The "moron-making machine," a title coined by Clinton W. Gilbert of the Washington Post is too descriptive to be useful. The polite name of the organization is the "Monday Lunch Club of Washington." Frank R. Kent in "The Great Game of Politics" gives a four-page list of the members, all legislative agents of special interests and groups which have a vast political influence. "They are in a class by themselves—and they have their feet on the ground all the time," says Mr. Kent.

"Their club is not a business organization. It is a social affair, run on a friendly basis, and they meet once a week at lunch. There are included in its membership the Standard Oil representatives, the American Farm Bureau representatives, representatives of the coal interests, the leather interests, the beef interests, the railroads, the silk interests, the glove interests, the fertilizer interests, the cotton interests, the banking interests, the express company interests, the wire interests, the steel interests, and a number of other similar interests. The only big interests not represented are organized labor and prohibition."

## A Labor-Party or A La Follette Party?

The workers and farmers are about to enter into a new political era. Discontented and disgusted with the two old political parties, they are about to mold into one great harmonious, coherent, homogeneous political mass or party. In fact, never before in the history of the country were the workers and farmers so ready to administer a severe blow to the masters of bread as at present.

But while the surging waves of economic and political revolt are rising higher and higher, there are strong forces beneath the current that make every possible attempt not only to prevent an overflow but to retard the rolling of those waves ever forward and forward.

Come, then, what may, these forces must be rationally challenged for if the investigation of wholesale corruption of high Government officials and the destructive economic conditions that confront the workers and farmers in the country today are the result of driving the industrial and agricultural producers together, of unifying and consolidating their interests, of coalescing their differences, of cementing a better friendship, of instilling and inculcating a feeling of class consciousness within the heretofore widely separated organizations, then this movement must be so shaped, molded and crystallized. It must be so well organized that it will enable these toilers and tillers to march forward to the ballot-box during the November election and attack the

## The Possible Outcome of Cleveland Conference—The Socialists' Attitude.

By ISAAC KUSHNER

capitalist class that is represented by the donkey and the G. O. P.

### A La Follette Party

In order to accomplish such a task we must inquire whether or not the formation of a La Follette party—as is urged by some tens of thousands of sentimentalists and enthusiasts of the country over—will produce the desired results. Will the formation of such a party have permanency? Will the foundation of such a party be laid upon principles and ideas? Answers to these various serious questions must be given by those who urge the formation of a one-man party.

As for ourselves, we maintain without any fear of contradiction, that just as a house built upon sand must by its very nature topple over like a house of cards, so must a movement built and centered around one man collapse with the collapse of that man. A very living and striking example is that of the deceased Progressive party. Theoretically, it was supposed to have been a progressive party; practically it was a Roosevelt party. And as soon as Roosevelt deserted it after the 1912 election the entire Progressive party died a natural death. It could not have been otherwise. Should this not be sufficient to convince those enthusiasts? It may be maintained that the Wisconsin Senator cannot be compared to Roosevelt. Certainly no one questions his integrity, sincerity and honesty of purpose, but the fact stands out that La Follette is still a member of one of the most corrupt political parties in the country today.

### A Preposterous Utopia

Instead of severing his affiliation with the old party and joining some new radical movement, he still clings to it like a leech, and intends, like Saint Simon, to appeal to and reform the money kings. Never was Utopia more preposterous! Even now when there is a strong sentiment in the country that the Senator run on a third party ticket he issued a platform of his own and took it to the Republican party convention. He will also take it to the convention for Progressive Political Action. This, too, shows the wavering and vacillating mind of La Follette; he does not know his own ground.

If this is not sufficient to convince the La Follette followers of the danger of the forming a one-man movement, let it be stated that in so far as the good man theory is concerned it has been exploded long ago with such disastrous and tragic results to the Labor movement. For example, Wilson was a

"good man" on November 5, 1916, and turned "bad" on November 7 of the same month. The reason for this turn is known to tens of thousands of school children today. This indicates that man, to use a Shakespearean phrase, "is heir to all kinds of diseases and temptations."

No matter how sincere, no matter how honest a man may be at a certain time, he is still subject to metamorphosis. As is well known, man changes with the change of his environment. Another striking example is that Mussolini of Italy had been a member of the Socialist Party for over thirty years. Herve of France was the greatest anti-militarist; today he is just the opposite. Many others could be mentioned, but let this suffice for the present.

### Kind of Party Needed

The workers and farmers of this country today do not want merely a protest party; they want a movement that will lead them out of the wilderness of slavery. Hence, if the Cleveland convention is to accomplish anything on July 4, the leaders of that convention will have to organize a party that will be permanent and lasting. To do so it will be necessary for them to write a platform which will make it eligible only for members of that party to run for office. And should that convention, in its wisdom, decide to draft La Follette, and should the latter decide to accept same, it will be necessary for the Senator to renounce his former affiliation with the old party and join the Farmer-Labor party.

Pari passu will it pledge La Follette to indorse all of the candidates that may be put up by the Farmer-Labor party instead of indorsing independent progressive Republicans that may run on the two old party tickets.

It is indeed a great task but it must be accomplished. Failing in that the entire movement will fail. We have enough historic evidence of that. For example, the Greenback party, the Populist party and the Progressive party. All of these movements failed because they were built on sand. Let us, therefore, build a strong party; let us lay a strong foundation so that the superstructure may be everlasting—a superstructure that will raise its head bravely and boldly and inform the master class that its days of rule are counted.

Indeed, July 4 will witness a new Declaration of Independence—a declaration that will give birth to a new movement that will forever abolish the present capitalist system, root and branch, and in its place rear a society that will liberate and emancipate the entire human race.

Will it be a Farmer-Labor party or a La Follette party? Which?

## Glengary's Review

(Written for The New Leader.)

REMEMBER this:  
"Those RESPONSIBLE  
For his NOMINATION  
Will be in GREAT FAVOR  
With McADOO for PRESIDENT."

Now GET BUSY.  
Ye HALF-HEARTED ones,  
And PUT McADOO  
At the wheel of DESTINY,  
And YOU will be  
"IN GREAT FAVOR"—  
NOW HE YEARNs and YAWNS  
FOR YOUR favor,  
THEN you will SQUIRM and FAWN  
FOR HIS favor—  
SUCH RECIPROCITY  
Should promote DEMOCRACY.

REMEMBER this:  
It was HIS (?????)  
FATHER-IN-LAW  
Of whom was SAID,  
"HE KEPT us  
OUT OF war,"  
But, while we CHEERED,  
FORCED our INNOCENT sons  
INTO THE MURDER-FEST—  
Those who SLEEP IN FRANCE  
NEVER KNEW (nor guessed)  
That a JUDAS sold their BLOOD  
To ULTRA-PROFITERS for 30c.

The SAME bold BUNCH  
Who BLEW the flute  
To which he DANCED  
NOW pull the OILY strings  
Which KNOTTED are  
Around the FEET.  
And HANDS, and TONGUE  
OF LAWYER McADOO  
On whom DOHENY shed  
(Or was it SPRAYED?)  
And POURED  
UNTIL his pockets BULGED  
AND OVERFLOWED  
INTO his RIDING boots  
AND BILGED  
ALONG the slippery track  
Whereon he FELL and RAN  
As well as COULD  
A proxy WELL  
OF PROXY oil  
PROPEL, or FLOAT, or SLIDE  
A proxy MAN  
Whom WALL STREET flaunts.

If we AWAKE and SHAKE  
THE BOSSES off our BACKS;  
The "BLINDERS" from our EYES;  
Drag the WADDING from our  
EARS;  
BREAK the chains that SHACKLE  
NOTHING but our BRAIN,  
AND WIELD our opportunities  
With the MANHOOD  
The PRODUCING-CLASS possess,  
There could NEVER be  
Another PSEUDO-PRESIDENT—  
THE LEPROUS and SUCKLINGS  
Of the WALL-STREET pap  
MUST go  
As MUST the "TWEEDLE-DEE"  
And "TWEEDLE-DUM"—  
The PUPPET-TWINS  
Of CAPITALISM.

COME.  
CLEAR and CLEANSE  
And ELEVATE the stage

## Instruction

Learn Languages and Mathematics  
— PREPARE FOR COLLEGE —  
SUGGESTION  
June 30 to September 8, inclusive.  
French, 5 nights a week, 1-5  
Spanish, 5 nights a week, 1-5  
Groups limited to five students.  
Rates, \$3 for five lessons per pupil.

ALBERT FRANCO

Formerly with the Berlitz School.  
200 West 111th St. Apt. 39  
TELEPHONE, CATHEDRAL 8180

## Opticians



It matters not what kind of eye-glasses you wear. If you want to see better, clearer, without effort, change them to "Punctal Glasses."

All Departments under the personal supervision of Dr. B. L. Becker.

111 East 33rd Street, Near 4th Avenue.  
131 Second Avenue, Corner 8th Street.  
213 East Broadway, Near Clinton Street.  
100 Lenox Ave., Bet. 115th & 116th Sts.  
225 East 42nd Street, Near M. Ave.  
495 Prospect Avenue, Near 163rd Street.  
1709 Pitkin Avenue, Brownsville, Bklyn.

DR. BARNETT L. BECKER  
OPTOMETRIST — OPTICIAN

MAX WOLFF  
OPTOMETRIST and OPTICIAN  
328 W. 125 St., Bet 8th and St. Nicholas Aves.

I. M. KURTIS  
Expert Optician  
1028 Broadway  
Brooklyn  
GLASSES \$2.00 AND UP  
Open Evenings Telephone Bklyn-124

Telephone 4756 W. 48th St.  
DR. M. ADEST  
OPTOMETRIST  
EYES EXAMINED  
165 Tompkins Ave.  
Corner Hart Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Next door to 6th A. D. S. P.  
Office Hours: 9 A. M. to 9 P. M.  
Sundays 9 A. M. to 1 P. M.

DR. KARL E. GOTTFRIED  
SURGEON CHIROPODIST  
(Podiatrist)  
Putnam Building, 1400-1505 Broadway  
Between 42nd and 44th Sts.  
Room 214. Tel. LACKAWANNA 7153-7156

Clothing  
UP-TO-DATE CLOTHING  
B. PFEFFERKORN  
420 Kleberhacker Ave. BROOKLYN

Lawyers  
WILLIAM KARLIN, Lawyer  
291 Broadway Telephone WORTH 8246-8247  
S. HERZOG Patent Attorney  
Exec. Sunday, 1436 Glover St., Bronx. Take Lexington Ave. Subway, Pelham Bay Extension, to Zerega Ave. Station.

Put Your Savings in a Savings Bank  
and Lay the Foundation of Your Future  
QUARTERLY DIVIDEND  
THE  
METROPOLITAN  
SAVINGS BANK  
1 THIRD AVE., Cor. 7th Street  
Interest for Three Months ending June 30th, 1924, at the rate of 4% per annum all sums from \$5 to \$5,000 have been declared payable July 16.  
Deposits on or before July 15 will draw interest from July 1st, 1924.  
OPEN MONDAYS All Day until 7 P. M.  
Robert D. Andrews, President, Francis H. Moffet, Secretary  
SOCIETY ACCOUNTS ACCEPTED

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society  
INCORPORATED  
New York and Vicinity and 49 Branches in the United States.  
Established 1872. Membership 40,000  
Main office for New York and vicinity at 241 East 84th St. Phone LENOX 3559.  
Office Hours, 9 a. m. to 6 p. m. Sat., 9 a. m. to 1 p. m. Closed on Sundays and Holidays.  
Brooklyn Office open only Mondays and Thursdays, from 6:30 to 8:30 p. m. Labor Lyceum, 940-957 Willoughby Ave.  
For addresses of Branch Secretaries, write to our main office.

GUARD YOUR HEALTH  
SANTAL MIDY  
CATHARTIC OF BLADDER  
SANTAL MIDY  
PROPHYLACTIC for MEN  
Prevents Urinary Infection  
After Intercourse Exposure  
Larger Tube Size. Kill (K) 81  
All Branches  
Santal Midy Dept. A  
89 Beekman St., New York  
Write for Circular

And put the GIANT, LABOR,  
On his BIRTH-RIGHT throne—  
RIGHTeousNESS shall BLEND  
HAPPINESS with PEACE  
When LABOR  
Claims its OWN  
And GUIDES the WORLD.

## DEUTSCH BROS.

Life Time Service Guarantee  
We will keep any furniture purchased from us in perfect condition as long as it is in your possession.

GO TO OUR STORE  
NEAREST YOUR HOME — OPEN MONDAY AND SATURDAY EVGS.

West Side Cash Store  
6th Av. cor. 125th St.  
20th St. cor. 3d Ave.

Harlem  
Third Ave., cor. 123d St.

Brooklyn  
Broadway, cor. Saratoga Ave.

Money Back Guarantee  
Money back if you are dissatisfied or can equal these values elsewhere.

Downtown  
Avenue A, cor. Fourth St.

NEW YORK'S MOST POPULAR FURNITURE HOUSE

CASH OR CREDIT

SEND FOR DEUTSCH BROS. FREE CATALOG



## Bossing the Bosses

Our Political Bosses Merely Office Boys for Lords of Private Property—How to Get Rid of Them for Good.

By EUGENE V. DEBS

As well established and quite as necessary as the industrial "boss" is the political "boss" in the existing social system. His business is to run the political machine, not in the interest of the people, or even of any particular party, but in the interest of the private owner of the public utility, or the private controller of the social need, whose economic interest conflicts with that of the people, and who must, therefore, control the political machinery so as to obtain control of government.

The political "boss" is the creature of the modern capitalist; he was spawned in, and has developed with, the capitalist system, and is as necessary to that system as is the capitalist himself.

To turn out one "boss" is to make room for another.

"Down with the political boss!" is the cry of people who mistake the effect for the cause of their ills.

There is but one way to get rid of "boss rule" in politics, and that is by abolishing the system of private ownership which produces him and makes the few the beneficiaries of the countless inequities visited upon the great mass of the people.

No "boss" is in politics in that capacity on his own account. The "boss" must have the "bottle." They are inseparable. Without "bottle" there is no "boss." That fact is plain.

It is also clear that the "boss" does not furnish the "bottle."

Who does?

Aye, that's the question!

Turn on the searchlight in that direction and you will be horrified by the revelation.

You will see that private interests are the enemies of the public weal; that trusts and corporations deliberately pollute the political fountain and contaminate all its national, state and municipal streams; and that the principal perpetrators of these crimes, in which the political "boss" is but a mere puppet, are representative capitalists, financiers, and promoters, most of whom are also recognized pillars of the Christian church.

These, and not their repulsive political "boss" who is simply their political walking delegate, are the real enemies of the people and debauchers of the nation's morals.

Political parties express the economic interests of those who belong to them. Men do not join parties that oppose their material interests.

Politics, therefore, is simply the reflex of economic conditions, and men are active in politics, primarily, to advance their material welfare.

The capitalist is the private owner of a public utility. The capitalist owns it but does not use it, while the people use it and are dependent upon it, but do not own it.

Take the railroad, for illustration: the capitalist who owns it wants profit—all he can get—even on watered investments. He insists upon high fares and rates, but draws the line at accommodations. The people, on the other hand, want low rates, cheap fares, and better accommodations, and when they attempt to assert their collective interests, as the people, against the private interest of the capitalist, who owns the railroad, by the introduction of ordinances in the council, bills in the legislature and in congress, the work of defeating them, and of seeing to it that no friend of the people and no enemy of the corporation

### Le Matin Wins Suit, But l'Humanité Repeats Its Bribery Charges

PARIS.—The log-drawn-out libel suit brought against l'Humanité, the Communist daily, by Le Matin, one of the numerous French bourgeois journals branded as sold out to pre-war Czarism in a series of articles printed in l'Humanité last fall and winter, has come to an end and the honor of the "great" Paris paper has been judged worth 10,000 francs (about \$550). Le Matin used for 500,000 francs.

Although the court held that l'Humanité had not proved its charges of direct bribery, it did not order it to print a retraction or the verdict. Deputy Marcel Cachin, editor of the Communist paper, and Boris Souvarine, the Russo-French writer who dug the material for the articles out of the secret archives of the old Russian Government, were each fined 200 francs.

L'Humanité, in printing an account of the verdict, repeats its charges against Le Matin and its owner M. Bunau-Varilla, branding the paper as "the blackmailing sheet of the Boulevard Poissonniere, but says nothing about appealing the case.

shall be elected, becomes the special function of the political "boss;" and, the greater the bulk of capital in private control, the greater the necessity for the "boss," and the larger the premiums for this "indispensable" services.

What applies to the railroads applies to all other departments of wealth production and distribution.

Modern "business" has developed the modern "boss," and the evil will not be remedied by assaulting the scapegoat.

The people are receiving their first lessons in the true meaning of "boss-ridden" politics. Many of them are beginning to analyze the "boss," and, as they proceed, they observe the economic origin of this political species; and, when the people at length understand the source of "boss rule," as they surely will, they will put an end to it, not by exchanging bosses, but by abolishing private property in social necessities.

## The Bar: A Satellite of Business

Does the establishment of large law offices tend to commercialize the law and lower the dignity and independent standing of the legal profession? Has the poor man any real chance in court when his one lawyer must face a trained and disciplined corps of lawyers organized in one big firm and devoted to serving powerful interests in the world of finance and industry? These are questions put by the author of this article. The evolution of the legal profession since the days of small industry is also traced with the impress it has made upon the profession. The article originally appeared in the Docket, of St. Paul, for April, 1924.

Being the head of neither a large nor a small law office, but simply a teacher of law, I assume that I may be regarded as disinterested and impartial. One word in my topic should be kept steadily in mind in what may be said—the word "tend."

It is a far cry from the day when the litigant had to buy a license to hire a lawyer to today, when a lawyer has to buy a license to represent a client from the time when the lawyer carried his office in his hat, was merely tolerated in court, and surreptitiously took his fee as a gratuity, to the present, when, as member of a large firm of lawyers, he may be an occupant of a suite of offices a block long, employ a large staff of more or less unfortunate brethren and a legion of other assistants, male and female, with all the equipment and saving devices of a business concern, except the time clock, the efficiency engineer, and a rating in Bradstreet's.

Surely tempora mutantur. But for better or worse? Once the ministrations of the lawyer, like that of the clergyman and physician, was regarded as distinctly personal. He had no wares to sell. He was the guardian and champion of the legal rights of other men: their adviser, counsellor and before the bar of Justice their advocate or defender. In his breast were locked secrets, business and domestic, to be shared with none. The idea of a partnership with another lawyer would have been repellent, implying incompetency or inability to stand alone. It would mean to commercialize the law and to reduce him to a trader from a member of a profession—a profession, too, that was ancient, honorable, and self-perpetuating, and independent even of the courts. (All the courts of England only recently found themselves powerless to permit the Solicitor General of the United States to argue a cause of our Government before the Privy Council until he was first called to the English Bar by the Inns of Court. In contrast, the courts in some of our states have assumed the power to govern admission to the profession.)

In the early days of our country, with few exceptions, all the great lawyers practised alone, with such apprentice and clerical help as they could personally direct. Perhaps that fact made them great, strong, and self-reliant. They were free, independent, and unsubsidized. They served long apprenticeships to the law; they were men of trained patience, tireless industry, and studious habits. Occasionally they doubled up in a nominal partnership, to divide office expenses, and to keep a general eye each on the other's business.

I recall a law office in a small New England city of many years ago; a single room, one lawyer in one corner, the other in the diagonal corner, a small office boy at a table between them, an old wood stove which kept the aforesaid office boy busy in winter time carrying up cordwood two long flights of stairs. It was a live law office, with a tradition of politics, State and national. Distinguished lawyers and public men dropped in frequently and talked law and politics, preferably politics. When a client called with a delicate case, the other lawyer and the office boy took the air. When the one room became abso-

### Another Spy Exposed

The following letter appears in the Toledo Union Leader this week:

Toledo, Ohio.

Editor, Union Leader:  
Will you please notify all Labor organizations as far as possible through the columns of the Union Leader that Hugh Burk has been found guilty of being a Labor spy and has been expelled from Local No. 2, Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' Union of this city, and that his credentials to any central body have been cancelled? (Seal)

C. SHULL, President.  
A. DANNER, Secretary.

Nearly every opinion held by the majority was once confined to the minority. Every established religion was once a heresy. If the opinions of the majority had always prevailed, Christianity would have been extirpated as soon as Christ was murdered.—Thomas Henry Buckle.

That little men should jeer at great ones is natural; that they should have reason to jeer at them is shameful.—Thomas Henry Buckle.

### Monopolizing the Legal Services of the Nation—The Poor Before the Courts.

By EDWARD T. LEE

Dean, John Marshall Law School, Chicago

lately too small, the firm moved to a suite in a new building—two rooms, with carpets on the floor. Other lawyers visited the suite out of curiosity, commented on the extravagance, and prophesied ruin.

The largest law firm in the city had a suite of four rooms and three members—one the Governor of the State, another a former Supreme Court judge, and the third the judge's son-in-law, a celebrated trial lawyer. They had a large general practice, did all their own work with the assistance of one law student and a clerk. There were no stenographers and typewriters on those days, and a woman in a law office was a rare avis. Only one lawyer in the town was a corporation director, though not a few were trustees of churches.

In not far distant New York City some of the great lawyers, like Charles O'Connor and Samuel J. Tilden, were still practising law alone. The most prominent law firm of the city was that of Everts, Southmayd & Choate, which, under its later name of Everts, Choate & Beaman, would have been taken over as a trade-name by the young men of that office when Mr. Choate, the surviving member, was sent as ambassador to Great Britain, had not that true lawyer and gentleman reminded his young brethren that, when a lawyer dies, he leaves no good will.

The lawyers and law firms of the past were lawyers, pure and simple. Their incomes were derived almost solely from the practice of the law. Their offices were law offices, and they looked it, and their owners were like them. A few old-time lawyers still remain in the large cities, "rari nantes in gurgite vasto."

What now of the super-firms and law offices of today? Are they preserving the traditions of the past, or are they imitating the big corporations of our time? Are they the necessary and inevitable running mates of big business? In every large Northern city are to be found huge legal firms, some employing on permanent salaries forty or fifty of their brethren and a small army of investigators, stenographers, typists, secretaries, bookkeepers, collectors, switchboard operators, and office boys, with a code name, and soon, doubtless, radio connection.

A number of these firms are interurban, New York, Chicago, Washington being a favorite combination; and there are kaleidoscopic changes of membership that keep the mails busy informing their humbler and more static brethren that Mr. A., formerly of the Department of the Interior, has been admitted to partnership and will attend to all matters before that department in Washington, or that Mr. B. has been catapulted from the firm, and that Mr. C. has been shanghaied into the firm in his place and will look after the New York office with the assistance of Mr. D.

Unlike the old-time firms, which grew out of an accumulation of business too large for one individual to care for, many of these firms appear to be manufactured to order from a variety of material, seasoned and selected with the great end in view of building up the business. Into these aggregations go, like ingredients into a witch's cauldron, men of different political parties, of different nationalities, of different creeds and of no creeds, of diverse pulls upon the body politic, corporate and sole. A good mixer and

## Liberty for All

Open Shoppers Would Give Workers Liberty to Work Long Hours for as Low Wages as They Please.

By AUGUST CLAESSENS

Every now and then some Labor union-hating editor of a big daily newspaper lets out a yap about "liberty." Says he, "Trade Unions are a shameful conspiracy against a working man's liberty. They interfere with and infringe upon his God given rights and his inalienable rights as an American citizen. Unions dictate as to how much wages a man should earn, how many hours he shall work, how much work he is to do and how and under what conditions he is to do it." The editors are right! That's just what unions are in business for! Let's explain why.

In the first place, what in Sam Hill is "liberty" anyhow? A first-class hand-embroidered cuspidor is offered as a prize to any man that can give a definition of liberty to which at least one other man will agree. What is liberty to one is generally tyranny to another. Furthermore, each man has his own private conception as to what constitutes liberty. And lastly, the word "liberty" generally means something

very specific to every individual that espouses it.

For example, what did Patrick Henry want when he orated "Give me liberty or give me death." You bet, he knew just what he wanted. Study the whole speech and you will find that Patrick Henry did not want LIBERTY for all the colonists. No, sir! He and his crowd wanted the liberty to exploit their land and slaves without divvying up the swag with any absentee Britisher. Patrick Henry certainly did not want LIBERTY for the Negro slaves or the poor whites that were held in debt and bondage. He did not want absolute liberty.

The guy upstairs with a pianola banging away into the wee hours of the morning will also give you a spiel on liberty if you hand in a complaint. The regulation "No Spitting" in public places is an infringement on the liberty of some pigs. And when the average working man delivers a harangue on the death of liberty in this country, you can bet your last dollar that he is not howling about anti-labor injunctions, Supreme Court decisions or the American Plan. No siree. He is usually lambasting hell out of prohibition!

The fact is that there is no such animal as ABSOLUTE LIBERTY. Where many people congregate the liberties of an individual are curbed. Personal liberty often must be curbed in the interest of the liberty of the great mass. In other words, liberty is not absolute; it is a relative condition. When the liberty of an individual is limited it often happens that the restriction brings even greater liberties to the individual himself. Let's illustrate this.

A young fellow and a girl are seated on a park bench. He chews tobacco and she hates it. "Cut it out, Charlie, please, for my sake." Oh, sugar, thinks he, she is already making demands on me as if I were her private property. He demurs. She pleads. He hesitates. And she shifts a bit to the west end of the bench and contemplates the stars. Shortly after, however, he removes the cud from his cavern and spits his final spit. Then he fishes the package out of his pant's pocket and chucks it over the fence. He has lost his liberty! Which liberty? Just look at him now with his mug eclipsing hers and his lunch-hook encircled around her trim waist. He has gained another LIBERTY!

Now, to get back to our original argument. The Labor-union-hating editors are right when they say that unions interfere with a working-man's liberties. They positively do! If there was only one workingman in this whole world it would be his complete liberty to work his fool head off at six cents an hour, for 26 hours a day and under any condition that would suit his fancy. But, ye gods and little whale hooks! There is more than one workingman in this world and particularly in this Tea Pot Dome country. Here are millions of us. And if some idiots want to work themselves into premature old age and the scrap pile for cheap wages, under long hours and rotten conditions, their sweet liberty becomes our misery and slavery. Decent human beings should have decent working conditions, a just reward for their labors and their fair share of the leisure made possible by modern invention, power and Labor. The ignoramus that does not demand these things cannot be allowed to enjoy his conception of liberty. It's either the liberty of the union man to live half-way decently or it's the liberty of the fool to slave. These two kinds of liberty cannot hang around the same neighborhood at the same time. It is either the one or the other. Organized Labor has the one ideal of liberty. And if the unorganized and the scabs have the other kind they can go to the lower regions together with the boss and the open-shop advocates. They may find absolute liberty. Maybe? Who knows?

What is the likely effect upon the leaders of these firms? Are they seduced away from the law and its obligations, and made mere automata of business? Do they cease to be students of the law and custodians of its ethical standards, and become legal engineers, financial promoters, exploiters of their brethren in their employ, and ruthless competitors of their brethren not in their employ? In order to maintain their overhead, are they forced in devious ways to solicit business by the year at wholesale rates, to farm out part of their business at times in order to hold the volume and, as far as they are able, to monopolize the practice of the law and to create legal trusts?

What the effect upon the morale of their professional employees, who enter their service as young men are forced into specialization, serve to middle life and beyond without admission to partnership, who see the products of their brain credited to others and their services made to yield tenfold to their employers?

Are courts and judges always impervious to the subtle and powerful influence possessed and controlled by these inordinately large firms, with their carefully selected personnel, adapted to practice in every court and jurisdiction and before every kind of judge? Is the poor man fairly represented with the rich man or the great corporation in a court of justice, when he is represented by his single, unattached, and perhaps unknown lawyer, while his opponent is represented by a firm as long as the alphabet, with an incalculable mass momentum?

True, and to its honor, the Supreme Court of the United States still refuses to recognize legal partnerships. In this it is unique. In all other jurisdictions, "big business" in the law is in evidence and looming larger yearly. Are not the dignity and independence of the profession involved and imperilled if the Bar becomes a mere satellite of business? Is it not in danger of selling its birthright for a meas of pottage?

Ole would neither confirm nor deny a rumor that his defense will be that a jackass is physically, mentally and in every other conceivable respect, incapable of stealing a horse.

**Furniture**

**BIG FURNITURE SAVINGS**

DIRECT FROM FACTORY TO YOU  
At prices that are positive savings of 25% to 50%—less than actual wholesale prices.

**PRICES SMASHED—COSTS FORGOTTEN**  
Just call and see our 8 BIG LOFTS—filled with the newest designs that were the sensation of the recent Grand Rapids Furniture Exposition.

Prices That Defy Competition—Values That Cannot Be Duplicated.

Here is—at last—just the money saving opportunity you've long been seeking—the greatest Furniture event in our history—years' selling the public direct from the Factory.

Catalog No. 18 on request.  
Open daily 11:15 a.m. to 9 p.m. Sat. 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Phone Butterfield 5925

**BIG G FURNITURE WORKS**  
203-207 EAST 76th ST.  
JUST A STEP EAST OF 145th STREET, NEW YORK

**Photographers**

**SPIESS STUDIO**

Photographs That Please  
54 SECOND AVENUE  
Entrance on Third Street  
Official Photographer for the RAND SCHOOL

**Music**

**Samuel Schiller**

Leader of String and Brass Band  
Office, 160 East Broadway, New York  
Telephone 5630 Orchard

**Hats**

DON'T SPECULATE WHEN YOU BUY A HAT

**McCann, 210 Bowery**  
HAS THE GOODS

**CALLAHAN'S HATS**  
140 Bowery, near Grand

**Dress Goods**

**SILKS and DRESS GOODS**

A Complete Assortment  
**HAIMOWITZ BROS.**  
871 Prospect Avenue  
Corner 161st Street, Bronx  
1376 Fifth Avenue  
Corner 114th Street, Harlem

**Pipes**

**Don't Smoke Paint!**

Most smokers are cranks on pipes. We like cranks because we know we can satisfy their peculiar desire.

Our celebrated H. G. P.

**Natural Briar Root Pipes**

are made from finest imported natural briar. All pores open to allow the moisture to permeate uniformly, and so produce the natural aging color. No breaking in! Sweet from the first hit.

Largest Assortment of Meerschaums in Town

**BARCLAY PIPE SHOP**  
Barclay St., corner Church St., New York

**Pants**

**The Pants Specialist**

PANTS MADE TO MATCH YOUR COAT AND VEST AT 5.00 AND HIGHER.

**LOUIS BROWN**  
141 STANTON ST. Near Madam

Rochester, N. Y., Attention.

**JOHN E. O'ROURKE**

Sells all kinds of Insurance. Automobile liability is written in the Travelers of Hartford, Conn. Before placing your liability insurance, write or call.

**JOHN E. O'ROURKE,**  
55 Broadway Ave. Phone Gessene 3503 W.

**Dentists**

**Dr. Simon Berlin**  
Surgeon Dentist

1800 SEVENTH AVENUE  
(Corner 110th Street)  
Tel. Cathedral 9462 New York

**DR. CHAS. KOPOLOV**  
SURGEON DENTIST  
Formerly at 754 Flushing Ave.  
337 BROADWAY  
nr. Park Ave. Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Telephone Starg 7418.

**DR. E. LONDON**  
SURGEON DENTIST  
240 W. 102d St. New York City  
Phone Riverside 3910

**Dr. L. SADOFF,**  
DENTIST  
1 Union Square, Cor. 14th St.  
Room 562. 10 A. M. to 7 P. M.

**Dr. Theodora Kutyn**  
Surgeon Dentist

247 West 72d Street  
PAINLESS WORK GUARANTEED.  
MODERATE PRICES  
Over 15 Years of Practice



# THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

## Through the States

The National Convention of the Socialist Party will be called to order July 6, at the Winton Hotel, Cleveland. The convention will meet directly after the adjournment of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and its principal business will be to take action upon the work of the conference insofar as it concerns the Party.

Most of the delegates to the Party convention will also have been delegates to the Conference, and they will proceed to work at once.

Over in Utica, New York, Comrade Stille is the new organizer. Stille was recently a minister in Buffalo, where his political progress was too swift to suit the dear folks. He tried again and again to show his congregations the great new light. He was "fired" several times. . . . Now he has a broader platform to speak from, can speak out his message in full for the workers. June 13 he wrote: " . . . I have learned more of life in the last six months than in the twenty-seven years preceding. I shudder to think of the 'messages' I used to hand out. . . . We have made good progress in Utica. We now have a local of nearly seventy members—and believe me, Samuel, we are going after four times seventy. . . ."

Emil Herman is hitting the trail hard these days in the Far West. That man never sleeps, never lies up, and never lies down, never cries, "Enough." He has recently been in Oregon, Washington and Idaho, and is now in Montana. He will attend the convention of the Montana State Federation of Labor at Butte, June 24; in Omaha, June 28 and 29; Terre Haute, July 1; Indianapolis, July 2—then to the Convention at Cleveland.

Comrade Leo M. Harkins of Philadelphia, member of the National Executive Committee, is plotting against Capitalism, and Darlington Hoopes, State Secretary of Pennsylvania, is in the scheme. They will spend two weeks enroute to and from the convention, travelling by automobile, holding two meetings every day, and sometimes more than two.

Detroit is on the job with both feet and all hands. The comrades have had Andrew Laffin of Chicago for more than six weeks, and Andy has been tearing up the sod to beat Sousa. You know Andy Laffin? Well, he's three-in-one for honest work and big results. And now the Detroiters have engaged Lilith Wilson, not for a "date"—oh, no, but for a whole week, and they are yelling for more. August Claessens, the little giant, will speak in Detroit from the close of the Cleveland Convention till July 16. Watch Detroit.

The Little Giant (that's Claessens) finishes at Detroit just in time to speak at a mass meeting in Indianapolis—where the comrades do things with a whoop and solid effectiveness when they "get going." Claessens will then speak four days in Cincinnati and nearby Kentucky territory. Long ago the Kentucky comrades appealed to the National Office for the most effective speaker available in the Socialist Party to speak at the State picnic at Covington on the 20th of July.

**THE Workmen's Circle**  
The Largest Radical Workingmen's Fraternal Order in Existence  
**83,000 MEMBERS**  
750 Branches All Over the United States and Canada  
Insurance from \$100. to \$1,000  
Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$5 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$25 to \$50 per week. In some branches, \$200, or nine months in our own Sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.  
For information apply to  
**THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE**  
175 East Broadway, N. Y. City  
Telephone Orchard 6616-6617

**Workingmen, When Buying Your HATS Look for THIS LABEL**



**YOU WILL FIND IT UNDER THE SWEATBAND**  
**United Hatters of N. A.**  
Rm. 418 Bible House, N. Y.  
MARTIN LAWLER, Secretary

**O.W. WUERTZ CO.**  
Sole and Licensed Manufacturer  
**PIANOS and PLAYER PIANOS**  
COLUMBIA and SONORA PHONOGRAPHS  
COMPLETE STOCK RECORDS ALL LANGUAGES  
THIRD AVE. NR. 85 ST. THIRD AVE. N.E. COR. 152 ST.

Chicago put over the biggest picnic in years on Sunday, June 15—and in spite of the rain too. The collection was splendid. It included one contribution of \$500 for the campaign, with assurances of "more where this comes from." Ross Brown spoke magnificently. Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee was one of the speakers, and did 'em good. Comrade George Koop took hold of the audience for a short speech. Comrade Kirkpatrick also spoke for a short time. Of course the Comrade who chipped \$500 into the collection, and each speaker in his own way, and old-timers and the faithful hustlers making the picnic a success—each in his way—these were all interesting. They always are.

But the most interesting person at the picnic was a quiet Comrade from Lincoln, Miss Katherine Claus, who came up to the picnic to "renew her courage," she said. During the year 1923 this one young woman distributed more literature in and around Lincoln, Illinois, than any three locals down State distributed combined. Yet she is not a woman of leisure. She lives on a farm near town and does real work—and lots of it. Still she had the time and energy and the splendid loyalty to do things for the

movement. This year she is right down to business, as usual. Just imagine what would happen if we had right now a few thousand comrades with that girl's grit and imagination, and it-must-be-done-and-I'll-do-it loyalty. Comrade Claus will be a delegate to the National Convention. We are happy to introduce her, thus, for she is a first-class sample of the very highest type in our movement.

The first edition of 100,000 of the New Big Leaflet, "Silence!" will soon be exhausted; 80,000 have already been shipped to the firing line, and orders for more are coming "just fine." What do you think—some lovely praise for the leaflet came in this morning from Harvard University.

### MASSACHUSETTS

The comrades of Amesbury have sent in an application for a charter, and a new local has been organized in Amesbury. A splendidly handled street-meeting was held on June 20, with Comrade Claessens as the speaker. Local Amesbury is planning to take care of every Socialist Party speaker that can be sent into the town.

Attleboro Local has been organized. Good street-meetings were arranged for Organizer Albert Weisbord, and for Comrade Claessens. The Claessens meeting was held in the drizzling rain, which was not enough to dampen the interest and enthusiasm of over a hundred and

fifty people. The prospects for a large and strong organization being formed in Attleboro are very good indeed. Organizer Weisbord reports that in N. Attleboro a nucleus has been created for the formation of a local in that city in the near future. Carl P. Swanson, is the corresponding secretary of the Attleboro local; Hugh Dunbar, the treasurer.

Splendid street meetings have been held in Boston, Brockton, Quincy, Roxbury, Haverhill, with good collections and book sales. A large number of "The New Leader" subscriptions have been secured in every city where the speakers and organizers have been routed.

### RHODE ISLAND

In Providence the local has been reorganized. Ten out-door meetings and two indoor meetings were held during the past week, with Comrades Weisbord and C. W. Thompson as speakers. On Saturday evening, after permit had been secured from the Mayor, the City Hall steps were used in a monster mass meeting. The outdoor meetings throughout Providence were well attended and enthusiastic. Secretary of the Providence Local is E. A. Livermore; treasurer, Peter Marcus.

The Jewish Socialist Verband will hold a conference July 4 at 141 Benefit street, Providence.

(Continued on Page 9)

## New York Activities

The State Executive Committee met last Sunday at Nassau and made plans for the early summer campaign and for the State convention. Julius Gerber and William M. Feigenbaum were elected a committee to prepare for the reception of the delegates in New York July 26 and 27, and to make plans for the convention. The agenda will shortly be announced, and amendments to the State constitution prepared.

A large and enthusiastic convention is expected, and a vigorous campaign planned immediately afterwards.

### Italian Branch in Middletown

Giralamo Valenti, Italian Party organizer, held a remarkable meeting here Tuesday night, and organized a large Italian branch as a result. The speaker dealt with the murder of Deputy Matteotti, and urged organization of the workers in their own party as the only way to safeguard their liberties as workers. Cries of "Down with Mussolini" and "Viva Matteotti" were heard during Valenti's impassioned address.

The branch is composed of a number of old-time Italian Socialists, who had been eagerly waiting for an organizer, and many new recruits. They have already taken permanent

headquarters, and have set out to organize an English speaking branch, with whom they will gladly share their new headquarters.

Comrade Ritchie of Albany was recently in Saratoga and he came back with the names of a lot of folks who want to join a local. Some of the prospective members are officers of the building trades unions.

### BUFFALO WINS FREE SPEECH

Buffalo will not close its streets to Socialist speakers. That is already determined although the City Council has not yet voted on the gag resolution proposed by the mayor to deny free speech to Labor and radical speakers.

There will shortly be a hearing on the matter, but the Socialists didn't wait, but went ahead and held a meeting in defiance of the attempt to gag them. Irving M. Weiss, Socialist attorney, called on Mayor Schwab, and in his presence the mayor called on Police Chief Zimmerman and instructed him not to interfere with Socialist meetings. The meeting was held June 18, and in direct defiance of the American Legion and other reactionary organizations that had sworn to wipe out Socialist meetings. Robert A. Hoffman was chairman, and the speakers were Frank Ehrenfried, Charles H. Roth, Weiss and Rev. Herman J. Hahn. The meeting was one of the biggest ever held, with half the audience soldiers and ex-service men. It was a superb demonstration for free speech; but the speakers did not neglect their duty of putting in good words for Socialism at the same time.

Rev. Herman J. Hahn is a new member of the Party, and an eloquent speaker. He has brought several other ministers into the local.

Commissioner Frank C. Perkins, Socialist, is making a gallant fight with the Socialists for free speech, and is winning friends for the Party daily.

### ELMIRA

Local Elmira is growing so fast that it is a tough job for the State office to keep up with the demand for dues stamps.

### UTICA

Local Utica is the miracle of the State. Comrade Stille went in on a shoestring, and nothing seems to dampen his enthusiasm. He already has 65 members, and the local is growing daily. Stille is camping in a tent on the outskirts of the city, and is devoting all his time to organization work. His aim is 500 members in Utica, and locals in nearby cities of proportionate strength.

### YONKERS

Street meetings will be held in Yonkers every Saturday night during the summer and fall. Among the speakers expected are William Karlin, Henry Jager, W. M. Feigenbaum and others.

### LOCAL NEW YORK

All activities of the counties in New York are more or less suspended because of the imminence of the Cleveland conference and convention. Street meetings are being held everywhere, however, the following being (Continued on Page 9)

## On The International Front

"Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

### SPAIN

#### Outlook for Socialists Better

Writing for the International Socialist Press Agency of Brussels, Julian Besteiro, one of the most authoritative leaders of the Socialist Party of Spain, gives a detailed account of the dictatorship assumed last September by General Primo de Rivera and other generals who feared the results of a Parliamentary inquiry into the situation in Morocco, explains its causes, and concludes by declaring that the outlook for the development of a strong Socialist movement in Spain is good. Besteiro's article reads, in part, as follows:

"The only serious organized force in the country facing the Dictatorship is that of the General Union of Workers and of the Socialist Party; but this considerable force, powerful and full of promise cannot see its way clear to seize, or even participate in, the Government. If we look back we can see that our General Union of Workers and our Socialist Party have made a good deal of progress in a short time, but if we look ahead we see that our organizations have plenty of internal work to do and that it is necessary to use the greatest care to avoid entangling the Spanish proletarian forces in premature enterprises that would deprive them of the great possibilities which we may legitimately hope to see realized in a not too distant future.

"The present solidarity between the General Union of Workers and the Socialist Party has been attained by their fighting leaders after a continual struggle against hostile forces and thanks to their wisdom and sacrifices in the midst of a hostile atmosphere of general discord. Thanks to this, the prestige of our organizations is today greater than their actual numbers, which, however, are quite important. In fact, the 211,000 members of the General Union of Workers, every day more and more inspired with the Socialist spirit and more tightly bound to the Party, constitutes a very material force especially if we take into account their enthusiasm. But we cannot regard this figure as satisfactory when we consider the great masses composing the Spanish proletariat.

"This disproportion is due, not so much to the inertia of certain proletarian centers in Spain, as to the anti-Socialist spirit that has dominated certain highly industrial districts in Catalonia and especially in Barcelona. The persistence of the anarchist ideology in Barcelona, although it and its tactics are now completely bankrupt, constitutes one of the greatest cares of Spanish Socialism and affords a subject worthy of the thought of all those who study the evolution of the proletariat in general. This anarchist syndicalism, just as reactionary in its essence as it is radical in its manifestations, has caused much trouble for the Spanish proletariat and has played the game of the reactionaries well. The result of this unfortunate campaign has been the state of perplexity, of feebleness, perhaps, of profound apathy into which the influence of defeats has thrown the masses of workers most affected by these tendencies so unwarrantedly called syndicalist.

"But sooner or later the Catalan masses are going to line up with the Socialist movement, and the day that happens, Spanish Socialism will be in a position to render important services to the ideals of the International. But this will hardly be

accomplished without careful study and without partial setbacks. At present we are trying to intensify Socialist propaganda and organization in Catalonia, as well as the creation of a Catalonian Socialist Party.

"Just now Communism doesn't worry the Spanish Socialists at all. Spanish Communism has attained such a perfection of errors that it has been destroyed by its own efforts. It certainly kept us worried for a while, but it really did us the service of ridding us of some quite undesirable elements."

### FRANCE

#### Plan for New Socialist Daily

In approving the decision of the Permanent Administrative Commission to suspend publication of *Le Populaire*, the fighting Socialist organ edited by Jean Longuet and Leon Blum, as a daily on June 3, the special national convention of the Socialist Party of France, called for the purpose of deciding the question of Socialist participation in the Herriot Cabinet, authorized the commission to get busy on plans looking toward a revival of the daily as soon as possible on a firm basis. In the meantime *Le Populaire* will come out twice a month as a sort of national official organ and will be sent gratis to the 55,000 dues-paying Party members until next January, after which it is expected that the members will be asked to pay enough extra dues to cover the cost of publication. Paul Faure, national secretary of the Party, is political director of the new semi-monthly, the first number of which was dated June 15, with J. B. Seveac as editor-in-chief and Compeyre-Morel as business manager.

During its existence as a daily, *Le Populaire* did yeoman service in getting the Socialist Party back in working order, but the monthly deficit of some 30,000 francs (about \$1,600), the lowest possible with the paper's circulation of about 10,000 and its lack of advertising, was considered too heavy a burden for the Party's treasury, especially as a major part of the Party's income is drawn from the provinces where the Socialists have strong dailies of their own, as in Limoges, Toulouse, Clermont-Ferrand, Strasbourg and Mulhouse, in addition to some eighty weeklies. The failure of *Le Populaire* to establish a paying circulation in Paris is largely due to the fact that for the majority of Parisian workers *L'Humanite*, founded by Jean Jaures and still carrying his honored name at its masthead, is what they think of when they want to buy a Socialist paper, regardless of its having been "captured" by the Communists at the time of the Party split. With the great display of strength by the Socialists in the last elections and the interest aroused in the work of their hundred-odd deputies, it is thought that it will not be long before *Le Populaire* can be revived as a daily with good prospects of success.

**Jaures' Picture to the Front**  
As a result of a request by the Socialist deputies, the painting of Jean Jaures, which for a long time had hung in a rather inaccessible part of the Chamber of Deputies, has been placed in the Conference Hall, opposite that of Leon Gambetta.

### AUSTRIA

#### 262,000 Party Members in Vienna

Through a gain of 20,645 members during the first five months of this year the total dues-paying membership of the Social Democratic party in Vienna was brought up to 262,000 on May 31. The severe economic trials through which the Republic of Austria has had to pass during the last couple of years has not affected the membership of the Social Democratic party in the same way as it did the unions, as the party has kept on gaining, while the unions have lost many thousands. Czechs Reject Communist Plea

At a recent convention of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy in Austria it was decided to reject a proposal by the Czech Communists and the Czech National Socialists in Austria for the formation of a Czechoslovak Labor group and a Socialist council, for the reason that these two parties did not present any real strength in Austria and that, furthermore, that the Czech workers were already represented in the shop councils and trade unions. Most of the 101 delegates reported that the work of organizing the Czechoslovak workers in the Socialist groups was progressing steadily.

### SWITZERLAND

#### Discuss Entering Government

The annual national convention of the Swiss Social Democratic party, which will open in Basle on September 6, is likely to be the scene of a lively debate over the question of Socialist participation in the Government by the election in the National Assembly of a member of the Federal Council of seven which constitutes the Swiss executive body. The bulk of the membership is said to be opposed to such participation and at the last meeting of the National Committee that body voted, 16 to 15, to ask the convention to reject any proposal for Government collaboration, but the supporters of participation are expected to put up a good fight.

### GREAT BRITAIN

#### The Battle of the Sibylls

The Independent Labor party reports the formation of new branches by the Swansea and West Wales Federation in Kidwelly, Llansamlet, Waurarwydd, Gorseinon, Llangennech, Mynyddcerrig, and old branches revived in Ystalyfera, Donynter, Glais, and Pontardulais. It is reported that several of the branches will be expelled because their names can't be pronounced.

### ARGENTINA

#### Socialism Growing Fast in Southern Republic

First hand news of the growth of Socialism in the Argentine Republic is embodied in a letter received by The New Leader from Juan B. Justo, Socialist Senator. Comrade Justo writes, commenting upon the review of the Labor Year Book in the May 3 issue of The New Leader by James Oneak "I see by your issue of May 3 that the American Labor Year Book, 1923-1924 reports no Socialist members of the National Congress of Argentina, while there were seven reported for 1920. In fact, last year we had ten Socialist members of the House of Representatives elected by the City of Buenos Aires and one Senator for the Capital city, also. We had ten Socialists out of 30 members of the Municipal council of Buenos Aires, six provincial representatives in the legislature of the Province of Buenos Aires; one of the Legislature of Tucuman, and we had the municipal administration of two large towns, Mar del Plata and Resistencia, besides representation in many other municipal councils.



"But at the last elections, March, 1924, we got about one-sixth of the total vote of the Republic, and now there are two Socialists in the Senate, both for the capital, and 18 Socialist national representatives, two in the Legislature of Cordoba, and we hold all our other positions. In the City of Buenos Aires, we polled 80,500 votes, for sound money, a progressive land tax, free trade, Labor legislation, universal education, abolition of bad taxes, separation of Church and State, a divorce law, etc."

### THE YIPSEL INTERNATIONAL

#### Bureau Meets in Vienna

In connection with the Vienna congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, a meeting of the Bureau of the Executive Committee

**ADVERTISEMENT**

**NOMINATED BY THE PEOPLE!**

**Finkelstein & Maisel**  
Receive Public's Support in Their Great Fight for Right.

"Personally, I am not interested in politics," said Finkelstein. "With me it is a matter of policy, and I certainly am proud of the wonderful vote of confidence cast in our favor by the citizens of this great city. The delegates attending the National Democratic Convention here should be interested in knowing that approximately 65% of the men's clothing manufactured in the United States is made right here in New York, and while visiting this city they have a big opportunity of purchasing their clothing wants directly from us, genuine manufacturers who sell to the public at wholesale prices—and less!"

"We have made good all the promises we ever made—never fallen down on our guarantee—the regular FINKELSTEIN & MAISEL GUARANTEE—money back, instantly, if our suits are in any way unsatisfactory or if they can be duplicated elsewhere at anywhere near the astounding prices we offer. And remember, no one has ever been able to claim the \$1,000 REWARD we offered if any of our statements can be proved untrue," added Maisel.

"Though, as I mentioned before, I am no politician, I am still interested in public affairs—and I can't think of a man more capable, more ably fitted for the highest executive office than our own popular 'AL SMITH'—he's like our suits, 'ALL WOOL and a yard wide.' (Applause from Maisel.)

"East Side, West Side, all around the town, our suits are being worn with double satisfaction—first, because of the knowledge that they have saved the retailer's profit, and secondly, because of the wonderful advanced styles in which the pure fabrics we use have been developed." We offer conventional De Luxe models for the conservative dresser and snapper styles for the college man in the richest, purest of materials at

**\$29.75 - \$33.58 - \$36.12**

Some Include Two Pairs of Trousers  
**15% Off Our Regular Prices**  
**Convention Special—\$25.08, Includes 2 Pair of Trousers**  
Note Name and Address Carefully:  
**FINKELSTEIN & MAISEL,**  
810 Broadway, Opposite Eleventh Street.  
Half Block above Wanamaker's.  
Open 8 A. M. to 7 P. M. Saturday till 7:30.



**"COMING BACK"**

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

Of course we are "coming back." What forces produced the power and numbers in the Socialist Party in 1912? Capitalism. Get the answer straight—if you are discouraged. Simply capitalism.

What shell-shocked us into weakness a few years later? Capitalism, beginning to explode—in a capitalist war, a real World War of world-wide capitalism—which also shell-shocked every other organization in capitalist civilization.

Why did the Socialist Party, in particular, suffer such a heavy setback? Simply because the Socialist Party analyzed the war and explained its meaning to the public, and its special meaning to the working class; fearlessly set forth the huge and hideous crime for just what it was, a gigantic contest between competing national groups of the capitalist class to control the world for purposes of exploitation. Right logically the looters hated the Socialist Party in particular and moved heaven and earth to crush it—rode roughshod over us for years. But the Socialist Party still lives, lives in hundreds of organizations, lives in the hearts of hundreds of thousands of old-timers whose choicest joy ten years ago was to spread the gospel of industrial freedom—lives in their hopes, lives in their very souls' intentions. The scorned, persecuted, baffled, abused, crushed for years while capitalist cannon roared, hundreds of thousands of these men and women have yet the great love and comradeship in their hearts.

They are waiting. They want to come back—of course they do.

They are eager for the word to go over the top.

They want you to go along.

Thus they will "come back."

They really love the battle, the noblest struggle of all time, the struggle worth while—for emancipation. They will come back. Capitalism is still here, riper and rotter than it was twelve years ago. Capitalism is still here, more cruel now than then, far more insolent, more boisterous and rampant now than then. Capitalism is still here—bloated with plunder, it boasts of its hundreds of billions, struts with increasing pomp, and each day more clearly reveals the hideous hypocrisy of its blatant claim to civic virtue and industrial justice. Capitalism is now a far more putrid mess than it was a dozen years ago, and is therefore weaker now than then, weaker in the public's faith.

Millions of good citizens are hanging their heads in shame as they learn the true inwardness of the capitalist war, learn the meaning of the aftermath of the war; are blushing and disgusted as they realize the profiteering debaucheries in a real capitalist war; are maddened as they see distinguished public servants peddling to the highest bidders billions of the people's common wealth; are angered and bitter as they see the very head of the Republic brazenly for months protecting these eminent capitalist peddlars whose names are a stench all around the world.

Millions of people are now saying boldly or quietly, "The Socialists were right about the war and right about its causes, its course, its cost and its inevitable and disgusting aftermath. It was a capitalist war. These Socialists have much to teach us."

And there is our opportunity—to come back.

**A Solution for the Needle Trades' Problems**

The Breakdown of an Industry and the Workers' Scheme for Its Stabilization—"Inside" and "Outside" Shops.

By OSSIP WALINSKY,  
President, Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union

The burning problem of the outside shop in all needle industries is crying for solution. The clothing market in the City of New York is disorganized because of the outside shop evil. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is getting ready for the gigantic struggle to concentrate the work in union shops. The spokesmen for the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association, as well as for the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, were forced to admit the other day, before Governor Smith's Commission, that the outside shop is leading towards the inauguration of the old sweating system. The jobber in the cloak and suit industry, as well as the inside clothing manufacturer, has long freed himself of all responsibility for the maintenance of union standards and conditions in the industry. The cut-throat competition of contractors and sub-manufacturers is rampant at the expense of Labor.

The outside shop is represented by the various types of irresponsible employers of labor, beginning with the sub-manufacturer down to the contractor, the social shop, the corporation shop, and the home-worker. The union must fight the danger on both fronts. It must attack the very source of supply, namely, the jobber and the inside manufacturer, as well as seek complete control over the outside shop, in whatever form disguised.

The ladies' handbag and pocket-book trade is a needle trade and subject to all the evils and facing all the problems of all other needle industries. Of course, our trade is

small in comparison with the other large needle industries, providing employment for only 6,000 workers in the City of New York. Our union has 220 out of the 245 shops of importance organized and under full control. The largest employers are organized in an association called the Associated Leather Goods Manufacturers, Inc. They run inside shops but employ also sub-manufacturers, as well as contractors, and job in the open market. Two years ago our industry was threatened with danger of elimination of the inside shop as an important factor in the industry because of the overnight mushroom growth of the outside shop, which slipped out of union control, but since then our situation has improved 100 per cent, so much so that when we came this time to negotiate new terms of agreement we demanded not only assurances for the safety and stability of the inside shop but guarantees against all possible dangers of the outside shop.

Some of our manufacturers, besides jobbing and giving work to sub-manufacturers and contractors, also opened subsidiary shops across the Hudson in New Jersey for the

purpose of evading union standards and control. The union came with a clear program. We demanded that all subsidiary shops which are owned or controlled by the manufacturer shall be registered with the union, must be union shops, and in contractual relations with the union.

Manufacturers and members of the association must not send work to any subsidiary shops unless the workers of the inside shop are fully and substantially employed. The manufacturers opposed this demand, but were forced to submit.

The problem of the contracting shop took up many a night of discussion. The union demanded that all contracting shops be registered; that all contracting shops be union shops and in contractual relations with the union, and that no work shall be given out to contractors unless the workers of the inside shop are fully employed. The manufacturers also considered this point.

The burning question of buying in the open market resulted in disputation of our conferences, but the union only agreed to renewal of negotiations after a definite understanding that the association would recede from its original position that

it is at liberty to buy in the open market from any and everybody that has merchandise for sale. The association finally agreed that they must register the names of all shops they buy merchandise from; that they will use their offices to see to it that if the shop in question is a non-union shop to bring it within the jurisdiction of the union, and, what is more important, they have pledged in the collective agreement to buy only when the workers are fully and substantially employed.

In case of an inside manufacturer claiming that he has given out or bought work of a kind that was never made in the inside shop or cannot be made in the inside shop because of consideration of quality, quantity or price, the chief clerks of the union and the association must take matters up with a view of bringing the items in question into the inside shop and give employment to the inside workers.

While the inside shop in all other industries has of late deteriorated, we have been able to retain shops of considerable size, employing as many as 200 and 300 workers. We were able to do so because of our control of the outside shop, as well as our control over the very source of supply to the outside shop. Our union made it possible for the inside manufacturer to produce because of our full control over the working standards and conditions in the outside shops, which shops were not able to undermine the conditions and compete at the expense of the workers of the outside shops against the workers of the inside shops. This was our solution. Is there another?

**Soap Box Success**

By W. W. PASSAGE

Ben Hanford immortalized Jimmy Higgins in a story that has become a classic, and Upton Sinclair has enlarged upon the same character as the personification of Socialist zeal and genius. For Jimmy was a real genius in every sense of the quaint definition that "Genius is the infinite capacity for taking pains." He realized that the success of a street meeting was the sum total of many small, and what, unfortunately, to most committeemen, are considered insignificant details. He knew that no detail was insignificant.

Even so small a matter as getting two or three men or women at the start of the meeting to stand directly in front of the speaker, not more than two or three feet distance, was not overlooked. His ingenuity sensed at once that there is nothing quite so depressing to the speaker and so harmful to his dignity in the eyes of the casual passer-by, as the direction of his remarks either to the empty air or to the Arctic circle of cynical listeners twenty or thirty feet away. He knew that this "first line of defense," consisting of three or four people right in front of the speaker, prevented thoughtless children from staying long to interrupt with smart antics—it formed a firing line at exactly the right place to induce the second line and the third and other lines to form close up.

The first line was always instructed to look pleasant, and as interested as the speaker's work would permit, and act as though they were real animated human beings, impressed at proper times, and showing occasionally some audible signs of approval, both for the encouragement of the speaker and the effect that legitimate applause has upon the innocent bystanders both nearby and further away.

Jimmy was also a diplomat, as shown by the way he made use of legitimate bluffs. The workers constantly had been bluffed for the benefit of their exploiters. Why not bluff them for their own benefit? In line with this he always had someone "framed up" to ask a pertinent question at the proper moment.

Jimmy was also an inventor, for it was no less a person than he who designed the staunch, step-ladder type of folding platform, to the original of which he added a few modern refinements such as a socket for holding a glass of water, a side pocket to hold the speaker's reference books and samples of books and papers to be sold, a clever little spring clip on the top rail into which the speaker could slip his notes, and another clip for securing his hat. A light was provided when possible. The floor of the platform was always three feet or more higher than the level of the street, so that the speaker had a "commanding" position, and it was always at the appointed spot, at eight o'clock sharp, so as to catch the members of the families out for an after-dinner stroll.

Jimmy was also a musician, and as soon as he was assured of the presence of a speaker he would blow his cornet or jingle some music out of some other kind of an instrument, which would gently inform the denizens of the surrounding community that there was something doing out on the street corner.

And Jimmy was also either an artist or, what is next best, knew some sympathetic artist. The result was that there was always attached to the front of the platform a large and striking cartoon with appropriate wording that could be read thirty or forty feet away. If the meetings were fixed to succeed each other on the same day of each following week an announcement of that fact was always printed in large letters, or else leaflets were distributed giving the address of the headquarters, dates and places of future meetings, and an application blank for membership or for literature to be mailed.

Jimmy was many other things too numerous to mention. As a salesman he knew human nature, sensed the kind of leaflets or books needed by various prospects, and the amount of the sales as well as the collections told his success. If anyone showed interest he jotted his name and address down on his follow-up list, which was regularly filed at headquarters for subsequent receipt by the signer of papers and notices of meetings, and eventually for a personal canvass.

In short, Jimmy was an all-round triple X, shaken down, and running over efficiency engineer. If we had just one of him in every election district in the United States we could begin to think of the suit of clothes we will wear on the day of the inauguration of the cooperative commonwealth.

Beginning in childhood, with the school text-books of history, and continuing in the press and in common talk, men are taught that the essence of "glory" is successful robbery and slaughter. The most glorious nation is the one which kills the greatest numbers of foreigners and seizes the greatest extent of foreign territory.—Bertrand Russell in "Justice in War Time."

**Oil and Armaments**

The political interest in the Teapot Dome scandal has overshadowed all others, both in the United States and here; but another very significant, if sinister, point is brought out in the evidence of Mr. Doheny himself, as printed in full in the Wall Street Journal. Talking of the naval reserve lease obtained by the Pan-American Co., he said that the point was that the U. S. Navy was thereby enabled to establish a suitable naval oil base at Pearl Harbor, and paid a glowing tribute to Admiral Robinson, who managed thereby to undo what the Washington Conference had done.

"About the time that this plan for increasing the efficiency of our fleet was conceived by this great officer of the Navy Department, there was being held at Washington a most notable and historical Conference, the results of which were contemplated with much concern by many of the people of this country, especially on the Pacific Coast. Our Pacific Coast was at that time a vulnerable point. It was generally known, and everywhere accepted, that the Philippines were defenceless, and the territory of Hawaii would be in great danger in the event of a naval conflict on the Pacific. This great officer, seeking to strengthen his country's naval position, with a Napoleonic genius discovered the way to increase the fighting force of our Navy, while reducing it in compliance with the treaty resulting from the disarmament Conference.

"Perhaps, for the first time in our history," said Mr. Doheny, proudly, "a great military operation was carried out without trumpeting it to the world—until the scandal-mongers came.

"Secretary Denby saved this oil for the nation. He had a station over there at Pearl Harbor, the biggest coaling station in the world—it had become obsolete. His vessels had been converted to oil. We suspected the large reserves of oil in Japan, and we heard about the new base the British were building at Singapore. The Navy General Board and Admiral Robison, the chief engineer of the Navy, studied the situation, and they decided that the only way to keep the Navy as efficient after the Washington Treaty as it was before was by storing oil, so that it could have at any time 42,000 barrels a day."

(From the New Leader, London.)

**The True Face of War**

A Danish Lieutenant-Colonel, unconnected with the labor movement, has recently published in a newspaper an article expressing views of war coinciding with those of Labor. We give a few extracts:

"The world is full of unrest, and despite all the misfortunes which have followed in the wake of the World War, many men are still obsessed with the idea of preparing for new war. The World-War has shown how quickly and easily money can be made in war time. Even in our own small country, which from its geographical situation is so little suited for defence by military means, great efforts are being made in certain quarters to spread the idea that Denmark might be able

to do something in the way of military exploits."

The writer goes on to quote from G. Lowes Dickinson, a well-known English thinker: "When the common man once understands what war means, it will be easy to convince him that he will always be the loser, both in war and in preparation for war. He it is who, as a common soldier, must go forward into the field to the slaughter. He it is who, when he returns home, is doomed to unemployment, starvation, and all the miseries of the period following upon a great war. There is no single interest of the common man which is promoted by war, there is no single one of the evils of war which does not hit him. Many of them understand this already. . . . But when they are really converted, then war will cease, for those who conjure up wars will have no material with which to carry them on."

The writer of the article declares that there is only one force which can possibly become a decisive factor in the prevention of war and that is Labor.

**FRIENDS**

A goose that was cackling with great pride said to the lowly mushroom: "You contemptible thing, why do you stare at me like that? You can never hope to meet me on terms of equality, can you?"

"Certainly, madame," said the mushroom, "and that very soon." Soon after, the goose and the mushroom were served up in separate dishes very near to each other. "Ah," said the mushroom, "you see we have met after all, and so closely. Those who have a common fate in the end, had better be friends."—Indian Fable.

**Congress: A Businessman's Soviet**

THE 435 members in the House of Representatives all come from either the employing, the employed, or the professional class. Despite the surface opposition between Republican and Democratic parties, the men coming from the employing class can usually be counted on to deal gently with their fellow-workers; the representatives from the employed class also stand together, despite party, in behalf of their fellow-workers. Most of the professional representatives are, through years of association and training, connected with the employing class of the country.

The new Congressional Directory shows how unevenly these classes are represented in Congress. Of the 435 House members, 252 are lawyers who, prior to their entry into Congress, have earned their

livelihood by serving property owners. Seventy-one are either dependent on or part of the employing class, twenty of them being business men, ten real estate dealers, eight manufacturers, eight newspaper men, seven bankers, five insurance men, five merchants, three lumbermen, and one contractor, one live stock man, one printer, one trucking agent, one builder. Only twelve call themselves farmers, and most of these are well-to-do employing farmers who could afford to devote ample time and money to politics. —Locomotive Engineers' Journal.

Irregularity of employment robs children of home and food and raiment and education and parental care; it drives men to drink, women to despair, girls to the streets.—Keir Hardie.

**FOR BIGGER AND BETTER WARS**

There's no two ways about it, either the world is crazy, or I am crazy. Turn yourself into a lunacy commission and let the chips fly where they may. Here is Exhibit "A":

"London—France appears likely to get the death ray invented by Grindele Matthews, a Britisher. "Angered by his own Government's low offer for the diabolical invention which may revolutionize warfare, Mr. Matthews packed his bag in a huff and announced he was taking an airplane to Paris to do business with the French Government."

Well, what are these death rays, anyhow? Brethren and sisters, they are a new fangled contraption for the wholesale extermination of people to whom we have never been introduced.

According to the inventor, these rays can kill human beings at a distance of eight miles, put machinery out of commission, bring down aeroplanes in flames, paralyze battleships and explode distant munition dumps. In other words, they are the last words in civilized warfare, whatever that may be.

**Encouraging Lunatics**

Now, what does the British Government do when offered Matthews' corpse factory? Does it load the contraption on a cruiser and sink it in the deepest part of the ocean? Does it decorate the inventor with a straight jacket, or chloroform him with a sledge hammer?

Banish the thought! They offered him \$5,000 for his invention. Just

think of it! Five thousand dollars for an invention that will enable a handful of escaped lunatics to destroy, in a few hours, what God made in six days and what mankind accumulated in ten thousand years!

Five thousand dollars is more than Shakespeare received for all his writings, ten times more than Darwin received for his "Origin of the Species," a hundred times more than Milton was paid for "Paradise Lost." But five thousand dollars wasn't enough to satisfy mass-murderer Matthews. He thought a benefactor like himself should get millions for his killing device. So he gets huffy, packs his death rays in a grip and threatens to go over to France to sell it to the "hereditary enemy" and late ally of his own country.

Of course, Mr. Matthews said he "was very sorry his own country was not to get the death rays." Sure, he is, and it's too bad and all that. But business is business. When it comes to dollars and cents, a man can be too squeamish as to who he kills. However, there is still some hope left for Johnny Bull. His air ministry is already experimenting with death rays all their own and is reporting satisfactory progress, thank you! So, if all goes well, and Providence don't interfere, England may have as efficient death rays as its late ally, across the channel.

In the meantime, American navy technicians are in Paris studying developments in the matter of death rays. Japan, Italy and several South American countries also have agents

on the job who are "keenly interested" in Matthews' invention, as the newspapers put it.

"Cheerful" News from the Front

The late war for the abolition of war was a pretty good war as far as it went, but it was nothing compared to what the next war for the abolition of war will be. Besides electrical death rays, poison dust and poison gas, we will also be blessed with germ warfare. Leastways I have heard that some of the Christian nations are experimenting with microbes, the idea being to "sic" them on their neighbors.

And, say folks, won't this be a lovely world when we read in the papers "cheerful" war reports like this:

"London completely swallowed up in cloud of poison dust. Only survival a sewer rat, with little hope of recovery."

"Fourth, sixth and ninth army of enemy completely annihilated by inoculation of hydrophobia germs. Scattered remains snapping at each other with foaming mouths as they are retreating to their base."

"Berlin succumbed to surprise attack of sleeping sickness microbes directed by the bug squadron of our germ department. Efforts to rouse some sleepers proved futile. General headquarters declares new methods howling success."

"The grass and leaf weevil invading Southern France report satisfactory progress. Seven hundred square miles are already

eaten bald as a billiard ball. The stench of dead cattle is driving the enemy population into the arms of the tuberculosis germs advancing from the Mediterranean Front under the command of General Hellowagay, late Professor of Germinology in the University of Killen."

"Death rays from the Mont Blanc Powder station destroyed every living organism in the territory between Lake Constance and the Black Forest, including tadpoles and muskrats. Our own forces suffered slight damages from cancer germs."

**Preparing Us for Death**

Yes, beloved one, militarism is a good thing. War is a good thing. Preparedness is a good thing, and the only trouble with all these good things is that if they are permitted to go on, there won't be anybody left to enjoy them. For the thing the world is getting ready for is scientific warfare. Get that, scientific warfare. Science, blessed science, has endowed men with implements of destruction which will enable him to commit suicide en masse.

Science, that divine spark from the Creator, which was given to the sons of men to light their path toward the dwelling of the Gods, is being utilized by two legged asses, with minds of feeble minded gorillas, to depopulate the globe and set at naught the work of creation.

And in the face of such a prospect, the majority of the great teachers, preachers and newspapers the world over are still speaking, preach-

By ADAM COALDIGGER



## UNION DIRECTORY

HERE'S YOUR UNION, WHEN IT MEETS, AND WHERE

### The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148  
MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

### CLOAK AND SUIT OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 1, I. L. G. W. U.  
Local 1 Building, 128 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 5590  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office.  
LOUIS HOROWITZ, Chairman. LOUIS LEVY, Manager-Secretary.

### The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4180  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

### CLOAK and SKIRT MAKERS' UNION

Local 11, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office and Headquarters, 219 Mackman St., B'klyn. Dickens 6882  
Local meets every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.  
WILLIAM COHEN, Chairman. HARRY CHANCER, Secretary.

### CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office, 144 Second Avenue Telephone Orchard 0415-0416  
Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 79 Delancey Street, at 5 P. M.  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.  
ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary.  
ABRAHAM BELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

### DRESSMAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office, 18 West 21st St. Watkins 7950  
The Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the Office. Branch meetings are held every 1st and 3rd Thursday of the month.  
MAX BLUSTEIN, Chairman. I. SCHÖNHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

### Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4540  
Office, 231 E. 14th Street.  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
SECTORS MEETINGS  
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 5 P. M.  
Bronx—E. 18th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.  
B'klyn—108 Montrose Ave. 1st & 3rd Sunday 12 A. M.  
SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary.

### SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.  
120 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 147.  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 6 P. M.  
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

### Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.  
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 4 West 21st Street. Telephone 7748—Watkins.  
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

### Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
M. POLINSKY, A. WEINGART, Manager. Sec'y-Treas.

### AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715  
Telephone: Stuyvesant 6500-1-3-4-5  
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

### NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
611-613 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7690-1-3-4  
DAVID WOLF, General Manager ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

### CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
790 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4326, 9510, 9511  
JOS. GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

### New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."  
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5566.  
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.  
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

### PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.  
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1357  
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.  
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOR, Sec'y-Treasurer.

### Children's Jacket Makers

OF Gr. N. Y., Loc. 10, Sec. A., A. C. W. A.  
Office: 5 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387  
Executive Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
MAX B. ROYALSKI, Chairman; A. LEVINE, Sec'y; SAM COHEN, Fin. Sec'y.

### Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10.  
A. C. W. A. Section "B"  
Office 338 Broadway, B'klyn. Stage 10180  
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m.  
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.  
J. Barrows, Chairman. L. Feinstein, Sec'y.  
J. Portney, Bus. Agent. A. Kaufman, Fin. Sec'y.

### Lapel Makers & Pairers'

Local 161, A. C. W. A.  
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3869  
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
IKE SCHNEIDER, Chairman; KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary; ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

### Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple  
11-27 Arlon Pl. B'klyn, N. Y.  
LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman  
H. TAYLOR, Sec'y. LEON BECK, Fin. Sec'y.

## The Challenge of Socialism

### V1. In War and Peace

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

When the United States found itself tangled up in the European War and it was decided for us that the cause of world peace required the sending of large forces of American soldiers to France, there to meet and engage the hosts of Prussianism, the biggest single problem that had to be met was the organization of supplies, and the care of the welfare of millions of American boys. Indeed, some of the official panegyrists for the American adventure have said that the real hero of the war was the S. O. S.—Service of Supply. Thousands—tens of thousands—hundreds of thousands, and finally millions of American boys were transported overseas in all manner of ships. Most of them had never been one hundred miles from their "home towns" in all their lives. They were dumped into the vast morass of Brest. Most of them had never seen a live Frenchman—indeed, most of them probably honestly believed that all Frenchmen said "Oooh-la-la-la" and ate frogs; and that all French women wore short skirts and devoted most of their time to kicking the hats off the heads of their men folks. Then they were sent to training schools in the noble art of annihilation of human beings, and then sent into the trenches.

#### In the Trenches

All the time they were under Uncle Sam's care, they lived under the system prevalent in their own beloved country. They were told to get to France. So they packed their duds, studied the time tables of various roads, and got to an Atlantic port somehow. Then they hunted up steamship companies and decided upon the least expensive line. They had to study around a bit, to get by the lurid literature of competing steamship companies, eager to secure their trade. They had to give tips to stewards on board ship to make sure that they would get proper food and accommodations. When they landed in Brest, they hunted up their own outfit, painfully huddling the difficulties of a strange land and a stranger language and finally, they found their way to the trenches. All the time, while on the way, they had to hunt up the proper eating places and sleeping places. They had to guard against the crook, the profiteer, the shark, the man who took advantage of their ignorance; they had to pay exorbitant prices for their lodgings and for their food and clothes, and they had to manage to make ends meet out of their slender pay.

Then, when they got into the trenches to develop their manhood and their sturdy characters, they were exposed to disease and sudden death.

When one of them happened to be injured, a neighbor or a friend would have to drop his work, leave his task in charge of another, and hunt up a doctor somewhere who might happen to be not otherwise engaged with a child's bellyache or the delivery of twins or kidding a neurotic wealthy old lady into spending a lot of money on him; when he found such a doctor, he would pledge his comrade's pay for months in advance if the doctor would only take care of him, and operate, if necessary.

When he got better, he would be turned loose without a cent and told to find food for himself, and clothing, and shelter.

This is an accurate picture of the way America's boys waged war, is it not?

#### What Did Not Happen

It is exactly what did not happen. If the conduct of the war and the service of supply, and the medical care of the soldiers, and all the rest of it had been left to private initiative, we would have had something like that. We would have had stations for the serving of food located, not where they would feed most men and do the most good, but where they would make the most money that is to serve the higher officers and the fashionable war workers with lots of money. We would have had the doctors and surgeons located, not with the \$30 a month boys, but among the highly paid officers, where the work would have been less messy, and more remunerative.

No one was permitted to take his station where he felt like taking it. Everyone was given his station where it would do the most good to his fellow men.

#### And Their Home Training

Every one of Uncle Sam's Yanks was brought up in the belief, so solemn that it amounted almost to a religion, that nothing mattered so much as private initiative. That the gravest offense in the purview of the law was to do anything "in restraint of trade." That only by the fullest license to private initiative led inevitably to the extinguishment of private initiative—such as by the formation of monopolies and trusts—laws had to be passed against the results of private initiative and the whole ponderous machinery of the judicial system had to be brought into play to annihilate the organizations "in restraint of trade," and to restore—private initiative.

And the minute something came up a little bigger, a little more important than the ordinary conduct of life, that moment the whole system had to be scrapped and a new system instituted, that of ordering and managing all the affairs of four million men in the interest, not of those who could make money out of it, but of the four million men, and the great cause their President was telling them they were fighting for.

"Of course, it was done with hideous inefficiency, and graft and waste-fulsness. Of course, the poison of private enterprise was in the American system, and "cost, plus" had to be guaranteed, and "legitimate" profits, and "reasonable" profits, and the dividends of the railroad owners, and all the rest of it. The truth of the perfect orgy of crookedness and stupidity will be known in time—but that is a political question, that can very well be left for exposure to the political opponents of the party that had charge when the job was done.

Private Enterprise Broke Down

The great, thundering fact, however, stands out before everything else, that private enterprise, private

### NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
2 E. 10th St. Stuyvesant 7078  
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.  
G. LEVINE, Pres. N. ULLMAN, Sec. Sec'y.  
A. Schwartzwald, Chas. Rozano, Treas.  
LEO SAFIAN, Bus. Agent

### CAP MAKERS

of the U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A.  
Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 9660-1-2  
Council meets every 1st & 3d Wednesday  
Jacob Roberts, B. Eisenstein, L. Baehr, Manager. Sec. Secretary. Fin. Sec.

### Local 1 (Operators)

Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board Every Monday.

### Local 2 (Cutters)

Meetings every 1st & 3rd Thursday Executive Board Every Monday  
G. M. SPECTOR, ED. SASLAVSKY, President. Vice-Pres.  
SOL HANDMAN, L. BAER, Sec. Sec'y. Fin. Sec'y.

All meetings are held in the Headgear Workers Lyceum (Beethoven Hall) 21<sup>st</sup> East 5th St.

### FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 68  
MORRIS KAUFMAN, General President. ANDREW WEINER, General Secretary-Treasurer.

### JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK  
Office: 22 East 22nd Street Phone Gramercy 0618  
Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office  
SAM COHEN, President ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager  
ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, ADOLPH LEVITZ, Sec. Sec'y. WILLIAM CHERNIACK, Vice-Pres.

### FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 22nd St.  
A. SOIFER, Chairman.  
S. LANGER, Vice-Chairman.  
H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

### FUR CUTTERS UNION

LOCAL 1  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 22nd St.  
WILLIAM CHERNIACK, Chairman.  
L. GOLDBERG, Vice-Chairman.  
N. FISHKOFF, Secretary.

### INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD  
GENERAL OFFICE: 62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4405  
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman OSSIP WALINSKY, General Manager

## LABOR-NATIONALISTS COALITION SWEEPS SOUTH AFRICA STATE

CAPETOWN.—The Labor-Nationalist coalition appears to have swept the country at the elections held here June 17, Premier Smuts appearing to have been beaten by over 25 seats in a House of over 130.

There is an unconfirmed report that Smuts himself, who put down the Rand strike two years ago with unprecedented ferocity, was beaten in his own constituency in Pretoria by a Labor man.

Labor seems to have swept Johannesburg, and to have added substantially to the 11 seats it held in the last House of Assembly.

It is not known at this time whether the Labor party will cooperate in a coalition Government. If the party so decides, it will mean that Labor is wholly or in part responsible for the Government of five large sections of the British Empire, as well as Great Britain itself.

General Hertzog is leader of the Nationalists, and Colonel Cresswell is head of the Labor party, which has a definite Socialist objective. The Nationalists are pledged to the principle of secession from the British Empire and a South African republic, including not only the old Boer Republic but also Cape Colony and Natal. In the coalition pact with Labor, however, it is understood that the independence idea has been temporarily shelved to make way for the demands of the Labor party.

initiative broke down, and in theory, at least, was discarded when the nation faced war.

Today, we are not at war, but men and women and children need food and clothing and shelter. They need medical attention and wholesome amusement. They get all of this—after a fashion.

But they get clothing only if, and when, it pays someone to get workers to manufacture clothing, and sell it. They get decent shelter only if, and when, it pays someone to provide it. They get the kind of amusement that pays best to put out; not that which is cleanest and most enlightening.

Each year, several hundred doctors are loosed upon an unsuspecting people. There is, indeed, great need for all the doctors we can get. But the newly hatched medics do not survey the field and select that portion where their services will do most good for humanity; they go where they think they can work up a "good practice." Each year, a whole crop of lawyers and dentists and engineers and gentry of all the professions in the world are turned loose. They have to seek for themselves where they can do the most good—for themselves.

Under our present system, imbedded in our ideas and embel-

## THE NEW LEADER BAND-WAGON

### DO YOU KNOW ON WHAT DATE SOCIALISM WILL ARRIVE IN AMERICA?

If you are eager to know, read on. We have facts which indicate that the date for the arrival of Socialism can be decided by our own comrades.

### ROMAN

Socialism will come when the people want it to come. The people will want Socialism when they are educated to want it. The chief factor in educating people in the principles of Socialism, throughout the world, has been the Socialist press.

The foremost Socialist publication in America is The New Leader. The New Leader, in this column last week, announced a summer subscription campaign. It was pointed out that our comrades can hasten the coming of Socialism by getting behind the summer subscription campaign.

### THE RESPONSE OF OUR READERS DURING THE LAST WEEK HAS BEEN MAGNIFICENT!

Thomas Flynn, our subscription agent in Buffalo, heads this week's list of Socialist pioneers with 25 subscriptions. Comrade Flynn promises a new list every week. Like all our comrades, Flynn lives in a neighborhood and has neighbors. Comrade Flynn is acting on the slogan, "Every neighbor a Socialist and subscriber to The New Leader!"

Comrades Albert Weisbord, Alfred Baker Lewis and August Claessens have been touring the New England district, speaking for the Socialist Party. Whenever they get an opportunity they put in a word for The New Leader. This week's income from that source has been 26 subscriptions.

Charles S. Lowy is the business agent for Waiters' Union, Local 219. Brother Lowy has learned from experience that the strength of a Labor

To THE NEW LEADER, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

I am a subscriber to The New Leader and have found your paper indispensable to anyone interested in political and social progress. That is why I am subscribing to The New Leader for my friend. I am enclosing \$..... for which send the paper for..... months to:  
Name.....  
Address.....  
City.....  
From.....  
Of.....

## Oppressed Egypt Workers Appeal To British Labor

PARIS.—That the ex-Egyptian Government headed by Zaghlul Pasha is resorting to high-handed methods to stamp out the young Communist movement of that country is the charge made by l'Humanité, the French Communist daily, based upon an appeal issued by the Communist party of Egypt and reports received via London.

It is alleged that the British and native capitalists, especially those interested in the textile industry, are frightened at the spread of Communist ideas among the workers and are determined to do their worst to put the Communist party out of business. Following the tie-up of a number of factories in Alexandria a few months ago, the secretary of the Egyptian Communists, together with about a score of other strike leaders, was thrown into jail and is said to be held there under revolting conditions. Hunger strikes have been declared by the prisoners in an effort to force the authorities to grant them at least the status of political.

The appeal of the Egyptian Communists ridicules the Government's talk about liberty for Egyptians and demands action by the Labor and Communist forces of Great Britain.

in our jurisprudence, it is considered almost obscene to question the system under which every man seeks out, for himself, the best way of advancing his private interests, and depending upon that conglomerate of private selfishnesses for the advancement of the general good.

It is as sane, as sensible a system as if one were to build a house by firing bricks into the air, hoping that something will shape out of them when they fall; it is as if a printer were to fire a handful of type into a form, hoping that it will form, not pi, but a reasoned story. And that under this insane, dog-eat-dog system, we manage to get along somehow, some way, is a tribute to the unquenchable, unconquerable greatness inherent in man, perishing for an opportunity to become unleashed, to be liberated.

The present system places urgent emphasis upon the individual selfishness as the one key to progress. Socialists, in their challenge to present-day anarchy, demand that emphasis be placed upon the common weal of all men. And therein lies the conflict between the two systems, a conflict that will not end until Capitalism's crazy system is gone forever.

union is measured by the intelligence of its members. Lowy came across The New Leader, and decided that it was just the thing his union needed as an educational influence among the members.

Upon Lowy's invitation, William Morris Feigenbaum told the members about the paper at their last meeting and 20 subscriptions were secured. Brother Lowy promises that he will continue the campaign until every member of the union is reached.

The Pittsburgh Socialist Sunday School was, of course, dedicated to serve the Socialist movement. When the comrades found that circumstances made it impossible to continue their Sunday School, they decided the next best thing in the interest of their movement was to contribute their resources to The New Leader. The organization's treasury of \$78.38 has been used to increase The New Leader's circulation in Pittsburgh.

"Win your neighbor to Socialism through The New Leader!" That is the slogan of our summer subscription campaign.

Leo M. Harkins successfully tackled three of his Philadelphia neighbors and secured a regular bundle order from a local newsdealer. J. Sherman had equal success with two of his neighbors in Jersey City. Esther Friedman secured five subscriptions in Montana, where she is speaking for the Socialist Party.

Irvin H. Cody of Alpena, Michigan; Thomas Sorenson of Brooklyn; Charles E. Weidener of Brook-dietown, Pa.; Peter Marcus of Providence, R. I.; Ray Newkirk of Utica, N. Y.; and W. L. Smith of Green River, Utah, each secured two subscriptions.

REACH YOUR NEIGHBOR! The coupon below is for your convenience:



## Socialist Party Will Test Free Speech Right In Meeting at Old Forge, Penna.

The next step in the free speech fight growing out of the arrest and expulsion from Old Forge, Pa., of Birch Wilson, of Reading, and Girolamo Valenti, Socialist speakers, will be taken Thursday night when a free speech test meeting will be held under the joint auspices of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania. It was announced by the Union today. Birch Wilson will be among the speakers, according to the announcement. This will be his third attempt to speak in Old Forge. The Civil Liberties Union will be represented by a prominent New York minister.

The meeting has been called to the attention of Governor Pinchot and Attorney General Woodruff of Pennsylvania, who have been interested in the Old Forge situation, and have "spoken strongly against the policy and acts of the local officials," the Union declared. The meeting would be held, the announcement said, despite Mayor Costanzo's boast some months ago that he would "keep the socialists from speaking here now and forever."

Suit for \$3,000 was filed two weeks ago against Mayor Costanzo, Chief of Police Bender, and Sheriff Reap of Old Forge for false arrest and forcible ejection of Birch Wilson. The suit was filed in Wilson's behalf by the Civil Liberties Union on the ground that he was "lawlessly arrested, searched and run out of town for merely wishing to address a meeting." The suit is now pending in the Court of Common Pleas, of Lackawanna County. The facts in the case as given out by the Civil Liberties Union are as follows:

On June 9, 1923, Birch Wilson and Girolamo Valenti went to Old Forge to address a meeting of Italian workers. Prior to the meeting while waiting at the home of a friend they were seized by local policemen, acting under orders from Mayor Costanzo, and by Sheriff Reap and a party of state troopers. They were thrown into an automobile and taken to the town hall. There they were searched by Mayor Costanzo, Sheriff Reap and a sergeant of the State constabulary. Some of their literature was taken from them and they were warned

not to appear in Old Forge again. The following week, on June 13, Wilson and Valenti returned to Old Forge, and were again seized by local policemen and Sheriff Reap, acting under orders from Mayor Costanzo, taken to the town hall and again run out of town.

### Charles H. Vail, Old Time Socialist, Dies

Socialists everywhere will be grieved to hear that Rev. Dr. Charles H. Vail, one of the pioneers of American Socialism, died Tuesday at Auburn, N. Y., of apoplexy. Comrade Vail was pastor of the First Universalist Church of Brooklyn at the time of his death, and before that he presided over the Church of Good Tidings in Brooklyn.

Vail became a Socialist in the latter part of the last century and for years was a tireless and enthusiastic Party worker. He was one of the first of the men to give all his time to Party work, lecturing in every part of the country.

He is the author of "The Principles of Scientific Socialism," an excellent text-book that went into many editions and that was a favorite propaganda work in the early years of the century. He was also author of "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

In later years, he devoted himself to his church work, and to the interests of the Masonic order. A 32nd Degree Mason and a Shriner, he wrote a number of books on Masonry. He never lost his interest in Socialism, however, nor his faith in the movement.

Comrade Vail was born in Tully, N. Y., April 28, 1866, and was a graduate of St. Lawrence University. His alma mater honored him with the D. D. degree in 1918. He is survived by a widow.

**AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST DIES**  
MELBOURNE.—Senator Stephen Barker, for over thirty years a leader of the Socialist and Labor movement of Australia, died here Tuesday. He was 70, having been born in London in 1854. Barker was considered one of the founders of the political Labor movement on the island continent.

Thursday, July 3: 3rd A. D., Sheridan Square, Speaker, Richard Boyajan.

Saturday, July 5: 16th A. D., Eighty-sixth street and Third avenue, Speaker, Richard Boyajan; afternoon, 1st A. D., Rutgers Square, Speaker, Henry Jager.

### BRONX

The general Party meeting held on Friday, June 20th at Local Headquarters was the best gathering of Bronx members held in years. Legislation for the guidance of the Local in the event of a third party movement in Bronx county was mapped out and the candidacy of Comrades Claessens and Orr unanimously endorsed, and evoked much enthusiasm. Under the reports of Executive Secretary and Executive Committee, the work being done to rebuild Local Bronx was shown in detail. Comrade Paulitsch made an impassioned appeal for immediate work on the part of the members in order to back up the efforts of the Executive Committee to bring back members now in arrears. The financial position of the Local is good, all debts have been paid, all stamps for the National and State office have been sold, and the money forwarded.

The executive committee met at Local headquarters Monday, June 23. Comrade Rubinow, chairman; A. Kanasy, secretary. Communication from Y. P. S. L. relative to "Free Youth" read and referred to the National Campaign Committee. Communication from State office showing encouraging progress. Delegates of branches were urged to bring the matter of personal canvassing up in their respective sub-division at the earliest opportunity.

The Executive Secretary reported having visited several members of Branch 3 in their homes and their places of business and so far had met with decided success, several paying up back dues and promising to attend meetings of their branches in the future.

The National Campaign Committee requested that the Executive Secretary compile a list of speakers and communicate with them relative to speaking in Bronx County.

### SAINT DENIS OFFICES

799 Broadway at Eleventh Street  
Headquarters for Executive Office of  
LABOR ORGANIZATIONS  
COME AND SEE US WHEN  
YOU NEED OFFICE SPACE

### Union Halls

AMALGAMATED TEMPLE

11-27 ARION PLACE

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Meeting Rooms and Mass Meetings for  
Organizations at Moderate Rates

BROOKLYN

LABOR LYCEUM

910 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn.

Large and small hall suitable for all  
occasions and meetings at reasonable  
rentals. Stage 25x42.

Labor Temple 243-247 EAST 84th ST.

NEW YORK.

Workmen's Educational Association  
Free Library open from 1 to 10 p. m.  
Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and  
Balls. Telephone Lenox 1660.

## FOR YOUR SCRAP BOOK

Under this heading *The New Leader* will reprint excerpts from books, ancient or modern, that our readers should be glad to keep for future reference. Readers are invited to offer selections for consideration. The name of the author and the title of the book from which the selection is taken must accompany each contribution.

## THE PLUTOCRACY IN POLITICS

By WALTER E. WEYL

In "The New Democracy"

THE peculiar significance of our present-day American political corruption lies not in its novelty, but in its change of character and source. It has become subtle, scientific, organized. It has become a pendant to large business, which is also subtle, scientific, organized. Today political corruption is menacing, not only because all corruption is immoral and anti-democratic, but because it represents the intrusion into politics of a disciplined and aggressive plutocracy.

No such system of specialized, standardized, subtletized corruption could exist without capital to finance it. This capital is thrifly furnished by unscrupulous magnates, who, though they bribe, consider bribing beneath them and have sovereign contempt for their own wretched brood of political procurers, who furnish what is demanded—and no questions asked or embarrassing explanations given. The investigation of the life insurance companies showed that the money of the insured—of those very widows and orphans, the patron saints of corrupting millionaires was turned to a "yellow dog fund" for the purchase of legislators. Predatory corporations assign to "advertising and publicity accounts" expenditures which need not be advertised and could not be published. Franchises are stolen by free lance bribers, who sell their "innocents" to "innocent third parties," who in turn invite the public through stock subscriptions to repurchase their own. It is a Thieves' Market, in which the beneficiaries stand in no ascertainable legal relation to the thieves, and in which the public has no redress except the melancholy satisfaction of locking the stable door.

Political "holdings," like financial "holdings," are "merged," first for a single political "operation," and later for a whole political policy. The like-mindedness of political mercenaries gives rise to a secret, interstate, bi-partisan political machine. Democratic Congressmen, vassals of financiers above party, support a Republican oligarchy; Republican repeaters in one State are loaned to a Democratic boss in a neighboring State. Political gladiators forget to fight. A sweet vision of gilded peace, of a veritable Pax Romana, stirs hearts long inured to bitter partisan strife. The two parties, united at last in a competitive devotion to a generous plutocracy, sleep on their arms in an affectionate embrace. A political trust comes into being.

This political trust is more ramified, systematized, and powerful than any in the history of American political institutions. It represents trust methods applied to politics. It is a secret, effective, card-index scheme of government, based on the elimination of sordid political machinery, the standardization of corruption, and the organization of all legislative bodies on the approved model of the dummy board of directors. The system, crossing party lines and State lines, is built like a pyramid from the ubiquitous ward heeler up through the ward boss, the city boss, the State boss, to a shadowy as yet non-existent national boss, seated perhaps in the Speaker's chair or in the Senate of the United States.

## It's Up to You!

You, who helped us to abolish slavery in our trade, help us now in the struggle for preventing the return of the same slavery. The bread trust is planning our destruction, our enemies are instigating against us.

You, who have no reason to be against us, could and should help us. This is very simple for you to do, does not cost you any extra money or efforts. Just make up your mind not to eat scab bread—Ask for the Union Label!—That is all.

LOOK  
FOR  
THIS  
LABEL



DEMAND  
THIS  
LABEL

UNION MADE BREAD DOES NOT  
COST YOU MORE AND IS MADE  
IN SANITARY SHOPS

Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union of America  
Organization Committee of Locals 87, 100, 163, 189 and 305

## BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office: 239 EAST 84th STREET Telephone Lenox 4850  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple  
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary THOMAS CAHILL, President  
EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St.  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST ST. Telephone Melrose 3074.  
THOMAS DALTON, President. CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent.  
HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y. JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y.

## Carpenters and Joiners of America

Office and Headquarters, 12 St. Mark's Place, Dry Dock—4866  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month.  
V. J. CASTELLI, President. WILLIAM GARDNER, Rec. Secretary  
MICHAEL CURTIN, Vice-Pres. CHARLES FIESELER, Fin. Secretary  
N. VILLACCI, Bus. Agent.

## Carpenters & Joiners of America

Local Union 366 4215 3rd Ave., corner Tremont Ave.  
Regular meetings every Monday evening  
Walter Anderson, President Bert Post, Rec. Secretary James Duignan, Fin. Sec'y  
Victor Smith, Vice President Joseph Vanderpool, Treas. Chas. Nollis, Business Agent  
Board of Trustees—Jos. Hess, Louis Schmidt, E. Giew

## DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1456, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS  
OF AMERICA. Orchard 6801  
Office: 12 St. Mark's Place.  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday.  
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President. Ludwik Benson  
Ed. M. Olsen, Fin. Sec. Ray Clark  
Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Christopher Gulbransen, Charles Johnson, Sr. Business Agents  
Recording Secretary

## COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 63, I. B. C. & C. L. of A.  
Office, 237 E. 84th St. 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday, closed all day.  
Lenox 7029  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.  
JAMES MORAN, President. JOHN McPARTLAN, Rec. Secretary  
JOHN McQUINN, Vice-Pres. PETER FINNERAN, Fin. Secretary  
MAT. J. HANNON, Bus. Agent

## PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday  
Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.  
MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, President and Business Agent.  
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. JOHN LEAVY, JOHN DOOLEY  
THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y. JOSEPH LAMONTE

## Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76

Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283  
Meets Every Second and Fourth Wednesday at Arlington Hall  
23 ST. MARKS PLACE at 6:30 SHARP  
JOSEPH HARKOW, Secretary-Treasurer J. RUTTER, President WOLF ALPER, Business Agent

## Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and  
National Building Trades Council  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 166 East 56th Street.  
Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNEM, Secretary.

## PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 82 East 106th Street Telephone: 2818  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.  
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.  
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNENFIELD,  
Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

## NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS

Union Local No. 238  
Office and Meeting Room:  
106 Seventh Avenue. Phone Chelsea 5649  
Regular Meeting Every Monday.  
Executive Board Meets Friday at 8 P. M.  
GEO. B. HOVELL, JAS. P. CONLON,  
President Bus. Agent  
J. J. COUGAN, Rec. Secretary D. J. NAGLE, Fin. Secretary

## PAINTERS' UNION

LOCAL 802  
Office and Headquarters: 216 E. 59th St.  
Tel. Regent 3223  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening  
John Barry, Clarence Barnes,  
Peter Goldie, J. J. Connell,  
Vice-President Fin. Secretary

## U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL UNION NO. 463 OF NEW YORK CITY  
Meeting Room, 243 East 84th St., New York City  
EVERY WEDNESDAY, 8 P. M.  
2033 Fifth Ave. Phone Harlem 4878

## Journeyman Plumbers

Local Union 118  
Of Queens County, New York  
Meets Every Wednesday Evening at  
230 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City  
HUBERT J. McGRATH, President W. M.  
PIPPA, Fin. Sec'y. JIMMY W. GALE,  
HAR. REC. Sec'y. GEORGE McADAM,  
and GEORGE PLANAGAN, Bus. Agts.

## SEE THAT YOUR ENGINEER WEARS THIS BUTTON

I. U. S. and O.  
Engineers' Local 56  
Meets every Friday at 8  
P. M. at Brooklyn Labor  
Council. Telephone Blagg  
3344. Office hours, 1 to  
10 A. M. and 4 to 8  
P. M. Room 14.  
F. BAUSCHKE, Fin. Sec.

## WORKERS!

Eat Only in Restaurants

that Employ Union Workers!

ALWAYS LOOK

FOR THIS

LABEL

WAITERS &

Waitresses' Union

LOCAL 1

162 East 23rd Street

Gramercy 6843

Executive Board

Meets every Wednesday

at 4 P. M.

Regular Business

Meetings every second

and fourth Thursdays in the month, at

Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street.

J. LASHER, President.

WM. LEHMAN, Secretary-Treasurer.

CONY ISLAND OFFICE:

2830 West 23rd Street.

Telephone Cony Island 4285-J.

D. SAMOVITZ, Manager.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS

DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS

Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Eve.

at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.

BRUNO WAGNER, President.

CHAS. KOENIG, Rec. Sec'y.

See That Your Milk Man Wears

the Emblem of

The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 581, I. B. of T.

Office:

365 Hudson St., City

Local 584 meets

on 3rd Thursday

of the month at

ASTORIA HALL,

62 East 4th St.

Executive Board

meets on the 2nd and

4th Thursdays at the

FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East

Broadway, Room 3.

F. J. STEPHAN, Pres. & Bus. Agent.

NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

## International Brotherhood of Pulp,

## Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

JOHN P. BURKE, President-Secretary. 163 Broadway, Fort Edward, New York.

## WAITERS' UNION

Waitresses' Union

LOCAL 1

162 East 23rd Street

Gramercy 6843

Executive Board

Meets every Wednesday

at 4 P. M.

Regular Business

Meetings every second

and fourth Thursdays in the month, at

Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street.

J. LASHER, President.

WM. LEHMAN, Secretary-Treasurer.

CONY ISLAND OFFICE:

2830 West 23rd Street.

Telephone Cony Island 4285-J.

D. SAMOVITZ, Manager.

N. Y. Wood Carvers

and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday.

Board of Officers Meet 2nd & 4th Friday

243 East 84th Street, New York City

Frank Walter, H. Kramer,

President Rec. Secretary

A. Pusillotte, Wm. Dietelbach,

Fin. Secretary

H. Vols, August Schrempf,

Treasurer Business Agent

## JEWELRY WORKERS

UNION, LOCAL 1, I. J. W. U.

Office: 63 Park Row

Room 713.

Executive Board Meets Every Thursday

in the office at 6 P. M. Regular Meetings

Every Second and Fourth Tuesday.

Room 306, 63 Park Row, New York City.

S. E. BEARDSLEY, LEON WILLIAMS,

Organizer Sec'y-Treas.

CLEANERS AND DYERS UNION

of Greater New York

Office and Meeting Room:

175 E. Broadway. Phone Orchard 6646

Regular Meeting Every Monday at 8 p. m.

Executive Board Meets Every Thursday

J. EFFRAY, D. HOFFMAN,

Manager Secretary

SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORT-

FOLIO MAKERS' UNION

62 University Place. Telephone 6558

The Membership Committee and the Ex-

ecutive Board meet every second and

fourth Mondays of the month at the

office. Regular meeting every first Thurs-

day of the month at 181 Clinton St., N. Y.

Chas. Garfield, Org. Sec. H. Kaplan, Sec.

## Party Notes

(Continued From Page 6)

### MAINE

Comrade Lewis, district organizer, now in Maine in an endeavor to secure 1000 signatures of qualified voters to put our ticket in the field, reports continued good meetings in Maine. During the past week Organizer Lewis has spoken in Springvale, Augusta, Portland, Livermore Falls, Auburn, Lewiston, Biddeford. New members-at-large have been secured in almost every city; also New Leader subscriptions.

Comrade Claessens is speaking in Maine, June 22 to 24: June 22 in Camden, June 23 in Rockland, and June 24 in Camden. Maynard, the 25th; Gardner, the 26th; Fitchburg, the 27th; Leominster, 28th; Worcester, 29th; Springfield, 30th; Greenfield, July 1st; Pittsfield, July 2nd.

Comrade Weissbord is speaking

Saturday, June 28, in Haverhill; Sunday, June 29 (morning), Brockton, and Boston (protest meeting against the murder of Deputy Matte



# D R A M A

## John Masefield on Shakespeare

Shakespeare Not Trained for Life's Work by Institution, Says Noted English Poet.

"SHAKESPEARE and Spiritual Life" was the subject of the Romanes lecture delivered by John Masefield, speaking in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford University, recently. Opening his address Mr. Masefield said that by spiritual life he meant all imagined or apprehended life which, without known, sensible, physical, character, imagined, or was imagined, to affect the lives of men and women in this world.

Mr. Masefield passed in review the whole range of Shakespeare's work as revealing the many-sidedness of his spiritual life. Shakespeare, he said, was not trained for his life's work by any institution. His problems were not solved for him. He picked up the food for his mind wherever he could find it: it was not found for him. Better still, it was not selected for him and forced into him. His standard of conduct was very high, his sense of right and wrong was matchless. It could be said of no other English writer that Jews, Pagans, and Christians were men to him—nothing more and nothing less. In the England of his day, work of a noble standard was being done in every way of mind and hand. Our coins were the loveliest in Europe. The laws were savage, but that did not matter: the race, being law-abiding, kept the laws. The race was much what it was today; a kindly, humorous race of individuals, each cherishing some little or big personal quirkiness of interest or intellect, and therefore not working well together in institutions, but uniting in sport and giving much (as individuals) to the common weal. Our institutions sometimes failed, our individuals saved us. There was one great difference between Shakespeare's England and ours. England was then an English country. It had not yet been governed by the Scots; the Welsh were rarities anywhere east of the Severn; the Irish were almost unknown. Those were the days of which tradition spoke when it said that England was merrie.

What kindled Shakespeare to poetry? The lecturer wished he knew. Orthodox religion, whether as ritual or as dogma, seemed to have meant almost nothing to him. His mental training on what might be called the masculine or schoolmaster side was also a slight thing to him. It gave him the feeling that dead flies had been put into the ointment of the apothecary. His mental training on what might be called the feminine, or old wives' tale side, was always profoundly important to him: it made his intensest self. The memory of the countryside, the tradition of the great events of the past, which had led to marchings and violent deaths up and down the four counties best known to him, was much to him. All this was to say that religion meant

almost nothing to him, education little more, tradition a great deal more, and superstition very much indeed. His ghosts were those of popular belief. They were usually the spirits of wronged or murdered men and women. His fairies were of two kinds, firstly, a minute kind described in "Romeo and Juliet," and secondly, a larger kind, big enough to appear upon the stage to pinch Falstaff and attend a fairy court in the wood near Athens. Of these two, he thought Shakespeare had seen only the minute kind. He saw them with great distinctness, and described them with detail in action, just as he saw them. He saw them perhaps only once. It was a bright moment worth recording. As one of his admirers said, "He had the Phantasmic very strong!"

Turning in detail to the plays, the lecturer discoursed on the freshness of the first ten years' work, and the elfish boy in "Love's Labors Lost," "Midsummer Night's Dream," "Henry IV," "The Merry Wives," the boy who played Maria in "Twelfth Night," the Player Queen in "Hamlet," Mamlucius in "The Winter's Tale," and Ariel in "The Tempest." It was in "Julius Caesar" that he climbed from his instinctive and romantic self into the adventure of great poetry; then came "Hamlet," in which destiny won, yet the fine mind was right; it was lovelier than Destiny.

Some had written to prove that Shakespeare was a religious man. Others had written to prove that among other things he was drunk, mad, a thief, illiterate, Welsh, Scots, Irish, Italian, French, German, Bacon, Essex, Oxford, a soldier, a sailor, a lawyer, a butcher, and a schoolmaster. He believed he was an English poet of a great and beautiful mind, who held to no religion save that of humanity and his own great nature. Shakespeare had many superstitions, but his belief was in himself. Out of that self he made his system, which moved us all profoundly, whatever creeds we professed. In that system man was warned, like Caesar, but followed his own Fate; he was tempted, like Macbeth, but was misled by his own heart; he was ordered, like Hamlet, but acted by his own wisdom. He was ruined by his own generosity, like Lear or Timon; he loved much and was little forgiven, like Antony; he was of a passionate credulity, like Othello; but in all these shapes a man lived and died by what was strongest in himself. His spirit was ours, or would be, if we cared enough. The images of his belief walked the world still like the only realities. They were the imaginations of the poet, in a way nothing but dreams, and in another way the rock which endured when the crown had fallen, and the creed ceased, and the race become a memory.

## The Actor and the Star

"When is a Star not a Star?" asks a critic in the Manchester Guardian, discussing the American system prevailing in the movies.

"The star system is indeed one of the mysteries of the cinema, and a mere outsider is apt to lose himself in its niceties. He will find Miss A. starred today and de-starred tomorrow, while Mr. B. works as a star with one firm and as leading man with another. He will learn that 'star' and 'featured player' mean neither the same thing nor the same salary, and that 'an all-star cast' indicates, a cast without a single star. Who is the star of 'The Brass Bottle'? One bill names Harry Myers, another Ernest Torrence, a third Barbara La Marr. Only the contracts and the pay-sheet could determine that question, and even then the inner mysteries of the starring system will remain as dark as ever.

"Why are stars? What qualities have caused them to be singled out for promotion above their fellows? Not,

it seems, their powers of acting. I am afraid if I cite 'Hollywood' as an example, saying that the only real actors in it are the producers, someone will remind me that the stars in 'Hollywood' are asked not to act, but to be themselves. That is true. But it is just as true of all films. It is, moreover, a truth that casts light on the whole mystery.

"The star system has been created for an idolatrous public which wants to see the woman, not the actress, in its favorite, exploited with all her mannerisms and dear familiar gestures. If she dares to play an acting part, submerging for the time her own personality in another's, the morning mail will bring her bundles of imploring letters, 'Do be yourself again.' Our audiences prefer in a film that there shall be a few character parts, well played, a 'competent' leading man, and a star being just herself at the top of the cast. She should be pretty, this star, and dance well, dress well, move well. She must appear camera-unconscious, and yet appreciate exactly her own reaction to photography. She must be gracious and graceful, schooling her mannerisms—it is well to adopt a certain mannerism early and remain true to it to the fullest advantage, working hard and giving the impression of ease, always remembering her stardom and yet never obtruding it. It is for the producer to make of his material a finished star. He must study his star-puppets and foster them, learning how to turn every movement, every characteristic, towards the making of a beautiful whole. Griffith is a master of star-puppetry. His figures—one can't forget them—are not players but personalities perfectly exploited. They seldom act. They are.

"Between the star and the actor stretches a celluloid barrier. Each in his own way can be fine, and comparisons do not touch them, for they belong to different worlds. The star is always himself, the actor, for the time being a god. He can create men. The star can only re-create one man.

"... And the Real Stars, to use Hollywood's own term, must be those stars by whose re-creation the world at large will gain."



JOSEPHINE ROYLE in "Her Way Out" the new drama by Edwin Milton Royle now at the Gaiety.

## THE NEW PLAY

MONDAY

"SCANDALS," George White's sixth annual production comes to the Apollo Theatre Monday night. It is in two acts and thirty scenes. The stage decorations were designed by Erte and executed by Max Weldy of Paris. Among the principals in the cast are Winnie Lightner, Lester Allen, Tom Patricola, Will Mahoney, Richard Bold, Helen Hudson, Newton Alexander, Thea Lightner, Olive Vaughn, the Williams Sisters, and Elm City Four.

## A Melodramatic Comedy

"The Blue Bandanna," at the Vanderbilt

Whether it was "The Bride" which gave Hubert Osborne his start, or the messiness of things in general that suggested a dramatic stew, this is the second play of the season that attempts to combine the thrills of the mystery play with the sweet romance of comedy. The first succeeded.

Sidney Blackmer succeeds in mystifying the audience, however, with his constant bewildering changes; now you see him, now you don't: he plays the part of an honest millionaire and also the role of a cruel, clever thief—with Ray Collins occasionally substituting in one or the other part, when the millionaire was choking and tying up the crook, or the crook was blackjacking and tying up the millionaire. Which one had the job of receiving the blows, we shrewdly suspect.

But "The Blue Bandanna"—and the name gives no hint of it—has a special charm of its own. At first this, too, adds to the bewilderment, but as the incidents come in quick succession, it becomes a sort of game to watch for and to anticipate them, to see what new master-stroke is on its way. For the play presents, in swifter and more frequent recurrence than we've seen in a long time, actions that by no possible stretch of any one's imagination could have been performed by real persons. It is a triumph of bold straight-forward plot; this, says the author, is what I've got to put across, and the more characters I violate the stronger my attack. So, with long spells of darkness, illuminated toward the end by pistol shots and shrieks, the deeds come rushing on knocking down anything like human nature that stands in their way. Even a casual phrase grows bold, and time and again pops out of the mouth of someone who wouldn't have thought himself capable of uttering it. The hero of the play has been collecting evidence against an enemy; the heroine tells him she stole those papers he had gathered, in order to protect her father; a moment later, he introduces her to the detective as "my affianced wife; say, what is your name?" He had been studying her father's case for months, but he didn't know her father's daughter's last name. This was the appropriate place for the curtain to ring down; it hurried up for an instant for us to see her kiss him for his brilliance. Then the show was over.

J. T. S.

## Vaudeville Theatres

### B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

The Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, will have the photoplay, entitled, "The Reckless Age," on the screen, with Reginald Denny in the leading role. Another special screen attraction will be the Milk Fund Fight Pictures; Harry Greb vs. Ted Moore, Gene Tunney vs. Erminio Spalla, Young Stribling vs. Paul Berlenbach, Panama Joe Gans vs. Larry Estridge ring battles. The vaudeville bill, will include, Ted and Betty Healey, Mollie Fuller and Company, Bob Hall, Syncopated Toes, the Pickfords and other Keith acts.

### FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday—Joseph E. Howard's big Revue, Jim McWilliams, others, "Blind Husbands," with Eric Von Stroheim.

Thursday to Sunday—Holmes and Le Vere, Marcelle and Seal, Bernard and Townes, others. Monte Blue and Marie Prevost in "Daughters of Pleasure."

### REGENT

Monday to Wednesday—Dave Seed and Ralph Austin, Nora Kelly and Company, others. "Blind Husbands," with Eric Von Stroheim.

Thursday to Sunday—Jim McWilliams, Summers and Hunt, others. Monte Blue and Marie Prevost in "Daughters of Pleasure."

### PALACE

Clark and McCullough; Marie Nordstrom; Royce and Maye; Miss Martha Hedman; William and Joe Mandel; Eddie Nelson; Georges Dufranne; Harvard, Wynfred and Bruce and act to come.

### RIVERSIDE

Jimmy Hussey and Company; Mae West; Vaughn Comfort; Four Cameos; Leah, Mystery Girl; Sargent and Marvin; Lawton.



MARTHA HEDMAN coming to the Palace next week, in a sketch by Edwin Burke, "Just Like a Woman."



## Generous Praise

Cosmo Hamilton—Channing Pollock

In his series of articles entitled "Unwritten History," recently published in the Saturday Evening Post, and about to be issued in book form, Cosmo Hamilton, author of "Scandal" and many other successful plays, devotes a paragraph to his personal impressions of Channing Pollock, author of "The Fool." Mr. Hamilton says: "Channing Pollock is a Latin in feeling and in point of view. He is exuberant and uses strong colors. He has the gift of naive and tilts at windmills. He has had a shot at every known form of dramatic writing, which to him is not just a natural method of earning a living, but a vocation, a mistress, a craft. He loves melodrama, vivid scenes and primeval man. With his strong face, uncut hair and double tie, a massive yet buoyant figure, extraordinary vitality and affection, a Niagara-like flow of anecdote and a habit of jumping in where angels fear to tread, Broadway seems to be less his place than Paris, where one would expect to see him holding court at an iron table at the Cafe de la Paix, or beating time with a large cigar to the boulevardier music in a students cafe in the Place Pigalle. A generous, talented, simple soul, he is ever ready to wield a bludgeon for the under dog."

## Notes

The new edition of "Vogues" was presented at the Shubert Theatre, Wednesday night. Ted Quarters, Rosalie Quinn and Harry Shea have joined the cast. "Frehistoric Cabaret," "The Wedding Glide" are two new features introduced. Odette Myrtil and Fred Allen and Jimmy Savo continue. "Vogues and Frolics" is the new title of the revue since Wednesday.

Lula Vollmer's dramatic play, "The Shame Woman," will end its record run this Saturday when it will reach its 300th performance. The play goes on tour in the fall.

"Moonlight," "Saint Joan," "The Kreutzer Sonata," "The Miracle," the Hippodrome, "Mr. Battling Butler," Lew Fields in "The Melody Man" and "Sitting Pretty" will close Saturday night.

Rehearsals of a new melodrama, entitled "The Sable Coat," by Dorrance Davis, have begun under the personal stage direction of William A. Brady. The play will have its premiere at the Apollo Theatre, Atlantic City, Monday, June 30.

Adele Rowland and Mabel Rowland will give a series of recitals in October with Beatrice Weller as harpist.

J. P. McEvoy, author of "The Pottery," at the Plymouth Theatre, has written a new comedy, which Richard Herndon will produce next season.

Walter Hampden's "Cyrano de Bergerac," at the National Theatre, will close next Wednesday night, July 2, and not this Saturday night, as first announced. Next Wednesday's performance will mark the 250th performance.

Marguerite and Gill will join "Innocent Eyes," at the Winter Garden, Monday evening. Eddie Rogers, a recruit from vaudeville, joins the cast the same night.

## At the Cinemas

ASTOR—"The Sea Hawk."

BROADWAY—"The Reckless Age," with Reginald Denny, Hayden Stevenson and Ruth Dwyer.

CAMEO—Harold Lloyd in "Girl Shy."

CAPITOL—Rex Beach's "Recoil," Betty Blythe and Mahlon Hamilton in the leading roles.

COHAN—"The Ten Commandments."

CRITERION—Mary Pickford in "Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall."

LIBERTY—Douglas Fairbanks in "The Thief of Bagdad."

RIALTO—"The Code of the Wilderness," by Charles Alden Sizer, with John Bowers, Alice Calhoun and Alan Hale.

RIVOLI—James Cruze's, "The Enemy Sex," with Betty Compson. From Owen Johnson's novel, "The Salamander."

STRAND—"Those Who Dance," with Blanche Sweet, Bessie Love and Warner Baxter.

# T H E A T R E S

America's Foremost Theatres and Hits, Direction of Lee & J. J. Shubert.

**Winter Garden**  
Evenings at 8:25  
MATS. This TU, FRI, July SAT.  
Week: 4, 8  
**INNOCENT EYES**  
100% COOLER THAN ANY OTHER PLACE IN TOWN!  
GOOD BALCONY SEATS \$1.50  
ANY OTHER PLACE \$2.00 and \$2.50

**SHUBERT** Theat., 44th. West of B'way  
Evenings at 8:30  
The Perfect Revue "Vogues" under its New Title  
**VOGUES and FROLICS**  
with ODETTE MYRTIL  
A GREAT CAST—and  
ROGER WOLFE'S ORCHESTRA  
Many Entirely New Features,  
including  
"THE PREHISTORIC CABARET"  
and "THE WEDDING GLIDE"

**NEW SPRING EDITION**  
**CHARLOT'S** REVUE of 1924  
with BEATRICE LILLIE, GERTRUDE LAWRENCE, HERBERT MUNDEN AND NELSON KEYS  
Good Balcony Seats at \$1 and \$1.50, at Box Office only.  
SEATS ON SALE EIGHT WEEKS IN ADVANCE.  
**SELWYN**  
W. 42d St. Evs. 8.30  
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2.30  
**THE SELWYN'S PRESENT THE TWO SOLID HITS OF THE YEAR**  
**FREDERICK LONSDALE'S COMEDY**  
**SPRING CLEANING**  
W. 42d St. Evs. 8.30  
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2.30  
WITH VIOLET HEMING, ESTELLE WINWOOD, ARTHUR BYRON, A. E. MATTHEWS  
Good Balcony Seats at \$1 and \$1.50, at Box Office only.  
SEATS ON SALE EIGHT WEEKS IN ADVANCE.

**The Play that is Making History**  
**ABIE'S IRISH ROSE**  
Anne Nichols  
RECORDED BREAKING COMEDY  
3rd YEAR REPUBLIC  
W. 42d St. Evs. 8.30  
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2.30

**RICHARD HERNDON**  
presents  
The SEASON'S OUTSTANDING COMEDY HIT  
7th MONTH  
**The POTTERS**  
By J. P. McEvoy  
PLYMOUTH THEA.  
45th W. of B'way  
Evs. 8.30, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2.30  
Thurs. & Sat. 2.30

New York's Leading Theatres and Successes.

**THE THEATRE GUILD**  
Presents  
Ernest Vajda's Comedy  
**FATA MORGANA**  
with  
**EMILY STEVENS**  
**LYCEUM** 45 St. E. of Ry. Evs. 8.30  
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2.30

**OUTSTANDING DRAMATIC SENSATION OF THE SEASON.**  
**L. LAWRENCE WEBER'S**  
**COBRA**  
By Martin Brown  
**HUDSON** THEATRE, W. 44th St.  
Evs. 8.30, Mt. Wed. Sat. 2.30  
Mgt. Mrs. H. B. HARRIS  
SEATS 3 WEEKS AHEAD

**11TH WEEK!!**  
**100TH PERFORMANCE**  
OF  
**"EXPRESSING WILLIE"**  
By RACHEL CROTHERS  
with CHRYSTAL HERNE, RICHARD STERLING, LOUISE CLOSSER HALE, MERLE MADDEN, ALAN BROOKS, MOLLIE MCINTYRE, WARREN WILLIAMS and others in the GREAT CAST OF THE FIRST COMEDY ON THE AMERICAN STAGE  
AT THE 48th ST. Mats. Tues. & Sat. 2.30  
THE 48th ST. Seats 5 weeks ahead

**B.S. MOSS' B'WAY**  
"Where the crowds all go"  
**ALL NEXT WEEK**  
**Reginald Denny**  
in his newest comedy drama  
"The Reckless Age"  
PICTURES OF  
**MILK FUND FIGHTS.**  
TED & BETTY—MOLLIE FULLER  
BOB HALL SYCOPATED TOES  
Other fl. F. Keith Acts

**THE GRAND ST. FOLLIES**  
is the wittiest revue in N. Y.  
—Edmund Wilson in the New Republic.  
**"THE GRAND STREET FOLLIES**  
adds much gaiety to the waning season."  
—Charles B. Davis in Herald Tribune.  
Seats on Sale for all July  
Every Eve. (except Monday). No Mats.  
AT THE  
**Neighborhood Playhouse**  
466 Grand Street, Tel. Dry Dock 7516  
Orch. \$1.50. Balcony \$1.00, 75c.  
Theatre Cooled by Ice.  
Dancing on Roof Afterwards

**CAPITOL** BROADWAY at 51st St.  
World's Largest and Foremost Motion Picture Palace—Edw. Bowes, Mgt. Dir.  
**BEGINNING SUNDAY**  
J. PARKER READ, Jr. presents  
**"RECOIL"**  
By REX BEACH  
Featuring BETTY BLYTHE and MAHLON HAMILTON  
With a large cast, including Europe's Ten Most Beautiful Women.  
Distributed by METRO-GOLDWYN  
CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA OF 60  
DAVID MENDOZA, Conductor  
CAPITOL BALLET CORPS  
Presentation by ROTHAFEL ("BOXY")

## Symphonic and Italian Music on Central Park Programs.

The fifth week of the Goldman Band Concerts, under the direction of Edwin Franko Goldman, contains three programs of special music. On Monday, the first part of the program will be devoted to Tchaikowsky's "Pathétique." On Wednesday, the program will consist of the works of Italian composers, and on Friday, the entire program will be devoted to the compositions of American composers. On this occasion two of the composers, Gustav Saenger and N. Clifford Page will conduct their own compositions. The soloists during the coming week are Waino Kauppi, cornetist; Frances Sebel, soprano, and Helen Yorke, soprano, who will make her first appearance at these concerts.

**Victor Herbert's "Sweethearts" at Capitol**  
S. L. Rothafel resumes the series of tabloid operettas at the Capitol Theatre, with Victor Herbert's "Sweethearts" as the musical entertainment to the Rex Beach production, "Recoil." The cast includes Gladys Rice, Sara Edwards, Frank Moulan and Leo de Hierapolis. The two acts are separated by an interlude in which the Bal-

let, headed by Mile. Gambarelli, is seen in Herbert's "Wooden Shoe Dance."



WILLIAM VAN HOOGSTRAATEN conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra, which will begin their open air concerts next Thursday at the City College Stadium.



## Explaining America

A Review by James O'Neal

**THE CONTRAST.** By Hilaire Belloc. New York: Robert M. McBride and Co. \$2.50.

Observing the peculiar antics of what H. L. Mencken calls the "American boobyery" we have often wondered whether the "thing in itself" which we call the United States will ever be understood by civilized men. It is impossible to impale it on a pin like the naturalist with a bug and subject it to an X-ray examination. We are also too close to it to ever understand it fully. In fact, we are a part of it. The social alienist who comes from abroad generally rations out his impressions rather sparingly, never telling all that he thinks as he may desire to pay us another visit. Besides, he remembers what happened to Charles Dickens whose frankness in prodding our fathers led to a war of words across the Atlantic.

Hilaire Belloc in this book tries to offer an explanation and interpretation of us and his chief conclusion is that we are different—eternally different, hopelessly different, and growing more different with the passing of time. This conclusion gives the title to his book. A comparison of us with others only establishes a contrast. We are different politically, socially, religiously, in literature, language and other characteristics. He even finds a marked contrast in our physical environment. There is something in the topography and vegetation and climate and vast distances that suggest a contrast. Our very atmosphere is alien and "an English group, remaining English, could not live in America."

All this is not very clear but it is at least the impression of the English critic. It is when he becomes specific that he holds our rapt attention. His first conviction is that we are wholly free from the worship of Mammon which he defines as the "transference to the wealthy men of qualities not present in him and suggested only by the fact that he is wealthy." We immediately think of Henry Ford. It is certain that Ford's utterances on many public questions would not attract the attention of a village weekly if he had not annexed a few hundred millions of dollars. Now there are millions who believe that anything Ford says is of exceptional importance. Is it because he is a cultured man, or is it because of the transference to him of qualities "not

present in him and suggested only by the fact that he is wealthy?" We are afraid that Belloc has ascribed to us one virtue that is possessed only by a tiny minority of these United States. Nevertheless, he is convinced of his view and he devotes one chapter to an elaboration of it.

He makes one discovery and we owe him a debt of gratitude for having the courage to declare it. We have retained "in a very large degree the institution of monarchy" and the "Presidency is today far the strongest Monarchy on earth." Moreover, our worship of the Constitution is akin to this monarchism. For the author this is a healthy sign, which we can understand in one whose ideals go back to the romanticism of the guilds and the quietism of an imperial church that settles all doubts. Personally we would rather have the real thing than the vulgar realism of a monarchism masked in democratic forms.

For the rest he believes that our newspapers deal sternly with corruption and denounce it and this appears in print after the amazing example of a large section of the press demanding that the investigation of corruption at Washington be called off! We are different, certainly, but we are almost inclined to think that Mr. Belloc is indulging in one of his witticisms when he ascribes this role to our newspapers. We can enjoy his humor even while we are looking up our spoons when a politician rings our door bell. He is more sober in his consideration of Catholics and Jews in the United States and very suggestive when he considers the contrast in letters and language. On the whole he leaves something of his own impression on his readers for contrast there is and marked contrast to be sure.

But in establishing a contrast he does not tell us really what we are. We need help in this matter. Thirty Americans in a large volume on "Civilization in the United States" tried to explain this American "thing in itself." The Nation tried it in a series on "These United States." Both attempts were very helpful and we know more now about ourselves than we did before. More, in fact, than Belloc has been able to tell us. But this frowsy-headed, overgrown, coarse, clownish, superstitious, disorderly, brutal, strong thing we call "America" still remains to be explained to the satisfaction of intelligent human beings.

## WENDELL PHILLIPS

By JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY

"Fanatics!" the insects hissed till he taught them to understand  
That the highest crime may be written  
In the highest law of the land.  
"Disturber" and "Dreamer," the  
Phyllistines cried when he preached  
An ideal creed.

Till they learned that the men who  
have changed the world have disagreed;

That the remnant is right, when the  
masses are led like sheep to the  
pen;  
For the instinct of equity slumbers  
till roused by instinctive men.

It is not enough to win rights from  
a king and write them down in a  
book.

New men, new lights; and the  
fathers' code the sons may never  
brook.

What is liberty now were license  
then: their freedom our yoke  
would be;

And each new decade must have new  
men to determine its liberty.  
Mankind is a marching army, with  
broadening front the while:

Shall it crowd its bulk on the farm-  
paths, or clear to the outward life?  
Its pioneers are the dreamers who  
fear neither tongue nor pen  
Of the human spiders whose silk is  
wove from the lives of toiling men.

Come workers: here was a teacher,  
and the lesson he taught was  
good:

There are no classes or races, but  
one human brotherhood;  
There are no creeds to be outlawed,  
no colors of skin debarred;  
Mankind is one in its rights and  
wrong—one right, one hope, one  
guard.

For the instinct of equity slumbers  
we learn the great reformer's  
creed:

The right to be free, and the hope  
to be just, and the guard against  
selfish greed.

And the richest of all are the unseen  
wreaths on his coffin-lid laid down  
By the toil-stained hands of work-  
men—their sob, their kiss, and  
their crown.

## Well-Told Story

**THE BOOK OF BLANCHE.** Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.00.

Space prevents my saying all that I should like to say about "The Book of Blanche." It is such an exceptionally well-told story, so vivid, so subtle, so terribly human; and yet there is a half-spiritualistic element—a note of psychic force that gives to the book a touch of unsolved mystery.

The first part of the story is given to the reader through the half-awake state of Blanche, as she lies in a hospital room, near unto death, awaiting the surgeon's knife. Though the physical Blanche has been put to sleep by means of a drug the mental Blanche is alert, super-sensitive, far-seeing. Before her mind's eye unfolds the past years of her yet short life, in a series of pictures which so entertain her as to make her forget the horror of the coming morning.

From the days of her young childhood to the present tragic hour in the hospital room the reader is carried along with her and her strange companions over uncertain roads. Her earliest recollection is of her beautiful mother and a dark-browed, warm-hearted man who was not of her mother's kind. Nor was this man, Bela by name, like her father, or like the other men who came to call upon her mother.

Lying there in the sick room she recalls the things Bela told her of her Gypsy violinist father and of her Polish countess mother, and of the illegitimacy of her own birth. She knows that her great talent for music was inherited from that lovable, despicable, unstable, passionate Gypsy father, and that her finer qualities came to her from her mother.

The young house physician takes an unusual interest in the strange girl patient and does what he can to beguile her waiting hours. Before either of them realize it, love has crept in and bound them together for all time. The tense part of the story comes at the hour when Blanche, unconscious to all outward appearances, lies under the head surgeon's knife. Here Miss Richardson's power seems almost uncanny, and the effect is startling. The operating-room scene is one which has not been rivaled in any modern novel. And from that hour on to the end the story does not drop for a single moment.

It is a remarkable book from every standpoint, and smacks of an experienced rather than a new writer. "The Book of Blanche" is Miss Richardson's second work of fiction, though she has won her spurs in newspaper and magazine work.

MAUD DAVIS WALKER.

## A Living Poet

**ARIEL: THE LIFE OF SHELLEY.** By André Maurois. Appleton. New York: 1924. \$2.50.

Few novels possess the ready flow of incident, the casual presentation of character that is yet fundamentally true, combined with the authenticity of detail, that mark the pages of "Ariel." Maurois has achieved an entirely new type of biography (to compare his work to Strachey is to flatter the Englishman); he has dressed his persons—Shelley, his two wives and the various other men and women that live about them—in the garb of fiction. The book progresses like a smooth-running fictional narrative; the thoughts of the persons are presented, their motives as well as their acts. Nonetheless, all the material is gathered from documents, earlier lives, correspondence; fortunately a large mass has been preserved, so that the picture can be made complete without the use of imagination. Imagination has served a better purpose than that of supplying incidents; it has organized a study of a dead genius so that he becomes a living man. The eternal boy Shelley romps or suffers, always wholeheartedly, always intense, with a completeness that is amusing and somehow deeply poignant. The contrast between Shelley and Lord By-

## Christ's Failure

**SAINT MAGLOIRE.** By Roland Dorgeles. Translated by Pauline De Chary. Dorans. New York: \$2.50.

The failure of Christ is admirably pictured in the story of Saint Magloire—as the same lesson has been driven home in a dozen recent tales of recent years, of which the most recently effective is Upton Sinclair's "They Call Me Carpenter." All the power of godhead's meek persuasion, of divine precept and saintly example cannot wrest man from the torment of his innate impulses. The latest psychological observations of infants indicate that men are born with three emotional directions, toward fear, rage, and love. Rage manifests itself as a struggle against compression, love is at first merely a response to pleasurable stroking; fear is concerned both with falling and with noise. Fear, beginning with double the opportunity of the others, expands with life (rage being probably but one of the results of fear) until it directs most of the actions of man. The struggles for self-preservation and self-perpetuation—through children or other creations—are intensified, if not directly instigated, by fear.

It follows that a man without fear is so unlikely that we are loth to accept him (being also envious of a person so free from our own limitations); but even if we grant his existence, we are likely to find him wholly remote from us in understanding and in sympathy. To him the weaknesses of man will be incomprehensible. Jesus' claim to divinity lay in his ability to attain this sympathy while maintaining (according to biblical authority) a stand above the weakness. Magloire's coldness rises from his inability to understand.

Returning to France, hailed as a popular "saint" by the people who have heard of his exploits as a missionary, Magloire walks through life absolutely uncomprehending his complications. He brings suffering on his family; he attempts to open the empty mansions of the wealthy, who are enjoying the season out of town, so that the suffering poor may have less crowded shelter. In his efforts to relieve those around him he shows so little the emotion any situation would arouse in an ordinary man that he ends by estranging not only those who oppose his "crazy socialistic" ideas, but also those who might benefit by them.

At the end he is left alone in a world of understanding which is "over his head," just as any appreciation of Magloire is "over their hearts."

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

ron is excellently established: the latter deliberate in all his acts, concerned with public opinion, which he will win by fair means or foul the other concerned only with beauty and its manifestations in "perfectible man" around him. Byron was inaudibly the predominant actor of his period; Shelley just as fully, the playboy of the world. The complete absence of any implication of moral standards is another triumph of the book, explained in the fact that its author is French.

Safe in North Africa, where he is at present, following visits in France and Spain, Waldo Frank will escape the answering bombardment evoked by his "Salvos," a book of criticism and appraisal of his con-

## Our Own Samuel Pepys

A Review by Joseph T. Shipley

**THE SOUL OF SAMUEL PEPYS.** By Gamaliel Bradford. New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co. \$3.50.

To friends of Samuel Pepys this volume brings a welcome summary and ordered portrait of the man; to strangers it introduces one of England's most efficient Secretaries of the Navy and, incidentally, the man whose literary activity is perhaps the most complete self-revelation in all literature; and it should lead every reader to turn to the "Diary." There seems to be no complete printing of the "Diary"; Bradford declares that "Wheatley issued what is probably the final one, containing all that is decently possible to print." Pepys did his best for Wheatley, for, despite the fact that this book more than all others was intruded for no eyes but the writer's, a certain shame drove the author, none the less, to put his most intimate confessions in a curious mixture of foreign phrases.

The famous "Diary" covers a period of but eight and a half years (1660-1669), but they were among the most active of Pepys' life and among the most stirring of English history. The collapse of the Puritan Commonwealth under Cromwell's son, the revelling reaction of the pleasure-loving Stuarts until the overburdened people rose in the bloodless revolution—through these

the shrewd, lewd (then penitent), impetuous, curious Pepys walked with wide-open eyes, as just to others as he was by turns lenient and severe with himself, presenting with absolute frankness the actions, observations, thought, and feelings of an average English citizen of the Restoration.

Out of the chronological ramblings of the "Diary" Mr. Bradford has arranged his consideration of Pepys and his relation to his office, his money, humanity, his intellect, his wife, and God. To these Mr. Bradford applies his usual method of analysis, though Pepys spares him a deal of trouble by his own thoroughness; the book becomes largely a rearrangement and abridgement of the "Diary." Which is well. The most interesting section discusses the relations of Pepys and his wife; like the gay essayist, Steele, he loved her dearly, quarreled with her violently, and was unfaithful to her frequently. The record of all this is engagingly set forth by Mr. Bradford; but of his own reservations and enthusiasms, although we accept them at the start, we grow increasingly impatient as the book goes on. Pepys is revealed to us, once and for all time, in the "Diary"; there all readers should turn. Mr. Bradford's book is of value in that it is sufficiently alluring and sufficiently irritating to drive the reader to the inimitable Diary.

## The Origin of Marie Corelli

By HENRY HARRISON

Many an inmate of a fashionable boarding school has delighted in the tales of Marie Corelli, that more or less sentimental author whose shrilling pen has finally known oblivion. Many a young lady has gushed over the volumes of the enviable Corelli, exulting in her heroes and heroines, in the exploits and romances that form the featured part of so great a number of books. Yet it is doubtful whether any of Marie Corelli's vast army of fans is aware of the real origin of their idol, a woman who has caused no little discussion with the termination of her life, a career that witnessed a series of best sellers no less than twenty years ago.

The writer hardly knows what Miss Corelli would have chosen for the title of a book describing her early adventures. Perhaps it would have been "The Baby on the Doorstep," or "The Mother of a Foundling." Surely, Miss Corelli would have had ample opportunity of vivifying a snowstorm some sixty years ago, in which she, the author, had been abandoned on the doorstep of the famous song-writer, Charles Mackay, and had subsequently been reared and educated by her new "father."

Marie always described herself as one of mixed Scottish and Italian parentage, declaring that Charles Mackay was none other than her step-father. Yet a recent investigation reveals the fact that Marie was left in the role of a foundling, and that Mackay was not her step-father, although a waggish punster might still maintain that he was.

Marie's childhood belongs to the charming little village of Mickleham, Surrey, a pleasant town that has lost none of its old-world flavor. Indeed, there are not a few who are still able to remember the yellow-haired Marie who frequently skipped along the lovely country lanes, and leapt about the exquisite green slopes of celebrated Box Hill. Charles Mackay was not a rich

gentleman sixty years ago, nor was he famous, either. In fact, he was a man of modest means, and lived in a little frame cottage hard-by the now famous Flint house, home of George Meredith, at the base of Box Hill.

It was on a snowy night that a knock was heard on Mackay's door, and then a second knock, louder than the first, of course, to which the servant duly responded. To the surprise of the maid, there was no one at the door when she opened it, and just as she was about to bar the bolt, a cry of a babe emanated from a basket resting at the maid's feet by the doorway, which she relieved of its contents, after, in truth, it had been placed in front of the living room fire. Must it be added that Mackay and maid were astonished to find the contents to be a baby girl, wrapped (most carefully, to be sure) in warm clothing? And what was their continued amazement when they discovered a £10 note hidden in the bottom of the basket, although there was no message beside it, or any clue to the foundling's parentage?

Poor Mackay's first impulse was to ship the baby to the Dorking Workhouse, but on further deliberation,—perhaps the spirit of Dickens commanded him,—he decided to abandon the plan, and hold the child for at least a few days, with the trustful hope that the person responsible for its care might call for her. However, the days passed, as days will do, and no one rang the bell again, so that Mackay realized the babe was now his. Indeed, he rather appreciated the thought, for in that brief interval of time, he had grown highly fond of the unsuspecting, innocent babe, and, subsequently, decided to adopt her, with the result that baby Marie blossomed into a popular author, and Mackay—shall it be said that he, too, blossomed?—into a famous song-writer.

## A REASONING ANIMAL

**NIGHT SHADE.** The Confessions of A Reasoning Animal. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.00.

A secret history of a small American town, and the story of one Daggett who is sorely afflicted with a girl-complex. He is a man of thirty, the coach of the girls' basket-ball team of Styrtown, and the loves, scandals and gossip of the village float through the book. In fact it is extremely well written, and has a certain amount of realism that makes excellent reading. Here is a writer who really knows one class or type of women. He draws a vivid picture of Susie, the worst bad egg of her family; and he shows the gradual breaking down of the bonds that heretofore have held young girls. "There comes the generation which laughs at respectability, at conventionality, at fashion and perhaps, God help them, even money! And after that the deluge. And the barbarians come in again, to scrape the degenerate barnacles of thought from the race's flanks and plant its feet once more thoughtlessly in the good clean mud of the primeval."

All Books Reviewed on this page, and every other book, obtainable at the  
**RAND BOOK STORE**  
7 EAST 15TH STREET  
New York City

## AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK

1923-24

LABOR CONDITIONS  
TRADE UNIONS  
LABOR DISPUTES  
LABOR POLITICS  
LABOR LEGISLATION  
COURT DECISIONS  
WORKERS' EDUCATION  
LABOR BANKING  
COOPERATION  
THE INTERNATIONALS  
LABOR ABROAD  
LABOR DIRECTORY

"The most serviceable publication of its kind issued."—JAMES O'NEAL  
548 Pages Cloth, \$3 (Postage 15 cents extra)  
Add Ten Cents on Checks on Banks Outside New York City

**RAND BOOK STORE**

7 EAST 15TH STREET

NEW YORK CITY

## Music and Concerts

### Stadium Concerts

**N. Y. Philharmonic Orchestra**  
WILLEM VAN ROOOSTEREN, Cond.  
LEWISohn STADIUM, Amst. Av., 138th St.  
Every Evening, Thursday, July 3rd  
Reopening  
**OPENING NIGHT**  
Beethoven 5th Symphony  
Tchaikovsky—Wagner—J. Strauss  
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mr. Steinway Piano  
PRICES 25c, 50c, \$1.00

## Music Notes

Alexander Brailowsky, the Russian pianist, who has been the sensation of Europe since the war, is coming to America and will make his American debut in November.

Louise Homer, guest artist with the Chicago Opera Company next fall, will break her vacation at Lake George to give three concerts the middle of the summer. She will sing at Winola Lake, Indiana, August 6, at Lakaside, Ohio, August 8, and at Chataqua, N. Y., August 14.

Drums and kettledrums are a development of percussion instruments which rely on the principle of a skin stretched on a wood frame, or across

a vessel made of clay (or originally across a deep, hollow fruit), and struck with the hand or a stick. These may have been invented very early, for they could not have been preserved to us, on account of the perishable material of which they are made. They are known in the South Seas.

Metal percussion instruments, such as cymbals, triangle, bells, are of a later period, but occur early in China, owing to the high state of the bronze-working industry there.

Stringed instruments are next in evolution. The strings were probably merely plucked with the finger or a little implement, as in the guitar, harp, and banjo, before they were played by drawing a bow across them. They have always been great favorites. The tool which has formed the basis for their discovery is the bow-string, which man hardly devised before the later Stone Age. To this day some peoples use the bow as a one-stringed instrument, using the breast itself as a resonance floor. The bushmen do this. By fitting several strings to the bow a rude type of harp was arranged, as in Egypt, and by developing a resonance chamber and other characteristics we got the lyre, the lute, guitar, banjo, etc. The violin began by drawing one bow across another—the name is still preserved in the words "bow of a violin." In ancient America, Mexico, and Peru stringed instruments were unknown.

Wind instruments have their simplest form in the flute and fife. A long hollow bone or piece of wood, a hollow stem, accidentally blown through, doubtless suggested these instruments. By chance holes the possible variety of notes became obvious. From our own antiquity we have no bone flutes preserved, but they occur in Peruvian remains and of clay in those of Mexico. By combining several pipes of different length we get the so-called pipe of Pan, known in European antiquities as well as in those of Peru and in the South Seas. Others were probably not devised till the Bronze Age. The first was the horn, made in the shape of a horn in bronze, of which examples have been found in Sweden and Norway, and which are depicted in Swedish rock-drawings.

The further development of wind instruments belongs to civilized times.



## THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement  
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Publishing Association  
Room 507, People's House, 7 East 15th St.  
New York City  
Telephone, Stuyvesant 6885

Editor ..... JAMES ONEAL  
Assistant Editor ..... WM. M. FEIGENBAUM  
Manager ..... U. SOLOMON

### Contributing Editors

EUGENE V. DEBS, MORRIS HILLQUIT,  
VICTOR L. BERGER, ALGERNON LEE,  
ABRAHAM CAHAN, NORMAN THOMAS,  
LENA MORROW LEWIS, DR. ISAAC  
A. HOURWICH, JOSEPH E.  
COHEN, CLEMENT WOOD,  
JOHN M. WORK, G. A.  
HOEHN, CAMERON H.  
KING

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

United States	
One Year .....	\$2.00
Six Months .....	1.25
Three Months .....	.75
Single Copy .....	.05
To Foreign Countries	
One Year .....	\$3.00
Six Months .....	1.50
Three Months .....	.75

Saturday, June 28, 1924

## THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

THE Democratic Convention, like the Republican Convention, is a study in politics and American psychology. Portraits of many delegates, especially "Fingy" Connors, Brennan, Taggart, and others, are more suggestive of the Bowery ruffian than of men gathered to nominate a man for President. Here are to be found the pudgy and dull products of the city machines and the rotten boroughs of the South, with a liberal sprinkling of Koo Koo's shambling in the background. How any decent human being can obtain inspiration from these traders in political merchandise passes our comprehension.

Among the chief figures is Doheny's lawyer, McAdoo, still oozing the fumes of his oil retainer and doing his best to remove the curse. Williams Jennings Bryan, beardless leader of cowards who fear the progress of education and science, learning nothing new and forgetting nothing old since the dawn of the century, recognized as one of the important leaders. Smith, the best product of the rotten soil of Tammany, with a negative record of not doing much harm, with a powerful following. A collection of "dark horses" of more or less mediocre character and from whom may be drafted a candidate.

Then there are the gum-shoe artists behind the scenes; the publicity agents marketing bunk; the State bosses, each with a herd of cattle to vote; unscrupulous delegates in charge of brokers with a price; managers issuing statements which they know are false and which the leading party barons know to be such; deals made and counter-deals made that render them worthless; pledges made in secret to be broken for a consideration, and rubber-stamps not knowing what part they are to play until they get orders.

A Stock Exchange with the Presidency the highest stake in the gamble. Men with no knowledge of the great problems that face mankind, and one motive dominant in their actions—the possession of the plunder that goes with the triumph in November. A gathering that scores the grafting scoundrels unmasked in Washington, but which ignores the plundering and the reaction under the sainted Wilson. Prepared to compete with Coolidge and Dawes for the job of running the Republic for four years in the interests of organized Capital and finance.

This is the Democratic Convention. What an opportunity for an intelligent, informed and organized working class to challenge the two-party system of capitalist politics!

Well, our much advertised new evening paper came to New York the other day, and in the first issue there was a half-page advertisement of Macy's Department Store; and on the front page a "puff" handed to that store, and in the second issue an editorial highly praising Macy's and naming its officials by name as noble public benefactors. Just like the capitalist press as a whole, except a bit cruder than most sheets. Its proper motto would be two words: FOR SALE.

### MARKETING CAUTIOUS CAL

EVERY Presidential candidate must be a great man—at least during the campaign. And in this meretricious month of June we are beginning to learn what a fearful loss the world will suffer if Hiram Hoozies or Jeremiah J. Jassacks is not made President instantly. That's the only way to "sell" these aspiring gentlemen before the campaign ends.

We remember with glee three well printed, well bound and expensively illustrated books published four years ago on the life and deeds of Dr. Leonard Wood, then the heir apparent of the Higher Junkerdom of America. The books can be bought at eight pence a carload at any well-equipped junk shop, but their perusal now, in the light of another batch of biographies and "appreciations," would constitute a lesson in elementary political science.

All this is introductory to some choice words on the present feverish attempt of the moguls of the G. O. P. to do something to make Cal Coolidge look like Presidential timber.

The Saturday Evening Post is owned by Cyrus H. K. Curtis, member of the Inner Ring of the G. O. P. In the issue of May 31 there is a highly laudatory article about Cal from which the reader gathers that Mr. Kenneth L. Roberts had to sweat pretty hard to make it appear as if he really admires the Subject of His Sketch. One thing Mr.

Roberts makes clear is that Cal finds it very hard to keep a cigar lighted. But that is merely corroborative Detail to Add an Air of Verisimilitude to an Otherwise Bald and Unconvincing Narrative.

Then he goes on to describe the characteristic manner of Mister Coolidge, and illustrates it by the way Cautious Cal received a delegation of frock-coated gentlemen in the White House on a hot June day.

President Harding died in August. That issue of the S. E. P. appeared on the stands May 29, and the magazine was printed much earlier. That is, at the time the article appeared, Coolidge had not been President for a single June day.

Gosh, it must be hard work to try to make Cal look like a President! Even for the pay that one gets for an article in the Post!

"Pacifist Russell's Views Called Anti-Christian"—Headline in adored American. "Jew Agitator Lauds Peace; Security League Protests"—Headline in Judean Daily Chronicle. "Aged Lawgiver Scores Killing; Held Atheist Leader"—Headline in Sinai Intelligencer.

### THE NEW DIPLOMACY

QUIET negotiations have been under way for some weeks between Premier MacDonald and Edouard Herriot so that when the Frenchman forms his cabinet and takes over the rule of France there will be complete understanding between the two Governments that the Ruhr is to be evacuated, and along other lines.

Herriot is not yet premier. When the negotiations began, he was merely leader of the victorious Left assured of the support of the Socialists. It was impossible, then, for the British Government to communicate with a mere private citizen. It was through the Socialist Party of France that MacDonald, leader of Socialism in Great Britain, carried on his correspondence with the future premier of France.

The World carries a copyrighted despatch from Paris in which the reporter says: "A detailed story of these negotiations, if it were possible to tell it, would be of great interest, not only because of their importance, but also because they constitute a new precedent in international diplomacy. Private discussions between comrades—veterans of many international labor conferences—are now superseding Embassies (not in form, but in fact) as a means of getting the most delicate matters of high policy arranged."

An inspiring incident! It leads one to feel that the fulfillment of the prophesy in the chorus of the "International" may not be far off. "The International party will be the human race!"

Coolidge expounding the virtues of a noble life in politics suggests Pecksniff and Bill Sykes founding a school to prevent boys from going astray.

### OUR PAL, AL

AS the Democratic Convention is getting under way, it is manifest that Governor Smith of New York is the outstanding figure. Delegates who have never been to New York call to size him up—even before they see the subway or Hippodrome or the lights of Fifth Avenue. Mr. Smith is the one big man of the Democratic party. There are many who think that he is the most liberal, the most advanced, and the most human man in the Democratic party, if not in the two old parties.

He is, indeed, the biggest man the Democrats have, and it is well to examine that big man.

Mr. Smith was for years the outstanding Tammany leader in the Legislature while Tammany was still the organization of open, predatory graft, and known as such to everyone in the State. He was Tammany Speaker of the Assembly during the period when Tammany meant stark and undisguised looting. He was one of the three Tammany men who put over the crime of throwing out Governor Sulzer—not because Sulzer did wrong, but because he refused to go as far as his Tammany bosses wanted him to. There is no record that Smith ever protested against the crimes for which his organization was responsible.

Mr. Smith was close to the Tammany bosses and in their confidence in this city when graft, corruption and protected vice ran riot, and he never raised his voice against it.

As Governor, Mr. Smith claimed to be liberal. He vetoed the Lusk laws once and later signed the bill repealing them.

BUT—in 1919, Governor Smith signed the bill creating the notorious Lusk committee that ran amuck throughout the State and created the hysteria that resulted in the passage of the Lusk laws. When the committeemen raided buildings, jimmied safes and stole documents, slugged men and women and children and assassinated characters, they did so with a warrant signed by Alfred E. Smith.

In the same year, Governor Smith signed a bill making it illegal for the Socialists publicly to display their emblem.

In 1920, when the notorious Sweet threw out the duly elected Socialist members of the Legislature, Smith was Governor, but there was no sign from his office that he had anything to say in disapproval.

In 1922, Smith made a grand gesture in favor of free speech by liberating Jim Larkin (and thus consolidating the Irish vote), but he did not pardon him, as he had a legal right to; he merely commuted the sentence so that upon his release Larkin was deported. A day or two after that action, Smith made a violent "red" baiting speech at Carnegie Hall quite in the Lusk and Wise-Wood style, declaring that all who

did not like things as they are in this country can go back to where they came from.

Today, Smith is the most outstanding figure in Tammany Hall, a chastened organization now not openly looting the treasuries of city and State, but in its essence no different than it was in the days of Tweed and Croker, an organization based on mutual favors that is in effect a looting of the people of millions of dollars a year for the benefit of the political gang.

Mr. Smith is the best man the Democrats have; and this is Mr. Smith. The best that can be said for him is that he is not a crook, that he is not an idiot, that he is not altogether heartless, that he is a human, genial gentleman.

It is not through getting a "good" man in the old parties that the masses can win their emancipation, because the best of the old parties have have feet of clay. It is only by going into politics themselves that the masses can make themselves free.

Scott Nearing is head of the Rand School, denounced by the Lusk Committee and openly owned by the Socialist Party.—Fred R. Marvin in the garbage column of the New York Commercial. "Openly owned!" My Gawd, we are at last unmasked.

### A "HERO" DELEGATE

AMONG the delegates to the Democratic Convention is one whose presence was not challenged, whose credentials were accepted. "Don" Chafin, Sheriff of Logan County, West Virginia, is the permanent organization committeeman of the West Virginia delegation. The New York Times, Democratic organ, introduces him in its headlines as the "Mine Strike Hero."

In that same convention are "union card" delegates. Whether they are conscious of the hideous union they contract when they sit in the same convention with "Don" Chafin we do not know; but the decaying bodies of murdered miners buried in the hills of West Virginia must turn over in their graves.

The widows of these dead union miners, the surviving cripples of the West Virginia class war, and the children of our dead, have the knowledge that Chafin, leader of the armed mercenaries of the coal barons, is present to advance the fortunes of "democracy." The dictatorship of West Virginia coal speaks through an armed bully in Madison Square Garden.

This hag known as the Democratic party, marketing its charms like a street-walker and cheek by jowl with "Don" Chafin, exhibits its inmost character when it accepts this West Virginia ruffian and hireling of the mine owners of West Virginia.

## FROM SERFS TO SOVIETS

Thoughts on Herzen's Memoirs

By H. N. BRAILSFORD

THERE comes to my mind when I think of the present fabric of the Russian Republic that familiar symbol of the coral reef.

Its foundations are based on the dead substance of generations of men, who made of their bodies the platform on which the present structure stands. It was my good fortune to know some of the pioneers of the last generation during their exile in London. There was Kropotkin, the gentle old man of science, in whose past there was somewhere an amazing chapter of rebellion and adventure. There was Tchaikovsky, whose revolutionary youth has been complicated by his more recent development as a leader of the Whites. There was Felix Volkovskiy, to my thinking the finest personality among them, a little deaf old man of rare social charm, who would spend what leisure he could spare from conspiring in writing the most graceful fairy tales. These three carried me back to the first popular movement of the '80s and late '70s of last century, when a devoted group of young men and women in the universities "simplified" themselves (as Turgenev puts it) and went out to live and work as propagandist socialists among the peasants in the villages. But dig down into this coral reef and you will find the bones of yet earlier generations.

### Ringed Across Frontiers

One figure stands out supreme from the revolutionary generation which immediately preceded Kropotkin and the "Narodniki." Alexander Herzen died in exile in 1870, leaving behind him an influence which for twenty years had shaped the thoughts of all who were mentally free in Russia. His power was in his pen, which gave to his periodical, the Bell (Kolokol), published in London, a resonance which went ringing across guarded and censored frontiers. Today, for the first time, we can understand something of his literary fame, for his memoirs have just been published in an admirable translation. ("The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen." Translated by J. D. Duff. Oxford University Press.) It seizes the reader in the very first line: "Oh, please, Nurse, tell me again how the French came to Moscow!" The boy was born in the fateful year 1812, the son of a Russian noble and a German mother, and his first dim recollections were of the wanderings that followed the burning of the family mansion during Napoleon's invasion. From this romantic opening the spell of the narrative never weakens.

The interest is not mainly biographical. What happened to Herzen can be told in a few lines. While still a boy he was profoundly moved by the example of the Decembrists, the earliest group of aristocratic Liberal rebels, who suffered for their conspiracy in 1825. At the University he belonged to a group of advanced thinkers, who studied the early Socialist teachings of Saint Simon and his school. Arrested on suspicion (though, in fact, they had done nothing), he was sent (after a wearing experience of prison and secret examination) as a "ticket-of-leave" exile to remote provincial towns in Eastern Russia. In 1847 he managed to go abroad, and spent the

rest of his life as a refugee "agitator" in England and France. The book does, indeed, present to us a remarkably attractive character, brave, sympathetic, generous, capable of great friendship and deep love, a man without a thought of self-interest, a trenchant and honest thinker. But its main interest is that it draws the most vivid picture that has come down to us of the primitive slave-State that Russia was through two-thirds of the last century. Herzen was a shrewd observer, and he has the gift of telling stories that print themselves on the imagination of his readers.

There are two books which give me the illusion of actually living in this Russia of the nobles and the serfs. One of them is Herzen's "Memoirs," and the other is Gogol's "Dead Souls." What Herzen saw tragically, Gogol, with his mad gift of satire, saw with humor. His great novel (one of the greatest things in European literature) terrifies most English readers, since its title suggests a super-Russian gloom. They little suspect the rollicking joke beneath it. The association of the two books in my mind is not mere caprice, for Herzen himself repeatedly quotes Gogol.

Herzen's narrative, from his standpoint of humane revolt, creates for us the atmosphere of this society of slavery. His family were all serf-owners. They all developed in one form or another that wild eccentricity, that extravagance in vice or folly or virtue, which is so characteristic of the Russian. Every Russian gentleman was a despot, as free to evolve his own peculiar humor as the maddest of the Caesars. Herzen's father was a morose cynic; one uncle shut himself in a harem of peasant girls; another was virtuous but equally eccentric in his hermit-like pursuit of science. After them there trailed a cloud of broken serf lives. Herzen gives some of these biographies. An uncle had a clever serf whom, for his own purposes, he had instructed in medicine. The young man educated himself and practised with success. He had the imprudence to fall in love with an officer's daughter, whom he married without her suspecting his condition. When she realized that she herself had thus legally become a serf, she abandoned her husband. The serf-doctor committed suicide.

### Living in a Padded Cell

But this was a society perilous to every form of talent. The Czar Nicholas I was a martinet, whose sense of discipline was peculiarly outraged by any freedom of talent in poets or artists. He peopled Siberia with them, but his favorite punishment for genius was to conscript it in the ranks of his army. Herzen tells at first hand how Nicholas, in a personal interview with his friend, Pleshchayev, the poet, ordered him to the ranks as a "purification" since one of his poems had displeased the autocrat. He dragged out a wretched life as a private, and died of consumption in the military hospital; his body was found in a heap of corpses awaiting dissection in the cellar of the medical school; the rats had gnawed one of the feet.

Later in the book we meet as one of Her-

zen's fellow-exiles the genius Vitberg, another of this Czar's victims, the architect of the unfinished cathedral on the Sparrow Hills at Moscow. Vitberg was broken by imperial cruelty, but he left behind him plans and minor works, which suggest that he might have been the greatest creative mind in modern architecture.

I had picked out for citation some of the poignant little tales that fill this book. But when I come to abbreviate them and cut them from their context I realize that the atmosphere is gone. The art of Herzen (unconscious though it may be) lies in his power to explain these crude anecdotes of despotism. He talks with his jailers, and the rough men tell him of the brutal acts which their officers schooled them to commit in the army. He introduces you to his uncles and their fellow-aristocrats, and you understand that these serfs were for them little more than cattle. You spend weeks with him under secret examination in his prison, and you understand how vain in this world of organized oppression was protest or criticism or appeal. In such conditions, with irresponsible masters and blind tools, any enormities are possible. The human reason is impotent to control it. One seems to be living in a padded cell.

Turn to Gogol for the other half of the truth. The walls of the padded cell expand. You are driving, through half the pages of "Dead Souls," over the illimitable spaces of the Russian countryside. You halt at the houses of the landowners, and Gogol, merriest of guides, escorts you through a portrait gallery of contemporary gentlefolk. None of them is sinister. Nearly all of them are futile. They eat too much. They drink too much. They gamble too much. Many are spendthrifts; one is miserly. Most of them are dumb and deaf and blind to all ideas. One, indeed—there was one who became a habitual drunkard through drinking toasts to liberty and progress. Another philanthropist, bent on improving his peasants, broke his heart because he could not persuade the women to wear corsets. These idealists are the exceptions. The majority live for sturgeon and madeira and dogs and horses.

### Grim Comedy

Nowhere, out of Dickens, is there such a gallery of portraits. In the towns you meet the official world, which gossips and lies (were ever in the whole range of literature such jolly lies invented?) and sells justice and takes its bribes. In the whole book there is only one strong man with a purpose, a grown-up, determined being in this world of ill-trained children. Steadily, soberly, he pursues his purpose. It is to buy from all these ramshackle estates—dead souls. A dead soul in Russian legal language means a dead serf. In these days the nobility was privileged to mortgage its estates at the official bank, and an estate was valued according to the number of serfs on the roll—dead or alive. The dead retained their value as an asset until the next census. If, then, you bought dead souls for a few pence, you might mortgage them for many roubles. With this grim comedy does Gogol explode in laughter the twin Russian

## THE Chatter-Box

### MORE SONNETS TO A DARK LADY

The armor years have buckled on my brain  
Had borne stout blows and winced with  
fortune's stress;  
Impenetrable to the steel of pain,  
Until you speared me with your wanton-  
ness.

I walked before the walls of Troy  
The battle broiled; I neither saw nor  
heard;  
I sought my Helen like a glamored boy,  
And triumphed—till you stabbed me with  
a word.

How shall I fall then? Like a blasted limb  
Of an oak stricken by tempestuous wrath?  
I who slew the gods to please your whim,  
And tore Olympus down to ease your  
path?

And dying shriek my fate? Or else in calm  
Accept your lips again for dubious balm. . .

### OUR OWN CONVENTION NOTES

For a complete mental vacation we recommend your attendance at Madison Square Garden this week.

The super-Babbitts of the nation are here in solemn convocation to select Al Smith, Bill McAdoo, or a darker horse for Presidential candidate.

Should the Democrats run out of dark horses, may we suggest referring the selection to Sinclair or Fall, both of whom run large stables, and are undeniably experienced?

Of all the college yells used by these delegate bar-room undergraduates, "McAdoo 'll doo" sounds the most stirring.

Like the spinsters of your youth, it may soon appear in the greedy scrap for the bone of honor that "Any old dude 'll do."

The only enthusiasm the Democrats could raise, in spite of the four dozen aspirants for the highest office in the land, was over the mention of two dead ones, Cleveland and Wilson.

We always liked the idea of building a political platform out of planks, and the mention of this politician or that being of "Presidential timber." This whole show, from top-hat to patent leather boot, has such a wooden aspect, with a proportionate amount of sawdust thrown in.

It is hardly meet for poor Socialists like us to sneer at the drivels and drools that is being fed to the milking babes of our grand and glorious empire. By this time we should calmly take it as a matter of course. Even as the street-cleaner shovels up the horse dung from the gutter. A gleam of thought or lucid reasoning from them, however, might give us the thrill of a lifetime.

A fine sentence to be practised on every brain typewriter in the country would be: "Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of a real Labor party."

### SONNET TO A WHITE LADY

Sometimes an impulse grips me like a whip  
With awful urge to crush a fragile thing;  
To snap a slender beauty in my grip  
And crumble it to fragments, quivering.  
I have been lashed to hells by such desires.  
My spirit has been willed in a flame  
Of inward hurt. My breast is scorched with  
fries,  
And I must bow a sorry head for shame,  
Last night, White Lady . . . you were . . .  
O, too fair.  
A bitter madness stung my spirit through,  
But with a biting will I struggled there,  
To stem my vandal hands from crushing  
you.  
And now I cannot face your artless eyes.  
I fear to meet your look of soft surprise.

DAVID ARKIN

Between the convention and a toothache we have found so little funny to say. And now that the clothing workers are embattled in the war to live decently we can hardly conjure up a frivolous thought or epigram. May their struggle be short and victorious. Against the organized and unified battalions of Labor the very gods themselves would contend in vain—if the workers only knew.

But here we are invading Jim Oneal's province and Billy Feigenbaum's precious preserves.

Here's hoping for cool weather, an early victory for the soldiers of the needle and thread, and a great Labor party.

S. A. DE WITT.

institutions of slavery and bureaucracy.

Herzen's memoirs end with his exile in the little town of Vladimir. I can see it as I learned to know it three years ago, near the end of the Civil War. Outwardly it must have looked to me as it looked to him. The long, broad street of little houses straggled past the fortified monastery, under the medieval archway. The river twisted and sparkled, and the smoke of forest fires hung on the horizon above the interminable wilderness of pines. But in the nobles' club, which he may have frequented, I saw the Soviet assembly, and listened to the "Internationale." Down the long road where he had driven as a prisoner, I saw, departing for the last battle against Wrangel, a regiment of Communist volunteers, eager, well-armed, and full of ardour.

Would he, I wonder, with his primitive Saint Simonian Socialism, have welcomed the change? The creatures whose bodies made the foundations of the coral reef knew nothing of the vegetation which thrives today on its surface. Herzen, and the generation of nobles and intellectuals who came after him, would have made a revolution from above. They failed because the class on which they relied was morally ruined by slave-owning. They were the minute minority. The majority was the society which Gogol satirized. It was in the end the serfs who rose.