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COOLIDGE 'LABOR BACKERS' WERE HIRED

SCABS REPAIRED JOHN W. DAVIS' HOME

Notification Ceremonies at
Clarksburg Had Open
Shop Stamp.

By ART SHIELDS

CLARKSBURG, W. Va., Sept.—When John W. Davis came home to Clarksburg to be formally notified on the Democratic nomination, he found the old family estate on the hill overlooking the courthouse shining with a new and splendid front—the gift of the city. Narrow little Lee street, that had comfortable room for only one car, was broadened, and the bank above, on the Davis grounds, had been tucked up by a glistening balustraded retaining wall more than a hundred feet long, with a terraced sidewalk reached by steps from the street.

This refurbishing up of the Davis home for the eyes of wondering visitors cost the tax-payers \$7,000 and every cent of it went to an open-shop contractor who hired non-union workers. Clarksburg is a union town, with idle union men needing jobs badly, but City Manager Harrison G. Otis and the other members of the arrangements committee showed their loyalty to the "American Plan" in spite of the protest of L. E. Brewer, business agent for the carpenters' union, and other representatives of organized labor.

By its \$7,000 gift to its famous absentee citizen the city ended a long dispute between the Davis estate and the city of Clarksburg. The dispute over who should pay for the widening of Lee street began about fifteen years ago when the city told John J. Davis, father of the nominee, that a strip of the bank would be torn away and the street improved, with the costs charged to the property owner, according to regular Clarksburg procedure. Other property owners fell in line but Old John J. Davis, leading corporation attorney of Clarksburg, was too staunch a conservative to see such changes made, at his own expense. He got the courts to restrain the city and did sentry duty on the bank himself, neighbors say. The city was eager to open up the street but the old man said that there would be nothing doing unless the city paid the bills and put up a retaining wall. In that case he would cede a few feet of property.

The deadlock lasted after the father passed away and after John W. Davis and his two sisters came into control. It lasted until suddenly one day this summer Clarksburg found its famous citizen was still more famous as the result of something that happened in Madison Square Garden. Then the city boosters decided that something must be done quick to Lee street. There were big notification ceremonies coming and the world in its motor cars was coming into Clarksburg. So the fellows who run the city dug deep in the treasury and paid for all the things Father Davis had demanded.

City Manager Otis has since told Clarksburg trade unionists that the choice of an open shop contractor was an accident—an unhappy incident for the Democrats, as it turned out shortly afterwards, for the Central Labor Union passed up the favorite son and endorsed La Follette. The contractor selected for the job was the Concrete Steel Bridge Company, a notorious West Virginia scab concern which invaded Clarksburg a year ago and began taking non-union contracts, a new thing in Clarksburg. This firm made a rush job of it. Scab carpenters were procured for the concrete form work. Local No. 236 being ignored. There is no local concrete workers' union, but the foreman discriminated against unemployed union miners who tried to get jobs as laborers.

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Senator Wheeler Favors Permanent Party With British Labor Party As A Model

By J. R. SMALLWOOD

"Do I believe that a definite, organic third party will be the outcome of the present movement?" United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Progressive candidate for the Vice-Presidency, repeated my question.

"Yes, I do. It ought, and it will." Thus, in unmistakable terms Senator Wheeler, who understood that he was speaking for publication in The New Leader, made a statement which will be welcomed in all quarters of the nation by Socialists; a statement of its kind more advanced and definite than had hitherto been made by either of the Progressive team.

We were hurtling along the country roads that led from Camp Tamiment, Socialist institution in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania, to Stroudsburg, where the Senator was to catch a train to New York City to speak in Cooper Union and Union Square that night, and at the Socialist picnic in Dickert's Park on the following day.

The Senator had driven up to Camp Tamiment from Port Jervis, New York, where he had spoken at noon, and after getting "a bite to eat" had gone over to Maily Hall, where hundreds of campers and visitors had gathered, and after seeing over fifteen hundred dollars donated or pledged, had spoken for half an hour and, with the applause of the audience ringing in his ears, had climbed into a closed car which immediately sped away. Arthur Garfield Hayes, New York State campaign manager of the Progressive forces, was the third occupant of the car.

"This thing, which is on now," I said, "is not an organic party; it is only a movement, made up of various groups, supporting an independent candidacy. Are you in favor of a definite, organic third

party developing out of this movement?"

After the Senator had replied affirmatively, as reported, the next thing was to ascertain just what kind of third party he favored—something which the million Americans who voted the Socialist ticket last election are keen to know.

"Would you like to see it a Labor party—say, the American Labor party?"

"No. You must remember that

laborers constitute only a certain proportion of the people. What about the millions of farmers?"

"Well, of course by 'workers' I mean all workers. A party made up of industrial workers and farmers?"

"Well, there is already a 'Workers' party, a Communist group. We don't want to have anything to do with Communists. And, as for 'industrial workers,' I confess I do not like the use of that term, either. There are the Industrial Workers of the World."

"Well, what about a party made up of all people who gain their living by useful work, whether of brawn or brain?"

"I am less interested in the avo-

what he believes in, what he stands for. I would welcome into the party any one who subscribed to the aims and purposes of the party."

"I will tell you what I mean. In Connecticut I had placed at my disposal a beautiful enclosed automobile, and the man who owned it also contributed liberally toward the campaign fund. Are we to debar him because he happens to have money—even though he is sufficiently with us to do these things?"

"Take the British Labor party; aren't there many such in it? In the Labor party in Britain you will find all possible sorts of people—workers, farmers, school teachers, bankers, manufacturers. They are all of them agreed on one common ground—the aims and purposes of the party."

"Would you like the third party to be in America what the Labor party is in Britain?" I asked Wheeler.

"That, exactly," he replied instantly.

"What would you call it?"

"Liberal party," would be suitable. Or 'Progressive party.' Either would do."

Throughout the eighteen mile ride Senator Wheeler gave every evidence of being quite familiar with the Socialist Party of America, and of the Labor and union movement of America, generally, as well as of the world. He has been counsel for many unions, including the American Federation of Labor, and was one of the principals behind the Butte Bulletin, daily union paper in Montana, whose editor was Bill Dunne, who, as Wheeler reminded us, had "gone over to the Communists."

N. Y. SOCIALISTS TO HOLD IMPORTANT MEETING SEPT. 19

A mass meeting of the membership of the Socialist Party of the five counties of Greater New York has been called to meet in the People's House Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, Friday, September 19. The purpose of the meeting, as will be explained by several speakers, will be to mobilize the forces of the Socialist Party for the remaining weeks of the campaign.

There will be brief addresses by Comrade Norman Thomas, candidate for Governor; James O'Neal, and Algernon Lee. The main business of the meeting will be the consideration of a report by a committee of party members elected at a representative conference last Wednesday night, with plans for an intensive campaign.

Admission will be by party membership card, and financial secretaries will be on hand to receive the dues of delinquent members.

Printers' Union Aids La Follette Fund

Representatives of Labor organizations in the printing trades in this city notified La Follette headquarters yesterday that 1,200 of their chapel chairmen were circulating La Follette subscription lists and campaign literature. Among the leaders of the movement are chapel chairmen in Big Six Typographical Union, Printing Pressmen's Union No. 51, Pressmen's Assistants and Feeders No. 23, and Amalgamated Lithographers No. 1. The lithographers' organization, at a meeting, formally endorsed La Follette and Wheeler.

ANCIENT RELICS DUG UP FOR OCCASION

No Truly Representative
Labor Men Went to Hear
President Do His Stuff.

President D. B. Robertson of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Engineers, has given out a statement in which he characterized the nomination of Charles G. Dawes for the Vice-Presidency as "an insult and a challenge to every American worker." He also made the flat assertion that President Coolidge's Labor Day speech to Labor leaders was delivered to "a hired audience."

The Labor Day gathering in the White House, Mr. Robertson said, was a recognition by the President of his failure to hold the support of Labor.

"Unable to obtain the spontaneous endorsement of any group, despite earnest solicitation with that end in view, Mr. Coolidge was obliged to resort to a private conference with a group of men who represented nothing, but whose way was paid to make an audience," he continued. "Heading the hired audience was T. V. O'Connor, once President of the Longshoremen's Union, but now a \$12,000 a year Presidential appointee as Chairman of the Shipping Board. It is significant that he could not get men truly representative of the Labor movement of today."

"But if further evidence were needed how little the working-men and women of America may expect from the Republican party, it is supplied by the presence on the ticket of Mr. Coolidge's running mate, Charles G. Dawes, the most notorious open shopper and active enemy of organized Labor in this country."

"His mere presence on the ticket is an insult and a challenge to every American worker."

Union Labor men have been enjoying a hearty laugh over the ludicrous attempt of the Republican National Committee to show that there are "Labor leaders" who are for Coolidge and Dawes.

William M. Butler, Republican National Chairman, released a story on which he named thirteen alleged Labor union officers who, he claimed, had held a "conference at Republican national headquarters in this city and considered ways and means of promoting Coolidge and Dawes candidates. Five of the thirteen are said to be Chicago men. The others hailed all the way from New York City and Baltimore, Maryland, to Portland, Oregon."

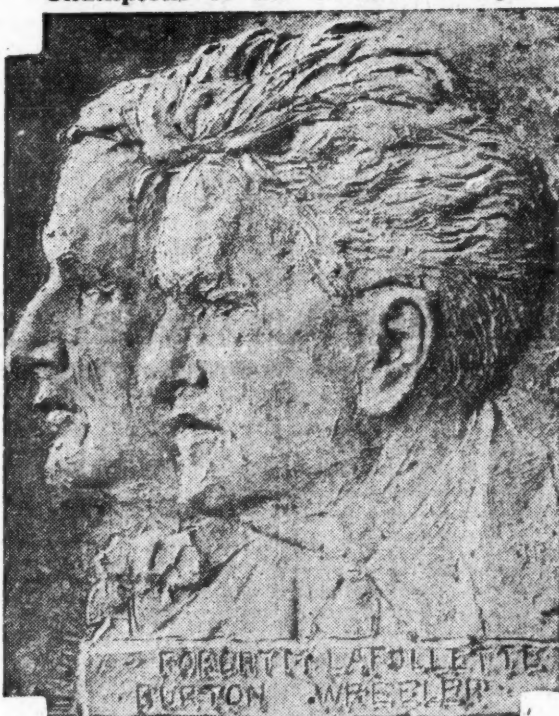
International Labor News Service has developed some interesting facts relative to the five Chicago men and it is these facts which are causing Chicago Labor union officers to give Chairman Butler the merry ha-ha. Also, as an offset to the Republican announcement, John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, has announced the appointment of a committee of twenty-five from among the most prominent trade union officers of the Chicago Labor movement to cooperate with the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor in carrying out the Federation's political program in the present campaign.

Seamen for La Follette
One of the relics of the past dug up by Mr. Butler's political excavators is Richard H. Powers, bombastically announced as "former president of the International Seamen's Union of America." Interviewed by International Labor News Service, K. B. Nolan, secretary-treasurer of the International Seamen's Union of America, at his office here, said:

"Powers was probably brought in to create the impression that there is a division in the ranks of the union seamen. The fact is that our organization is giving whole-hearted and enthusiastic support to the La Follette campaign."

(Continued on Page 9)

Champions of the Common People



Robert M. La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler

Sinclair Writes Eloquent Endorsement of La Follette

Pasadena, California, September 2, 1924.

Senator Robert M. La Follette,
Madison, Wisconsin.

My Dear Senator La Follette:

I have been asked by your campaign committee to make known my stand, and I take pleasure in so doing; for this is a time for every American to stand up and be counted.

I have watched your career for the past twenty-five years, and have read the record of the earlier years. You are unique among American politicians known to me in that your platforms are statements of what you mean to do. As soon as you have been elected, you have set out with determination and with infinite devotion to detail to carry out every promise you have made to the voters.

To such a man it is worth while to pay attention. I desire greater changes in our industrial system than you, but I am content to eat my bread one slice at a time, and I would rather have the promise of one slice from you, than the promise of many loaves from politicians who forget their campaign platforms as soon as the votes are counted.

"Two Wings of the Same Bird"

Many years ago I heard our veteran campaigner, Eugene Debs, tell an audience: "The Democratic and Republican parties are two wings of the same bird of prey." We have seen this in many elections, but never so plainly as now. The present occupants of the White House got his nomination in 1920 through his college-mate and backer, Mr. Dwight W. Morrow, partner of J. P. Morgan and Company. He has been Mr. Morgan's office-boy ever since, and as his running mate he has Mr. Morgan's Chicago and European financial agent.

Mr. Coolidge is one-half of Mr. Morgan's choice for the Presidency. The other half is Mr. Davis, who was, until the day after his nomination, one of Mr. Morgan's highest-priced lawyers. They have given him ex-candidate Bryan's brother for a cloak to cover his sins, but

the cloak is not big enough, and it is plain that the only purpose of the Davis-Bryan ticket in this campaign is to keep the Southern States out of the Progressive column.

We have had scandal and shame

(Continued on Page 9)

A Meeting That Will Make History!

U. S. SENATOR ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

Progressive Candidate for President, Will Speak Thursday Eve'g, Sept. 18, at Madison Square Garden, Madison Avenue and 26th Street, New York City. Admission Free.

LARGE THROGS HEAR SOCIALIST PLEA

Valenti Completes Tour Through New York, Pennsylvania and the Middle West.

Giralamo Valenti, national organizer of the Italian Federation of the Socialist Party, has just completed a propaganda tour through New York, Pennsylvania and Middle Western localities, lasting eight weeks. In that time he netted \$687.58 in collections, and \$186.60 in subscriptions and donations for the Italian Socialist newspaper, *La Parola del Popolo*, and \$168.35 in literature sold. A few branches have been started, and several more revived as a result of Valenti's tour, which is one of the most successful in recent years.

Huge crowds have been attending his meetings both indoors and open air. The most spectacular meetings were held in Albany, Buffalo, Niagara Falls, N. Y., Erie, Pa., Cleveland, and St. Louis, as well as in dozens of other localities in Illinois, Indiana and Pennsylvania.

The murder of the Socialist Deputy to the Italian representative house, Matteotti, and the Fascist dictatorship, were prime subjects of discussion. Domestically, the present political situation is the chief subject of interest.

At Valenti's meetings, strange as it may appear, a considerable number of Catholic workers, and in some instances even Roman Catholic priests, attended and joined in the condemnation of the Black Shirts of Italy. This Valenti explains by reference to the fact that in Italy the Catholic (Popular) party has joined with the Socialist Party in combatting the Fascist regime; and the fact that the American Socialist Party has taken its stand against local Fascists—the K. K. K.—whose aims and methods are identical to those of the Black Shirt terrorists. Women also were conspicuous at the meetings, and in St. Louis more women than men were present.

Everywhere Valenti met strong La Follette sentiment among the Italians, and he discovered that the position taken by the Socialist Party in connection therewith is approved by those within and without the party. Valenti reports a reviving Socialist sentiment. The following is the financial report of the tour: New Rochelle, N. Y., \$12.70;

MUSSOLINI AIMS ANOTHER BLOW AT VESTIGE OF LIBERTY

ROME.—When the Italian Parliament meets in November or December, Signor Mussolini will introduce a bill for the revision of the Constitution, practically abolishing even the pretense of democracy.

The bill will deprive the Chamber of Deputies of several of its present powers and will create an entirely new legislative body elected by the corporations of labor, learning, industry, commerce, and finance. Simultaneously, in the provinces, local chambers, without legislative powers, will be set up for carrying out local reforms.

All these bodies will be exclusively Fascist, and the original Chamber of Deputies will become a secondary and ornamental body and will sooner or later disappear.

The absence of the Opposition groups in the Chamber of Deputies, which has been decided upon, will facilitate the complete administration of the State by the Fascists.

The non-participation of the Opposition in the work of Parliament, it is declared, will continue as long as the Government refuses to suppress the Fascist militia.

Middletown, N. Y., 7.50; Troy, N. Y., 17.13; Albany, N. Y., 13.40; Utica, N. Y., 8.00; Selway, N. Y., 26.70; Syracuse, N. Y., 22.79; Buffalo, N. Y., 37.40; Niagara Falls, N. Y., 26.72; Erie, Pa., 26.69; Cleveland, Ohio, 55.18; Mishawaka, Ind., 20.70; Chicago, Ill., 101.51; Milwaukee, Wis., 13.75; Kincaid, Ill., 14.60; Standard, Ill., 5.25; Gillespie, Ill., 11.50; Dorchester, Ill., 21.80; St. Louis, Mo., 18.89; Clinton, Ind., 20.62; Universal, Ind., 6.66; Blanford, Ind., 11.27; Burgettstown, Pa., 25.56; Cecil, Pa., 9.60; Uniontown, Pa., 28.95; Catfish, Pa., 17.45; Iselin, Pa., 1.50; Nanty, Pa., 12.00; Coupon, Pa., 20.00; Altoona, Pa., 21.20; Swatara, Pa., 13.00; Reading, Pa., 12.17; Allentown, Pa., \$26.29; collections, \$687.58; for "La Parola," 186.60; literature, 168.35.

To fill engagements that had been taken, Valenti at present is working for the party in anthracite district. He will also speak at Binghamton, N. Y., Cortland, N. Y., Syracuse, N. Y., Albany, N. Y., Schenectady, N. Y., and Watervliet, N. Y.

Valenti will also speak at Old Forge, Pa., from which town he had been expelled by Mayor Frank Cistango, the Fascist Mayor. Valenti and Birch Wilson, then Socialist state secretary, were mobbed and driven out by a "patriotic" mob, but they continued to return until they had won the right to be heard there.

N. Y. LA FOLLETTE SUPPORT GROWS

All Parts of State Swinging Into Line Behind Progressive Slate.

By LESLIE H. ALLEN

BUFFALO, N. Y.—New York State may not be aflame for La Follette and Wheeler, but it certainly is beginning to glow.

As advance man for Senator Wheeler's tour of the State, I have visited this week Albany, Troy, Schenectady, Utica, Watertown, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo and Dunkirk. Everywhere I have found La Follette sentiment on the increase.

In Utica I talked with Dr. S. H. Stille of Albany. In the interests of Norman Thomas and the C. P. P. A. he had just completed an automobile tour ranging from Utica to Alexandria Bay and back. Everywhere he was able to draw large crowds for his meetings, and without any advertising other than the announcement, megaphoned from his car, that a La Follette meeting was to be held.

Even in Pulaski, as conservative as Old Sap Bucket Manor in Plymouth, he found ready response; and his crowds have been genuinely interested in his arguments for La Follette. It must be confessed that in Watertown somebody hurled three over-ripe tomatoes at him; but it was noted that the color of these missiles was Moscow red, and that, after dodging them with dexterity, Dr. Stille, with his dander up, delivered the most effective speech of his tour. It always enables me to think and speak better," he said, "when somebody cares enough about my subject to waste high-priced vegetables on it."

Dr. Stille came to my rescue when Utica Labor men were hesitant about holding a noonday Wheeler meeting in that city. Eagerly he assumed charge of the meeting and within an hour he had arranged to have it announced on slides in every one of Utica's ten film houses. Then he engaged boys to carry announcements through the streets and dressed his car in a huge banner which also advertised the Franklin Square Tuesday meeting. The local Labor men cooperated with him, but they did not wish to assume responsibility for a noonday meeting which, they believed the workers could not attend. And Dr. Stille got the crowd.

On the train to Watertown a trainman reading *The New Leader* was spotted by your correspondent, who had planted that paper in an empty seat. This trainman said:

"Sure. All the boys are voting for La Follette. We won't be moved by President Lee's refusal to endorse the Senator. We'll be at the polls on Election Day. Count on all the brotherhood men, too."

In Watertown I found an old Labor war horse, who said:

"I had been sick for weeks. When I heard that a county committee was being organized to put La Follette and Wheeler over I got well. My wife says I mustn't stay out late tonight—I'm still a sick man. But, by George, they can't keep me out of this campaign. It's the first time I've had a real chance to fight the bosses of this town effectively."

"Labor in these parts knows what's the matter with Cal Coolidge when he mumbles about the danger to property rights which he sees in La Follette's demand that the injunction and 5 to 4 decisions of our courts must be curbed. On our committee we have two or three paper workers who have been out of a job for months because those same courts used the injunction against them. Cal can't deceive the worker with his childish argument that La Follette, by giving Congress power to repeal laws over the Supreme Court veto, is abetting the sinister designs of those terrible gentlemen in Moscow and less famous parts West. The Labor vote in New York is solid for its best friends—fighting Bob and Battling Bob."

In Troy, Wheeler spoke in the street in front of the Cluett-Peabody collar factory. Those workers know something about collars which isn't written in the recipe for those decorative Avons and Ashlands and such which you have all admired as you wearily subways home from a thankless, underpaid job. And the collar workers gave him, as the reporters say, a rousing reception.

He received the same genuine welcome when he spoke from the bandstand in Crescent Park, Schenectady, and in Odd Fellows Hall, Albany, Monday night. Hundreds of workers from the General Electric plant greeted him in Schenectady, and the Albany meeting was chaired by John O'Hanlon, head of the Albany Central Trades. Among the members of the Albany county committee are Herbert H. Merrill, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, and Mrs. Theresa Wiley of Schenectady, also a thoroughgoing Socialist worker.

"Reports from all over the State," said Mr. Merrill, "show that La Follette-Wheeler sentiment is increasing daily. Our meetings are being attended by large and enthusiastic crowds. Norman Thomas makes people think. He isn't either a big stick or a little stick, a Roosevelt or a Coolidge; he deals out economic facts, and for such facts the people are thirsting everywhere."

The Wheeler trip is multiplying La Follette votes. After La Follette also speaks in New York State, old party leaders will know what La Follette leaders know already—that the prospect of old party success in the Empire State is by no means certain. If I wanted to rank myself in the

N. Y. SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN OPENS IN SCHENECTADY

The State campaign of the Socialist Party will be formally opened September 19 with a great mass meeting in Schenectady, with Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon and Louis Waldman as the speakers. That meeting will be the beginning of the State campaign in the State, and it will not relax until November 4.

This was the decision of the State Executive committee of the party at its meeting Sunday at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, after a long discussion with the three State candidates upon the situation in the State, and upon the question of the time they will be able to give to the fight.

The Schenectady meeting will be the center of a week-end of campaigning throughout the Capital district. Meetings with one or more of the three candidates will be held in Albany, Troy, Amsterdam, Johnstown and other towns.

Comrade Thomas reported that all his time would be at the disposal of the State committee from September 26, and that from that day to election he would be continuously on the road. The candidates for Lieutenant-Governor and Attorney-General will speak out of town during three and four day week-end periods, and in New York during the week. Other speakers will be sent out shortly, it was reported.

John Vanden Bosch, a union carpenter and long time active Socialist of Niagara Falls, was named as candidate for State Treasurer to take the place vacated by Frank Ehrenfried, who was named for Congress in Buffalo.

The committee voted that from now on, all dates for Comrade Thomas must be negotiated for through the State Secretary, Herbert M. Merrill, 467 Broadway, Albany, in order that he be protected from zealous comrades of the branches who want him for street meetings.

The State platforms will soon be available, and orders should go out at once to Comrade Merrill, as well as for Norman Thomas posters, which will soon be ready for distribution.

The committee meeting likewise made plans for collecting an effective campaign fund and sending out more and more speakers into every part of the State, especially to the rural districts.

The meeting was attended by the full committee, State Secretary Merrill, the three State candidates whose tours are being arranged, and Comrade Edward Levinson, State publicity director.

Cigar Makers Strike at Minden & Co.

The workers of Minden and Company, one of the large cigar manufacturers in the city who have conducted an "open shop" at 1809 First avenue, corner 94th street, where the prevailing conditions have become unbearable due to the extremely low wages, in some cases as little as \$15.00 a week for ten hours a day, have joined the Cigar Makers' Union and gone on a strike for an increase in wages and better conditions.

The Cigar Makers' Union, through its secretary, Jack Milhodo, calls upon all cigar makers to stay away from this shop while the strike is on, and urges the public to assist the union by insisting on a union label when buying cigars.

same class with Mill Boss Butler and Cate Clem Shaver, I'd claim New York State for La Follette right now.

Of course, there are secret places among the tall sticks of this State where the farmers have never heard of La Follette and happen to know the name of Coolidge simply because it is fashionable for true Americans to be acquainted with the name of their President. But even in such districts the message of economic freedom is making its way.

"Out where I work," said Owen S. Jones of Albany, who is in the lumber business, "the folks look blank when you mention anybody other than the President. But they know La Follette and Wheeler when I get through talking with them; and I know lots of other men who circulate among these backwoods places who are talking La Follette facts straight from the shoulder."

And so, as the saying goes, it goes. The most conservative-faced man you meet up this way may be nursing in his black heart a sinister purpose to vote for that wild man from Wisconsin. In addition to the obvious La Follette support there is an uncounted and uncountable mass of new ticket sentiment quietly biding its time until Election Day. On that day count on the Empire State to give Cal and John, the Gold Dust Twins, a blow straight in the specially privileged solar plexus.

Oh, yes; I forgot an important item. Young Teddy Roosevelt, whose father made him what little he is today, passed through these parts recently on his way from an American Legion blow-hard back to the wider spaces of civilization where men are puppets. So far as I could ascertain from reading the papers and talking with newspaper-men, Teddy made no appreciable dent upon the mind of this sturdy section. In Syracuse he spent two minutes changing trains, just long enough to smile. But these are days when even a Roosevelt must do something more than that.

BRITISH LABOR CONGRESS OCT. 7

Most Important Congress Ever Held By Labor Party Is Near.

LONDON.—The 24th annual conference of the British Labor party will be held in Queens Hall, London, October 7, and it will be the most important gathering of the hosts of Labor since the party was founded. It will be the first Labor party conference since the party took over the Government, and thus the first accounting for its work by the MacDonald Ministry to its constituents. For that reason not only will the deliberations be of vital importance, but the agenda resolutions will reflect what the membership of the party is thinking about the work of its representatives in the conduct of Government.

There are forty printed pages of agenda motions, including spirited criticism of the actions of the Government, largely for the social activities of the Labor ministers. In addition, there are motions of constructive criticism, and of suggestions for future work.

Here are some of the most important, as well as some of the striking, motions, that have been placed before the conference for discussion:

There are eight separate motions condemning the wearing of Court dress by Labor Ministers, and none of them minces matters. South Kensington Labor party considers the functions of a Labor Government can be properly carried on without having recourse to such "ridiculous and harmful methods."

Scarborough Trades Council and Labor party in its motion describes Court dress as foolish.

East Ham Trades Council and Labor party is caustic. It suggests dress "so consistent and becoming as will enable a constituent to recognize its representatives."

Limehouse Divisional Labor party will urge Labor Ministers to cultivate a sense of humor and to attend Court functions in more rational and democratic attire.

One for Socialist Party

A number of vitally important resolutions and proposed new Standing Orders, should they find favor, will alter the whole constitution and methods of the party. They should yield piquant discussion, and will, at least, be useful in showing exactly where the political Labor movement really stands, so far as its constitution is concerned.

The outstanding resolution is being put forward by the Barrow Labor party. This seeks to bring about the amalgamation of the National Labor party, the I. L. P., and the Social Democratic Federation, urging this to be essential to the interests of the movement.

The I. L. P. and the Social Democratic Federation are purely Socialist bodies. The Labor party itself is made up of trade unions, Socialist bodies and cooperative bodies affiliated to it, and has, besides, individual members. It is a Socialist party in so far as, at successive conferences, it has declared for a Socialist objective.

Added to this is a series of proposed new Standing Orders, aiming at making persons ineligible for nomination as Labor Parliamentary candidates, candidates for local bodies or party officials, unless they have been individual members of the Labor party for a long period—one suggestion is three years.

To Control the Government
Then there is a series of resolutions designed to make the Labor party conference the directing head; the Labor Government or Parliamentary Labor party to be subject to the fullest control of the executive.

One resolution suggests that no leader shall be appointed in future unless an understanding is given that he will not, if called on to form a Government, appoint to Cabinet rank anyone who is not a member of the Labor party, and that all Cabinet appointments and Under-Secretary appointments shall be submitted to the Parliamentary party for ratification.

Unemployment Relief

Two and a half pages of the agenda are devoted to resolutions dealing with unemployment. A predominant feature of them is the manifest desire to abolish grants and to provide work instead. Among the suggestions made as likely to bring alleviation are the establishment of a 48-hour maximum week for all workers, the lowering of the qualifying age for old age pensions, and a graded system of taxation on individuals with fortunes over £5,000, and the taxation of land values to finance the Six Point Charter of the

Trades Union Congress. There are also resolutions critical of the Government attitude in Labor disputes and in police administration, resolutions urging the need for amending the workmen's compensation laws, resolutions stressing the need for raising the school age, and resolutions asking the Government to permit the dissemination of information on birth control.

Another bid is being made to get the Communist party affiliated, and there are several resolutions relating to international policy and Imperial affairs.

There are solitary resolutions advocating the nationalization of the liquor trade and the mines.

Agriculture, national health, Poor Law, emigration, vaccination, lotteries, payment of Members, franchise reform, alien laws, electricity supply, and mothers' pensions all have a place in the agenda.

THIS Monday Night!

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

HUNGER IS RIFE IN W. VA. COAL FIELDS

Operators Counting On Starvation to Defeat Miners.

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Can hunger win?

This is the question the operators are asking as the strike begins at the two big Brady-Warner mines at Scotts Run near here. It is a fight watched keenly by some union operators who would like to go non-union.

Sam Brady is counting on starvation and evictions to win for him. Several months ago he locked out his miners after declaring that he would not accept the Jacksonville pact. Now he is attempting to re-open on an open-shop basis and under the 1917 scale.

The miners were hungry; no one who has not seen the suffering in coal camps where there has been no work for such a long time can realize how much they were suffering, but not a single miner entered the scab pits. Not a single miner heeded Brady's threat to put them and their families out of the company's houses, the only homes they had. The Scotts Run miners had recently attended the monster mass meeting at Brady, fifteen miles away, where the United Mine Workers of America dedicated the new union hall that rises from the ashes of the one Sam Brady burned down. They felt a sense of mass solidarity there and came back ready to fight regardless of empty stomachs.

But unemployment has brought an intense crisis to the union. In Scotts Run eighty per cent of the 5,000 miners, where they work at all, are still working under union conditions. Only the Shriver Coal Company, the Bunker Coal Company and the New Shaft concern are getting out any black diamonds without union sanction. But the situation is worse in other parts of West Virginia. Near Morgantown is also the M. & K. division, with non-unionism more general, Bethlehem Steel dominating. Radiating out from Fairmont and Clarksburg union and non-union companies alternate.

Unemployment is turning the miners into wanderers. Families have been migrating wholesale to Pennsylvania and to other parts of West Virginia. This industrial depression is the worst West Virginia has ever felt, miners everywhere told me, and it is pulling the miners out of their old environments and throwing them on the world elsewhere. Even the men who have been leading the fight have been forced to move on in search of bread. Going several miles out of Clarksburg to see a certain local secretary I found I was just in time, he is in on the point of moving on, with his family, and turning the relief work for 75 families over to a successor. Relief funds are being distributed

The Listener In on the Political Radio

When the last of New York State's campers, burned to a cinder by the summer's sun, lugged his valise up the ramp of the Grand Central Station, when knickered hitch-hikers no longer greeted you along the road with the cries of "give us a lift, Mister," when you looked out the window and saw the kids on their way to school, then you knew that two things had happened—summer was most over and the political campaign was begun.

It was appropriate that the campaign should have started in earnest on Labor Day—one of the hottest of the year. For unless all signs fail, this will be the hottest of hot campaigns with three strong candidates in the national field, with a strong opponent to both parties in this State, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Governor, making a stiff fight, and no one able to make any predictions worth the paper they're printed on.

"Take it from Thomas," is a suggested slogan for the third party candidate in this State and so far Thomas has been handing out some pretty hot shots at both old parties.

Funny how many warm friends the laboring man has two months before election and how many lukewarm friends he has for the remaining ten months of the year.

"Keep Cool With Coolidge" may go big with the memory of the hot

through the State, but a maximum of nine dollars for a family of twelve, in the vicinity of Clarksburg, can barely maintain existence under the scale of prices charged by the merchants in John W. Davis's community. And calls for relief are increasing.

Can hunger beat the miners? The operators are calculating on widening the open-shop area while this hunger situation continues at its present desperate pitch. If one considered only the purely material factors one would agree with the pessimists. But the miners' army does not crawl solely on its stomach. It is an esprit de corps, a fighting spirit of union loyalty, that sometimes rises highest when physical conditions are almost at their worst. I saw it in the monster Brady meeting. And I found it in the miners' homes in the hearts of men and women who may be evicted in a few days.

Will C. Thompson, secretary of District 17, says that in the southern part of the district the morale has steadily improved in spite of the fact that relief rations have been cut. "It depends on the winter trade," says Thompson; "When that demand for coal comes, we'll organize all Kanawha County again." The union's fight now is to hold the lines until the demand for coal comes.

spell in mind but when autumn winds begin to howl around the voters' shins, then "Line Up With La Follette" may be more to the point.

What keeps us awake at night is figuring what will happen to that Honorary President of the Longshoremen's Union who pledged his support to Coolidge when some New York longshoremen we know catch up with him.

We shook our heads in sorrow the other day when we looked at a picture in the Rotogravure sections of the New York papers.

"Pitiful," we remarked to our wife, "The hard times that have overtaken our American farmers. Look at that poor fellow. Did you ever see a more pathetic face?" Our wife adjusted her spectacles, took one look at the picture and shoved it back at us with a disgusted gesture. "You old fool," she sniffed, "that's not an abandoned farmer. That's President Coolidge dressed up in his campaign overalls."

A railroad man up at Golden's Bridge told us the other day that he was going to vote for La Follette for three reasons: First, because Bob has the common sense that Coolidge says the country needs. Second, because Bob has the common honesty that Davis says the country needs, third, because Bob has the uncommon courage that everybody knows the country needs.

A common argument among the citizenry of the State arises over the pronunciation of Robert Marion La Follette's last name. Most folks call it La Follette with the accent on the last syllable but a man who ought to know, namely the fighting Senator himself, pronounces it La Follette all in one breath to rhyme with wallet.

All sorts and conditions of men and women who haven't voted, to these many years, are planning to march to the polls this November to make their marks on the ballots. Old-line politicians are losing hair trying to figure just where those marks will go and how many there will be. At the last national election some half of the qualified voters didn't vote at all. But this time it's going to be different.

Candidate Thomas was tackling the old-party argument that farmers and laborers have no interests in common. "You might as well say that my grocer and I have no interests in common," said Mr. Thomas, "because he sells and I buy. Or that my grocer and his nearest competitor have no interests in common because of their competition. We are all of us naturally divided by our special interests, now as producers, now as consumers. But the point is that farmers are one of many producing groups just as laborers are and that they are also consumers just as laborers are. It is to the general interest of both that this Government should be in the hands of the governed, that private monopoly should be made impossible and that production should be for service to all."

Candidate Davis says he isn't going to spend any more time talking about his legal connections, but is going to talk about Candidate Coolidge's connections with oil which Candidate Coolidge isn't going to spend any more time either. Unfortunately opponents of both candidates have a pernicious way of talking about both banned topics. Maybe President Coolidge did get all het up and do his derndest to kick out Daugherty, put Fall in jail and raise general hades with the oil gang. Maybe he did, Brothers and Sisters. The record is silent on the subject.

And maybe John W. Davis was a great counsel for "improvised contenders," as Senator Walsh says, and had no connection with Big Business. On this the record shows that Davis was counsel for J. P. Morgan & Company, the Standard Oil, the Guaranty Trust Company and our own "improvised contender," the New York Telephone Company. Further the record shows that he not only defended Big Business but went into it on his own by becoming a director of the Santa Fe, the United States Rubber Company, and the National Bank of Commerce. But why ask the poor man to get up before a lot of common people and talk about such things? That's all in the past and from now until election its the job of Candidate Davis' heart to bleed publicly for the voters who ride or ship freight on the railroads he defended, borrow money from the banks he represented and pay rates for the phone service he so eloquently espoused.

"I'm a liberal-conservative," says H. M. Dawes. We like the idea. From now on we look for teetotal-boozehisters, Catholic-Baptists, Progressive-standpatters, home-loving-men-about-town, country-townies, Ford-Pierce-Arrows and wheelless locomotives.

This is We signing off. Goodnight, McAlister Coleman.

SOCIALISTS HIT DEFENSE DAY

Protest Meetings Condemn Holiday As Militarist Gesture—Many Meetings Scheduled.

Goose Step Day will not go off without protest. The militarists will not have all their own way in mobilizing the war mind on September 12, General Pershing's sixty-fourth birthday, and the day of his retirement from active service in the army.

The Socialist Party of every part of the United States has arranged to hold meetings on September 12 to mobilize the minds of the people against militarism and war, while the State Executive Committee of the party in New York has made public the following resolution denouncing the holding of the military reviews:

"The Socialist Party of the State of New York calls attention to the grave danger of the development of a pernicious and dangerous militarism embodied in the plans for a so called 'mobilization day.' We declare that this mobilization is part of the program of militarism that is gradually eating away the opposition of the people to war-mongering. That the moving picture screen, the radio, and all other agencies of creating public opinion are being used to create a psychology favorable to a program of compulsory military service and a new war, presumably to be the 'last war.' We denounce this militarism with all our might, no matter under what name it masquerades. We protest against poisoning the minds of school children with the virus of militarism and glorification of mass homicide and the heroes of such wholesale slaughter. We call upon the workers everywhere to unite on Anti-War-Day to mobilize forces of peace so that this poison may be counteracted and the militarists and those who speak for them may be completely discredited."

Anti-war meetings will be held in every part of the city, a few of those already scheduled being as follows: 2nd A. D., Sutter and Snediker. Speakers: Irving B. Altman, Louis P. Goldberg, and William M. Feigenbaum.

4th and 14th A. D., 319 Grand street. Speakers: Francis M. Testa, J. A. Whitehorn, and others.

5th A. D., Broadway and Monroe. Speakers: Morris Paris, Louis E. Weil, and Samuel H. Friedman.

8th and 16th A. D., 42d street and 13th avenue. Speakers: William M. Feigenbaum, Carl Cummings, and Johanna Lindloff.

13th and 19th A. D., Knickerbocker avenue and Stockholm. Speakers: Frank Rizulo, B. J. Riley, and J. Coronel.

23rd A. D., Stone and Pitkin. Speakers: A. I. Shiplacoff, Abe Herschkowitz, Nat Rubin, Dr. Louis Sadoff, C. J. N. Cohen.

Coney Island, 25th street and Mermaid avenue. Speakers: Max Rosen, J. A. Weil, and Jacob Axelrad.

BRANCH 539 CELEBRATES 10TH ANNIVERSARY

The American Branch 539, Workmen's Circle, will celebrate its tenth anniversary Sunday afternoon, September 14th. This branch was originally organized as a progressive society of radically inclined young men and women in 1908, and later joined the Workmen's Circle as a branch.

This branch since its inception has always been very active in the Socialist and Labor movements, always giving a helping hand to every campaign and to any and every union that needed its assistance in strikes.

At the time when the national organization of the Workmen's Circle conducted huge drives to raise funds for the relief of the war sufferers on the other side this branch excelled by being at the head of the list.

The anniversary will be celebrated by a banquet and dance at the Royal Casino, 85 East 4th street, according to an announcement of J. M. Rosenblatt, secretary of the branch, who is also a member of the National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle. The gathering will be addressed by prominent speakers, among them some of the party candidates in this coming election and members of the National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle.

In an official message to organized Labor in all parts of California, signed by the executive heads of the State Federation of Labor and the Four Railroad Brotherhoods in this State, Labor Day in California this year is dedicated to Robert M. La Follette "as a symbol of progress and humanity." All the Trades Unionists of California are urged to make it their duty on that day to sign the nominating petition to place the La Follette electors on the California ballot for the November election.

For Your Child's Sake

Don't torture your child by making him swallow something that he does not like. When your child needs a physic, give him

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

EX-LAX is as delicious as the choicest confection, and cleanses the bowels in a most natural, pleasant and painless manner. It is absolutely harmless, and children love it.

10, 25 and 50c a box, at all drug stores.

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Independent Progressive Candidate

For President

Madison Square Garden

26th STREET AND MADISON AVENUE

Thursday, September 18th

(At 8 P. M. Sharp)

Admission Free

Reserved Seats: 50 Cents to \$2.00, plus tax

First Come. First Served. Get Your Tickets Early.

Reserved Seat Tickets on Sale at the following La Follette-Wheeler Headquarters: Room 500, 25 West 43rd Street (Telephone Murray Hill 1366); 7 East 15th Street (Room 505); 15 East 40th Street (Room 406); 175 East Broadway (The Forward).



Monday, September 15, will be the Gala Opening Sale

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To fittingly open this beautiful new link of the successful Michigan Furniture Company, we have prepared for this occasion hundreds of extra special values, which we are prepared to deliver promptly

WITHOUT DEPOSIT

Besides, to everyone who attends, we offer

Free Souvenirs

Music by a Celebrated Orchestra will play from 2 p. m. until 10 p. m.

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3 Rooms Completely Furnished \$149

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SPECIAL SATURDAY AND SUNDAY REVIEWS
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Examinations

Saturday, September 13

American History.....4:00 to 5:00.....Mr. David P. Berenberg	Modern History 1.....5:00 to 6:00.....Mr. David P. Berenberg
Modern History 2.....6:00 to 7:00.....Mr. David P. Berenberg	English 3 Yrs.....4:00 to 5:00.....Mr. Abraham Miller
English 4th Yr.....5:00 to 6:00.....Mr. Abraham Miller	English 3 Yrs.....6:00 to 7:00.....Mrs. Abraham Rubinstein
English 4th Yr.....7:00 to 8:00.....Mrs. Abraham Rubinstein	Elementary Algebra.....6:00 to 8:00.....Mr. Samuel Friedwald
Geometry.....7:00 to 8:00.....Mr. Samuel Friedwald	Intermediate Algebra.....8:00 to 9:00.....Mr. Samuel Friedwald
Physics.....8:00 to 9:00.....Mr. Samuel Friedwald	Chemistry.....9:00 to 9:00.....Mr. Eli Forman

Sunday, September 14

American History.....9:00 to 10:00.....Mr. Eli Forman	Modern History 1.....10:00 to 11:00.....Mr. David P. Berenberg
Modern History 2.....11:00 to 12:00.....Mr. David P. Berenberg	English 3 Yrs.....11:00 to 12:00.....Mr. David P. Berenberg
English 4th Yr.....12:00 to 1:00.....Mr. Abraham Miller	Algebra.....12:00 to 1:00.....Mr. Abraham Miller
Physics.....1:00 to 2:00.....Mr. Samuel Friedwald	Geometry.....2:00 to 3:00.....Mr. Samuel Friedwald
Spanish.....2:00 to 3:00.....Mr. Samuel Friedwald	German.....3:00 to 4:00.....Prof. DeWalsh
French.....4:00 to 4:00.....Prof. DeWalsh	

WARNING BEWARE!

During the 22 years that the Manhattan School has been in existence, schools have come and schools have gone. Every few years some "smart fellow" starts a school with a "bang" and the pretension that he has discovered a new continent in the world of education.

It is a case of striking rich, or going busted. The capital is invested in loud advertising—very little in actual teaching.

After a while the noise blows over, and the public is out some money.

Then there is peace for a while until the public forgets, and the comedy begins all over again.

WARNING! WE WARN YOU. — If you want to study, why must you join "Barnum's Club?"

Why not join an old, reliable school? Join a school that has for 22 years "delivered the goods."

WARNING. — Before you register or pay any money to one of the brand new schools that have lately cropped up with a claim to be able to work miracles—insist on a week's trial attendance. DO NOT PAY BEFORE.

A school that spends \$5.00 for advertising to \$1.00 for actual teaching should be watched.

Our 23rd Year—"Rome was not built in a day."

CHALK UP PENNSYLVANIA FOR LA FOLLETTE

When the Republican optimists are hard pushed to find which States Coolidge may carry, they triumphantly mention Pennsylvania as among the few which are certain. But how sure are they of the Keystone State?

The State which, presumably, was named after the Pennsylvania Railroad, as part of its rolling stock, is not "rock-ribbed" Republican. Far from it.

It has been carried by the Democratic party within the memory of too many Republicans now living. Then it slipped into a period of shameless corruption, belonging naturally to the Republican party. But a party made of vultures quarrelling over the spoils of decay cannot keep from being torn to pieces. That is what has happened.

The well-lubricated machine which the Camerons built up was kept pretty well together by Quay. With the demise of the notorious "shaker of the plum tree," Penrose acted as go-between from the corrupting corporations to the sordid Republican office holders. It marked the culmination of all that is rotten and vile in old party politics at their worst.

There was no pretense that the party stood for anything but to sell favors to the plunderers of the commonwealth and deny the people wholesome legislation. The trail of bribery, malfeasance and graft permeated every nook and corner and cranny of the organization which termed itself "stalwart" Republican. All the crimes of the political calendar were freely indulged in, with the minions of the law, district attorney's office and courts expressly placed to protect the offenders. Everything had its price. The very bottom of the sink of iniquity was scraped.

With the death of Penrose, coming after that of McNichol followed by the elder Vare, there was not left one pretender to leadership who had gumption to see that oil and gas and water are supplied to the run-down machine. There are plenty to grab for the wheel, but not one can trust another to keep his hand alone for steering and driving. The elevated ward heelers are more bent

Insurgent Farmer-Labor Ticket Will Smash Boies Penrose Old Machine As Did Pinchot, Observer Says—Labor Politicians' Ranks Are Thinning Out.

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

upon a joy-ride than to keep the machine in condition. And, unnecessary to say, not one has the slightest semblance of an idea of the spirit and need of the times.

As a consequence, it took hardly any effort for Gifford Pinchot to upset the organization in his contest for Governor. He beat the machine so handily that it fell like a design of cobwebs. That it might not be supposed this was due alone to the state of collapse of the organization because of Penrose's passing, it should be mentioned that a decade ago, when Pinchot ran for Senator against Penrose, he all but won.

Pinchot frankly admitted that he owed the thought of running for Governor to the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. Whatever debt that was is still owing with accumulated interest. The past session of the Legislature witnessed Labor measures slaughtered because Pinchot would not say a word to his followers for their passage. Very properly the Governor made his peace with the machine, to further his ambition to be a delegate to the hollow national Republican convention. And still more properly the machine dumped Mr. Pinchot out on the road.

The shattered thing which the Republican machine is, destroys any supposition that it can carry Pennsylvania as a matter of course. A still sorer sight is the Democratic party. Once a retreat of protest, it is now hardly more than the silent partner of the bi-partisan firm for dividing the spoils of office.

No vital element is attached to either the Republican or Democratic party. Both are wanting in leadership and deficient in loyalty. The great bulk of the voters have remained away from the polls or been independent for a long while. Pennsylvania is a healthy place for the

La Follette candidacy to pitch its tents and give battle to the enemies of the people.

Pennsylvania has a considerable agricultural population which does not take kindly to the rule of the plunderers. As shippers the farmers have had a running contest with the railroads. As purchasers of

goods they have had to play dearly for the stupid tariff. As producers of wealth they have but helped to swell the incomes of the bankers. Consequently they have almost consistently voted against the political manipulators whose headquarters are the private offices of the corporations in the big cities.

More than that, Pennsylvania sends to market about all the hard coal in this country and a big share of the soft. It smelts and mills and refines and manufactures no end of industrial products from steel to textiles. Its industrial population is enormous. From the steel strike at Homestead, through the great coal

Light On The Dark Subject

By ADAM COALDIGGER

Now that the great American people are about to have another one of those spasms popularly known as a Presidential campaign, it becomes my unpleasant duty to shed some much needed light on the dark and sombre subject of politics.

Politics, to begin with, is business—everybody's business. But inasmuch as everybody's business is nobody's business, political parties have been instituted which derive their just power from the consent of those who don't know any better.

Political parties are separate, distinct and antagonistic identities which pursue the same aim by identical means. The aim is to get something for nothing and make the voters pay the difference. Hence, the expression political supporters.

Political parties are divided into "ins" and "outs." Those who point with pride are the "ins." The ones who view with alarm are the "outs." When the "ins" go out and the "outs" go in they swap view points and pointers.

Membership in political parties is voluntary and unrestricted. However, only those are admitted to leadership whose scent is keen enough to discern the relationship between easy mark and democracy. Stock in political parties is divided into preferred stock, common stock and voting stock.

Preferred stockholders are those who furnish the campaign funds. They also supply the men higher up and draw the dividends.

The common stockholders, or active politicians, do the dirty work and take what's left.

The holders of voting stock vote at elections and hold the sack afterwards.

The set of politicians in power is the grandest Government on earth until convicted of grand larceny. Its main function consists in enforcing the Biblical injunction: "To those who have shall be given," etc.

Contrary to popular belief, successful business men rarely succeed in politics. They lack the acrobatic mind and subtle touch so essential to magicians, pickpockets and politicians. But on account of their high social standing and well-advertised integrity they make ideal receivers of sto—tariff legislation, government contracts, and confiscated booze.

At the present time there are only two political parties listed on the New York Stock Exchange. They are called Republican and Democratic parties, respectively. The way to tell them apart is by their names.

Brothers and sisters, if the brilliant light I have thrown on con-

temporary politics makes the picture look darker than the interior of a black cat, do not despair. Just because some people mistake a gun barrel for a bugle is no reason why it should not be used for shooting chicken hawks. Moreover, politics is as bad as it ever will be. It used to be worse. And the further back you go the worse it gets. Teapot Dome is a scandal today. Sixty years ago it was the order of the day. And a hundred years ago a fellow was deported to the Indians if he refused to worship in Teapot Dome.

Cheer up. Keep on voting. Things are getting better all the time. The little pigs who used to root for butchers are squealing for themselves at last. Some day they'll make the butchers squeal. For signs, read the daily papers on the candidacy of Bob La Follette.

Above all things remember that self-government, like charity, commences at home. Crooked politics is the offspring of crooked thinking. Think straight and you will vote straight. If you can't think straight, shut your eyes and follow Adam. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Obadiah, Micah and Habakkuk are dead but Adam is with you still. Hark-en to the words of Adam and you will wear diamonds yet. For Adam knows all things and then some.

THE LABOR GOVERNMENT MAKES ITS MARK

As "The Man in the Street" Views the Socialist Cabinet—Chief Accomplishments Are in Foreign Affairs.

By FANNIA M. COHN

Vice-President, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union

When one sets foot on English territory his first interest is to find out something about the Labor Government, and it was to be expected that naturally whomever I met, whether it was a trade unionist, a radical or conservative, or a Socialist, I should ask about the Labor Government. These questions I presented to the rank and file as well as to the leadership of the Labor movement.

The first person with whom I discussed politics was the taxi driver who suggested that we drive through Hyde Park, but I, knowing that in England it is forbidden to drive through the parks, I called his attention to it. But he said, "No, madam, the Labor Government abolished this custom." He continued: "We have too many customs and traditions in our country. We must break them some day—the sooner, the better. The capitalist class retains its rule through them."

The waiter in the restaurant and porter in the railroad station, the steward on the boat with whom I

discussed the Labor Government, all agreed that "it is doing well under the circumstances," and they all say, "You must remember that it is a minority Government and cannot therefore carry through Parliament its social program. Even with this handicap, what they have accomplished already under the circumstances is of great importance to the Labor movement. For instance, the extension of the unemployment insurance to some classes of alien workers and to include workers who are forced to strike because the employers broke the agreement." They all emphasized that the Labor Government is trying to tackle the housing problem and the importance

that they attach to this tells how acute it is to the workers. They also appreciate the fact that the speedy and successful settlement of some of the recent strikes is due to the influence of the Labor Government.

The porter who carried my luggage to the train on my way from London to Oxford animatedly told me that the capitalists always try to impress the workers that it is a university man only who can be a minister of the Government; but, said he, "Now we have in the Government ministers whose only education is their experience in the Labor movement. It seems that men and women who worked from early childhood are in charge of the affairs of the Empire, and they are doing well." Working men and women realize the importance of demonstrating "the ability of the Labor Party to carry on the Government of the Empire."

Some of the leaders of the trade union movement and the Labor Party think that the Labor Government should have introduced part of its social program in Parliament, such as the nationalization of the basic industries and a plan for solving the land question; if necessary even stand defeat, and then appeal to the nation to be returned as a majority party. Others think that if the Labor Government were defeated even on the most important issue, before it had a chance to demonstrate its ability in office, it would be a historic mistake.

English Labor is almost unanimous in its opinion that Great Britain will never come into its own or recuperate from the four years of war and the six years of the after

effects of the war without the rehabilitation of Europe. Even the Englishman on the street knows that the economic basis of England is an artificial one, that at the most, England can only feed 20 per cent of her population. They realize that England for the last ten years has been living on "currency" and the result of this is unemployment. It is acute. Hundreds of thousands of workers are idle. Therefore, the Labor Government considered it one of its foremost duties to bring about order in Europe. Although the time was ripe for this rehabilitation long ago, political leaders of the French and English nations who had it within their power to accomplish it failed to do so. Fortunately, the change in the English Government from Tory to Labor encouraged liberal opinion in France, and there, too, new blood was instilled into the French Government. Ramsay MacDonald and M. Herriot set out to accomplish the great task of convincing Europe of the inter-dependence of the nations, that the destruction of one nation does not mean the prosperity and happiness of another nation. They vigorously emphasized the necessity of once for all putting a stop to this economic warfare. The people had learned through bitter experience that the toll of the six years' economic war was just as horrible and destructive as that of the military war. The result of it was the signing of the Treaty with Russia and the acceptance of a basis for the settlement of the German reparations.

I reminded many of my friends and comrades that on my visit two years ago when I discussed the pos-

sibility of the ascendancy of a Labor Government, they were almost unanimous in their opinion that Labor was not as yet ready to take over the affairs of State, that it had not yet developed the people to carry on the Government and that the nation would not support an amateur Government. Of course, the London Times, the Express and other papers representing the other side, continually impressed on the minds of the rank and file that only the capitalist groups were capable of running the affairs of the nation, but the most radical elements among the critics of the present Labor Government have to admit that the six months' trial of the Labor Government left no doubt in the minds of Englishmen that the Labor Party is capable of assuming national and international responsibility. They also admit the importance of it, due to the fact that Labor suffers more from lack of confidence in its own ability than from lack of ability.

A few Labor comrades called my attention to the fact that the Labor Party at the elections of 1922 and 1923 put forward a program of constructive social transformation which would lay the foundation for the Socialist commonwealth. Two points were always made clear: (1) That the transformation was only possible by general consent, which means clear majority of Socialist or Labor electors. (2) That even with a majority the full program could only be gradually introduced step by step. Instead of a majority Labor had the support of only 4,500,000 of the 22,000,000 electors. The Government has only 191 out of 625 members of Parliament. Further, when it came into office it inherited policies disapproved by them, but it has not power to reserve them until it has a majority. In spite of these enormous handicaps, these comrades insist that the Labor Government has in the six months done more for the people of England and the world than was expected by its best friends.

At home the Labor Government was, for the time being, satisfied with a policy of moderate pressing reforms. But it is on foreign policy that Labor has set its mark. It was determined to use its power and influence to help restore the shattered political and economic system of Europe. One of their most important acts they consider is the recognition of Russia. The result of it was the general treaty which was signed with the Soviet Government on August 16 by the representatives of the allied Governments with Germany will in a certain sense supersede the Treaty of Versailles. They recognize that some "aspects" of the settlement and of the Dawes report upon which the settlement is based "can be criticised" by none more severely than by Labor people, but they believe that the acceptance of the Dawes plan is a necessary step to reconstruction and to the revision of the infamous treaty. The Labor leaders feel confident that should the Government fall even tomorrow, it would live in history for its achievements.

Fellowship of Reconciliation Will Discuss Imperialism Problem

The general conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is this year going to be an unusually cosmopolitan gathering. The subject, "Imperialism and Fellowship" is one which is particularly timely. It formed the basis of one of the most heated discussions at the Institute of Politics in Williamstown, and it has been followed with great interest in articles appearing in the July and September Atlantic Monthly by S. G. Inman and Samuel Wells, giving contradictory points of view on the relations of the United States with other American Republics.

Different phases of the subject will be introduced by Professor Henry Raymond Mussey of Wellesley; Norman Thomas, Director of the League for Industrial Democracy; Emily Greene Balch, recently General Secretary at Geneva of the Women's

International League for Peace and Freedom; Frank Tannenbaum, author of books on Labor, Penal, and Social questions; Margaret B. Crook, Professor of Biblical Literature at Smith College; and A. J. Muste, head of the Brookwood Labor College.

The conference will be held this year at the Manhasset Hotel, Seaside Park, N. J., September 18 to 22. It is on the Jersey coast at Barnegat Bay, about three hours by train from New York, and two hours from Philadelphia. The office of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, at which reservations can be made, is at 396 Broadway, New York City.

Don't forget to renew. And don't forget to get at least one new sub. And send in a list of names for us to send sample copies to. That's all today; Good night.

strike of 1902, the general strike in Philadelphia in 1910 to the large contests of very recent years, Labor has been militant. And never was it nearly so well organized as it is today in the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

One does not have to make unnecessary comparisons to assert that the Federation in the Keystone State is the peer of all. Containing as it does the tremendous diversity of workers, yet with growing unanimity it continues as a progressive and forward-looking body, animated by the best ideals of the Labor movement.


The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor is solidly supporting the La Follette-Wheeler ticket.

The individual Labor politicians and publishers of circulationless papers trailing along behind the frayed Coolidge-Dawes banner, presumably because of their reputation as strikebreakers, are so few as to be ludicrous. For what was once their stronghold, the Central Labor Unions of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, have long rid themselves of such unsavory gentlemen. Both these bodies have endorsed the La Follette candidacy.

With a good pull and a strong pull and a pull altogether, Pennsylvania can be carried for La Follette and Wheeler. Let but Labor put on its working clothes and go to it and the job will be done.

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BERTRAND RUSSELL FINDS FEAR AND HOPE HERE

Noted Philosopher Finds Revolt Among the American Youth Against the "Ideals of Business Success"—Religious Troubles Seem Insoluble to Him.

By BERTRAND RUSSELL

The impressions of a lecturer who travels to a new place every day are necessarily very superficial and I lay no stress on my own, which may have been all wrong. There are only two points on which I can speak from adequate experience: one, that the trains are amazingly punctual; the other, that people have a fondness for lectures, which is, to an Englishman, quite unintelligible. In England, if people admire an author, they read his books; in America, they want to hear him lecture, but they do not dream of reading them. It is impossible to read in America, except in the train, because of the telephone. Everyone has a telephone, and it rings all day and most of the night. This makes conversation, thinking, and reading out of the question, and accordingly these activities are somewhat neglected.

The press in America is much more mendacious than the Rothermere press. I lectured in Boston to a large and enthusiastic audience, and the lecture passed off without a hitch. At the same moment, a General was addressing the American Legion, and urging them to break up

any meeting with violence. Although they did not take his advice, the Boston newspapers next morning reported that my meeting had ended in disorder caused by the outraged patriotism of the American Legion.

The prosperity of the American wage-earner, which sounds like a fable, is a fact. It is very common for wage-earners to own motor-cars, in which they go to their work. There is poverty, but it is among the immigrants who can hardly speak English and are at the mercy of exploiters. Organized Labor in America is in favor of restricting immigration, and this attitude is in no way surprising. The standard of life is higher in America than anywhere in Europe, and immensely higher than in Eastern Europe. Consequently the immigrant appears as a blackleg (British for scab). His ignorance of the language makes him difficult to organize, and he is usually a tool in the hands of the Catholic priesthood.

Oddly enough, reactionary opinion in America is also in favor of restricting immigration, because Bolshevism chiefly flourishes among immigrants. One of the difficulties that Socialistic opinions have to contend against in the United States is the general feeling that Socialism is something "foreign," advocated chiefly by alien Jews.

The well-to-do American wage-earner is easily induced to regard the immigrant rather than the capitalist as his enemy, so that he becomes far more conservative than the wage-earners of Europe. This explains why it is possible for Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor, to go on thundering against any recognition of the Soviet Government, in a way which would be quite impossible for any man in an analogous position in Europe.

America is cursed by religious and racial troubles, some of which will probably grow less with time, while

others seem insoluble. The worst, of course, is the Negro question. The way in which Southerners speak of Negroes, to this day, is so horrible that it is difficult to stay in the room with them. There are immense numbers of Negroes in New York, Chicago, and other Northern cities, and wherever they come, white antagonism creates a terrible problem. No issue is visible, since the white people do not become more tolerant, and the Negro population is rapidly increasing.

Moreover, the violence generated by the suppression of Negroes finds outlets in other directions. The Ku Klux Klan, originally Southern and anti-Negro, has spread into many Northern regions, and has become anti-Jew, anti-Catholic, and generally anti-foreign. It is an immense organization, embracing, at least in the South, most of the clergy of the denominations which we should call Nonconformist, and having as its purpose the spread of an illegal reign of terror which shall make life intolerable for all but native, white, Protestant Americans. The prolonged deadlock in the Democratic Convention recently was a struggle between the Ku Klux Klan and the Catholic Church: the former supported Mr. McAdoo, the latter Governor Smith (who is himself a Catholic). When it became clear that neither could obtain the necessary majority, they compromised on a representative of the Trusts.

The number and prominence of Jews in America is astonishing. In New York they practically control the city politically, municipal contests being between them and the Catholics. Boston is firmly controlled by Catholics, but in Chicago the Jews are again powerful, though less so than in New York.

I had the impression that throughout the Eastern States everything that is best in politics, in intellect, and in art, is Jewish. The Jews are mostly the children of immigrants from Germany, Poland, or Russia;

they form a large percentage both of the very poor and of the very rich, but they do not, as a rule, remain very poor for long after their arrival in the United States. Owing to their merits and their numbers, there is a very strong anti-Semitic feeling, which takes an English visitor by surprise.

Politically, the most helpful part of America is the Northwest, particularly such States as Wisconsin, Minnesota and North Dakota. This is an agricultural region, settled very largely by Germans and Scandinavians. Since the Armistice, the agriculture of the Northwest has been in a very depressed condition; the farmers have had to mortgage and borrow, so that they have fallen under the power of the banks. The little banks are controlled by the big banks, so that ultimately the financial power derived from the harvests of grain is wielded by a few firms in Wall Street, among which Messrs. Morgan and Company are the chief.

This situation has caused the farmers to be more open to Socialistic arguments than they are in most parts of the world. A Farmer-Labor party has been formed, with a view to cooperation between progressive farmers and Socialist wage-earners. This party, however, has fallen under the sway of the Communists, and is therefore not likely to achieve much electoral success.

More important is the Presidential candidature of Senator La Follette. His constituents being mostly Germans or Swedes. He was able, without political extinction, to take a more or less pacifist line during the war. Since then, he has been the foremost man in progressive politics in America. He has no chance of being elected President, but his defection from the Republican party increases the chances of the Democrats and makes the Republicans afraid to be as reactionary as they wish to be. All progressive opinion in America recognizes the need of a

third party, analogous to our Labor party, and Senator La Follette's candidature represents an important step in that direction. His program involves many Socialist items, such as public ownership of railways. To my mind, he is more deserving of support than any other public man in America.

On the whole, from the point of view of Labor politics, America is about where we were thirty years ago. This is due to several causes. In the first place, industrialism is more recent than with us; it did not become important until the Civil War, seventy years ago. Even to this day, America is predominantly agricultural. Consequently industrial habits of thought are less ingrained in Americans than in Lancashire and Yorkshire and the Clyde. In the second place, immigration and race problems have prevented the growth of a sense of working-class solidarity. In the third place, prosperity has prevented discontent, and has made the existing economic system seem good enough.

The prosperity of America is only partly due to skill; many other factors have contributed. The country has more natural wealth than any other; almost all the raw materials required in industry are obtainable within its borders, except rubber and tin. The area of the country is vast, with unrestricted internal free trade, and a population not nearly so dense as the natural resources would serve to support. There has been a constant influx of able-bodied adults, whose infancy and education have been paid for by the countries of their origin. And there has not been the burden of militarism and war which has oppressed Europe. Even America's share in the Great War was a trivial burden compared to that borne by European belligerents.

The richer and more conservative classes are bitterly anti-German, and consequently pro-French. They are militaristic and patriotic, and wish to deprive America of the advantage

hitherto derived from the smallness of the army. Military training is introduced in schools and colleges, and imperialist sentiment is encouraged as much as possible. It seems probable that, under the guidance of finance, America will embark upon a career of imperialism—not so much territorial as economic. The opportunity exists, and no nation yet has resisted opportunity when it occurred. It is probable that the Pacific will be the first sphere of American expansion. This is what the Japanese fear, and it is a reason for being tolerant of their chauvinism. There are, however, great popular forces in America which are opposed to imperialist ventures, and it is possible that they may be able to exercise a restraining influence.

The future development of America is of immeasurable importance to the world, since America is stronger than any other Power, and is bound to exert an immense influence on the history of the next hundred years. It is permissible to hope for the best, since, especially among the youth of America, there is a very definite revolt against the ideals of business success which have been the curse of civilization in the Western hemisphere. But there is reason for fear as well as for hope, and no man can say whether fear or hope will be justified by the event.

GEORGE L. RECORD, OPENS HIS CAMPAIGN

PATERSON, Sept. 5.—George L. Record, who is running as a candidate for United States Senator at the general election on November 4, brought his tent to Paterson last evening and held the third meeting in his tour around the State. Mr. Record cited the contest between Senator Edge and Hamilton F. Kean for the Republican Senatorial nomination as a proof of his charge that the Republican party has no program whatever upon any important public issue. Mr. Record declared that Mr. Kean did not dare criticize Edge's vote to seat the notorious Newberry in spite of this vast and corrupt expenditure of money, because such criticism would open up the whole subject of monopoly and privilege in industry, for which Newberry, Edge and Kean all stand.

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Nineteen twenty-four is the year of our greatest opportunity.

There is going to be a La Follette vote that will stagger the nation. The Socialist Party is going to contribute a substantial share of that vote. The Socialists are loyally supporting the ticket and will do all in their power to help make part of the vote.

BUT WHAT WILL THAT VOTE MEAN?

If it is merely an insurgent vote against the Teapot Dome grafters, it won't be worth casting and counting.

If it is to be the forerunner of a great national movement to do the work in America that the British Labor Party does in Great Britain; what the Socialist and Labor Parties do in Denmark, France, Australia, Sweden, Austria, and many other countries, it will be worth while taking off our coats for, and working up to within an inch of our lives.

The Socialist Party has planned the greatest campaign in its history. Speakers will be toured in every party of the State to work for the La Follette ticket and for a Labor party.

A literature campaign has been planned that will be the greatest ever undertaken.

If the plans can be carried out, the Socialist Party will be able to contribute a huge total to the magnificent La Follette vote. The Socialists will be in a position to argue strongly for the creation of a permanent Labor party.

ALL THIS MEANS MONEY.

It costs money to send speakers out. It costs money to print handbills and literature. It costs money to mail letters.

Labor is contributed by the enthusiastic workers who are devoting their lives to the movement. The money is to be contributed by YOU.

Every penny will go to the campaign; not a nickel is to be used for administration.

Clip the enclosed blank and fill it in, sending as much as you can spare for the campaign. Paste the coupon over a sheet of paper and get others to contribute to the campaign. BUT DO IT NOW. A dollar NOW is worth TEN DOLLARS in November.

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The Situation That Confronts New York's Radicals

There is no more devoted and conscientious worker in the Labor movement of this city and state than the author of the following criticism. He is tireless and persistent in his activities in many phases of the movement and has won the respect of all his associates. His knowledge of its development, problems and needs gives weight to anything he may write and his contribution deserves the careful consideration of every man and woman in the movement.

The 61st convention of the New York State Federation of Labor just terminated its session after having achieved four noteworthy victories for the cause of progress—the defeat of Col. Ross's attempts to put the Labor movement of this State on record in favor of Mobilization Day and the Training Camps by stigmatizing all opponents as un-American; the election of a fighting progressive like Michael Fanning to the Executive Council; the endorsement of Senators La Follette and Wheeler and the adoption of progressive reports the most noteworthy being those on Education and Compensation.

While these victories have given the progressives and radicals who attended the convention cause for elation, this joy is tinged with regret and in some cases with positive contempt for the so-called "radicals" in the Labor movement of our city. When these important matters were up for discussion where were the men who label themselves "radicals"? They were conspicuous by their absence. For instance, the Building Trades had about 95 delegates and among these the conservative carpenters with 37 delegates and the 24 plumbers, engineers and iron workers dominated. The only progressive elements in the group was that splendid fighting aggregation of painters led by Philip Zausner. The Printing Trades were represented by 20 delegates and here again the progressives were conspicuous by their absence. Where were the representatives of the numerous militant locals of the I. L. G. W. U.? The representatives of the leather workers? Furriers? Jewelers? Umbrella Handlers? United Hebrew Trades? Conspicuous by their absence just as they often are conspicuous by their absence in the meetings of the Central Trades and Labor Council.

The radical delegates who are conspicuous by their absence rail at the conservativeness and feactionary leadership that dominates the Labor movement of this State but what are they doing to make the policy progressive or the leadership of the type they admire? What right have they to rail at the organized Labor movement and its leadership as long as they fail to take an active part in the workings of the central body or the State convention? Surely, vociferous pronouncements of their allegiance to the radical cause and their intellectuality is a poor sub-

Steps Forward Are Taken Despite Inactivity of Radicals and Progressives—A Sense of Responsibility Needed.

By ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

stitute for actual achievement among the rank and file. Are they aware of the fact that the acts of the Labor movement of this State have tremendous educational significance? If the radicals are lax in attendance and neglect their duty, are they not betrayers of the cause of progress? But for luck and the fighting prowess of a few progressives, our Labor movement might have endorsed Col. Ross's program or failed to support our standard-bearers with such an overwhelming vote. When I see how little active support the radicals give to the work of the central body and the State conventions I marvel at the progressiveness that manifests itself in the Labor movement of our State.

In berating my radical friends I

cannot help paying a tribute to those few fighting progressives who are always to be found at the meetings of the Central Trades and Labor Council or the State conventions and who helped to win the signal victories above referred to. Among these are William Kohn of the Upholsters, Philip Zausner, Lawson, Keane and Silverman of the Painters, Mabel Leslie of the Women's Trade Union League, Prechtel of the Brewers, Bohm of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants, George Lynch of the Patternmakers, Beach of the Typists, and a few others. I cannot ignore the splendid service to the cause of progress rendered by James M. Lynch, the newly elected international president of the Typists, and

those up-State progressives who are unknown to me.

It is time for the radicals of this city to turn over a new leaf. It is time for them to stop prating about radicalism and the reactionary leadership and get down to work. It is so easy to contribute money to a cause but alas, how few are willing to contribute time, energy and a little courage. If the radicals chosen to represent their unions cannot attend the conventions or central body meetings, let them select alternates or bring about the election of delegates who will attend and who will ask to make the Labor movement what they think it ought to be. You cannot strengthen the Labor movement or make it more progressive by railing at it or by refraining from participating in its proceedings. Those who are not on hand to defend the cause of progress when it needs defence have no right to talk about their devotion to the cause of Labor or independent political action, or to pose as "radicals." I cannot help feeling that the conservative and reactionary who so zealously supports his philosophy is a better man and a more useful citizen than the radical who shows his devotion to the cause by being absent when needed most. If my plain talk will be instrumental in influencing some radicals to a sense of their responsibility, I shall be amply repaid for the friends who may be alienated by my brutal statement of the situation that confronts the radicals in this State.

Scabs Repaired Davis Home

(Continued from Page 1)

union officials informed me. The idle union coal digger—and most union coal diggers are unemployed in the Clarksburg district—was asked where he came from. The work went to men from non-union mines.

When the street and wall job was finished the committee hurried up with the building of the reviewing stand on another location. The carpenter work was to cost \$800. The committee asked Local 236 if it didn't want to donate the labor of its members, without compensation—in the name of civic pride, the unionists were told. This was a little too raw. The carpenters ironically suggested the committee get its scabs on the job. Otis apologized, for he said the open shop move had been a mistake. Union men were hired and paid for the reviewing stand work.

Came the big day of notification. Thousands of autos rolled past Lee street, admiring the resplendent wall, which most of them supposed that John W. Davis had paid for.

Reynolds, Socialist of Milwaukee, Dead

MILWAUKEE.—The local Socialists are mourning the death of Alderman Thomas M. Reynolds, old-time Socialist and member of the City Council for the past eight years. He was a member of the Socialist Party for over seventeen years, and active in the Pattern Makers' Union. Reynolds was a devoted Socialist, and his work converted his ward from a district hostile to Socialism to one of the party's strongholds in the city.

He was 57 years old.

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THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

Through the States

NATIONAL NEWS

Gene Debs at Campaign Committee
A full meeting of the National Campaign Committee of the Socialist Party was held at headquarters, September 3, with Comrade Debs presiding. Debs has completed the rest cure of the Lindlar institute, and his system has been declared free of all poison. He is now on his way to Northern Wisconsin, where he will spend three weeks rebuilding his strength, and then it is expected that he will be ready for work.

The committee planned for the final two months of the campaign, prepared the copy for thirty-two leaflets to be distributed by the millions, and added to the list of party speakers who are going out within the next few days.

Debs' presence thrilled the committee. His health is better than it has been for a long time, and he is eager to go out on the road immediately. He is to preserve his strength, however, for the party's organization work following the end of the Presidential campaign.

WASHINGTON

Emil Herman writes: "I am having great meetings under Socialist Party auspices with the cooperation of the C. P. P. A. and the La Follette committees. Big crowds, good collections and large literature sale collections and large literature sales."

NEW JERSEY

Outdoor Meetings in Hudson County.

Saturday, September 13.

Hoboken—Washington and 5th streets. Speaker: J. R. Smallwood.

West New York—Bergenline avenue and 14th street. Speaker: Wm. Kane Tallman.

Bayonne—Broadway and 23rd street. Speaker: May Harris Mainland.

Union Hill—Bergenline avenue and Main street. Speaker: Annie E. Gray.

Jersey City—Jackson and Orient avenues. Speaker: Henry Jager.

Jersey City—Danforth avenue and Old Bergen road. Speaker: Frederick Kraft.

Jersey City—Central avenue and Charles street. Speaker: George Bauer.

CONNECTICUT

There was an excellent meeting last Saturday night with William M. Feigenbaum of The New Leader as speaker; 100 copies of The New Leader were sold and many more could easily have been disposed of.

On the same evening a fine meeting was held by the La Follette Club at the corner of Washington and Congress avenue. Comrade I. Polky was principal speaker.

Jasper McLevy, Socialist and Labor candidate for Governor will speak at Congress and Commerce streets Saturday, September 13.

At the State executive committee meeting last Sunday, it was voted to print the State platform in large quantities, for immediate distribution. Mary Ragoya was chosen to assist State Secretary Plunkett for the duration of the campaign. Walter E. Davis was chosen State campaign treasurer.

MICHIGAN

To the Wife and Family of our Departed Friend and Comrade, Otto Branstetter

We, the members of the Socialist Party of Wayne County, Michigan, in a special meeting assembled to pay tribute to our dear departed comrade, Otto Branstetter, wish to convey to Mrs. Winnie Branstetter and family our heartfelt sympathy occasioned through the loss of her dear husband and co-worker.

Death is a merciless worker, it takes our best away from us, and leaves a gap that is often hard to fill. Yet we want to feel that our champion is at rest, that his work is receiving its just reward, and the results to act as a guide post to his followers in the march on and on to emancipation.

Committee

A. L. DAY,
S. WEINBERG,
CHAS. ROBSON.

MASSACHUSETTS

Organizer Albert Weisbord will follow the following itinerary, and at the conclusion of this tour will cooperate with Organizer Lewis in Worcester and Springfield, and from there both will work in conjunction for the rest of September in the Central and Western parts of the State.

The itinerary shall be as follows: September 9, Maynard; 10, Leominster; 11, Fitchburg; 12, Gardner; 13, Athol; 14, Worcester; 15, Springfield; 16, Pittsfield; 17, Adams; 18, North Adams; 19, Greenfield; 20, Northampton; 21, Worcester.

Two new locals were officially formed, in North Attleboro and in Lowell. It is expected that some more new ones will come in within the next few weeks. Under the direction of Organizer Weisbord it was expected to have great anti-war demonstrations throughout the State on September 12, but owing to opposition of officials this will not be done in many places. The refusal of the Mayor of Boston to grant a permit to speak on that day was published broadcast throughout the country. Comrade Weisbord answered the Mayor of Boston in an open letter which was printed on the front page of the Boston Transcript.

Organizer Lewis has been operating in Maynard, Fitchburg, Leominster and Gardner, and will continue to do so for some time to come as yet. His work has been uniformly successful.

RHODE ISLAND

The Socialists were very well represented and treated at the Rhode Island C. P. P. A. meeting held September 7. Comrade Weisbord was made chairman of the resolutions committee, which unanimously adopted and secured the passage of the following resolutions: 1. Heartily endorsing the Platform of the C. P. P. A. and La Follette's stand against the Ku Klux Klan. 2. Instructing its executive campaign committee to cooperate wholeheartedly with the A. F. of L. State Branch, which through its executive committee had endorsed La Follette

and Wheeler. 3. Stressing La Follette's position on peace and woman suffrage and calling on all women to vote for him and to affiliate themselves with the C. P. P. A. 4. That the next State Convention of the Rhode Island Conference for Progressive Political Action be held on Sunday, December 7, 1924, in Providence, to consider the advisability of forming a permanent political party to become an integral part of the national permanent political party which we expect to be formed at the January, 1925, convention of the National Conference for Progressive Political Action. The organizations invited and the basis of representation to the next State convention shall be identical with the system already adopted by the conference.

Fred Hurst, old-time Socialist State Secretary for Rhode Island, made the introductory speech for Wheeler when he was in Providence, and from all accounts did a mighty fine job. He is running for Governor on the Socialist ticket.

PENNSYLVANIA

PITTSBURG

Socialists of Allegheny are working in active cooperation with Progressive and Labor groups. La Follette booster clubs are being organized in every ward, and membership in these clubs is growing by hundreds each week. At least three meetings—indoor and outdoor—are being held each evening. There is great enthusiasm around Pittsburgh district.

Street Meetings

Friday, September 12: Corner Frankstown and Station; corner Juanita and Beaver avenues; corner East and Ohio streets. Saturday, September 13: Corner Federal and S. Diamond avenues; corner Bennett and Homewood streets; corner Second avenue and Flowers. Monday, September 15: 43d and Butler streets. Tuesday: Corner Federal and S. Diamond; corner Pearl and Liberty.

La Follette Booster Club meetings every Sunday evening at the William Penn Theatre.

Ester Friedman and Marie MacDonald will speak at a noon meeting for La Follette women clubs.

DAISTOWN, PA.

Fall Festival of the Finnish Socialist Party branches, Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio will be held September 13-14. Speakers: W. R. Peiro, Louis Finn (English speaker), and Bjorn.

AUGUST CLAESSENS' DATES IN PENNSYLVANIA

September 12, Brookville; 13, Punxsutawney; 14, Reynoldsville; 15, Clearfield; 16, Lock Haven; 17, Williamsport; 18, Mount Carmel.

WEST VIRGINIA

LOCAL MORGANTOWN

The New Leader has received a copy of a resolution adopted by Local Morgantown upon the death of Comrade W. B. Mason, for many years one of the active party workers in that part of the country. The resolution calls for the draping of the local's charter in mourning for thirty days.

New York Activities

BUFFALO

Every Socialist should be at the primaries September 16 to make sure that all Socialist candidates are on the ballot.

Commissioner Perkins, Socialist, calls for investigation of the tax dodging by the big corporations. For example, the International Railway Company is assessed for \$11,000,000 and claims property values of \$96,000,000.

Meetings were held September 6 and 7 by Rev. Mr. Richmond, Charles Baker and Marguerite Prevy with large crowds and splendid interest.

NEW YORK COUNTY

The Socialists of the city are heartily cooperating in making a success of the big Madison Square Garden meeting, September 18, with Senator La Follette as principal speaker.

The Executive Committee of Local New York will meet Monday night, September 15 at the office of Local New York, 7 East 15 street.

Comrade Joseph D. Cannon announces that Local New York extends its warmest appreciation of the faithful comrades who helped make the big party picnic last Sunday a success. It is impossible to mention them all, but certain names stand out, among them Herman Volk, Leonard C. Kaye, Theodore Drake, Walter Karp, Julius Gerber, Helen Schimmer, Olga Lomg, Wilho Hedman, West, and the entire Finnish Branch. The local is also grateful to the Jewish Daily Forward for its helpful publicity.

Merger Referendum Defeated

At a meeting of the State executive committee Sunday, State Secretary Merrill reported that the referendum for a merger of the locals of Greater New York into a single local had been defeated. Local New York, Queens and Richmond voted heavily in favor, while Local Bronx was almost unanimously opposed and Brooklyn cast a tie vote. The committee then officially declared the referendum not carried.

The A. D. Branches will soon have to look to their laurels. Two branches show indications of such increased activity and growth that they may soon pass some, perhaps all of the A. D. branches in membership, and possibly in activity.

The German Branch, Yorkville, manifests new activity and its purchase of due stamps indicates that many recently negligent members are re-establishing their good standing. Some of our most dependable comrades hold their membership in the Yorkville German Branch—their increased activity is bringing results.

But the Cloak Makers' branch has set 2,000 as its membership goal within the next six months and the progress now being made by the branch promises that it will reach that goal. Good luck, comrades. Keep up the good work.

The Upper West Side branch will meet Tuesday, September 16, at 65 Central Park West, near 70th street. The branch is conducting a membership drive, and a large attendance is expected.

LOCAL BRONX

The ratification meeting of Local Bronx is expected to be held at Hunts Point Palace within two weeks, with Comrades Thomas, Solomon and Waldman, as well as Bronx local candidates.

The members of Local Bronx have been galvanized into action by the exceptional favorable conditions prevailing for the election of La Follette and Wheeler and for the success of our local ticket. Every day comrades who were apathetic and somewhat discouraged with the past, are coming to our headquarters at 1167 Boston road and volunteering their services in various ways. New members are joining and soon the county will hum with activity. Numerous outdoor meetings are being conducted throughout the Bronx, books and leaflets are being spread broadcast. A giant outdoor rally with Comrade Norman Thomas as principal speaker has been arranged for Monday, September 15, at Longwood and Prospect avenues.

Several halls are being engaged for meetings with our local talent as the attraction. The situation looks exceedingly rosy and we cordially invite Bronx readers of The New Leader to pitch in and help bury the two-ply political combination of Capitalism.

THE BRONX

Open Air Meetings

Saturday evening—Tremont and Washington avenues. Speakers: S. A. DeWitt, and others to be announced.

Monday evening—Longwood and Prospect avenues. Speakers: Norman Thomas, Samuel Orr, Samuel A. DeWitt, Phillips, Abe Tuvim, and others to be announced. (Chairman Fred Paulitsch.)

Tuesday evening—163d and Simpson street. Speakers: Max P. Walder, Oscar Pick, I. Phillips, and others to be announced.

Wednesday evening—169th street and McKinley square. Speakers: Samuel Orr and Morris Gismet.

Thursday evening—Washington and Claremont Parkway. Speakers: May Harris Mainland, Oscar Pick, Isidore Phillips.

Friday evening—Aldus and Southern Boulevard. Speakers: May Harris Mainland and others to be announced.

BROOKLYN

The Brownsville campaign will be formally opened with a mass meeting at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, Friday, September 19. Joseph A. Whitehorn and James Oneal, Congressional and Senatorial candidates, will make their first appearance, and Louis P. Goldberg will launch his fight for the Assembly. A. L. Ship-lacoff will preside.

6TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT DINNER

The big rally and dinner of the 6th A. D., Kings, will be held Friday, September 12, at the Rendez-Vous cafeteria, 7 East 15th street. B. C. Viadeck, James Oneal, Harry Kritzer, J. A. Whitehorn and others will speak. Tickets are \$1.50.

Street Meetings in Manhattan.

MONDAY

4th A. D.—Pitt and Grand streets. Speaker: Charles Kruse.
6th A. D.—13th street and avenue B. Speaker: May Harris Mainland.
8th A. D.—7th street and Second avenue. Speakers: F. Crosswaith, Wm. Karlin and W. W. Fitzgerald.
17th A. D.—110th street and 5th avenue. Speaker: Richard Boyajian.

TUESDAY

2nd A. D.—Grand and Eldridge streets. Speaker: May H. Mainland.
3rd A. D.—Sheridan square. Speakers: Charles Kruse and Leonard C. Kaye.
8th A. D.—Avenue A and 5th street. Speakers: Alex. Schwartz, N. Fine and W. Fitzgerald.
17th A. D.—117th street and Madison avenue. Speaker: J. R. Smallwood.

WEDNESDAY

4th A. D.—Attorney and Grand streets. Speaker: May Harris Mainland.
6th A. D.—7th street and avenue C. Speaker: William Karlin.
8th A. D.—7th street and avenue A. Speakers: Richard Boyajian and Warren Fitzgerald.
9th A. D.—95th street and Broadway. Speaker: Frank Crosswaith.
21st A. D.—133rd street and Lenox avenue. Speaker: Charles Kruse.

THURSDAY

2nd A. D.—Rutgers square. Speaker: Charles Kruse.
4th A. D.—Grand and Norfolk streets. Speaker: J. R. Smallwood.
18th A. D.—116th street and Lexington avenue. Speaker: Henry Jager.

FRIDAY

2nd A. D.—Clinton street and East Broadway. Speaker: Wm. Karlin.
3rd A. D.—24th street and 8th avenue. Speakers: J. R. Smallwood and L. C. Kaye.
17th A. D.—116th street and Lenox avenue. Speaker: Charles Kruse.

SATURDAY

6th A. D.—4th street and avenue B. Speaker: Richard Boyajian.
15th A. D.—86th street and 3rd avenue. Speaker: Charles Kruse.
17th A. D.—106th street and Madison avenue. Speaker: Hyman Waldman.
21st A. D.—139th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith and W. Butler.

Yipsel Notes

YIPSEL NEWS

Secretaries of all circles take note! All announcements of activities must be sent to George Field, c/o Y. P. S. L., 7 East 15 street. Your letter must reach him by Monday evening. Don't be disappointed.

Yipsels should set aside Sunday, September 28, for the League outing. The first debate of this year will take place between Circles 2 and 6 Brooklyn. Meet at the Dyckman street ferry, at 10 o'clock, and from there we will cross to Palisades Park. The banner to the winning team will be awarded at the National Convention of the Y. P. S. L. in New York.

This convention is the outstanding event of the year. Look forward to it. Members must enlist their time and energy to put it across. Their first act should be to pay immediately the 25 cents to the circle financial secretary, to meet the initial expenses.

We are planning a mass meeting and a play, also a banquet and dance, and sight-seeing tour, to entertain the guests.

LABOR PREMIER IN AUSTRALIA

MELBOURNE.—At seventy years of age, after a lifetime of loyal and devoted service to the Labor movement of Australia, George Michael Prendergast finds himself Premier of the State of Victoria, and leader of the second Labor Government to take office in the most conservative State of the Commonwealth.

The first Labor Government, of which Mr. Prendergast was second in command, held office for less than a fortnight during a period of recurrent political crises in December, 1913. So to all intents and purposes he becomes the first Labor Premier of Victoria—a fitting reward of long and loyal effort.

Of average height and sturdy build, fresh complexion, with rather rugged features and a bristling white moustache. Mr. Prendergast looks and talks rather like a Yorkshireman than a typical "Aussie." As a matter of fact, he is of Irish descent and was born in Adelaide. He began work at the age of 13, and was later apprenticed to the printing trade.

Founded Labor Paper

In later years he became the founder and afterwards the manager of a Labor paper, the "Tocsin," which led a somewhat chequered existence. He has been, and still is, a frequent and forceful contributor to many of the Labor papers which flourish "down under."

But since 1892, when he stood for the first time—and was defeated—he has devoted most of his life to Labor politics in the State of Victoria. Since 1900 he has represented North Melbourne.

Mr. Prendergast is a personality. Downright, vehement, and even abrupt, he has a wonderful grip on the sentiment of the movement—for he is a real trier and real "sticker." His loyalty and steadiness have been criticised as dullness and stodginess by opponents and even by candid friends.

But it is this very doggedness that has carried him through crises which have overwhelmed others more brilliant but less consistent.

Untiring Worker

Moreover, he is a persistent and untiring worker. Blue Books and statistics are his favorite diet. In his room at Parliament House you will find a filing system with an equipment of detail and easy reference worthy of Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

Both his speeches and his writings are characteristic of the man himself—direct to bluntness, they are rammed, jammed and crammed with facts.

Camp Tamiment

FOREST PARK, PA.

Will Close September 15

Last chance of the Season to spend a few days in this magnificent camp.

Elaborate Program

MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS NOW

Great Debate of the Campaign!

SHOULD A SOCIALIST VOTE FOR La FOLLETTE?

SCOTT

NEARING says NO!

Foremost Radical Spokesman

MEYER

us. LONDON says YES!

Ex-Socialist Congressman and Labor Lawyer

SUBJECT:

RESOLVED: "THAT NO CLASS-CONSCIOUS SOCIALIST OR WORKER CAN OR SHOULD VOTE FOR LA FOLLETTE"

MR. NEARING, Affirmative

MR. LONDON, Negative

Sunday, October 5, at 3 p. m.

CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE, 67th Street and Third Avenue

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The League for Public Discussion

800 FIFTH AVENUE

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AS PROMINENT AMERICANS VIEW SOCIALISM

Is American Socialism essentially different from European Socialism? A symposium of definitions of Socialism by eminent Europeans was published in THE NEW LEADER recently, and the following definitions by Americans have been collected to give a bird's-eye view of American Socialist ideals.

Abraham Lincoln's Exposition of the Spirit of Socialism—"A Republic in Fact" is Debs' Definition—Dr. Grant and Others.

By J. R. SMALLWOOD

The only difference between the Socialism of the two hemispheres, if any, is one of the relative emphasis placed on this or that element of the matter. Viewed comparatively, however, one is struck by the degree of similarity between the two sets of definitions; which only proves the old contention of Socialists that Socialism is one world movement, knowing nothing of national or racial barriers.

Abraham Lincoln—

Abraham Lincoln, not only the greatest American, but one of the ten greatest men of all time, sets forth the spirit of the Socialist movement acceptably to all Socialists: "Labor is prior to and independent of Capital. Capital is only the fruit of Labor, and could never have existed if Labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much more consideration. And inasmuch as most things are produced by Labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose Labor has produced them. But it has so happened in all ages of the world that some have labored, and others have without Labor enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his Labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good Government." And, incidentally, is the object of Socialism.

Eugene V. Debs—

Eugene V. Debs, the only American since Lincoln who can compare to the Great Democrat, and one of the greatest living orators: "Socialism is first of all a political movement of the workingclass which aims at the overthrow of the prevailing capitalist system by securing control of the national Government and by the exercise of the public powers supplanting the existing class government with Socialist administration—that is to say, changing a Republic in name into a Republic in fact."

tion—that is to say, changing a Republic in name into a Republic in fact."

Morris Hillquit—

Morris Hillquit, American writer, parliamentarian and Socialist tactician: "The Socialists demand that the principal industries of the nation, the business of providing the necessities of life, be conducted by the community for the benefit of its members. As democracy means political self-government, so Socialism calls for industrial self-government. Socialism does not advocate a division of wealth. The Socialist program does not deal with consumable wealth, but with productive wealth; it does not assail wealth as a means of private enjoyment, but wealth as an instrument of social oppression and exploitation. Socialists would socialize the tools of production, not the products. The Socialist program is thus primarily one of economic reform."

James Oneal—

James Oneal, Socialist writer: "Socialism, having for its object the industrial and political unity of workingmen, will, when triumphant, restore the magnificent resources of America to the workers from whom they were stolen in the first place. It will transfer to the people all the mills, mines, factories, railways, and all other powers of wealth production and distribution, to be publicly owned, operated and managed, by all in the interest and for the common good of all. Capitalist ownership for capitalist enrichment will be replaced by common ownership in behalf of the useful wealth producers."

Prof. R. T. Ely—

Prof. R. T. Ely, the economist: "Socialism is that contemplated system of industrial society which proposes the elimination of private property in the great material instruments of production, and the substitution thereof of collective prop-

erty, and advocates the collective management of production, together with the distribution of social income by society, and private property in the larger proportion of this social income."

Rev. Fr. Hagerty, M.A., S.T.B.—

Rev. Father Thomas J. Hagerty, M.A., S.T.B.: "Socialism is the ownership of all the means of subsistence by an intelligently cohesive organization of the whole people, and the common proprietorship of the machinery of production and distribution to the end that the arts and the sciences and the agencies of happiness may be developed in the equal interests of humanity. It calls for a new social structure built upon Labor as the only source of wealth."

Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph.D.—

Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph.D., teacher and writer: "Socialism, like Christianity, is not a belief; it is not founded upon a belief; it is not a code of laws, though it affects human action; it is not a philosophy, though philosophical controversies have raged around it. Socialism is a movement, and as such we need not expect always to find it either consistent or scientific. The following definition, however, may be taken as a test: 'Socialism is the political movement of the workingclass, which aims to abolish exploitation by means of the collective ownership and democratic management of the principal instruments of production and distribution.'"

John M. Work—

John M. Work, Socialist editor and propagandist: "The Socialist Party says that that portion of the means of production and distribution which when privately owned can be used by the private owners to gouge other people shall be collectively owned and controlled, that exploitation shall thereby be banished from the earth, and that the workers shall thereby secure the full social value of their labor."

Rev. Dr. W. P. D. Bliss—

Rev. Dr. W. P. D. Bliss, writer of several books on Socialism: "Socialism may be said to be the collective ownership of the means of production by the community democratically organized, and their operation cooperatively for the equitable good of all."

Walter Thomas Mills, M.A.—

Walter Thomas Mills, M.A., veteran Socialist propagandist: "1. Capitalism is the private ownership by the few of what the many must collectively use. Socialism is the collective ownership by the many of what the many must collectively use. 2. Capitalism is the private management, by the few, of the work which the many do collectively. Socialism is the collective, democratic management by the many of the work which the many must do collectively. 3. Capitalism is the private appropriation by the few of the products of the many, with no one able to produce without the consent of some private owner. Socialism is the appropriation, by the many, of the products produced by themselves, with equal opportunity for all men and women to be producers, if they shall so choose."

Reginald Wright Kaufman—

Reginald Wright Kaufman, well-known novelist: "There is an aphorism current among Socialists that collective ownership must end at your doorstep, because it is there that private ownership begins, and this saying is a fairly accurate description of the Socialist attitude. What Socialism is seeking to eradicate is simply the exploitation of one man's labor by another man's power; what it is seeking to set up is simply an ownership of the means of production that will be just as collective, and no more collective than, the labor of them."

Rev. Charles Vail—

Rev. Charles Vail, whose death occurred recently: "Socialism is the

common ownership of the instruments of production. Society as a whole would supplant individual control of land and capital, that the advantages of ownership might accrue to them collectively. The ownership of the means of production carries with it another element in Socialism—collective management of production. Under Socialism production would be for the purpose of satisfying our needs; until that end was attained there could be no over-production. Socialism aims at justice in distribution—such a distribution as will satisfy all needs and render to each full product of his toil."

Edmund Kelly, M.A., F.G.S.—

Edmund Kelly, M.A., F.G.S., eminent lawyer and scholar: "The essential feature of collectivism is that it prevents any man from making himself the master of the sources of production so as to use this mastery for the exploitation of other men."

George D. Brewer—

George D. Brewer, popular Socialist speaker: "Socialism stands for three fundamental principles—collective ownership of public utilities; to the producer of wealth the full social value of his labor; to each and every person equal opportunities and advantages."

Rev. Fr. T. McGrady—

Rev. Father T. McGrady: "Socialism is simply the substitution of the cooperative for the competitive system. It does not propose to interfere with the home, family or religion."

Harry W. Laidler, Ph.D.—

Harry W. Laidler, Ph.D., author of suggestive books on Socialism: "Broadly speaking, the Socialist movement aims to bring about a condition of society under which equality of opportunity, justice, freedom, democracy, brotherhood, will be the heritage of the mass of mankind. In this it does not differ essentially

from certain other great movements. It differs fundamentally, however, in the means proposed for realizing these ideals—the abolition of the present capitalist system and the substitution thereof of a system of collective ownership and democratic management of the socially necessary means of production and distribution; a system of society under which the exploitation of one class by another will be a thing of the past; under which production will be carried on for use rather than for profit; under which the producing class—then the one class in society—will control the economic life of the nation."

Rev. Dr. Percy Stickney Grant—

Rev. Dr. Percy Stickney Grant, famous Episcopalian clergyman: "Socialism is a new form of individualism, which offers what Jeffersonianism supposed it gave when most Americans were farmers—an equal chance to individuals. Socialists wish to make the Government an umpire who will see that every one has a fair chance; only, to prevent the umpire from being biased by evil influence, Socialists propose to make the umpire more powerful than the influences. Many religious persons call themselves Socialists because they believe that gross misery, ignorance and injustice exists which can readily be remedied. These persons are not theoretical Socialists, not Marxists, but keen well-wishers of humanity, who are convinced that life needs to be rationalized, and who are warned by the intensity, comradeship, and hopefulness of the Socialist propaganda."

After digging up these definitions, one may be pardoned for including among the definitions of the luminaries of the movement one's own definition, but after all certain privileges do attach to the duty of composition and compilation, so here it is:

"Socialism is a desire to raise the level of social freedom and happiness by enabling all individuals to achieve human excellence through self-expression and development."

"This is only possible through economic freedom: with the problem of securing sufficient physical sustenance relegated from its present primary importance, where it demands the best part of men's time and attention, to a secondary importance which would release for worthier purposes most of the energies and abilities now absorbed by it."

"This is only possible upon the basis of social and scientific organization of the wealth producing and distributing avenues and forces of the earth, with the object of securing the maximum of products for the minimum of expenditure of time, labor and ability, and in such a way as to give joy rather than pain to those engaged in such activity."

"Social ownership and control of industry and commerce alone can secure these ends."

The great achievement of the convention is the permanent foundation that was laid for an International Federation on Workers' Education. By resolution of the convention, the International Federation of Trade Unions was requested to establish a permanent Educational Division from where this movement will be conducted.

In connection with this convention was an exhibition on Workers' education, pamphlets, syllabi, magazines and artistic posters were displayed. The United States had a very attractive division in which literature of the various Labor educational enterprises were displayed, including the Rand School and the L. L. G. W. U.

Furnished Room Wanted
SPANISH business woman wants agency, clean room and meals with private family. Vegetarians preferred.

The Decay of the Noble Art of Lying

By J. CADWALADER ANANIAS

One by one, ugly and vulgar commercialism poisons our professions. Commercialism has taken the artist out of his studio to make him paint tender pictures of mother and her sweet little kiddies, tastefully clothed in woolen underwear. Commercialism has taken the creative writer and prostituted his rhapsodic muse to the task of working up wild enthusiasm upon cigarettes or automobile tires or chewing gum.

Now it has taken the oldest and the noblest art of all, the art of lying, which is in reality the art of story-telling, the art of Homer and Dante, Cervantes and Shakespeare; the art of those who wrote the lie that we know as the story of Cinderella which has made countless generations of children ineffably happy. Even though it is a lie.

Was there ever a nobler lie, a more thumping tale, a yarn to stir the sluggish blood more delightful than the story told not long ago by the reporter of Mr. Ogden Reid's paper when he described the floating jazz palace outside the 12-mile limit? There was a story to live with the history of the Jumping Frog of Calaveras County. There was a tale to live with the story of the discovery of the North Pole by Doctor Cook, or the romances of Jules Verne, or H. G. Wells in his earlier period!

Of course the reporter was fired for palming it off as a genuine news story, but we'll bet our next week's wages that the city editor had a pang when he had to fire him, just such a pang that every newspaper man in the city felt when it was learned that the gorgeous yarn was a plain

lie, invented out of a wonderfully fertile mind. The reporter's signed confession certainly saddened many a reporter, not because the story wasn't so, but because it meant the man had to go.

Ethics is ethics; the man had to go—but remember the synthetic naval victory we had July 4, 1917? Mr. Creel and his imaginative staff didn't get fired, even though it was a clumsy lie, a lie without the charm and vim and verve of the floating rum palace yarn. The journalistic liar who invented the tale that "Gene Debs was pleased with the prospect that his old friend, John W. Davis, who defended him in West Virginia, was likely to be the next President, didn't have one half of one per cent of the imagination of the liar who invented the jazz ship—and yet he still has his job, and he is still lying lustily and industriously in the interest of his proprietors, for all we know to the contrary.

Lying? Good gracious! To read the Republican papers you would think that Calvin Coolidge is great, noble, intellectual, forceful, a born leader of men, a world statesman, as great a man as you would think John F. Hyman is to read the Hearst papers, or vice versa. And the war propaganda stuff—good God! Do the writers take what they write seriously? They do not, if we know the breed. It's all in the day's work, and they know they can romance all they want and never get even a call-down for it, if they lie on the right side, politically. To read a lot of current newspapers you would think the Prince of Wales is a heavy-

weight—but the men who write that know better.

Then there is the usual variety of newspaper lying; strike leaders are wild-eyed, long-haired, Bolsheviks, foreigners; Socialists are anarchists and Communists and atheists; Eugene V. Debs is an apostle of hate; a woman with short hair is a "short-haired woman" if she is at a Socialist meeting, but she is a "bobbed haired flapper" if she is in attendance at a social affair. Ad infinitum.

And this species of lying isn't even interesting. It is workmanlike, true. But not a spark of life in it. You can almost hear the clicks as the constituent parts of the stock lies fall into place and make up the usual, dreary whole. It's part of the game of making people endure things as they are—and like it.

But this man of the Herald-Tribune invented a lie that will live, a lie that had romance and color and joy. Who of the millions who read the story in the Herald-Tribune, or in the papers that reprinted the story, failed to get real joy out of it? It was Captain Kidd over again. It was buried treasure; it was the days of doublets and cloaks and rapiers over again. It was the days of the Argonauts, the days of the Odyssey.

For what could be more delightfully romantic than a huge steamship, a former transatlantic floating hotel, anchored just outside the 12-mile limit, with booze aboard enough to float a whole fleet of jazz ships; with jazz orchestras; with dancing and carousing and laughter and dining; with gay parties of rich and

very rich; men and women—old and young—flappers and philosophers—gray-haired and baby dolls just out of school?

It was a wonderful tale. What a pity it wasn't true! What a pity that the ethics of the profession that retains all the political liars and war liars and the "my-country-right-or-wrong" "patriotic" liars, and honors them and promotes them to be "journalists," must insist that this picturesque liar must go!

Ah, lackaday! It had to be! And now comes that which we have been avoiding for all this time. We haven't had the heart to face the fact boldly and tell what is in our mind—but now it must be told. It is the swift disillusionment, the bitter in the sweet, the fly in the ointment. It has taken all the heart out of those who gloried in the fine piece of romantic lying.

The billboards are being covered with three-sheet posters of a new motion picture, a "super feature," we think it is called, to be known as "Wine." The posters show a huge ocean liner, and the reading matter indicates that the picture tells the tale of the floating jazz palace, and that it is just outside the 12-mile limit, and that it is a Super-Universal-Jewel production made by Carl Laemmle.

Isn't it heartbreaking to realize that it was all a crude and clumsy piece of movie publicity, after all? You can see what the story might have done if the Herald-Tribune hadn't checked up so relentlessly. The people all talking about the jazz ship and most of them wishing they could have a fling on it; luxurious

staterooms and two and three day parties with dazzling dames; dancing, laughing, singing, drinking—glorious! Then the picture, and the lines of people gratifying their desires vicariously by sitting in the upholstered theatres and listening to excellent orchestras while imagining themselves on board. Then the reporter could quietly quit his job and take a life job at pay that no reporter could ever hope to get with the publicity department of the movies.

It wasn't their fault that the paper checked up. They meant well enough. But it is a pity. Couldn't we have had this gorgeous bit of lying for the sake of the romance? Must ugly, vulgar commercialism take over this last art, the oldest art in the world? It is as if the tales of Sinbad and Prester John were mere publicity stunts.

No; unclean commercialism had to buy it, use this wonderful imagination as a hand-maiden for the enterprise of a bunch of retired cloak manufacturers.

FANNIA COHN BACK FROM FOREIGN TOUR

Fannia M. Cohn, Vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and secretary of the Educational Department, has returned from Europe where she spent one week, attending the International Convention on Workers' Education. The convention was held in Ruskin College, Oxford, and was at-

The Need For Solidarity of Labor As The N. Y. Building Trades Council Pictures It



The above is a series of cartoons issued by the New York Building Trades Council as part of its drive to enroll all building trades workers within its ranks.

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, 125 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 3590
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office.
LOUIS HORNWITZ, Chairman. HARRY 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 Madison St., N.Y.C. Dickens 0682
Local meets every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.
WILLIAM COHEN, Chairman. HARRY CHANER, 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 8 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 23, I. L. G. W. U. Watkins 7950
Office, 16 West 31st St.
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. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 45, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4540
Office, 331 E. 14th Street.
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—331 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Brooklyn—157th St. & 2nd Avenue 1st & 3rd Thurs. at 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'klyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomery St.
SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary.

SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.
189 East 28th St. Madison Sq. 147.
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 8 P. M.
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 69, I. L. G. W. U.
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 1 West 31st Street. Telephone 7748—Watkins.
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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

130 East 35th St. Madison Square 1934
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.
M. POLINSKY, A. WEINGART, Sec'y-Treas.

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31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715
Telephone: Stuyvesant 6500-1-2-3-4-5
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7600-1-2-3-4
DAVID WOLF, General Manager ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
199 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4339, 9510, 9511
JOE GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 13th Street. Stuyvesant 5565.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 215 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 1302
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. C. W. of A.
Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387
Executive Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
MAX B. BOYARSKY, Chairman.
A. LEVINE, Sec. Sec'y.
M. LENCITZ, Fin. Sec'y.

Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10
A. C. W. of A. Section "B"
Office: 335 Bowhook Ave., B'klyn. Stuyvesant 10180
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m.
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.
J. Barrows, L. Feltman, Sec'y-Treas.
A. Spector, J. Kleinholz, Fin. Sec'y.

Lapel Makers & Pairers

Local 161, A. C. W. of A.
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3809
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. of A.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-22 Avenue B, B'klyn. N. Y.
LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman.
H. TAYLOR, A. LEON, Sec'y-Treas.

The Socialist Movement

V. What Capitalism Has Accomplished

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

Progress moves sidewise. Hitherto it has seemed impossible for the world to make any great advance without sorrow and suffering. Man-kind has not yet learned the trick of studying social forces, foreseeing what is just ahead and so avoiding the heartbreak—and bloodshed—that usually has gone with social changes and progress.

It is anticipating a bit to say it here, but it is nevertheless true that the Socialist movement is the first instance in all the world of reasoned-out preparation for great social change, a preparation based on study and organization that will make the change to the next stage in development far less painful than it otherwise would be, than any other change in the past has been.

In practically every other case, progress has gone hand in hand with sorrow and hunger and anguish. Capitalism is no exception.

The Crimes of Capitalism
Socialists know of the crimes of Capitalism. The enemy is not an occasional capitalist; not a particularly vicious exploiter; not a particularly crooked political boss. The enemy is Capitalism as a system, upon which is fastened responsibility for the bulk of the evils of the day, and the Socialist movement of the world has no other meaning except to build as a fighting force against Capitalism.

And yet, Capitalism represents progress. Socialists are glad to insist upon that fact, to point out the contributions to the world that capitalism has brought. Capitalism has grown out of the great industrial progress of the past century or so; it has grown out of railroads and

steamships; it has grown out of telegraph lines and mechanical inventions that have entered every part of the lives of the people. And those inventions have not only brought misery to the masses—they have brought light to the world.

As a matter of history and of economic understanding, let us look at some of the great contributions of the capitalist system.

The Machine Breakers

About a century ago, the workers of Lancashire, England, seeing that the invention of machinery that had created great cotton mills had thrown hundreds of thousands of workers out of work, and had made for miserable conditions for the rest, blamed the machinery for their own distress, and instigated a series of riots that had for their object the smashing of the machines. These "Luddite Riots," as they are known in history, have a significance far different than the sneers with which they are treated by conventional historians indicate. They were the natural reaction to intolerable conditions.

Likewise, there is the official Labor antagonism to "scientific management," "efficiency engineering," and similar plans.

Similarly, there has been much grumbling whenever a new machine has thrown people out of work. The wonderful linotype machine, one of the noblest works of the human brain, threw thousands of old printers out of work, men of the breed of Mark Twain and Ben Franklin and the rest of the old school of men who mixed brains with their lead. And many of the printers bitterly denounced the employers for installing that which would tend to throw them out of work, blinding themselves to the gains that society as a whole gained from their distress.

Conventional economists jeer at these workers for their "narrowness," but the Socialists do not.

The Socialists Understand

From the very beginning the Socialists realized the great value of the work of capitalism. The installation of machinery emancipated humanity from the drudgery of hand craft and the anguish of toil. The combination of units of production has made modern production. It has saved the world in every direction literally billions and trillions of dollars in value—sums the magnitude of which the human mind cannot grasp.

Any stupid lout could mechanically perform the simple operations of industry. Weaving cloth meant pushing something back and forth—little more. Tilling the soil, sowing crops, making flour—indeed, all the operations needed to do things required little more than dull, stolid, stodgy toil.

Machinery requires a little more. The man tending a great power loom must know a little about machinery. Not much—but something. Workers in factories must punch time clocks and sign payrolls. Men doing work on railroads must know a great deal about a variety of things, machinery, the weather, physics, mechanics. Miners must know something about geology.

It became more and more necessary for the workers to learn. They learned to read and write. They learned elementary things about life. Little by little, education spread, and universal suffrage without property qualifications, and as industry made each advance in general culture necessary, the use of that culture armed the workers to want more and more!

A Century's Progress

Today, we have a working class underpaid, oppressed, exploited, robbed, sent to war and slaughtered against their will—but in spite of everything, we have a working class a thousand thousand miles advanced over the working class of two hundred years ago.

Everyone reads a little. Everyone is able to write. Everyone knows a little about the conduct of Government and about music, and about the styles, and about the make of cars. Everyone goes to the movies.

We have sharp and distinct class lines today in most things, but unlike former generations, the workers, the class that does the work for the exploiting, owning class, are able to live lives that in certain respects resemble the lives of the master class.

With the beginning of capitalism, with the uniting of industries into giant combinations and trusts and monopolies, vast numbers of minor officials are needed. These officials are recruited from the working class. They are exploited, but they wear the clothing that the exploiters wear.

The shop girls on Delancey street, New York, or on Pitkin avenue, Brooklyn, promenade up and down, clothed almost exactly as the fine ladies of Fifth avenue are clothed. They are no longer compelled to drag out black and barren lives, totally devoid of any light. There is some advance.

The masses likewise have won political citizenship—no mean advance.

A New World for Workers

Workers are no longer nailed down to one spot of the country there to live all their miserable lives. They move around.

Workers are no longer considered merely clods; they have attained manhood and womanhood.

These things have been attained, not because of the goodness of capitalists and capitalism, but because capitalist industry has made it necessary to have a more or less skilled and educated and cultured working class.

These great gains for the workers have been won by the Labor unionism which has been bitterly fought by the capitalist rulers. But even the most efficient Labor unionism could not have won such gains if capitalism had not made it possible for the workers to enjoy these great things without impairing their own huge profits and luxurious lives. Capitalism had made it possible for the workers themselves to win better

lives for their class, something impossible even to conceive of in the days of domestic hand work and the stage-coach. Capitalism has not only exalted the owners of the world's good, but it has placed in the hands of the workers the weapons with which they have raised themselves, and with which it will be possible for them to win final emancipation from capitalism!

The Liberation of the World

The bourgeoisie, the newly liberated shop-keeping class; the ship owners and merchants; the men who climbed over the backs of others, established industries. They improved industries. They consolidated, and continued to improve. They roamed over the world for raw materials and never and better processes of industry. They found that by introducing improved machinery, by eliminating waste, by combining plants, it would be easy for them to make greater and greater profits. And so they combined plants, they reached into the clouds and made the lightning their slave; they conceived and worked out more improvements in the manner that man lives than in any other period in the world.

The electric light, and the manifold uses of electricity; the rapid improvement of railroad transportation; the rapid improvement of that most dangerous process of all, the art of printing; the democratization of amusement—all these things came out of the needs of the industrial system—nothing else accounts for it. The one motive is profit. But it achieved much.

These are some of the high lights of what capitalism has done for the world. The rewards were great—the whole world, and all its manifold richness and wealth, and undreamed of power, won by the capitalist class.

Further, there is no instance in all history, other than this, of a system developing, and rounding out, and achieving world power, within a single century.

Capitalism has done just that.

[Next week's chapter of "The Socialist Movement" will present "The Other Side of the Shield," the story of the evils of capitalism. Following that there will be "The Cry for Justice," the story of the struggle of the oppressed and exploited for expression, for organization and for liberty.]

Negro Gives Pledge to Back La Follette

"Senator La Follette's brave stand against the Klan has won him thousands of Negro votes in New York and New Jersey," says James T. Simpson, of 313 West 127th street, Negro war veteran, and former Republican candidate for the Assembly in the 19th Assembly District, who has taken charge of organizing the colored vote in this territory for La Follette and Wheeler.

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 CRIMES OF COURTS

By CHARLES SUMNER

Now that President Coolidge and Republicans in general are attacking the third party position regarding the Supreme Court, the following extract from a speech by Senator Sumner before the Massachusetts State Convention of Republicans at Worcester, September 7, 1854, will be of considerable interest.

JUDGES are but men, and in all ages have shown a full share of human frailty. Alas! alas! the worst crimes of history have been perpetrated under their sanction. The blood of martyrs and patriots, crying from the ground, summons them to judgment.

It was a judicial tribunal which condemned Socrates to drink the fatal hemlock, and which pushed the Saviour barefoot over the pavements of Jerusalem, bending beneath His cross. It was a judicial tribunal which, against the testimony and entreaties of her father, surrendered the fair Virginia as a slave; which arrested the teachings of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, and sent him in bonds from Judea to Rome; which in the name of the Old Religion, adjudged the saints and fathers of the Christian Church to death, in all its most dreadful forms; and which, afterwards, in the name of the New Religion, enforced the tortures of the Inquisition, amidst the shrieks and agonies of its victims, while it compelled Galileo to declare—in solemn denial of the great truth he had disclosed—that the earth did not move round the sun.

It was a judicial tribunal which lent itself to be the instrument of every tyranny, as during the brief reign of terror it did not hesitate to stand forth the unspying accessory of the unspying guillotine. Aye, sir, it was a judicial tribunal in England, surrounded by all the forms of law, which sanctioned every despotic caprice of Henry the Eighth, from the unjust divorce of his queen to the beheading of Sir Thomas More; which lighted the fires of persecution that glowed at Oxford and Smithfield, over the cinders of Latimer, Ridley and John Rogers; which, after elaborate argument, upheld the fatal tyranny of ship money against the patriot resistance of Hampden; which, in defiance of justice and humanity, sent Sidney and Russell to the block; which persistently enforced the laws of Conformity that our Puritan fathers persistently refused to obey; and which, afterwards, with Jeffries on the bench, crimsoned the pages of English history with massacre and murder—even with the blood of innocent woman.

Aye, sir, and it was a judicial tribunal in our own country, surrounded by all the forms of law, which hung witches at Salem, which affirmed the constitutionality of the Stamp Act, while it admonished "jurors and the people" to obey; and which now, in our day, has lent its sanction to the unutterable atrocity of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

THE NEW LEADER BAND-WAGON

The past week our office has looked like a young branch post office, with thousands of letters going out and swarms and shoals and sheaves of them coming in. The versatile young red-headed guy who used to ship books by the carload as sub premiums is now engaged in sorting out letters and extracting checks from them and placing new subscribers on our lists—assisted, of course, by our willing, good-natured and efficient young ladies.

Why keep a good thing to yourself? That is the motto of this subscription campaign that The New Leader is engaged in?

What profiteth it you that you take The New Leader, and like it, and write in and tell us about it, and all that, unless you tell someone else about it?

The New Leader wants a big circulation, growing all the time. We don't want it just out of vanity (although there is a considerable satisfaction to those who get out the paper if the paper is liked by its readers). We want it because The New Leader is published for a definite purpose, and that purpose cannot be achieved until a majority of the people think about social things about as we do and the rapid spread of these ideas depends upon the rapid spread of papers like The New Leader.

This week our Bandwagon is not so much a chronicle of what our friends think of us as it is a statement of what we need.

We need a doubled and trebled and quadrupled circulation within a short period. We want our readers to get it for us. We want every reader of The New Leader to get special campaign subs for us, at the special La Follette campaign rate of \$1 for six months and 50 cents for

three months. We want every reader of The New Leader AT ONCE to find the names of persons who NEED THE NEW LEADER, and either get their dollars and their halves, or else pay for them themselves, as the most effective kind of propaganda for our cause.

Here's the situation:

We are fighting the great battle of the La Follette-Wheeler campaign. We want to see them win, and WE WANT TO SEE A PERMANENT PARTY OF THE WORKERS GROW OUT OF THIS GREAT FIGHT.

We can cast one vote a-piece. One vote for us—one for the masters. But there are so many, many more of us than there are of the masters. How to get the ear and the mind—and the vote—of the masses; how to get at the soul of the masses? How to put La Follette in the White House to share the government of the world with such as MacDonald in London, Stauning in Copenhagen, and Calles in Mexico? That's easy—to get the millions to vote with us. And how to get them to vote with us. That's easy—get them to see things our way.

And there's no better way to do it than by getting The New Leader into the hands of all the working people you know—get them to read it, and comprehend what is in it.

IF THE NEW LEADER WERE PLACED IN THE HANDS OF EVERY WORKER IN THE COUNTRY, ON THE FARMS AND IN THE FACTORIES, BOB LA FOLLETTE WOULD BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT.

Do your part. HOW MANY SPECIAL CAMPAIGN SUBS ARE YOU GOING TO TURN IN THIS WEEK?

Coolidge 'Backers' Hired

(Continued from Page 1.)

Follette-Wheeler ticket. It was La Follette who introduced and brought about the passage of the famous Seamen's Act, for which he is loved and revered not only by the organized seamen of America, but by the seafaring men of the entire world. Poor old 'Dick' Powers. It is now a quarter of a century since he was ousted from membership in the seamen's union, away back in 1899. It is true that at one time he was connected with the old National Seamen's Union, but since the opening of the present century he has not had any connection with any organization of seamen. 'Dick,' like his colleague, 'Dan' Smith, has been making a living by serving as a Federal employe for many years. Chairman Butler must have been hard put when he had to haul old 'Dick' out of his snug berth and rig him up for public exhibition as an alleged leader of the Seamen's Union. The performance was amusing to say the least.

Light on Other 'Leaders' Dan G. Smith, a switchman, former General Chairman of the Rock Island lines, is described by James B. Connors, assistant General President of the Switchmen's International organization, who has been appointed by the general president to assist in bringing about the success of the La Follette-Wheeler ticket in this district. Mr. Connors says that Smith has not held an official

position in the union during the last four years, but has been a political lieutenant of Roy O. West during that time.

Another one of the 'Labor leaders' that Mr. Butler had on his list is E. M. Foley, announced as 'President of the International Dredgers' Union.' J. W. Tracy, Chicago district representative of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgers, was asked about Foley. Tracy said that Foley had no connection with his organization, which is for La Follette and Wheeler, he declared most emphatically. Tracy said that Foley was identified with a small union operating on the Great Lakes, whose membership totaled about 175, 'and not more than 200 at the most.'

Engineers Back 'Bob' David Evans, secretary of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, was very angry over the announcement of Chairman Butler that he was lining up the stationary engineers under the leadership of 'George Dolan.' Mr. Evans said:

'You can say for me that there is no officer in this organization, either local or international, by that name, and we seriously doubt whether George Dolan is even a member of our union. We are for La Follette and Wheeler 100 per cent. Our official journal has been carrying La Follette editorials for months past.'

Sinclair Supports La Follette

(Continued from Page 1.)

in our country's history before this, but nothing to equal the wholesale thievery, lying and brutality of the Wilson-Harding-Coolidge era. Men who love their country and believe in its destiny have been made sick by the spectacle. But we have good Republican party authority for the statement that 'you cannot fool all of the people all of the time.' And everywhere today it becomes manifest that the tide has turned at last.

Let me tell you one incident. Mr. Herbert Hoover visited his home in Palo Alto, California, two or three weeks ago. He there stated to his intimate friends that if the election

were held today California would go for La Follette; that all the Republican leaders knew it, and were going to bring their biggest guns out to the Coast in the effort to stem the tide. Then Mr. Hoover went back to Washington and interviewed the President, and assured the newspaper reporters that California was safe in the Republican column. You see, their campaign promises are worth exactly as much as their campaign promises!

No Ordinary Campaign But one thing is needed—to get the facts to the people; to let them realize what government for plunder means, to each of them individually, and to all of them collectively. This is no ordinary election campaign; it is a crusade for the overthrow of government by the corporations and the re-establishment of government by the general will. Men and women who realize this have not done their duty when they register and go to the polls and vote the La Follette-Wheeler ticket; they must remember that this is

Auditing.

George R. Cooper,
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their campaign and that they have to make it.

The Democratic and Republican campaigns are financed by fat checks signed by the heads of banks and big industrial interests; but the funds for the Progressive campaign must be contributed and collected by the people. Likewise the literature must be distributed by the people, and the meetings must be organized by the people. Let each one do his part, and vindicate our forefathers' faith that the people can govern themselves, and can be trusted to manage their own affairs.

Between La Follette and Coolidge

The election lies between yourself and President Coolidge. With two months of hard work you can be brought out at the top of the poll, and we shall establish upon a permanent basis a party of those who do the useful and necessary work of the country, as opposed to the two parties of those who speculate in stocks, and manipulate prices, and purchase political parties and public officials high and low.

With sincere personal regard,
UPTON SINCLAIR.

SOCIALIST GAINS IN MILWAUKEE PRIMARY VOTE

MILWAUKEE. — The Socialist Party nominated its full ticket and polled its largest primary vote at the primary elections held here recently. All the Socialist nominations had been made by the party by referendum and there were no primary contests, but in spite of that fact, between 14,000 and 15,000 Socialists went to the polls to place their ticket on the ballot.

This is the more remarkable when it is considered that in Wisconsin the primary is open, and any one can go into any primary. It is believed that the bulk of the 30,000 who voted for Lieutenant-Governor Comings for Governor were Socialist voters, who selected the Republican candidate who was the most radical and tried to put him on the Republican ticket.

Victor L. Berger, with 9,432 votes in the 5th district, will be opposed by a standpat, anti-La Follette Republican, Braun, who beat the La

See That Your Milk Man Wears
the Emblem of
The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, L. B. of T.
Office
585 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. STEINHAUS, Sec'y. & Bus. Agent.
NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS
Union Local No. 238
Office and Meeting Room:
108 Seventh Avenue, Phone 5849
Regular Meetings Every Monday. Ex-
ecutive Board Meets Fridays at 8 p. m.
GEO. B. HOWELL, Sec'y. & Bus. Agent.
J. J. COUGAN, Pres. F. J. NAULE,
Rec. Secretary Fin. Secretary

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
Lyceum, Telephone 3544.
Office hours, 8 to
10 a. m. and 4 to 6 p. m.
F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORT-
FOLIO MAKERS' UNION
62 University Place, Stuyvesant 6558
The Membership Committee and the Ex-
ecutive Board meet every second and
fourth Mondays of the month at the
office. Regular meetings every first Thurs-
day of the month at 151 Clinton St., N. Y.
Chas. Garfinkel, Org. Sec. H. Kaplan, Sec.

N. Y. Wood Carvers
and Modelers Association
Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday.
Board of Officers Meet 2nd & 4th Friday
213 East 44th Street, New York City
Frank Walter, H. Kramer,
President Rec. Secretary
A. Pugliese, Wm. Dettelbach,
Vice-Pres. Sec. Secretary
H. Vele, August Schrempf,
Treasurer Business Agent

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York.
Office and Headquarters, 253 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.
Regular meetings every Wednesday at 8 p. m.
MICHAEL J. MCGRATH, President.
WILLIAM PIPOTA, Financial Secretary.
WILLIAM MEHTENS, Recording Secretary.
CHARLES MADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents.

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

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.

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK
Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Mark's Place. Phone Orchard 1200
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
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President, Treasurer, Sec'y, & Bus. Agent.
HERMAN WIENER, JOHN EFRAIM, JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

Follette man. Berger will therefore be elected with a huge majority November 4, and it is expected that the full La Follette strength will go to him. In the 4th, Leo M. Kraycki was named, securing 5,297 primary votes. His election over John C. Shafer, Republican, is considered certain. In 1922, Edmund T. Melms, running in this district, was beaten by 631 votes in a total of 40,000.

In 1922, Berger received 8,216 votes in the primaries and 30,945 at the regular election, beating a La Follette Republican by 4,871.

The full legislative ticket of twenty-one Socialists was named, with a substantial margin over the minimum required by the election laws. Based upon the past experience of the party in primaries and elections, this year's primaries presage a tremendous victory for the Socialists in the county, legislative and Congressional elections.

HOW THE FAMINE WAS OVERCOME

There fell a famine on the land;
They gave the King to understand
That even in his richest town
Had Hunger stricken hundreds
down.

Now hearken in what cunning wise
Did this same King a cure devise:
He wrote a letter one fine day
To every town beneath his sway.
And this is what the letter said:
"For every poor man, starved and
dead,

A rich man I will prisoned hold,
And let him die of want and cold."

No soul was starved in all the land,
So speedily the rich men planned
Their superfluities to share
Till all and each full well did fare.
—Fr. Ruckert.

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& Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS
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Telephone Longacre 3629
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Fourth Monday at 8 P. M.
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Local No. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Bklyn.
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
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VALENTINE BUMB, Vice-President. JOHN TEMMIN, Treasurer.
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LOCAL UNION 488
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OFFICE: 801 EAST 161ST ST. Telephone Melrose 0674.
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Telephone Plaza—4100-5116. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

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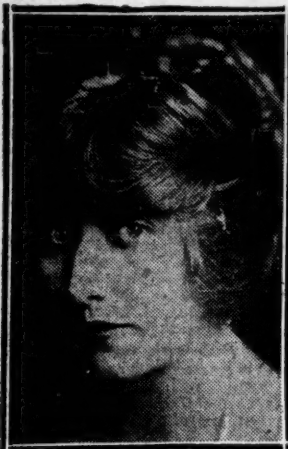
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D R A M A

Bacon or Shakespeare

IN a new work, "The Story of Hamlet and Horatio" (Selwyn and Blount, London), the ages old controversy comes up again. This time the anonymous author of this portly and imposing volume goes, not one, but a whole hundred better than any previous exponent of the theory that the true author of the tragedy of "Hamlet" was Francis Bacon. "Reading 'Hamlet' in conjunction with historical records," he "sets forth the view that the author of the play dealt with many events, including their causes and consequences, closely connected with the state of affairs in England and Scotland when, towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the question 'Who is to succeed her?' became one of absorbing interest to the people of Great Britain and to Europe in general." According to him, all the principal characters in the play can be closely identified. Bacon depicts himself as Hamlet; Shakespeare, the producer of the play, is Horatio; the Queen is Elizabeth herself; the murdered King is the unfortunate Earl of Essex; and so on. It must be confessed that considerable ingenuity and a more than respectable erudition are expended on the development of this quaint thesis. The illustrations, mainly portraits of prominent Elizabethans, are numerous and excellent. At least, this work has an original slant.



CHARLOTTE GREENWOOD
the delightful comedienne heads
the cast of Hassard Short's Ritz
Revue, due at the Ritz Theatre,
Wednesday night.

Always Here

"The Passing Show of 1924" at Winter Garden

With its usual array of comedians and songsters and dancing derbies, the Winter Garden spreads its new revue. The great flocking, in recent seasons, of English productions and such native faunts as "Artists and Models," has used up the present stock of original ideas; but there is much that is pleasing in slightly varied repetition. The Winter Garden itself has set so many paces, for daring tableaux of dazlingly divulged female forms, for quick tongued and toed comedians, that it cannot hope to surpass itself, and must be content to reproduce its superb best. The show this year slumps a bit, by virtue of these outside developments; the device by which the early scenes are introduced is not new, and almost every scene itself suggests this or that popular bit of recent fame. A Study in Porcelain, that springs from the "Chauve Souris," is one of the best worked pieces, the dancing postures having been given the true spirit of the old porcelain ware. The fapper's version of history is also effective, with the flirtatious Paul Revere, riding at night to his sweetheart's home (a sweetheart he meets for the first time that night). "Outward Bound," too, catches the audience, with its presentation of the Presidential candidates, though its satire is less sound than popular.

Personality plays a great part in all revues, and this one is well supplied. James Barton, especially as a dandy, is irresistible. George Hassell is an old-timer whose character portraits are superbly done. Jack Rose has a hat crushing scene, wherein he tells how wild he is, that takes the house



JIMMIE HUSSEY

is coming to the Broadhurst Theatre Tuesday night, in "Izzy," a new comedy by Mrs. Trimble Bradley and George Broadhurst.

by storm. In the Trade Twins, and especially in the Harrington Sisters, the revue has dancers who are fresh and graceful, lively and spirited, with a swing and a sway that carries the evening along to its last curtain.

J. T. S.

Stanislavski Raps Policy of American Theatre

Noted Russian Impresario States Our Drama is "Business Enterprise"

STANISLAVSKI, the Russian actor-manager of the Moscow Art Theatre, on his return to Moscow, following the second visit of the organization to the United States, issued a statement, "that the American theatre is operated only for profit, and that Americans cannot conceive of the existence of a theatre with purely artistic aims." To a reporter of the Soviet press, continues the Moscow correspondent of The Billboard, the famous Russian impresario said there is no original theatre in America; that they are all operated along the same line and in much the same manner as business enterprises:

"In America the putting on a theatrical performance is a very simple matter," Stanislavski declared. "The American entrepreneur who has a theatre with bare walls wants to work it to the utmost possible, and generally forgets the artistic side. He enlists

one well-known favorite, then collects a company, picks up a vehicle, and within a few weeks a new electric sign shines forth, say 'Hamlet' or anything you like.

"Hamlet may last a week, a day, a month or a year as long as the public keeps coming and the box-office receipts hold up. When they don't, the entrepreneur finds a new star and a new piece, and the whole affair begins over again."

Stanislavski admitted that this system was displeasing to the American public and the press, especially to the latter, which was continually demanding better trained companies and a repertory theatre, but the movies and vaudeville competed with the theatre so fiercely, in his opinion, that it was not worth the while to build new theatres or innovate new methods. He claims it was no use "because Americans think about profit and profit only."

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"SCHEMERS," a modern play by Dr. William Irving Sirovich, will be presented by Herman Timberg at the Bayes Theatre on Monday evening. The cast includes William Harrigan, Marie Carroll, Ralph Sipperly, Peggy Allenby, Paul Harvey, William Barrows, Virginia Smith, John Saunders and J. M. Bennett. The play was staged by Mr. Timberg.

TUESDAY

"IZZY," a new comedy, adapted by Mrs. Trimble Bradley and George Broadhurst, from a series of short stories by the late George Randolph Chester and Lillian Chester, will open on Tuesday night, at the Broadhurst Theatre, presented by George Broadhurst. The cast is headed by Jimmie Hussey and includes Isabelle Lowe, Helene Lackaye, Dodson Mitchell, Harold Waldried, Ralph Locke and Robert Leonard. The play has been staged by Mrs. Trimble Bradley.

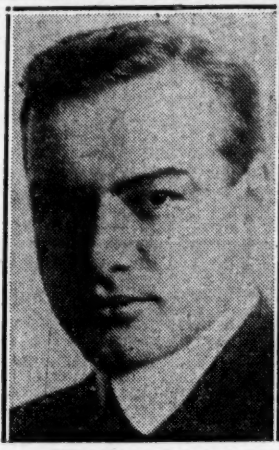
WEDNESDAY

"HASSARD SHORT'S RITZ REVUE," is scheduled to open at the Ritz Theatre, Wednesday night. This is the first output of Hassard Short as an independent producer. Charlotte Greenwood heads the cast, and others include Tom Burke, Jay Brennan, Madeleine Fairbanks, Chester Hale, Myrtle Schaaf, Stanley Rogers, William Ladd, Albertina Vitak, Hal Forde, Eddie Conrad, Lelia Ricard and Walter Bradbury.

"MY SON," is announced by Gustav Blum, to open at the Princess Theatre, Wednesday night. The cast follows: Joan Gordon, Martha Madison, Margaret Shackelford, Sarah Truax, Herbert Clark, Claude Cooper, E. L. Fernandez and George MacQuarrie.

THURSDAY

"GREENWICH VILLAGE FOLLIES," the sixth annual production, is announced for Thursday night, at the Shubert Theatre, by The Bohemians, Inc., A. L. Jones and Morris Green. It was devised and staged by John Murray Anderson. The cast of principals include the Dolly Sisters, Vincent Lopez and his Pennsylvania orchestra, Roshanara, Don Barclay, Ethel Davis, George Moran and Charles Mack, Dorothy Neville, George Rasely, Julia Silvers, John Sheehan, and Anna Ludmilla.



WILLIAM HARRIGAN

will be seen in a new play, "The Schemers," by Dr. William Irving Sirovich, opening at the Bayes Theatre, Monday night.

War As It Is

"What Price Glory?" by Maxwell Anderson and Laurence Stallings at the Plymouth Theatre

The little sputter of war plays this season has produced sentimentality of various sorts, in the usual doses; "What Price Glory?" ploughs right through this muck to a downright realism that reeks with the coarseness and the cynicism of the trenches and makes the play the most powerful war drama of some seasons. The plot we need not discuss; it is extravagant and outlandish; but it is so bespattered and befouled with the inevitable filth and heedlessness of combat that it is well covered and unobserved. Stallings has just published a book, "Plumes," in which the same frank facing of life in the war-lines is shown. The play probably has more profanity per capita than any other ever written, but this becomes part of the environment, and serves merely as colorful strengthening of the impression. The play is as honest a presentation of war as Broadway is likely to see.

Not that it faces the issue frankly, as the old "War Brides," or a dozen German plays such as Toller's "Hobbe-man." It has, indeed, a sentimentality of its own, a sentimentality of oaths and careless soldiers and war as an indifferent matter of business that must be done. Reality is there only in part; the horror is held carefully out of sight or in faint suggestion; even the "hard-boiled" Captain Flag (Louis Wolheim) has very tender moments. But there are hints at the callousness and the brutality that war develops; the most savage of the soldiers is the General, who never gets near the front line. The First Sergeant (an excellent part, with William Boyd) hands a wounded man some morphine, to take in five doses. "What will you say if I take it all at once, when you're not looking?" "That's your affair," says the Sergeant, not even turning. The Captain longs for a hundred men who know their business, not "a damn lot of boys too young for this sort of thing." And at the end one of them remarks, as he marches back into the fight he's just come from, after a four days' grueling: "What a lot of damn asses it takes to make a war!" This is a good play to listen to and think about on Mobilization Day.

J. T. S.

Vaudeville Theatres

HIPPODROME

Grace La Rue, Ray Miller and his Arcadia Band, "The Carnival of Venice," Wells, Virginia and West, Mme. Tenkatsu, Elaine Lettor, Paul Remos and his Wonder Midgits, The Brants, "The Riding Roomers," Handers and Mellis, Les Scalls, and "Toytown."

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

Beginning Monday, B. S. Moss' Broadway will have the first New York presentation of a new Universal photoplay entitled "Wine." In "Wine" the phantom floating cabaretship serves as a background for scenes of the photoplay. The cast includes Clara Bow, Forrest Stanley, Huntley Gordon, and Myrtle Stedman. It is an adaptation of a story by William McHugh. The program of Keith vaudeville will include "Thank You, Doctor," a comedy skit, Marino and Martin, The Memphis Five, a new musical organization, Lew and Madeline Wilson, and Rome and Gaut.



MARION DAVIES

in "Yolanda," by Charles Major, at the Capitol Theatre, beginning Sunday.

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—EVENING POST.

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"The Musical Play De Luze"

FAY Bainter

(By Arrangement with W. Harris Jr.)
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Lost Opera

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with
WALTER WOOLF
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN

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FATA MORGANA

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GARRICK 65 W. 35th St. Ev. 8:30
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

JOHN GOLDEN NEW HIT

A LITTER OF LAUGHS

Staged by FRANK CRAVEN

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"What Price Glory"

Maxwell Anderson & Laurence Stallings
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Unless you have felt the thrills of amazement, have been spellbound by the weird supernatural demonstrations of THURSTON, you have missed an experience of the RAREST MENTAL SENSATIONS.

WEEK OF SEPT. 22ND
"T. A. R. N. I. S. H."

With Original Belmont Theatre Cast

The Shuberts are planning a free dancing school. Upon the completion of a full course in dancing the girls will be automatically placed in their musical productions.

The school will be under the supervision of Bud Murray, stage director of "The Dream Girl."

Vincent Lopez (himself) and his Hotel Pennsylvania orchestra, have been engaged for the sixth season at Roseland. Jan Garber and his Garber-Davis orchestra and the orchestra of Sam Lanin are added attractions.

Thurston at the Bronx Opera House

Thurston will appear at the Bronx Opera House beginning Monday night, with his magic wand.

In the magician's repertoire are some of his best known illusions. He will introduce the East Indian Rope Trick, presented for the first time out of India; also the vanishing of Beauty, Thurston's snow-white Arabian horse; and the vanishing of The Phantom Princess.

NOTES

The production of "Le Coq d'Or" at the Frazee Theatre, announced for Monday, has been postponed until September 22. In the interim "Sweeney Todd" will continue.

The Yiddish Art Theatre opened its seventh season at its theatre in Madison Square Monday night with a revival of "The Dabbuk." Maurice Schwartz is again seen in the leading role.

Opium and Ethics

THE ETHICS OF OPIUM. By Ellen La Motte. The Century Co. New York: \$1.75.

About three years ago, Miss Ellen La Motte published "The Opium Monopoly." For some time it was conveniently "out of print" when requests were received for it.

For more than two years recently La Motte lived in England, and one of the things that came out of her sojourn there was her second book on the subject of the world's great evil—a small volume entitled "The Ethics of Opium." She sets down on the first page this from "Locksley Hall":

*But the jungling of the guinea helps the hurt that honor feels.
And the nations do but murmur,
snarling at each other's heels.*

And no one of the nations that profits from this vicious traffic, escapes attention in this small but informative volume—not even the United States, a fertile field for drug-rings, agents and one of the world's greatest manufacturers of opium products. Miss La Motte's warning—apropos of certain Congressional legislation that "has clipped the wings of our manufacturers"—but this sort of thing will bear watching, and her further testimony that "legislation can at best only temporarily impede the flow of the drug," is worthy of serious thought. "The circulation of dangerous drugs," she says, "will always go on while production continues—a production that accrues to the advantage of opium—producing countries bound, in the nature of things, to fight considered opposition to the traffic.

This book will show the extent of this traffic throughout the globe. Especially do India, Persia and Turkey, the three leading producing countries, come in for extended consideration—particularly India. Miss La Motte does not fall into the common error of speaking of the "Government of India" as though it was totally unrelated to Great Britain. It is the British-Indian Government, she says plainly, that has to bear the responsibility for the calculated over-production of the deadly drug. She illuminates the situation as it exists in all the British possessions, where "commercial greed," together with a wanton disregard for human life and welfare, has made the use of opium for its own ends "nothing short of a crime."

When this writer says that "throughout the whole fabric of the indefensible business runs British influence, direct or indirect," she must be listened to, for she is an

The Poet and the Revolution

A Review by Wm. M. Feigenbaum.



ERNST TOLLER

MAN AND THE MASSES; A PLAY. By Ernst Toller. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$2.

Whether "Masse Mensch," the play of the German revolution written by Ernst Toller in his German prison cell, will live as great literature cannot be guessed now. But it is certain that in the history of the German revolution this play (and the circumstances of its writing and production) will become an impor-

tant and historical document. An American young lady saw the play in Berlin in 1922, two years after the Kapp putsch, four years after the revolutionary outbreak that sent monarchy flying and that enthroned the German people—or betrayed them, according to your own point of view; she said the scene was impressive. A huge amphitheatre of wooden benches jammed to the rafters, and after the last scene was over, a voice was raised "Freiheit für Toller!" ("Freedom for Toller!"), and the cry was caught up and echoed and re-echoed until the whole place rang with the shout.

In 1924, it was one of the most interesting productions in New York, but hardly stirring. It was a study; it was interesting; it did not set the pulses dancing and the shivers running up and down the spine. It is unfair to compare it with Hauptmann's "Weavers," the story of an earlier revolt that failed.

This Theatre Guild edition of "Man and the Masses," as the play has been renamed in English, contains an interesting introduction by Louis Untermeyer, who translated the play, with an illuminating account of the life of Toller. For that alone the book is worth having. The text of the play is sufficiently well known not to require discussion here, after the numerous reviews of the stage production.

What does the play mean? To a realistic Socialist like myself it means that a noble spirit has been

shaken to the very soul of him by the terrific events of 1914-1919, and that he cannot grasp them; that the blind impulse toward revolt, toward an attack with guns and dynamite, is so easy to follow that it is followed, and that such an impulse necessarily leads to disaster. In the very end, the Woman tells the spirit of the Mass—namely, the leadership of the Communist party—that

"You are not deliverance. You are not salvation. But I know who you are. 'Kill him!' you cried. Always your cry is 'Kill him!'"

Your father's name is War. You are his bastard. . . . You murder for humanity. As those deluded ones murdered for the State. And there were some who surely felt

That through their State their Fatherland,

The earth would be redeemed. . . . I would betray the masses

If I demanded a single human life. A leader has no right to sacrifice any one but himself."

That is the gist of the play, the troubled acceptance by the masses of armed revolt, and then their revolt against that method, which was their masters'. As a Socialist argument against Communist methods it is excellent. A Socialist, of course, is hardly an unprejudiced person to judge of its literary merit, but it certainly reads well, indeed, absorbingly.

The printed version by the way, reveals the fact that when the revolutionists were trapped in their meeting hall, they sang the International. On the stage, the actors of the Theatre Guild sang the Marseillaise. What was the matter; couldn't the managers visit the Rand School and get Herman Epstein to lend them the music of the International—and possibly drill them in singing it? Or didn't they care to desecrate the stage with the song that means so much to enslaved millions?

Anyway, it's a mighty interesting piece of work, and whether time will reveal it to be a new "Weavers," of permanent literary value, or in a class with Ebenezer Elliott's anti-Corn Law rhymes—merely interesting as a historic document—it is a pleasure to have it in permanent book form. Every Socialist should get a copy of it at once and keep it as a souvenir of the time when it seemed to so many of us that the great Day had come at last.

BLANCHE WATSON.

Greed—Death—Life

By CLEMENT WOOD

*What is the tune the wind sings?
"Greed . . . Greed . . . Greed . . ."
Men the dupes of moneyed kings.
Of laws, and lies, and unclean things:
As slaves they cower, as slaves
they bleed—
"Greed . . ."*

*What is the horror the night cries?
"Death . . . Death . . . Death . . ."
Rotting in lonely prison sties,
Shot under free and friendly skies,
Robbed of speech and robbed of
breath—
"Death . . ."*

*What is the joy the dawn brings?
"Life . . . Life . . . Life . . ."
And laughter, and love's enveloping
wings,
An end to strife, an end to greed,
And Labor awake, and the people
freed—
"Life . . .!"*

A Gifted Writer

FAR AWAY AND LONG AGO. By W. H. Hudson. New York: E. P. Dutton. \$2.

Occasionally an exceptionally gifted writer is able so to vivify incidents in themselves trifling as to make them assume almost epic proportions. He does this by no trick, by no artifice of emphasis, but by his ability to present his memory as it appears to him, free from disturbing and extraneous factors. It might have been expected that W. H. Hudson, who wrote "Green Mansions," should give us an autobiography possessing this virtue.

We know little enough of South America and its rich life so utterly different from our own. The mingling of Indian, Catholic Spanish, and later English and German influences, has produced a civilization only very imperfectly seen through the screen thrown up by the newspapers, palace revolutions and Argentine prize-fighters. Hudson grew up in South America while the old Spanish culture was crumbling under the impact of industrialization. He was not wholly conscious of the processes that were going on around him. He is the perfect mirror in whom events are reflected. Yet reflected in a way so charming that the reader regrets that this book ever comes to an end.

Hudson is primarily a naturalist of that puttering sort that arouses the ire of the botanical theorist. He may or he may not have made valuable additions to botanical knowledge, but he never made, nor ever could have made, any addition to biological theory. His was the sort of mind that loved and admired rather than analyzed; the poet's mind dealing with birds and with flowers. But then a Darwin never could have made the pampas, and the tangled forests of the Amazon, live for us as Hudson has. A De Vries could never have permitted himself to invent a Rima. It is our good fortune that a mind so constituted set itself the task of recording the South America now rapidly vanishing.

DAVID P. BERENBERG.

Spanish Highlands

MARIFLOR. By Concha Espina. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$2.50.

The author of this story is one of Spain's foremost novelists. This month her native city of Santander holds a celebration in her honor. A park is to be dedicated to her, a marble bust and fountain are to be unveiled, and a library is to be established as a tribute to her work.

Mariflor is a tale of the Spanish highlands with sufficient romance to carry what is really a portrayal of the drab life of its inhabitants. For this romance the author has been awarded "the highest prize in the gift of the Spanish Academy," according to the publishers' announcement. The peasants of this region are descendants of the ancient tribe of the Maragatos. Their isolation from modern currents of progress, their arrested development, the barren soil which they till, their poverty, folk prejudices and customs, recall the social life and culture of several million Americans still living in the pockets of the Southern Appalachians.

To this land of the Maragatos, Mariflor returns to marry the man chosen for her by her father. While en route to the highlands she meets the man of her choice and her struggle between what she believes to be duty to her father and poverty-stricken relatives and love for the man of her choice is portrayed with power and feeling. But this sad romance only serves to depict the dull and drudging existence of the Maragatos peasants. This paragraph presents the social and economic background:

"Upon the noble paramo of Leon the native soil of the purest of the race, the theatre and relic of immortal memories, drowse the Maragatan people, unknown and obscure, the offshoot of a remote race of mysterious origin. For entire centuries have they survived the desolation of the desert waste, alone in the integrity of their rare purity, stranded upon the plain like a helpless ship grounded and sinking, which is abandoned and forgotten in the turbulent sea of civilization. But, at last, in the tragedy of this phantom ship, the stronger saved themselves. The laws of the sea of land, more harsh than those that rule on the seas of water, permitted that the women and children should forever remain captive on the barbaric waves of the desert waste, while the useful men demanded to be taken in tow by the life of progress that they might exploit its shores. And the poor Maragatan women found themselves alone, condemned never to become extinguished, because their husbands frequently approached this silent fleet of brave women of the Maragato land becalmed upon the plain; potent and virile, they come to impose the propagation of the species as a tribute, to leave the seed of the race in the fecund organs of women so capable that even in the cruel paramo they have produced flowers."

It is as social history of a section of Spain that this novel interests us. It presents a cross section of Spanish life that is poignant in its waste of human possibilities and its arrested social development.

J. O.

D R A M A

Vienna to Celebrate
The Stage Included in Festival of One Month

PREPARATIONS for Vienna's musical-theatrical festival, says the New York Review, which will be one of the most important events in the artistic world since the war, are now in full swing. It begins September 14 and will last one month. It will show that in spite of war and revolution Austria has continued to develop artistic life in the highest degree.

Several last minute changes have been made in the program. Jeritza has expressed an ardent desire to take part before sailing for America and will therefore open the operatic program with Salome. Chaliapin will give one concert, singing for the first time in Vienna. A Volkfest will be held in Town Hall Square on the opening day.

In theatrical circles, Schnitzler's "Comedy of Seduction" is awaited with interest. Other premieres include "Sword of Attila," by Ernest Fischer, who is only 24 years old, and "Maximilian and Jurek," by Franz Werfel, proofs of which were ready only today. Another play not given for seventy years is "House of Temperaments," by Johan Nestroy, in which the stage is divided into four sections, four scenes being played simultaneously.

"Artists and Models" Coming to Astor Theatre

The Messrs. Shubert announce that the new "Artists and Models" which is now in rehearsal will be housed at the Astor Theatre. Like its predecessor, the new revue is based on the annual show recently staged by the Society of Illustrators which is made up of the best known artists of New York. Harry Wagstaff Gribble is directing rehearsals. The out of town premiere takes place next Monday at Atlantic City, coming to New York later.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"Wine," with Clara Bow, Forrest Stanley, Myrtle Stedman, Huntley Gordon and Walter Long.

CAMEO—Rudolph Valentino in "Monsieur Beaucaire," by Booth Tarkington.

CAPITOL—Marion Davies in "Yolandis," by Charles Major.

RIALTO—A. S. M. Hutchinson's "The Clean Heart," with Percy Nanton and Otis Harlan.

RIVOLI—Thomas Meighan in "The Alaskan."

STRAND—"The Sea Hawk," from Rafael Sabatini's novel.

Wm. A. Brady Plans
Andrew Jackson Play Early this Season

WILLIAM A. BRADY starts rehearsals today for an early production in New York of "The Awful Mrs. Eaton," the "Andrew Jackson" play, by Stephen Vincent Benet and John Farrar.

Other plays intended for production by Mr. Brady during the season include "Juliet's Balcony," a comedy of today by Dillard Long and E. E. Frederick; "The Man Who Never Grew Up," by William Addison Lathrop; "Eileen," by William J. McNally; "A Woman," by Elinor Rand; "The Sable Coat," by Dorrance Davis, recently successfully tried out on the Jersey Circuit; "Kittie's Kisses," a musical make-over of "Little Miss Brown," by Philip H. Bartholomae, Otto Harbach and Irving Caesar, with music by George Gershwin, and "All Alone Susie," by Lea D. Freeman, which Mr. Brady will produce in association with Thomas Wilkes.

Grace George has finished her adaptation of Paul Gerdard's play, "Si Je Voulaiss" (If I Would), and will make her first appearance in the play October 27 at Washington, D. C., and coming to New York in November. Alice Brady may be seen in a new play following her screen work and vaudeville tour.

Three companies will tour the country in the Goodman-Knoblock dramatization of the Robert Keable novel, "Simon Called Peter," which will not be seen in New York until after the new year.

Notes

"The Werewolf," the continental play by Dr. Rudolph Lothar, now at the 49th Street Theatre, will be issued in book form.

"The Swan," Molnar's fascinating comedy will end its four weeks' engagement at the Empire on Saturday, September 20. The play then goes to Chicago where it will open at the Blackstone Theatre on Monday, September 22.

Elizabeth Hines in "Marjorie," will move to the 44th Street Theatre, Monday evening.

Lionell Atwill in "The Outsider," will be at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre for the week commencing Monday.

Carolyn Mackay has been engaged for the Chicago company of "Expressing Willie." She will play the part now being played by Louise Closser Hale at the 48th Street Theatre, which by the way just celebrated its 150th performance.

A. L. Erlanger, in conjunction with Sam H. Harris, has leased the Sam H. Harris Theatre in Chicago for a long term of years.

Martin Beck's first dramatic offering for the season will be "The Tragedy of



CLARA BOW

in the Universal feature, "Wine," due at the Broadway Monday.

"Man," a play from the German of Emerich Madach. The premiere will take place in the fall at the newly constructed theatre in West Forty-fifth street.

Walter Hast, the English producer, announces new plays. Harry Green, who played "Welcome Stranger" in London, will be featured in a new comedy entitled "Around in Par," by W. Leslie Hickson and William Lee Dickson. It will open in Elmhurst, September 12 and after two weeks come to New York.

Victoria Morris Smith a Californian, has written three new plays for him. Mr. Hast will also produce "The Hall of Lost Footsteps" and later a Chinese drama called "West Meets East."

A theatre is now being built for him in Hollywood which he will conduct in addition to the house in Los Angeles.

Winthrop Ames is now rehearsing "Old Man Minick," the new comedy by George S. Kaufman and Edna Ferber, based on the short story by Miss Ferber. O. P. Heggie is in the cast.

Nana Bryant has been engaged to play opposite Joseph Schildkraut in "The Firebrand," a new play by Edwin Justus Mayer.

David Belasco will present Leonore Ulric in Ferenc Molnar's play, "The Red Mill." The story concerns the temptation of a good man by the devil. Miss Ulric will play the woman used by the devil to tempt the man.

Once more Molnar will have two plays on the American stage this season, the other, "Antonia," which the Frohman office will produce later.

MUSIC

"Aida" Opens Manhattan Opera Season Monday

Saturday evening's presentation of Verdi's opera, "Aida," at the Manhattan Opera House, will inaugurate the fortnight's engagement at the former Hammerstein music temple of the Manhattan Grand Opera Association, with many new Italian stars and a number of new American singers. The roster of principals includes, soprano: Mmes. Adriana Bocanera, coloratura; Clara Jacobo, Beatrice Melagrano, Frances Papete, Rosa Righi Buska.

Mezzo sopranos: Mmes. Edith Nelson, Dorothy Pilzer, Giuseppina La Puma.

Tenors: Messrs. Giuseppe Radaelli, Nina Oldrati, Rogelio Baldrich, Giuseppe Oliviero.

Baritones: Messrs. Enrico Nani, Jorgen Bendix, Alfredo Zagaroli, Francesco Novelli, Giuseppe Menotti.

Bassos: Messrs. Amedeo Taverna, Nino Ruisi.

Conductors: Messrs. Emilio Capizano, Alberto Baccolini.

Next week's repertoire follows: Monday night, "La Traviata"; Tuesday, "La Tosca"; Wednesday, "Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci"; Thursday, "Norma"; Friday, "Rigoletto"; Saturday, "Il Traviatore."

Furtwangler to Conduct Philharmonic Orchestra

Wilhelm Furtwangler, one of the most famous of contemporary European orchestra conductors, and the successor of Nikisch with the Berlin Philharmonic, will make his American debut as guest conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra next winter.

The engagement of Furtwangler follows that of Igor Stravinsky, the eminent Russian composer, who also will make his American debut as a guest composer-conductor with the Philharmonic this winter.



THURSTON

the noted man of magic will mystify the Bronx Opera House patrons next week.

Shorter Notices

Some of the more important books of special interest to thinking workers are included in the following announcements of publishers.

The Republic Publishing Company is bringing out "The Story of Teapot Dome," by M. E. Ravage. This book should be timely to all who are interested in the La Follette campaign and the third party movement. On the list of the same firm is "The Labor Spy," by Sidney Howard in collaboration with Robert Dunn. This is an expansion of a pamphlet by the same author with new material. These books are the second and third volumes in the dollar series of the Republic Publishing Company. They will be reviewed in The New Leader.

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF KARL MARX. By M. Beer, Author of "Social Struggles in Antiquity," "Social Struggles in the Middle Ages," etc. Translated by T. C. Partington and H. J. Stenning, and Revised by the Author.

A primer on Marx and his social theories for the student and reader of economics. The significance of Marx's doctrines, his life, friendships, days of cloud and sunshine, together with the rise of the Communist party and the Internationals are all told clearly, succinctly. Finally, there is a closely reasoned exposition of the Marxian System; the Materialistic Conception of History; Classes, Class Struggles and Class Consciousness, the Role of the Labor Movement and the Proletarian Dictatorship.—Small, Maynard and Co.

EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN POLITICS. By Edgar E. Robinson. By the author of "History of American Political Parties," Pro-

fessor of History, Stanford University.

Beginning with the genesis of party government in America, this book traces the development and history of the succession of parties which have been the agencies for the expression of public opinion in this country. The author conceives of party as an organization quite apart from government, deriving its support from the segment of voters allied to it. He reveals the structure of the present American political grouping and shows how small bodies of men under the cloak of their parties are able to exercise the governing powers of the nation.—Harcourt, Brace and Co.

SEVENTY YEARS OF LIFE AND LABOR. By Samuel Gompers.

The life story of Samuel Gompers is the story of his time. It is the story of the remarkable changes which have come over industry—for Mr. Gompers has witnessed the transition from hand labor to high-speed machinery. His activities have extended into almost every field of public human endeavor. He has been Labor leader, diplomat, economist, teacher and friend. Above all, Samuel Gompers has been a man of Labor, and as such tells his life story in this book. It is at once the biography of a great man and the story of the advancement and the achievement of American Labor. In two volumes.—Dutton's.

All Books Reviewed on this page, and every other book, obtainable at the
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Saturday, Sept. 13, 1924

THE LA FOLLETTE MEETING

WHAT promises to be the greatest political meeting of this campaign in New York City will be held in Madison Square Garden on Thursday, September 18, when Robert M. La Follette will be the chief speaker.

La Follette is of the Middle West, and around his personality have gathered organizations of farmers and wage workers that are challenging the two-party alliance that has ruled the nation since the end of the Civil War. It has brought fear into the ranks of this alliance. It is recognized as the most serious and the most powerful political revolt in fifty years. It promises to bring a realignment in future political contests and bring the working masses to the front as a powerful independent factor in the politics and Government of the United States.

Considering the importance of this meeting, all other meetings to be arranged by the third party sections should avoid conflict with September 18. The Madison Square Garden meeting will be the greatest of this important political struggle. All workers in the movement should make a record of the date and cooperate in making it a success.

COOLIDGE AND THE COURTS

CALVIN COOLIDGE has discovered a number of things regarding the Constitution. It is "the source of our freedom," it is the refuge of the minority, and to deprive it of its power to dump laws into the waste basket would be little short of impious. Congress is not a judicial body and when it sits on contested elections "it has a tendency to decide in a partisan way."

Really, this is the essay of a school boy who has not yet discarded his pants. In the one case when the Supreme Court acted on a contested election, the Hayes-Tilden contest, it decided every question "in a partisan way." We believe that there is not a single historian who denies this. It is true that Congress acts in this way as a rule in political contests but the same thing holds true of the Supreme Court.

Congress is not a judicial body. We agree. But the court is a legislative body when it sets laws aside. If Congress should not be judicial why should the Supreme Court be legislative? If it rips laws out of the statute books, laws placed there by Congress, it exercises a legislative function. The repeal of laws is no less a legislative function than their enactment. Coolidge wants the court to be a legislative as well as a judicial body.

More significant is this admission that the Supreme Court is intended as a bulwark of the minority. He is right in one sense. It has represented minorities but not all of them. It protected a handful of slave owners until slavery was wiped out by civil war. In the Coronado decision, the Duplex decision, and other decisions it has protected the minority of open shoppers and Labor exploiters.

But there is another minority it has not protected. Is Coolidge so short of memory as not to know that war dissenters of all types served prison sentences in defiance of the very civil rights clause of the Constitution which he mentions? Is he ignorant of the fact that the minority of helpless child slaves have no standing before the Supreme Court and that the difficult process of amendment must be resorted to in order to emancipate them from the minority of Labor exploiters?

We are happy to have this dull pupil of the late Murray Crane make this assault on the third party. He tries to serve his class but he unwittingly serves us as well.

DAVIS AND THE COURTS

A REMARKABLE fact regarding the speeches of Coolidge and Davis delivered in Baltimore and Lincoln respectively last week is that both used similar arguments in defense of the Supreme Court. Each speaker assumed a minority appealing to the court when the rights of free press, free assembly and free speech are invaded and concluded with the assumption that such rights would be vindicated by the court. On this score they defended

The Party of the Workers Can Govern

Labor's First Session

by J. H. W. Massingham

ALL of us remember the chorus of flouts and jeers which started the first Labor Government on its difficult path. It could not, we were told, administer. It dared not legislate. Being in a minority, it could not run the House of Commons. Knowing nothing of foreign affairs, or the Empire, it was bound to make a hash of its diplomacy, and to get hopelessly wrong with the Dominions. In a word—Mr. Churchill's word—"Labor was unfit to govern," and the country would have to go back to the parties which gave it the Great War and the Glorious Peace, and provided nearly a million dead Britishers and two million workless ones, to attest these achievements.

Well, these hopes and fears, these honest and dishonest critics, have been confounded. There has been no Labor catastrophe, and consequently no need to recall those public benefactors, Lord Grey and Mr. Lloyd George, to the counsels of Empire. On the contrary, the Government has succeeded beyond the expectations, not those only of its enemies, but of its friends. Its diplomacy is a vision of light compared with the Georgian nightmare. Its Parliamentary work has yielded the fullest first Session of our times—far fuller than those of the two strongest Liberal Governments I have known—those of the Gladstone Ministry of 1880 and the Campbell-Bannerman Administration of 1908. It is a clean and a decent Government—which at least one of its predecessors was not. Some of its detail—such as its civil and church patronage—has been surprisingly well done. It has taken bold and large decisions, and yet has got on remarkably well with the Civil Service. It has made a trip or two—in form, in tactics, in procedure. But the complete tale of its errors look small beside that of its predecessors. One of Lord Curzon's blunders would eat them all up. Certainly the workmen's party can govern.

The Ruse that Failed

It is not merely in comparison with the record of its predecessors, Liberal and Conservative, that the Government has done well. But, in order to measure its work fairly, it is necessary to take account of the manner of its birth. Chosen in a hurry, and to meet an almost unlooked for emergency of State, without a majority in Parliament, and with no lack of able and malicious opponents in the Commons, in the Press, and in the ruling classes, Labor might well have contented itself with a brief rehearsal of its program and ideals, and have gone straight to the country for a mandate. Very wisely the leader decided to risk a full trial of its powers. It came into the worst succession that any British Government has had to meet since the days after Waterloo. Peace was in danger. Our relations with France were almost desperate. Unemployment stood at an unprecedented level, and the flood showed no abatement. The country's policy was suspected and even despised, and every one of its public leaders had been tried and found wanting. There was literally nothing for it but to "try Labor."

But the situation was extremely difficult. The Liberals were quite willing to put Labor in office—in fact no other course was open to them. But they were equally determined to use the new Government as a stepping stone to their own return to power. For that purpose it was necessary to discredit it in Parliament and to belittle it in the Liberal Press. So far as Mr. Asquith was concerned, the game was played with a certain restraint; and (in foreign policy) even with a measure of goodwill. But Mr. George has been no better than a wrecking; and he has found useful, if of late somewhat unfamiliar company in Mr. Masterman and Mr. Pringle. To these gentlemen nothing that Labor did was good. The man who had sown the field with tares and laid waste the industry of generations of Englishmen, had only sneers for the new husbandmen. How slow they were at the plough! What inefficient hedging and ditching! They even had the audacity to make

the power of the Supreme Court to serve as a Third House in repealing acts of Congress.

No statements of the gold dust twins in this political struggle have so aptly shown that both of them represent the fundamentals of the political philosophy of our American oligarchs of finance and capital. Davis is the more adroit and intelligent but his conclusions are the same as his rival for the job of managing affairs for our glorified despoilers.

It is no accident that our ruling classes and their political agents seek refuge behind a body of nine men beyond the reach of popular suffrage and holding office for life. They know and appreciate what serves them well.

THE GOOSE-STEP IN NEW JERSEY

IT remained for the Mayor of Bergenline, N. J., to demonstrate what Defense Day means. That popinjay official issued a proclamation ordering every "able-bodied male citizen of Bergenline between the ages of eighteen and forty-five" to report for the parade and demonstration. Two hours of military drill were also ordered of the temporary conscripts. The Chief of Police adds that martial law will be in force. Men of draft age failing to report are to be taken to police headquarters. A military official of Governor's Island writes approving the plans as "excellent."

War Department officials affect surprise over the news of this Junker incident, yet it is practically what they had in mind until the storm of protest forced them to modify their arrangements. We have in these military demonstrations an example of how peoples are gradually prepared to accept the domination of a military caste. Not until they are awakened to find themselves in the grip of professional braggarts have they realized what had taken place. Are we to be goose-stepped in the same way?

(This is the last article written by the distinguished British journalist who recently died. Massingham was editor of the London Nation for sixteen years, and was one of the sturdiest Liberals in Great Britain. In recent years he had been drifting more and more to the point of view of Socialism and Labor, and in the past months was an enthusiastic defender of the Labor Government. In this article he has summed up the great achievements of the first six months of the Ramsay MacDonald Government).

use of the old Liberal seed!

But Labor's real trouble arose from the Liberal determination to give it merely a qualified license to govern. "No Socialism, or I turn you out," ran the Asquith fiat to Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues. In effect this was a Tory gesture, not a Liberal one, and its effect on the future of Liberalism—if Liberalism has a future—will be felt long after the last summer school has ceased to sit. But there were some 400 Parliamentary votes behind it, and Mr. MacDonald had less than 200. What was to be done?

Flowers of Hope

The Labor retort to this Liberal-Tory menace was a wise one. At home a policy was set up, not of Socialism, but of Reformism—that is to say of palliatives for the state of the nation, and for the plight of its workers. The chief instrument of this scheme, the most rapid in action and the most easily available, was the Budget. Mr. Snowden was able to convey to millions of homes the only sensible relief they had felt since the close of the war. A similar process of "first aid" was applied to pensioners and the unemployed. Unproductive and military expenditure was cut down, and attention was turned—a little tardily it must be confessed—to the great subject of productive expenditure. Then came the scandal of our agriculture—the fast falling standard of the workers' wages.

The policy of Labor was to restore the power of the Central Wages Board and to establish a real, an enlightened supervision of the work of the local committees. This effort the carrying of the Acland amendments very largely destroyed, and Liberalism, which enfranchised the country laborer, has set against itself the black mark of its assault on his standard of living.

Happily, the Housing Bill has survived Mr. Masterman's helpful plan to refer its immense detail to criticism in Committee of the Whole House. The measure stands, subject no doubt to conditions—to the goodwill of the building trade, to a certain stability in prices, above all to the social conscience, to the will to revolt, and the power to recover, from a filthy evil. At least, under the pilotage of Labor, the country has been shown the way.

Labor's Greatest Triumph

But it is on foreign policy that Labor has set its great, its decisive mark. Here indeed there could be neither Liberal hindrance nor Liberal cooperation. Here was the kingdom left only for the one moral force in politics to occupy.

It has been bravely seized and finely kept. For the first time since the war the Nationalist party has ceased to hold the fort, and London is the seat of a true, a helpful, a pacific Conference of the Powers. None can doubt that this blossom of hope, springing up on the reddened soil, is a fruit of Labor's sowing. A new Europe could only come through a new France, and that in its turn would have been impossible without a new England. Under its auspices Frenchmen have consented to meet Germans, not as at Versailles, in the guise of sullen captives of defeat, but as negotiators, round a table.

MacDonald's Glory

The transformation is the peculiar glory of the Prime Minister, to whose zeal and patient skill, the capitulation of force, incomplete, as it is, is due. Whatever may betide,

TUESDAY IS PRIMARY DAY

TUESDAY, September 16, is Primary Day in New York, and every enrolled Socialist must make it his and her business to vote. Under the laws of New York, the legislative, Congressional and county tickets of the various parties go on the ballot by primary election, and in no other way.

If you want to vote for Socialist Assemblymen and Senators; if you want to elect Congressmen to hold up the hands, and support the program of President La Follette, you must have them on the ballot; and the way to get them on the ballot is to vote next Tuesday.

Bear these rules in mind: Only those who enrolled at last year's registration as Socialists are eligible to vote the Socialist primary ticket, and then only if they have not moved from their residence of last year.

If you are an enrolled Socialist, IT IS YOUR SACRED DUTY TO VOTE.

Polls are open in New York city from 3 p. m. to 9 p. m. Polls are open in the State outside New York city from 12 noon to 9 p. m.

THERE ARE NO CONTESTS IN THE SOCIALIST PRIMARIES. Wherever you see a printed name, mark an X beside it. The party organization has taken care of the nominations, and has made them with the greatest care.

In two cases, the 17th Congressional District (Manhattan) and the 18th A. D., New York County, the name of the Socialist candidate does not appear upon the printed ballot. In those cases, the enrolled Socialist voters must write in the names of the candidate named by the party organization. They are as follows:

For Congress, 17th District, JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.
For Assembly, 18th District, EDWARD F. CASSIDY.

No other names should be written in, and the names should be written with great care.

Then having performed your duty as a good Socialist and supporter of the La Fol-

Mr. MacDonald's fame as the restorer of countries and cities stands secure, and if his Ministry fell tomorrow, its name would live in history. He has sacrificed much to achieve this capital end—something of his rightful place and power in debate and something, too, of his party's credit as a Parliamentary force. To those who know the might of accomplished things, how the skepticism of our times weighs down restorative effort, and how easily the smouldering fires of contention burst into flame again, his achievement seems wonderful enough. It will be slow in working. Every day the dark forces recede a little. But they may gather again, and then, scan the horizon as we may, there remains for their defeat only the reserve strength of Labor and Socialism. In other words, a strong Labor party means a strong Government. And a strong Labor Government has a restored Europe for its grand and now visible prize. The drawing in of Germany towards a new, let us hope a substantially federated, Europe is well advanced; and the return of Soviet Russia has at least begun. In the light of those events, the advent of Labor can only be described as a blessing to humanity.

The Value of Tradition

I have left to the last the question which is in a sense the most important of all, and that is the relation of the Government to its party. There is every sign that the two will hold together and will mutually increase each other's strength. But undeniably there are lions in the path. There is no need to expose the manoeuvre which sought with one hand to tie the Labor Ministry to a Liberal program, and with the other to exhibit it as false to its Socialist creed. Socialism in England is not a revolutionary, a catastrophic doctrine, and in accepting progress, the word and the thing, it pays the necessary tribute to the past, to the qualifying, even the binding, force of the things that are. Capitalism was not born in a day; and as its destruction by force is not an English idea, neither will it disappear before the breath of a noble aspiration. The only possible Socialist tactic, therefore, is to prepare the new order by degrees, strengthening the people's hold on their property, imposing control where ownership is impracticable, stopping or bridling monopolies, encouraging municipal enterprise, and aiming always at the better organization of industry. Undoubtedly there have been some lapses from this line of thinking. One or two departments from which a good deal were expected have done little or nothing. And it required pretty strong Liberal-Labor action to bring about a halt in the recent, rather alarming advance of the electrical monopolists. It has been a feverish session, and here and there the immense routine of Parliamentary business and the continuous urge of capital in quest of new opportunities have been too much for inexperienced hands.

But the remedy is simple. The Government has passed through the purely Reformist stage of its career. It is time to think of reconstruction. By the consent of all parties, electricity and coal are the two master-keys to the future of British industry. They can be crudely exploited in the interests of profit and dividend, leaving the country where she stands today, at the tail of the great industrial nations; or, in the hands of the State, and the municipality, they can become the servants of millions. An immense work of coordination lies here; and the Government has the recess in which to prepare it. Save for the clever but limited studies of the Liberals, the field is free, with the test of intellectual thoroughness and organizing capacity which it offers to a young and ambitious Government.

Clearly Labor has come to stay. Let it go on to achieve the triumph of its principles.

*The Manchester Guardian has also been conspicuously fair; and a group of Radicals, including Captain Benn, Mr. Foot, Mr. Jowett, Mr. Simon, Mr. Kenworthy, Mr. Trevelyan, Thomson, and others, have contributed useful and suggestive criticism.

lette candidacy, you should go out and work your head off for La Follette and Wheeler, for Norman Thomas and the State ticket, for the local ticket, and for Socialism.

THE 1856 OF THE POLITICS OF CAPITALISM

WHO knows but what this year may be the twilight year of the politics of American capitalism? The year 1856 witnessed a death-blow to the Whig and Democratic party alliance in behalf of slavery. To be sure, there was no open alliance. But the parties were as alike as twin puppies. After 1856 it was evident that the economic class that had ruled the nation through two parties was to face a real issue in 1860.

Today another economic class rules the nation through two parties. That class is composed of the great magnates of Capital, the powerful bankers, overseas investors, owners of railroads, mines, oil and other great powers of production and distribution. Grown soft and fat with their piles of loot, the members of this class have only one hope of retaining their mastery of the Government. This is the game of dividing their victims into two groups, providing each with candidates and platforms to support, and then sit back and watch us deliver ourselves again into their hands. Whether we arrive with a Democratic label or a Republican label makes no difference to the ruling classes.

This is the game that has been played for many years but 1924 makes them feel apprehensive. They are asking, Will it prove another 1856? Some, like Frank A. Munsey, are in favor of frankly and openly recognizing the situation by uniting the Democratic and Republican parties. They figure that unmasking is only a matter of time and the sooner the party twins get together the better will the higher plutocracy be able to fight the Labor party that is rising to challenge their rule.

There are plenty of reasons for believing that this year is the 1856 of capitalist politics and that future elections is only a matter of openly expressing the new align-

THE Chatter-Box

MORE SONNETS TO A DARK LADY

Your beauty fell upon a fallow field,
Your tears enriched it and rich blossoms grew.
And so you cannot choose, unless I yield
My greater right to love and dream for you.

For should you choose the way of a blown leaf
To that dim bourn where ache and travail cease,
I would be blasted out of all belief,
And I would find no strength to will you peace.

Then you might say the pain was yours,
and so
You ended it by high prerogatives.
But what is yours is doubly mine in woe,
And when it dies, then mine twice-laden lives.

And would you choose, knowing that,
remain
To weep your grief and languish with
your pain?

All last week we patrolled Cool Cal's Vermont. Of all America's provinces, we have yet to traverse a more curious mixture of natural beauty and empty canned food containers. The Connecticut River Valley, with its walls of verdant splendour, echoed back seraphic symphonies from the orchestra of our thoughts. The smoking heaps of garbage and tin-cans piled along the river banks at every township choked us dumb with invective; and every now and then we espied a scared chipmunk fleeing along the fences. Invariably we immediately came upon a K. K. K. "Enlist Here" booth. And when we heard an excited chattering of chippies in the side-brush we knew that we would soon sight one of those ghostlike Simians, all dressed up in Washeimer's Best Quality Bed Sheets and Pillow Cases. And wherever we stopped long enough to inquire of a passing denizen the right road to somewhere, the face and voice that greeted us always brought back to mind similar faces and voices encountered in our early day experiences as a social worker in an institution for the feeble-minded.

There must be some relationship between half-emptied souls and brains and altogether empty tin-cans.

FRAGMENTS

Chop it down!
The tree is dead
That once in leafy arms ensnared
The clouds, the stars, the moon—
Chop it down!
The tree is dead
That once the wind and sun had shared
Those languid days in June:
It dreams no more of bliss
Of rain and leaves that kiss.
Chop it down—the tree is dead!

ANCHORITE

Stars crowd the sky
Seeking in radiance each other to outvie,
But my road has only darkness and one star:
It is behind me....

Leone.

We received the following toast, and only our overpowering sense of modesty prevents us from having it printed in screeching headlines on the front page:

Here is to Mr. S. A. De Witt,
Who is named paradoxically;
Though he is properly labelled a wit,
He also is called S. A. D.

Nathan Margolis.

Frederick Wehrle writes a letter to Ray G. which we regret being unable to print fully; but its import gratifies us. Our column is being read sensitively by folks to whom poetry reacts beautifully. Ray G.'s poem on Prayer brings out this response. Where shall we send the letter, Miss Ray?

The Elevator Man has been hanging about our desk lately with that indescribable look in his eye that means either a request for another boost in his wages or what appears to be more important to him right now—a mention in this column. Well, here you have it, Frank.

Isn't there that tang in the morning now that fills you with a mingled sense of courage and overcoats? We saw a few leaves fluttering down, dried and dead. Another few Left Wingers leaving the party, we poetized.

S. A. DE WITT.

ment. Into the Labor party will enter the toiling masses confident of their power and ability to take care of their own interests. Into the other will go those who stand for the past, who fear the future and the considerable number who can yet be fooled for a time. But the end is certain, the victory of the masses and the mastering of industry for human welfare and the happiness of all.

Probably the world fliers visited Coolidge in Washington because they feel at home with anyone who is up in the air.

About the only Defense Day that we are interested in is the day when we mobilize our ballots against the enemy inside our frontiers.

The Coolidge-Dawes caravan of automobiles en route across seventeen States should not regret to stop in every railroad center to tell the railroad workers about Daugherty's injunction in the railroad strike.

Karry the news to Kal. Textile workers in Kal's kountry are preparing to resist reductions in wages which Kal's backers up that way-plan in the next few