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Frenzied Finance Van Sweringens Plan Grab of Hundred Million

"FRENZIED Finance Up to Date!" That would be a proper title for the story related to the Interstate Commerce Commission by Henry W. Anderson, counsel for the Chesapeake & Ohio minority stockholders who are protesting the Van Sweringens' Nickel Plate merger scheme.

Under the Van Sweringen plan—as Anderson described it—the actual owners of the properties were given preferred stock which drew a comparatively high rate of interest, but had no voting rights. The control of the properties was vested in the common stock. This was held by the Van Sweringens and their associates and cost them practically nothing.

In addition to retaining control of the immensely valuable properties, Anderson charged that the promoters were in a position to clean up cash profits which might total a hundred million dollars.

Hearing Before Full Commission

The hearing was considered so important that it was held before the full Commission, all the members being present with the exception of Thomas M. Woodlock, whose recess appointment by President Coolidge raised such a storm of protest in Congress and who was formerly connected with one of the lines involved.

Anderson urged the commission to compel the Van Sweringens to reveal the details of their activities in connection with the Nickel Plate merger, as well as their plan to construct a great union terminal in Cleveland.

Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, opposed Anderson's proposition with all the wit, sarcasm and eloquence at his command, insisting that Anderson was endeavoring to drag in a lot of irrelevant testimony in order to obscure the main issue.

The bitter argument consumed more than four hours, and then the merger hearings until a decision Commission decided to suspend the could be made as to how far the Van Sweringens should be required to tell the inside story of the spectacular career.

If a decision is against the Van Sweringens, an appeal will probably be taken to the courts.

"Here is what happened in those proposed mergers," said Anderson. "These gentlemen buy a railroad. Sometimes it is paying dividends; the Chesapeake & Ohio is now paying four per cent. Sometimes it is not paying dividends; the Erie is a fair example of the latter class.

"They persuade the stockholders to exchange their stock in whole or in part for preferred non-voting stock and they give this non-voting stock a high rate of dividend, cumulative.

"In the case of the Erie, they gave the stockholders a stock which will net them from three per cent to four per cent in place of a stock which paid them nothing. In the case of the Nickel Plate, they took their old common stock that never paid a dividend, and gave them stock that pays six per cent. But in every instance they took the voting power away from the preferred.

Promoters Retain Control

"They left the voting power in the common stock, which gives them control of the entire system. It is a perfectly simple system if you can work it. What is the result?

"The promoters sell the property to the public on the strength of the promise of this larger return on the preferred stock and retain the voting control of \$1,500,000,000 worth of railroad that will not cost them anything.

"In addition, they realize a neat profit, as I figure, of anywhere from \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000—if their scheme goes through.

"Now, if you increase the return on the stock in order to get the voting power away from the stockholder, you increase the burden on the public.

"Therefore, the public is paying for the voting right and turning it over to the Van Sweringens.

"This voting power consolidated in a few hands is an enormous asset. It gives the promoters control of millions and millions of dollars to deposit in banks as the basis of credit.

"Isn't it a question of policy when (Continued on Page 2.)

EUGENE V. DEBS TO PRESIDENT CALLES

A Pledge of International Solidarity

General Plutarco Elias Calles,
President of Mexico,
City of Mexico, Mexico.

My dear President Calles:

Having just finished reading your splendid article in the Anniversary Edition of the Nation, I feel moved to drop you this line in greeting and with my congratulations and best wishes.

Also I must avail myself of the occasion to express my hearty appreciation of the drastic rebuke administered by you to the servile corporation attorney who functions, by grace of "the interests" he has served his entire public life, as Secretary of State under the present Wall Street administration.

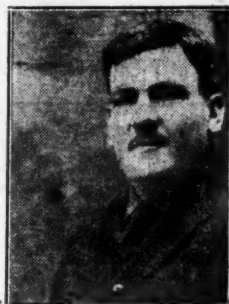
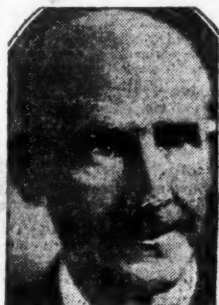
Millions of Americans applauded your prompt, vigorous and manly resentment of his wanton insult to you and the Mexican Government for obstructing the brutal and shameless exploitation of the Mexican people by his economic and political masters. The sordid interests he serves can think of the Mexican people only in terms of "greasers" and as legitimate prey to glut the greed of invading profiteers and spoils-seekers. It came as a distinct surprise to these "interests" and their political lackeys to find that the Mexican people now have a Government with an Executive who knows their rights and dares assert and maintain them, and for this you are entitled to full credit and will command the approval as well as the respect and appreciation of all right-thinking people throughout the world.

Long enough has Mexico borne in silent submission and ignominy the cruel exploitation and the bitter injustice enforced upon her soil by predatory nations, especially the United States, and millions on this side of the Rio Grande hail with joy your ringing proclamation of her sovereignty.

The Mexican workers and the American workers shall no longer be hoodwinked and deceived into hating each other to further the pernicious ends of the pirating plutocrats and profiteers in the common slaughter they are plotting to again "save civilization" and make robbery and plunder safe in the world. They are brothers and comrades; their cause is international and a common one, and the Rio Grande does not divide them. They must clasp hands across the border in the true spirit of solidarity, pledge their fealty to one another, and stand shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart in the great struggle for emancipation.

With fraternal greetings to you, President Calles, and to Comrade Luis Morones, your efficient Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and all other members of your administration, and with all personal regards and best wishes, I am,

Yours faithfully,
EUGENE V. DEBS.
National Chairman, Socialist Party.



Terre Haute, Indiana.
July 2nd, 1925.

ST. LOUIS THROWS PARTY CONVENTION

THE appeal of Eugene V. Debs in the cause of Socialism and the workers was heard in St. Louis, July 4, for the first time since pre-war days.

A stormy war period, a term in the Federal prison at Atlanta and the proximity of his seventieth birthday had not robbed Comrade Debs of youthful fervor and enthusiasm as he persisted in the afternoon heat at Triangle Park, 4100 South Broadway, addressing a Fourth of July crowd of 3,000 persons gathered under auspices of the Socialist Party of St. Louis and the local Labor press.

Debs condemned war, capitalism, Federal judges who sentenced him to prison, the Supreme Court, and echoed in substance the cry of Socialism—"Workers, Unite."

Debs, as leader of the Socialist movement in this country, was in St. Louis in connection with the State-wide conference on reorganization of the Socialist Party in Missouri. It was similar to a series of such conferences being held all over the country, with the purpose of building up the Socialist Party.

Debs grew eloquent and acrid when he pictured the mine situation and ridiculed the Democratic and the Republican parties, but his fervor reached its height during his concluding appeal for funds to put the party on its feet financially. "Another dollar for Socialism and freedom. Another dollar in the cause of humanity."

Debs' appeals, which he sweated and pounded and waved to put across, opened the pockets of a working crowd and a hat was soon brimming over with bills and silver, while Debs, happy as he kissed little children and old friends, professed astonishment at his Shylock powers.

Independence Day furnished the speaker with a theme for sarcasm and memories. Sarcastically he summed up the independence of the worker, whom he pictured as bound in economic servitude to the master capitalist. His memories were those of July 4, 1894, the occasion of the great railroad strike, when the name Debs was on every tongue.

Pointing out that his address here yesterday marked the thirty-first anniversary of that important day

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in his career, Debs recalled the former occasion.

"On July 4, 1894," he said, "the American railway unions had the railroad companies whipped. And then President Cleveland sent in Federal troops to break the strike. General Miles was at the head of the troops.

"The first thing he did when he reached Chicago was to have a conference with the railroad managers. He told them: 'The first thing to do here is to take Debs to the lake front and hang him.' How is that for Christian sentiment? Well, they took me to jail. And now most of the railroad managers and the judges who sentenced me are gone, but I'm still alive.

"I'm nearly 70, but I don't feel half of that. I'm a Socialist and Socialism is the spirit of youth. I'm twice 35 and I'm going to be here thirty-five more years. And I'm celebrating my fiftieth year in the workers' movement, for I entered it at the age of 19.

"If you heard of Rockefeller voting the Socialist ticket, you'd think he was insane, wouldn't you? Yet you vote his ticket and put him in power. When you're fighting for bread, what party is that which comes to your aid—the Socialist Party. The Republicans and Democrats are with you only a few days before election."

Debs started his speech by remarking that the crowd had assembled to celebrate the Fourth of July and to do reverence to traitors, referring to rebellious colonists who broke away from England to set up a new government founded on principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. He drew a parallel between that movement and the Socialist Party fighting for a new freedom of the working masses. Down the centuries he traced the plight of the workingman and his gradual emergence from impotence with the vision of economic freedom immediately ahead of him.

"In this modern day," he said, "the worker has his vote, but no right to his job. He works only by permission of his employers. He is excluded from his tools and has access to them only by consent of the owner, who first asks whether his working with them will return a profit.

"Yet you have given this system your approval and you vote for it time and again. You are in the great majority, but you submit to the insignificant minority. The trouble is you have not learned to think for yourselves.

"Labor today is engaged in a last world-wide struggle for emancipation, and that is why the Socialist movement has been organized. Steadily knowledge and education

have been increasing among the toiling masses and the result will be of supreme importance in the future."

Terming the "economic masters essential the political ruler," Debs foresaw a day when "the revolution, not yet complete, will socialize tools and when the people will be their own masters and in control of the government."

He condemned war as the instrument of the ruling class, whereby the workers always suffered. Using the World War as an instance, he spoke of the soldiers going to war as "heroes" and returning as "hoboes," sent to war with the kisses of rich men's daughters and returning unheralded.

"Observe," he said, "how completely Wall Street ruled the country's rulers," and mentioned instances. "If Wall Street," he said, "were to order war tomorrow every preacher who has been crying for peace and abolition of war would begin to yell blood. Otherwise he would stand in danger of losing his job."

In the same way he condemned Federal Judges, Supreme Justice Taft in particular, whom he pictured as being in the anomalous position of handing out justice and receiving a pension of \$10,000 yearly from the steel trust in the form of steel bonds given him by Carnegie.

"I went to the Penitentiary," he continued, "to learn that it is an institution monopolized by the poor. Our judicial nets are so made that they catch the minnows and let the whales—the Dohenys, the Denbys and the Falls—through."

Paying a last tribute to Labor and the worker, Debs announced his intention of giving his last drop of blood in the fight for the betterment of workers' conditions. He also spoke of continuing the fight for the release of Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, Ruthenberg and other radicals who are in prison.

"Everywhere," he concluded, "in Russia, in France, in England, in Germany, in Mexico, Socialism is finding expression. It is time for it to be heard here. It is time to establish the industrial democracy and proclaim another declaration of independence and the brotherhood of man."

By EDWARD LEVINSON

YOUNG John R. Scopes speaking:

"My only regret in this Evolution case is that I have been put into the limelight. But the issue involved is a greater matter than my personal comfort. On the whole, therefore, I have nothing to regret for my part in the case."

Today Scopes, not nearly 30 years old, is more in the limelight than ever. And he is scheduled to remain there for some months. Meanwhile the nation, the press permitting, will be treated to the largest-scale educational project since Labor won the primary school system for the common people in the early part of the last century.

Just as Labor, prodded and flanked by radical leaders, beat out the trail that led to the modern free school system, so the advanced forces of the nation have made this course in Evolution possible.

Civil Liberties Started Case

When Tennessee forbade the teaching of Evolution, the Civil Liberties Union stepped to the fore on half of education. A call was sent broadcast to the teachers of Tennessee offering full support to any and all of them who would agree to test the law by deliberately violating it. Again it remained for one who maintains a close kinship to radical thought to undertake the burden. Young Scopes stepped forward.

"I was not in the least motivated by the desire for publicity," Scopes told me during his visit to New York a few weeks ago. He need not have said this. His greatest job while in New York was dodging reporters. This gave the gentlemen of the press not a little pique. To which, partly, may be ascribed the facetiousness with which some of the metropolitan dailies have been treating the case.

By way of explaining his great reticence for personal publicity, Scopes let us in on a bit of family history.

"My father," he said, "has all his life been a champion of unpopular causes. The great Pullman strike in 1894 first enlisted his sympathies as a working-man interested not only in his own welfare but that of all working-men."

"Since 1894 every unsuccessful railroad strike was a signal for my family being bundled off to some new home. The railroadmen's struggles proved irresistible to him. Every strike for better conditions found him in the ranks of the strikers. In each of our several new homes he soon became a marked man. Once a strike was broken the company would no longer countenance my father's activity. He had to move, and I and my family with him.

Calls Self a 'Parlor Socialist'

"As I grew older I could not help but imbibe the liberal thought to which my father gave so much earnest devotion. But I felt that I would like a bit more security than was his lot. I saw his viewpoint and recognized its complete justice and soundness, but thought I could work out a less spectacular method of spreading it.

"I thought I could, in my own immediate circles, do as much for freedom and the American people in a quiet, and restrained way as my father had done in another fashion at such great cost.

"I don't know what the term 'parlor Socialist' means exactly, but I think that is what I am. I do not belong to any Socialist organization."

Scopes stressed the fact that his views on the social problems of the day are of no moment in the Tennessee Evolution case. Two issues he sees in that affair. The first is that of academic freedom; the second, that Evolution and religion are not incompatible.

"The matter of academic freedom in one phase has been sufficiently tested," he said. "I refer to the fate that has met professors who sought to give their students some truths on the matter of industrial and economic problems. Scott Nearing in Pennsylvania has been the instrument by which it has been demonstrated that there is little place in our universities for untrammeled teaching of economic truths. The case of Professor (Continued on Page 2.)

A BIT OF FASCISM IN AMERICA

By GIROLAMO VALENTI

SHALL the United States become the scene of frequent riots between two foreign factions?

Shall the industrious Italian colonies be saddened by bloody clashes between the mercenary agents of Mussolini and those who believe in Italy?

Shall the law of the land be set aside by a handful of Black Shirts, drunk with the power their brethren in Italy have secured through force, violence and arson?

Shall the Labor unions of this country be confronted with the possibility of finding Black Shirts on the scene of strikes, hired by the employers for the purpose of defeating the workers' efforts?

These questions should concern all progressive and radical groups of this country after the outrage last Saturday, July 4, against Italians celebrating Garibaldi's birthday.

The capitalist press has given an account of the disgraceful affair, but did not give the public a full opportunity to ascertain where the responsibility lies. As for the Italian section of the public, all the Italian dailies published in Greater New York stand for the Fascist cause to the core. To them the truth is blasphemy and a crime against the sacred majesty of the Italian patriotism that is today emanating from Black Shirt dictatorship.

One such molder of Italian public opinion in America, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, long known as an unscrupulous yellow sheet, in giving an account of the Staten Island clash, informed its readers that the radicals were the cause of it all—they it were who "savagely" clubbed the Garibaldi legionnaires, the World War veterans, and the disabled veterans (*Progresso Italo-Americano*, Sunday, July 5)—all this, while the *Times*, the *Tribune*, and practically all metropolitan American dailies that had gathered the information from police headquarters, were making it clear to their readers that the Black Shirts—and not the radicals—caused the riot by trying to disrupt the radical memorial meeting in the Garibaldi Pantheon in Rosebank, Staten Island, and that they, the Black Shirts, cowardly mobbed a "Red Shirt" veteran of Garibaldi's wars.

Garibaldi A Socialist

While the students of history are, no doubt, familiar with the glorious deeds of the great Italian Emancipator, I wonder how many know that he was a Socialist. "Il Socialismo e' il Sole dell'avvenire!" (Socialism is the Sun of the Future) the phrase that is horror to Mussolini today, was uttered by Giuseppe Garibaldi. This great Knight of Humanity combined his heroic efforts on the battlefields, where he always fought for the independence of the people, never to oppress them, with his Internationalist ideals. It should not be forgotten that he publicly praised the First Socialist International and its moves to secure peace for Europe.

It is easy to understand how antagonistic is Garibaldismo to Fascism when one considers the ideals for which Garibaldi stood and fought. Peppino Garibaldi, the General's grandson, is today an avowed enemy of Fascism, so much opposed to it that he had to follow the example of ex-Premier Nitti into forced exile abroad.

Why did the New York Fascists, who are pledged to uphold the principle of government by oppression, force, violence and castor oil, stage a memorial meeting for Garibaldi on the Fourth of July? What moral forces could induce the Black Shirt followers of Mussolini, who has declared liberty a "dead body," to pay homage to the Red Shirt leader and lover of liberty—Giuseppe Garibaldi?

Their so-called memorial meeting was a camouflaged move to provoke

Blackshirt Warriors Bravely Beat Up Eighty Year Old Garibaldean In N. Y.

the radicals and invite a fight with them. This is proved by a ringing call to arms printed in their paper, *Il Grido della Stirpe*, several days before the Fourth of July:

"We will be there the Fourth of July, we Black Shirts," reads the call, "let the renegades come. The Black Shirts have no fear. We will go there tempered, ready for all events!"

"There," means Rosebank, Staten Island, on the lawn surrounding the house where Garibaldi lived while sojourning in this country about 1853-1854, the house which is now a monument.

They, the Black Shirts, knew that the radicals—as usual—were to be "there" for their memorial meeting, so the Black Shirts chose the sacred ground of the "Hero of Liberty" for their "bravado." But the radicals, and with them two Garibaldi red shirted veterans, and members of several Sons of Italy Lodges, went "there" in huge numbers, determined to safeguard the sacredness of the Pantheon. The Black Shirts could not come in!

When several Black Shirts appeared on the scene they were hissed by the crowd and taken in charge by the police. Later, when the Black Shirts came in procession, led by a brass band, the only thing they could do was to march, by special permission of the police, along the street, hissed by more than a

thousand workers of all progressive political beliefs. Later in the afternoon the cowards performed their heralded "bravado" by mobbing an 82-year-old Red Shirt veteran, Giuseppe Genovese, on 14th street and Second avenue, New York City.

Readers should note that the seven men who were arrested in Staten Island for hissing the Fascists were placed under \$500 bail each, the five Black Shirts who were arrested on 14th street for mobbing an old man were freed on \$200 bail each.

We are, however, not so much concerned with what the authorities have done in this connection as we are with what they will do in the future. Will they allow the Black Shirts to parade in their uniforms, armed with clubs (which they claim goes with their uniform) as they were armed on the Fourth?

We recall that several months ago the police arrested some Communists for using old guns in rehearsing a play they intended to stage in Madison Square Garden. On what ground can the police justify the Black Shirts parading the streets with vicious weapons? In order for the authorities to understand how stirring and hateful is the appearance of Black Shirts in the streets of New York City, it is well to inform them that four-fifths of the Italians living in Italy hate Fascism and its Government.

The Black Shirt terror has finally arrayed the great majority of the Italian people against them. All political parties—Democrats, Republicans, Liberals, led by ex-Premiers Giolitti, Salandra and Orlando, Socialists, Catholics, Communists and even Nationalists, are against the Black Shirts. Masons, students, war veterans, practically the entire nation, abhors Fascism. Among the recently arrived Italian immigrants, there are many who have themselves either suffered from wanton Fascist brutality or have seen their relatives and friends beaten up or killed by the Black Shirts. The new immigrants, together with the old ones, who keep in contact with the old country, know what a calamity and curse the Fascists have been to the people. Will the powers here torment them by allowing Fascist parades before their eyes?

In many cities the authorities the Klu Klux Klan the right to parade. Is the Black Italian Klu Klux Klan any less criminal than the American K. K. K.?

It is now up to all free thinkers, to all the believers in Liberty and Democracy, to all the radical and trade union elements, to impress on public opinion the awful danger the authorities are running in letting loose here a foreign gang of the blackest character the world has ever seen.

FRENZIED FINANCE

(Continued from Page 1.)

it is proposed to separate the voting power from ownership?

"We're always decrying the fact that the people of the United States do not vote. They are stockholders in their government, but they shirk their responsibility by failing to make the proper use of the ballot."

"If it is a good thing for the people to exercise their right as owners of their government, is it not equally important that in these transportation systems every man who is a partner—and every stockholder is a partner—should be

charged with his share of the responsibility for the management of the enterprise?"

"If you are going to authorize the issuance of non-voting stock in the transportation systems of America, you might just as well put them in the hands of two or three banking houses and make short work of it."

"The time has come when we have got to decide whether we are going to have transportation service devoted to the public interest, or whether we are going to have transportation service exploited and manipulated to create millionaires to go to the horse races at Deauville, break the bank at Monte

Carlo, or become leading figures in international scandals."

Mr. Baker, on behalf of the Van Sweringens, protested that the question of transactions by which they financed the Nickel Plate deal was strictly a private matter. The Commission, he said, lacked the power to conduct "fishing expeditions" into private business affairs to satisfy the curiosity of "Paul Pry" and "Meddlesome Matties."

Anderson submitted a chart showing the interlocking corporations controlled by the Van Sweringens. The "mother corporation" seems to be the Van Ess Co. This concern is absolutely controlled by the Van Sweringens and their associates.

MAN AND MONKEY

(Continued from Page 1.)

Beard in Columbia before the war is another proof of this.

"Yet, another phase in this question of academic freedom is this matter of acquainting the student body of this country with a few of the essential truths of biology. The Tennessee law says the teaching of the universally accepted theory of Evolution is illegal. We are out to prove that it should not be."

If it is natural that the liberals of the nation have instituted the Tennessee Evolution case, what could be more fit than to have Mr. William Jennings Bryan on the side of darkness? Only such a tremendous crusade as he is intent on waging against education in Dayton could induce him to desert temporarily his real estate enterprise in Florida. Once before, recently, he has let his real estate business go along without him for a time. That was when he journeyed to New York City to defend the Ku Klux Klan in the Democratic National Convention.

Real estate has not completely left Bryan's mind, however, laboring as it is under his devout service to reaction and ignorance at Dayton these days.

As he led a formal demonstration from the railroad station upon his arrival in Dayton, Tuesday, a truck on which was hung huge signs extolling Florida real estate fell in line. Amid pictorial representation of waving palms, sea beaches and model mansions screamed the legend: "Ask us about Tampa. Ask Us! Ask Us!"

"Well," said the Florida realtor, chief prosecutor of Scopes and enlightenment, "both coasts of Florida are good, but if our fellows sent a wagon up here there would be on the sides, 'You don't need to ask us about Miami.' (For the information of those who have neglected to interest themselves in this important matter of Florida real estate: Miami, where Bryan holds his interests, is on the east coast; Tampa is on the west. Much competition between the two has been created by Bryan and his fellow realtors.)

Between talking real estate and parading through the streets for the benefit of the admiring eyes of the Tennessee backwoodsmen, Bryan also found time to dilate on the importance of the trial.

"The contest between Christianity and Evolution is a contest to the end," he observed.

Among the witnesses whom: the

defense will offer to prove that Christianity and Evolution are not as inseparable as Mr. Bryan would have us believe, none hold such a unique position as Professor William North Rice, of Wesleyan.

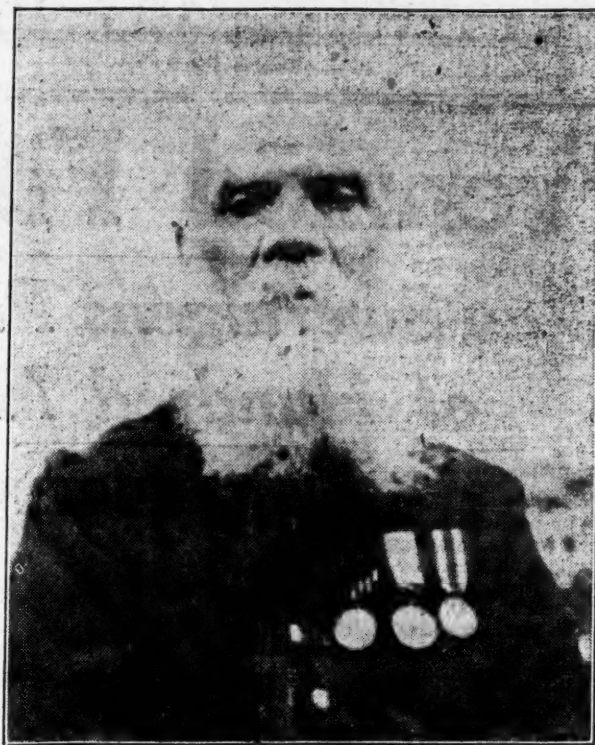
The New Leader has learned that Prof. Rice has agreed to testify. Prof. Rice's double official relation to science and religion puts him in a rather unusual position as regards the present trial. He held the professorship of geology (biology as well in the early years) in Wesleyan University for fifty years. He has been vice-president for geology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and president of the Geological Society of America and of the Society of Naturalists.

On the other side, he has been for more than fifty years an ordained minister of the Methodist Church. For more than half that time he was chairman of the committee to examine the orthodoxy of candidates for admission to the New York East Conference of the Church.

Professor Rice accepted Evolution in the early seventies. Perhaps his best work has been on the general question of the relation of science and religion.

Thus the stage seems ideally set. Let the trial begin.

Fair Game for Fascists



Giuseppe Genovese, 82

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE NEW LEADER

THE NEW LEADER is the leading weekly spokesman of the Socialist Party, and owing to its circulation in every State of the Union it is a weekly register of the growth of the organized movement. The Party helps *The New Leader* and *The New Leader* helps the Party.

Have you noticed the register of Party work in *The New Leader* in recent weeks? The news of Party activity and Party building is increasing rapidly. Note the items of this character carried this week. We hope to soon take an entire page. This is encouragement to all who went through the dark Egypt of the war, who kept our banner flying, and awaited the day when our class would again listen to the call of Socialist emancipation.

But we of *The New Leader* staff are still impatient for more to do for the Great Cause. There are sleepers to be awakened, readers to be obtained, members to enroll, meetings to be held and literature to be distributed. We want to get into contact with every prospective reader and we still want more names, Names, NAMES! We want to hear from more "Jimmie" Grahams in the States.

Not that we have not heard from some since "Jimmie" sent that fine list from Montana three weeks ago. Comrade Aldo Cursi of New York City handed us a list this week. Comrade E. B. Sandler of the same burg did likewise. Dr. Madge Patton Stephens, of Terre Haute, long active in the home of "Gene and Theodore Debs, also responded to our request with a good list of names.

A good record for one week, but we want to surpass it next week and the week following. And we WILL because there are some who read this who will be stirred to have *The New Leader* reach prospects in their community without expense to them.

While we ask for names we also welcome subs., and they are coming despite the tropical heat that saps energy and afflicts us

with lassitude. The New England District heads the list with 20 subs. in two weeks. Really, this district is a marvel. Professor Ross a few years ago compared many New England communities with "fished out" mud-banks where only a stray catfish could be found. Life, ambition, thinking had been crushed by the inheritance of Puritanism and the live ones went West. New England comrades are awakening the dead.

William James of Englewood, N. J., not the American philosopher of another day but a Socialist soldier of the present, came across with five subscriptions this week. Mrs. Arietta Rhoads of Elizabeth, same State, also sent five. Out in Huntington, Indiana, is E. G. Nix, who grew up with the Socialist Party since its organization in 1901. Comrade Nix is a repeater. That is, he sends in three subs., which reminds us that this is a repetition of what he has done before.

Over in Queens County is the Workingmen's Consumers' Association, a cooperative organization which successfully conducted a grocery store before the Left Wing split. After paying to stockholders what they had paid in, the surplus was divided between various organizations and institutions. The New Leader was included with a contribution of \$10. Thanks, many thanks, to the cooperators.

Names, subs. and contributions are all to the good. All are welcome. But let us repeat: First, we want MORE NAMES. Second, we want STILL MORE. We want and YOU want to see *The New Leader* double, treble and quadruple its number of readers. You who have not responded are asked to do so NOW. We get the names and addresses and prospects get *The New Leader*. Make a note of this. Send YOUR list and we will list the names you send. Remember, NOW!

SHANGHAI'S DAYS OF TERROR

By LIANG CHI-CHAO,
Former Minister of Justice and
Finance

The following statement of the causes of the present disturbances in China is an excellent presentation from the standpoint of one of the leading figures of the Chinese intellectual class today. He is highly respected for his views, which have found a place in H. G. Wells' "The Outline of History." Incidentally, this statement verifies the position taken by The New Leader from the beginning of the recent troubles in China.

THE ruthless killing of scores of Chinese citizens on Chinese territory by the British Police of the Municipal Council of the International Settlement creates a serious situation calling for the attention of the peoples of the West. On the surface it may appear to be an isolated local question, but it is really full of great significance to the future relations of the Chinese people with the peoples of the West as well as to the peace of the Far East. Briefly, the outstanding facts of the case, which are undisputed, are as follows:

1. Twenty-one Chinese were killed to date according to Chinese reports, and forty-one have already been reported, the wounded being much greater in number;
2. The mass of Chinese students and workmen composing the demonstration were all unarmed with any kind of weapon;
3. Not one of the police who did the firing was killed or wounded;
4. According to the declaration of the police inspector who gave the order for firing, the warning was given in English and there was a lapse of only ten seconds before actual firing took place;
5. Several volleys were fired, discharging in all 44 shots;
6. At least seven of the killed were found to have been shot from behind, the bullets having entered their backs.

The above facts were so glaring that the Chinese Government has ready entered two formal protests with the foreign Legations concerned. Even some of the foreign missionaries and other residents in China have felt the terrible wrong thus perpetrated on the defenseless Chinese by the Municipal Council police at Shanghai and have voiced their sense of injustice in public statements. Yet the foreign Legations concerned appear still to decline responsibility of the Municipal Council for their deplorable acts of ruthlessness and try to shift it on to the shoulders of the unarmed Chinese demonstrators.

Meanwhile the British authorities in the international settlement continue to use a high-handed policy of oppression, effecting mass arrests, dissolving Chinese schools and colleges, and making searches of Chinese households. In consequence a deep feeling of indignation now prevails among all classes of the Chinese people, and a boycott of British firms and companies and a general strike are spreading. The employees and workmen now on strike already number more than 200,000. The

Oriental Labor Awakening



A mass meeting of coolies, laborers and students, one of many in recent years which have witnessed a growing revolt of the exploited native workers against their foreign and domestic financial masters.

different parts of China are responding to the call for support, and the situation is fraught with grave dangers.

How has this serious situation come about? How is it possible for it to have come about at all? To answer this question a few words of explanation are necessary. The so-called Municipal Council of the International Settlement at Shanghai is a peculiar body, composed of foreign business men elected by foreign taxpayers in the settlement. It claims to be the supreme administrative authority in this area, which was originally set apart by the Chinese Government merely for foreign merchants to reside in and actually exercise unrestricted police jurisdiction therein without the sanction of treaties.

Even in judicial administration the Municipal Council has assumed unlawful control. Where foreigners commit an offense or are sued they are, of course, tried before the courts of their own representatives in China, but where Chinese citizens are defendants they are tried before the so-called Mixed Court, which was originally a Chinese court, but which has been seized by the foreign consuls at Shanghai since the Revolution in 1911 and of which the judges are now appointed by the foreign Municipal Council. All the Chinese residents therein contribute the main portion of its revenue by paying more than seventy per cent of the taxes. They are denied the right to vote at the election of council members or any voice in the enactment of the laws and rules of the Settlement.

Early this year the foreign Municipal Council proposed certain laws relating to the levy of wharfage dues and to the freedom of the press, both of which greatly affect the liberty and interests of the Chinese residents. In the one case there is to be an addition to the burden of

taxation which is borne mostly by Chinese, and in the other it was proposed to further restrict the scope of activities of the Chinese newspapers.

Deprived of any voice in law-making for the Settlement, the Chinese residents sought to make their views known. The newspapers wrote editorials against the proposed laws. The Chinese Chambers of Commerce sent petitions to the Council for their withdrawal. Yet in spite of these expressions of opposition and objection the Council continued to insist upon their adoption by the foreign ratepayers. For this reason there was already a serious feeling of discontent among the Chinese community when a strike of the Chinese workmen broke out at a Japanese cotton mill, and the mill owners fired upon the unarmed strikers, killing several of them.

In order to manifest their sympathy for the dead Chinese laborers as well as to show once more their opposition to the proposed laws about to be voted upon by the foreign taxpayers, the Chinese students and workmen in the Settlement organized a peaceful demonstration on May 30. It was against these unarmed demonstrators that the British police fired, killing in all two scores of them and wounding a much greater number.

We wish to protest against the policy of frightfulness and ruthless oppression on the part of the Municipal Council at Shanghai and appeal to the people of Europe and America to help us secure that justice which is due us from the British Government. But a mere settlement of this particular incident will not suffice to improve the situation. In order to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents and to place the relations of the Chinese people and foreign residents in China on a more stable and satisfactory basis it is necessary to seek a fundamental solution.

What would constitute a fundamental solution? It is the fundamental revision of the existing treaties between China and the foreign Powers, treaties which were made nearly a century ago as a price of defeat in war based upon nothing better or higher than the traditional policy of oppression and exploitation of the weak nations pursued by the East India Company. Such a revision is the more necessary because times in China have changed and the standard of general enlightenment is considerably higher than twenty years ago. The educated classes today cherish with no less fervor than the peoples of the West fundamental principles of government, such as no taxation without representation and such as those contained in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.

It is feared that a worse tragedy may result unless the foreign Powers realize the coming crisis by

abandoning the traditional policy of the East India Company and consider with good will our earnest request for the fundamental revision of these treaties. Moreover, the revision of treaties is significant to the economic interest of every nation involved and to the peace of the world in general, through its effect upon one thing, namely, the serious labor crisis of present-day China. Foreign capitalists, in order to take advantage of the cheap labor and cheap raw materials, have rapidly introduced the evils of industrialism into China, with the attendant conflict between Capital and Labor.

Indeed, the situation is worse in China. Whereas in other countries capitalists and laborers are both found among their people, in China the capitalists are usually foreigners and the laborers are all Chinese. Therefore this form of class conflict is the more dangerous in that it at once assumes the character of an international question, and the difficulty of settling it wherever it occurs is all the greater because there is no recognized law to regulate its settlement. In foreign countries there is always the Government, which stands independent above the conflicting classes to help adjust the conflict with its equitable laws. In China the factories owned and operated by foreign capitalists are neither subject to the Labor laws of China nor to their respective own countries under the prevailing system of extra-territoriality. The Chinese authorities, of course, have no right to intervene in questions concerning the operation of the factories and the treatment of Labor therein, but whenever conflicts arise, as they often do between owner and the Chinese workmen, the Chinese authorities are held responsible for the conduct of the latter. Such a situation, unless quickly remedied in a just and practical manner, is bound to lead to a chaotic state of things in future, not only causing further suffering to the Chinese people but, perhaps, destroying the basis of the economic interests of Europe and America in the Far East.

In view of these facts it is evident that the revision of the treaties should be the common interest of all nations as well as of the Chinese because they have an important bearing upon the much desired development of a mutual understanding and cooperation between the East and the West. I hope sincerely that those who are interested in Far Eastern reconstruction will come to a thorough understanding of the seriousness of the situation and extend full support to China in the present crisis by upholding justice in the settlement of the Shanghai case, endorsing the principle of equality in the revision of the existing treaties, and working to bring about its early realization for the common good of the world and this country.

Neckwear Workers Wage National Organization Drive

A VIGOROUS organization campaign to round up the unorganized workers in the neckwear industry is now well under way. This campaign is being directed by the National Organization Committee of the Neckwear Makers' Union of New York. This committee of ten members, representing both locals, has a substantial fund to work with and the full power to go ahead with the work.

The first drive was started in Chicago some weeks ago and is already beginning to show results. Louis Fuchs spent a few weeks there, and after laying the foundation for a union left the work in charge of Leon Hanock, the secretary of the United Hebrew Trades of Chicago.

This last week David Silverman of the Cutters' local and Louis D. Berger, manager of the Neckwear Makers' Union of New York, sur-

vayed the field for a union in Boston. Upon his return to New York, Berger pointed out that the prospects of establishing a large local in Boston were never more promising. Over 500 workers are employed in this industry there. Mr. Silverman remained there to carry on the organization work. It is also being planned by the National Organization Committee to organize in other cities such as Philadelphia and Rochester.

The New York Executive Committee of the union will have a special meeting this Saturday morning, July 11th, at 10 a. m., in the office of the union, to take up a number of important matters, such as the new demands to present to the manufacturers in the coming negotiations for a new agreement. The present pact expires on September 1st. The question of organizing the few open shops in New York will also be considered.

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ON CODDLING PRISONERS

By HENRY C. FENTON

WHILE sentencing a prisoner to the penitentiary the other day, a judge remarked that the reason he was not sending the culprit to Sing Sing was that he feared the prisoner would derive too much enjoyment from the occasional moving picture shown there. While such a remark seems more vindictive than judicial, still it reflects an attitude toward the criminal problem entirely too common.

The feeling is that the life of a prisoner must be one of unremitting hardships. He must suffer all the time he is serving his sentence and suffer severely. We have often heard the phrase expressed, "We are not running a hotel for those fellows. If they want a soft life, let them behave themselves and stay out of jail."

We have not progressed much beyond the old Biblical method of an eye for an eye. Our methods of coping with crime are purely punitive. The criminal owes a debt to society which he must repay by being thrown into jail for a number of years. During those years he must be reduced to the level of a beast. He must not be allowed to think, to have any individuality or to experience in any way the normal reactions of a human being.

Any attempt to mitigate prison conditions is attacked as an effort toward coddling criminals. It is called a premium on crime. But is it?

A little thought should convince anyone that the most horrible, the most unpleasant thing about prison life is not so much the lack of amusement, the lack of good food or even the lack of the ordinary decencies of sanitary living. Bad as these things are they are only corollaries of a much greater deprivation, the lack of freedom. Even though you give a man good food, a comfortable bed, place him in a sanitary environment, even though you go so far as to provide him with a weekly picture show, the fact that he is behind a locked door through which he may not pass until the allotted time is a punishment fearful to contemplate.

When you remove a man from his family and friends, take from him all freedom of action, tell him what to do and how, prescribe when he shall get up and when he shall go to bed, what clothes he shall wear, when he shall bathe and shave, when and what he may read, how often he may write or receive letters and hedge him around with restrictions on the simplest actions of life, can a moving picture or a baseball game or a clean bed or a meal fit to be eaten provide a real mitigation? These things are not mitigations, they are elemental human needs.

You lock your criminal up like an animal, you place guards over him with loaded weapons and orders to use them if they think it necessary, you take his name away and give him a number, and then, if someone suggest that he be shown a picture or a play or be permitted a game of ball or that he be served satisfactory food, you say that he must not be coddled. Can anything in the world mitigate those facts just mentioned?

Can anything mitigate the condition which Oscar Wilde has so well described:

*But thought lean Hunger and green Thirst
Like asp with adder fight,
We have little care for prison fare,
For what chills and kills out-right
Is that every stone one lifts by day
Becomes one's heart by night.*

There is no questioning the assertion that society must be protected from criminals. People who cannot live by the laws of society

How To Meet Growing Crime—Will More Punishment Work?

must be segregated from the rest of the world. A man has committed burglary or arson or mayhem or rape. He has forged a check or sold bogus stock. The solution is easy. Send him to prison. For some offenses he will be imprisoned for a longer time than for others. Send all law violators to the same prison and while there treat them all in the same way. One man may be there for a year, his cell-mate for life.

Modern medical science is based on a search for causes. Disease is merely a result. If the cause of the disease is removed the disease disappears. This seems so elementary that it is a miracle that physicians discovered this method only after years of groping. But the science of treating crime is almost where it was 1,000 years ago.

It is obvious that all crime is caused by a maladjustment of some kind. It may be physical or mental, but the greater part of these maladjustments are economic. One

may even go further and say that a large percentage of the physical and mental maladjustments are in their turn based on economic maladjustments.

It follows that the removal of the cause of these maladjustments will remove the maladjustment itself and in turn crime.

This would seem a more logical and efficient method of handling the criminal problem. Forget punishment, punishment has never yet reformed a criminal. Under present methods our prisoners are breeding disease and crime. Treat our law violators with understanding; investigate the basic causes of the commission of an offense; if the cause be a physical or mental one, send the individual to a hospital where the condition can be remedied, or if incurable can be treated purely as the disease it is; and let us work toward producing a condition of affairs under which an economic maladjustment will be merely an ugly dream of a still uglier past.

Amalgamated Member Victim of Ohio Jail

Jacob Reichert, former Business Agent of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in Cincinnati, died at the Jewish Hospital, in that city, last week.

Death came within ten days after a pardon by Governor Donahey of Ohio caused his release from the State penitentiary in Columbus, where Reichert was serving a fifteen-year sentence imposed on charges brought against him as a result of the 1922 strike of the Amalgamated in Cincinnati.

The pardon was granted after several of the most prominent physicians in Ohio had certified that Brother Reichert was suffering from an illness which would soon result in death. Despite this, the granting of the pardon brought down a vicious attack upon the Governor from the capitalist press and other sources which are antagonistic to organized labor.

The persecution of Brother Reichert, who was very active in the 1922 strike, did not abate after his pardon, and Prosecutor Charles S. Bell announced only a few days ago that he would take immediate steps to prosecute Reichert on another indictment which was pending against him.

THAT MILLION

By JOHN M. WORK

NO, I am not going to tell you how to do it. I am going to tell you that you can't. The only way to acquire a million is to get what belongs to others.

A financial magazine that comes to my hand attempts to show that one can make a million honestly. It departs from the manner in which millions are usually made and states an imaginary case where an inventor of a new chemical process is supposed to receive royalties amounting to \$1,000,000, while the consumers save several times that amount because of the new process.

Disregarding the fact that inventors as a rule are poorly paid, even this example of an imaginary inventor who gets a million will not hold water.

An inventor is entitled to be well paid, but he is not entitled to be smothered with wealth. In making the invention his is not the only mind that enters into the matter. He has the advantage of all the study and progress and discovery

that have preceded, throughout all past time. This knowledge belongs to nobody in particular. It is the common store. He uses it. Without it, he could not have made his invention at all. He only adds a tiny bit to the knowledge already in existence. He should be well paid, for original thought is valuable and should be encouraged. But to pay him a million dollars is to pay him entirely out of proportion to the service he renders to society. It is also to squelch, rather than encourage, original thought on his part—for, with an unearned million with which to disport himself, the chances are that he will never have another original thought in his life.

However, it is significant that our financial magazine had to conjure up an imaginary and exceptional instance like this, in its effort to prove that a million can be made honestly.

Why did it not take up the usual method of making a million and argue on that basis?

A million is ordinarily made by speculation, by investment, by the manipulation of stocks and bonds, mortgages, real estate, grain futures, etc.

It takes a lot of hardihood, indeed, for anyone to hold that the mere manipulator earns his income. It is in fact wholly unearned. Interest, dividends, rent, and the proceeds of manipulation constitute legalized robbery. The recipient may be a fine fellow. I am not blaming him individually, for he only avails himself of the accepted methods. I blame the capitalist system, which is based on legalized robbery.

No, there is no way in which one can make a million honestly. One can get a million only by getting it from others. He may inherit it, or he may get the earnings of living persons. In either case, though legally entitled to it, he is not morally entitled to it, since he did not earn it. Certainly if he were very young, or old, or otherwise incapacitated from earning his living, I would not grudge him a reasonable part of it, even though he did not earn it. But not a million. And much less a hundred million or a billion.

We must have a social system which will encourage honest work, not degenerating parasitism—a system based on useful service, not on legalized robbery. The Socialists are working for such a system.

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST NEXT WAR

By J. S. WOODSWORTH

Even Canada has its professionals who are trying to load the country up with arms. Last May a bill was before the Canadian House of Commons which called for an appropriation of nearly \$700,000,000 for "national defense." It provided an opportunity for discussion of the general views back of the armament craze. J. S. Woodsworth is the Labor member from Winnipeg and he subjected the demand for this appropriation to a general analysis in the following speech:

I WANT to challenge the theory which underlies the whole of armaments, whether military, naval, or air; that is, that armaments are in a sense a guarantee of safety. Now, some of us are interested in preserving the country but we cannot see that armaments are the means by which this can be done. As a matter of fact, it would seem as if the last war had demonstrated to the whole world the futility of preparedness as a means of safety. Yet, even within this short time after the close of the last war, the world seems to be threatened with a recrudescence of militarism. In the British Empire itself we find a changed policy with regard to Singapore which may bring on strained relations with the oriental nations. The Minister himself has this afternoon suggested that he has information that would show war in Europe is by no means improbable. . . .

There are those who are perhaps inclined to deny any of us the right to question the maintenance of armaments. For a good many years in Canada those who believe in military preparedness have had their innings, and they have almost come to take it for granted that their policy is the correct one and the one that must be maintained indefinitely in this country. In fact, during the war, it became a crime for anybody to question the causes that led to hostilities, and the press and other agencies effectually silenced anyone who was opposed to that policy. It seems to me that now that we have had this great war, which has practically led to the bankruptcy of the world, and when we are faced with the possibility of another war, which as Winston Churchill has said will be the poten-

A Speech Delivered In the Canadian Parliament

tial destroyer of the human race, it is well that we should take time to consider the claims of the militarists before passing as a matter of form from year to year these military estimates.

The War Propaganda
Some honorable gentlemen may say that this is merely a personal matter with me. I have no hesitation in saying that I was opposed to the last war, and I hope I shall be opposed to the next one. When I was elected on a platform, one plank advocated national disarmament, and I should not be true to the people who sent me here unless I took this opportunity to advocate that policy. . . .

I for one am anxious that the standards of the Canadian people should be protected, but it is quite possible to protect policies without antagonizing other nations. The trouble is that is so easy for us to be influenced by press propaganda, and that propaganda is carried on at the present time on such a wholesale scale. Debates of the British Parliament have already established that British war-time propaganda in America was a thousand-fold more virulent and widespread than the feeble propaganda of the German imperialists. Lord Northcliffe himself admitted that England had spent \$150,000,000 for propaganda in the United States during the war, and he said he considered that money to be spent to better advantage than any equal amount spent during the entire conflict. There were over 4,500 British publicity agents in the United States, it was admitted in the House of Commons. . . . After the expose of the way in which the propaganda for the last war was carried forward, it is surely time that the common people of the country should ask themselves whatever they are not in danger of being trapped a second time. Let me pause for a few moments to visualize the international political situation which confronts us. We have a large number of independent states, and their attitude to one another is that of very keen rivalry.

Our Forms of Preparedness
The final court of appeal, as it has been for a great many years, is war, hence we have on the part of all these independent nationalities, with very few exceptions indeed, the theory and practice of preparedness. This takes two forms. First of all, military preparedness; the army, navy and air forces must be kept up. It was very clearly shown before the last war that armament firms egged on one nation to certain forms of preparedness and then turned around and urged its rival to meet it along similar lines.

In addition to the military preparedness we have what I might call psychological preparedness. We maintain the attitude of boosting our own. We have our own song, "Britannia Rules the Waves," and I am not at all sure that is much preferable to "Germany Over All." They both exhibit the same spirit, the desire to dominate. Of course as a Britisher, I suppose naturally I like to think of the British domination; it is hard to get out of one's own skin. But at the same time, I say both of them manifest a spirit that will never bring peace, but will always lead to war. I should like to repeat my statement—and I have no hesitation in doing so—that the spirit which leads us to assert that Britannia rules the waves is precisely the same spirit which led the Germans to assert that Germany should be over all.

We look back on the past war for a moment, and I think no one is any longer deceived as to its causes.

President Wilson said at St. Louis: "Is there in this audience any man, or any woman, nay, is there any child, who does not know that the seeds of war are sown in hot, successfully commercial and industrial rivalry?" Marshal Foch made a similar statement just after the war was over. A frank recognition that commerce is behind the whole of our military preparations today.

The Everlasting Economic War
Why should Canada not strike out along new lines? . . . We are spending millions upon war preparations, why not spend at least a few thousands in trying to find peace. . . . We have trodden the hard paths of war, why not explore the avenue that may lead to peace?

If Canada adopted an attitude of this kind and was foremost amongst the nations that definitely set themselves against war and assured her

citizens that they would keep out of the great struggles, it would be the nation of the world. You would have no need further to spend your millions of dollars inducing people to come to this country, because the people would be flocking from war-torn Europe only too glad to come to a country where there was no prospect of war. But let me not deceive the House into thinking that I believe that merely by setting up a bureau of peace we could solve the problem. I come again to this clear statement of the Navy League of Canada. It is the everlasting economic war which prevails in times of nominal peace which has produced and will produce physical war. In conclusion, I would like to appeal to the men and women who have dreamed of a better future for their children and for humanity, and who are willing to take some risks to make their dreams come true. I recognized that the policy which I have advocated would involve risks, but the present policy involves risks which are incident to the development of the new means of protecting our nation.

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An Open Letter
to
Secretary Kellogg

DEAR Sir and Bro.: I take my pen in hand to let you know that I don't like the newspaper piece you let loose on President Calles of Mexico. But before I go on, I'd better tell you who I am.

Well, Brother Kellogg, I am the guy who advised all the great statesmen during the last twenty years and the reason why the world is in such a devil of a fix is because they didn't listen to me. With all these well chosen remarks, I will now proceed to my subject.

For a starter, let me say that if it was the purpose of your article to nag Mexico into doing something rash in the military line, you made a bum stab. Mexico knows its weakness as well as our strength and therefore will go most any length to avoid getting into trouble with us. On the other hand, if your aim was to rile up the home folks against Mexico, you made a still worse break, for the good people of this country never pounce on a fellow who is almost down and out unless they have good moral grounds.

Well, where are your moral grounds? When and where did you show that the Mexicans cut off the hands of babies, or the breasts of ladies, or boiled hard-boiled oil men into glycerine, or trampled our flag in the mire? Mind you, I don't mean to say that these things have to be proven. The mere statement will be sufficient to rouse the moral indignation of our folks to fever heat. And while bare statements of this character would not go in any justice of the peace court, they always go over big when other nations are on trial before the bar of public opinion, or, as the Latins say, "Vox populi, vox boobeli," which means that boobies always leap before they think.

The flag racket is even easier worked than the atrocity gag. Around the Tampico oil fields, for instance, the boys have gotten into the habit of carrying little flags as a kind of chest protector against the dusky natives whose wives or sweethearts they are about to borrow. In such a situation, a few quarts of red-eye and pulque could easily provide headlines like:

"Mexican Mob Murders
Magnolia Oil Muleteer"

"Sinful Senors of Sonora Stick
Scissors in Sinclair Standby While
Defending Stars and Stripes"

I don't want to say that these things could or should be worked up, but if your aim is to stir up moral indignation at home, it might be well for you not to overlook the possibilities contained in a combination of red eye, pulque, love sick "gringos," jealous "greasers," Old Glory, and young senoritas. For without atrocities and insults to the flag, war sentiment simply won't budge.

However, it isn't the Mexican people I am thinking about so much as ourselves when I ask you to put the soft pedal on your utterances. Harsh words between nations easily lead to war, and as Benjamin Franklin said: "There never was a good war, nor a bad peace." What's more, in a war between Mexico and our country, the former would be bound to be defeated, and easy victories are always more disastrous to the victor than defeats are to the vanquished. I don't want to annoy a Secretary of State of this great country with history, but even a few minutes with any encyclopedia would show you that the awful calamity which befell Germany had its roots in the easy victory over France in 1871. Strong nations, like strong boys, easily develop into bullies, and there never was a bully yet who didn't find a bigger bully or a combination of smaller bullies who did not get his goat in the end.

But why go in all that trouble? What is there in Mexico we wouldn't get cheaper by soft-soaping than by bullying? If you had some goods to sell to a merchant, would you hold a fist under his nose and bellow, "Sir, things in your store are far from what they ought to be. You are on trial before the business world. I understand you are paying unreasonably high wages to that clerk of yours. Stop it, or a revolution might start in your back cellar, and if it does, far be it from me to get in its way. Now buy my goods?"

Honestly, Brother Kellogg, would that be your way to approach a prospective customer. Of course it wouldn't. You'd hand him the glad mitts with a smile so broad as to endanger your ears. You'd stick a cigar in his face. You'd plant yourself next to him on the counter and tell him the latest story picked up at the Commercial Hotel. You'd tell him what a helluvanance fellow he was, how much you liked his town, his store, and his people. In short, you'd make yourself as agreeable as you know how. Then, after friendly relations had been established, you gradually ease in with your business. You say to him, "John," or "Joe," or "Antonio," or "Plutarco," "I have a line of goods that will sell here like hot dogs on the North Pole. Lay in a small supply for a starter. I'll give you ninety days' credit so you don't have to pay until they have left the shelves. In the meantime, we'll do some advertising around here to make 'em move a little more lively. I wouldn't do that for everybody. But you're a friend of mine. I want you to make money, and besides, what's good for you is good for me and my house," etc. Yes, Brother Kellogg, that's the way you would talk to a prospective customer, and let me tell you, what is good policy between man and man is just as good policy between nation and nation.

Some people may also tell you that the United States has interests in Mexico that require protection by force. Don't let them fool you. The United States has no other interest down there than to secure peace and friendship between the two countries. There are, however, citizens of the United States who are robbing Mexico, and robbers always require force in their business. And pray who are those gentlemen?

Well, Brother Kellogg, they are the identical crowd which made a pig-sty out of Washington in the naval oil reserve steal. They are the patriots who bought Teapot Dome from Albert Fall for a bale of Liberty Bonds and a herd of blooded cows, including a gentleman escort. Their grievance is

HOW TO CURE WORLD UNREST

No. 1
Columbus, Ohio.—Doctor O. U. Woosy, D.D.B.O.D.F., Professor of Entomology in the Seidlitz College of Pharmacy of this city, delivered a scholarly discourse yesterday before the Cosces Club, on "The Way to Combat the Pernicious Propaganda of unrest."

The Doctor would sprinkle all books that advocate organizations of Labor, strikes for higher wages, or any theory of government not exactly like that of the United States, with a snuff that he has patented, war-ranted to prevent reading of the diabolical literature.



DOCTOR O. U. WOOSY

Through the 17th Century
THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph.D.

HOBBS and the Social Contract Theory: Following the utopian visions of Bacon, Andreae and Campanella, the old agrarian feudalism and communism throughout Europe and particularly in England began to crumble, and a new order began to emerge. In England commerce developed in hitherto unknown parts of the world; cities sprang up on every hand, and private property became more firmly entrenched.

With their growing power, the possessors of property sought to discover a philosophy which would justify its existence, and take the ground from under the Communist philosophy. This theory, known as the "social contract theory," was supplied by Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) and Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). While it was originated by Grotius, it was elaborated by Hobbes. The latter's thesis was essentially as follows: Communism, it is true, existed in the State of Nature. Man, however, soon began to develop evil passions and lust for power, and these characteristics resulted in perpetual warfare and the survival of the strongest and craftiest. The laws of justice, of mercy and of modesty, which are Nature's laws, were thus nullified, and mankind was presented with the following choice: Shall it try to preserve its natural liberty and suffer from destructive warfare, or shall it subject itself to authority and gain thereby security and peace? Confronted with these alternatives, men chose authority and peace, as the desire for life and for self-preservation is fundamental.

After arriving at this decision, they entered into a solemn contract to hand over their authority unconditionally to one man or assembly of men, and pledged themselves to obey the laws of their sovereign. So binding was this pledge, according to Hobbes, that, "though a monarch, a sovereign, may in his passion pursue aims contrary to the laws of Nature, no subject has a right to make war on him."

Besides the oil bandits, there are a few American absentee owners of huge Mexican estates who also may think a few divisions of U. S. soldiers would come handy in protecting their titles which smell as fishy as dead carp. Two of these owners are powerful newspaper proprietors from California who had their million-acre estates presented to them by President Diaz, whom the Mexican people lovingly remember as "Diaz, the Butcher." Diaz had stolen the land from his own people and forked it over to these honorable moulders of public opinion to secure the moral support of the good people of the United States while he converted Mexico into a foreign province of English, French, and American exploiters.

As far as we, the common people of this great democracy, are concerned, we want nothing more from

of Nature, no subject has a right to make war on him."

With this transfer of power, the natural State ended, and the artificial State succeeded, with power over property, religion and all the affairs of the commonwealth. "Inequality and the law of thine and mine" also arose—in a word, "the right of a subject to exclude all other subjects from the use of things which he possesses."

Thus Hobbes tried at one and the same time to defend the inviolability of private property and of absolute monarchy. The England that beheaded King Charles did not take kindly to his monarchical arguments. Sociologists have long ago exploded his theory of social contract.

Thomas Locke and the Labor Theory of Value: In fact Hobbes' successor, Thomas Locke (1632-1704), disregarded this theory completely. In the first place he disagreed with Hobbes and Grotius in their contention that the State of Nature was a State of Communism. When the wild Indian gathered food and prepared it for his own use, it became his exclusive possession. This was legitimate, as the Indian "mixed it with his labor and joined to it something that was unquestionably his own." Moreover, things in their natural state have little value. Nineteenth of their value is added to them through labor. As this labor, the creator of value, is a part of the Indian, in taking the food he was taking only that which was his own. Through labor, therefore, one acquires the title to property.

It follows that so much of land and other property as man can work and render useful belongs to him. This was acknowledged in the original State of Nature. The one difference between the natural State and the civil State lies in the degree to which man appropriates to himself. In the original State, they secured only as much as they needed. Locke took issue with Hobbes in his defense of absolute monarchy. The Labor theory of value, which he developed, has done yeoman work in the Socialist movement.

Revival of Communism in the Struggle Against the Monarchy: In

Mexico than chili con carne and hot tamales, and we are willing to pay for these like good fellows. In case of war, we could constitute the minority stockholders of the enterprise, which means that we would do the dirty work and foot the bills while the Sinclairs and Dohneys converted their war profits into tax exempt securities or invest them in debauching still more governments and thereby lay the foundation for more hell and damnation.

Now, Brother Kellogg, I have given you the straight goods on Mexico. From now on, when you have something to say to Brother Calles, say it like a gentleman. Plutarco is doing his little best to help his people, and by the time he has cleaned out his own grafters he will have trouble enough without being pestered by you in behalf of our grafters. Be kind and gentle to the Mexican people also. Between their own and foreign robbers, they have nothing left but their pride. Treat 'em white, and some day, when you pay a friendly visit to the valley of Mexico City, they will greet you with flowers from the sunken gardens of Xoxenilco, and believe me, Brother Kellogg, there is more joy in fragrant blossoms coming from grateful hearts than in all the military conquests of the ages.

Hoping that this letter will help you a little in giving the low down on your new job, and with best regards to the missus and the little Kelloggs, if there be such, I am, Your most obedient servant,

Adam Coal-digger.

P. S.—Don't take that "obedient servant" too hard. I just noticed that diplomats always sign themselves that way when writing to each other. So I thought I better live up to the rules of our union, and stay regular.

spite of these broadsides against Communism, and the increasing power of property owners, Communist ideals were revived with considerable enthusiasm in the middle of the seventeenth century during the bitter fight between the Monarch and Parliament for supremacy. Many of the agitators of the day changed their argument somewhat from that of the older Communists. Communism, they claimed, did not cease with the fall of man, but continued even until the Norman Conquest, when the Englishman was defeated and the natural State was turned into a civil State. Thus Gerard Winstanley, the leader of the small band of Communist Diggers, pleaded with Oliver Cromwell that he cast out the "conquerors and recover our land and liberties. . . for when the Norman power had conquered our forefathers he took the free use of our English land from them and made them his servants."

The Diggers' Utopia: In his new Law of Righteousness, Winstanley visualized a utopia in which "there shall be no buying and selling of the earth, nor of the fruits thereof. . . If any man or family want corn or other provisions, they may go to the storehouse and fetch without money. If they want a horse to ride, they may go into the fields in summer or to the common stables in winter, and receive one from the keepers, and when the journey is performed, bring him back. . . As everyone works to advance the common stock, so every one shall have free use of any commodity in the storehouse for his pleasure and comfortable livelihood, without buying or selling or restraint from anybody."

Family life, however, must be private and monogamous and "every man's house, furniture, and the provisions which he fetches from the storehouses, are proper to himself, likewise the wife to the husband and the husband to the wife."

The Diggers, true to their name, soon began their peculiar propaganda of the deed, by digging up and manuring one of the hills in Surrey, in order to encourage others to "restore the Creation to its former condition." The remedy for the present situation, they maintained, was to plow up the commons, parks and other utilized lands. When others saw the blessings of this method, they would come to their communities. But their efforts were comparatively futile.

Harrington's Oceana: Side by side with the communistic utopia of the leader of the Diggers was the political utopia, Oceana, of the gentleman-commoner, James Harrington (1611-1677), with its gospel of republicanism. Harrington's treatise was aimed primarily at the development under Oliver Cromwell of a sound and lasting political constitution.

Industrial vs. Political Control: Its chief merit lay in its clear analysis of the relation of industrial to political control. The forces in society who own property, Harrington contended, particularly those in possession of land, inevitably control the political life of the community. "As in the proportion or balance of dominion or property, such is the nature of the Empire." Where land is owned by one, there is monarchy; by a few, there is aristocracy; by the people generally, there is a commonwealth. Thus the commonwealth should enact a law forever "establishing and preserving the balance of dominion by such a distribution, that no man or number of men, within the compass of a few or aristocracy, can come to overpower the whole people by the possession of lands."

Democratic Safeguards: Thus Harrington was among the first to emphasize how completely those who control property may expect to control government and politics. As safeguards to democracy he urged, among other things, the secret ballot, rotation in office and a two-chamber legislative system, and undoubtedly gave a stimulus to na-

(Continued on Page 8.)

Bed Time Stories
for the
Bourgeoisie

"O H, for a lodge in some vast wilderness!"

With words to that effect, we cast about us to find a spot far from the madding crowd where we could pitch our tent.

For you must understand that some time ago my wife and I had decided that the cheapest and most romantic way to spend the summer would be in the "One-Man Auto Camper's Marquee Tent Aaa."

Not that we were auto-campers, for, unlike Sam De Witt and other prominent columnists, our literary efforts have not as yet brought us in a flock of Rolls-Royces.

But the saleslady assured us that the least costly and most fascinating habitation known to latter-day civilization was the "One-Man Auto Camper's Marquee Tent Aaa," and of course we believed her.

If it wasn't for folks like us, the profession of selling in this country would be flat on its back. We are the fall guys who announce loudly that advertising is all hokum and then buy things because they look so well in the catalogs or because the salespeople have such nice ways about them.

Sa we pawed the family silver and hocked the oil painting of grandpa addressing the Union League Club on the First Anniversary of the Battle of Antietam, and became the proud possessors of the tent and its appurtenances, which are as many and expensive as the fittings for the Berengaria.

We finally found a place on the estate of a lawyer friend of ours (yes, we do get to meet the oddest sort of people, lawyers and Baptist ministers and harmonica players and such), and he said we could pitch our tent on a small hill overlooking his house without even taking out a mechanic's lien. In fact, he said, we could have a habes corpus for the place for the whole summer, lis pendens.

So we had the tent and its accessories shipped up to this estate and went about town telling everyone that we were going to rough it in a tent this summer, we were, out under God's own canopy, beneath the stars and the wind in the tree-tops where we could find our souls again, untrammelled by the world of men.

When I told some of my friends this, they thought I had gone Bruce Barton, but on second thought, as usual, they put it down to drink and said wasn't it too bad? a young man of such promise etc. etc.

On an eventful afternoon, with a blue sky beaming over us and the wind whispering gently in the nearby willows, or maybe they were birch trees or elms, or what will you have?, we tenderly unwrapped the tent with its guy ropes and angle irons and roof beam and props and side-walls and crossgirders and spare parts and ground-frogs and book of directions. In the last it said that the "One-Man Auto Camper's Marquee Tent Aaa" could be set up by one man in the short space of fifteen minutes. There was a sentence, which, not being autoists, we skipped over, a bit hastily as it now appears, to the effect that it was well to begin putting up the tent before dark overtook the tourist.

An hour and a half later I began to acquire an immense respect for the man who could put up this thing in fifteen minutes. So far I had succeeded in stringing one guy rope in a sou'-by-sou'-west direction from the angle of incidence with the tent's roof-tree. This had cost me one barked shin, two bruised knuckles, one dandy water-blister, four and three-quarters gallons of perspiration, and my wife's respect for me as a man of even temper.

Two hours later, with one tent pole standing semi-erect, I had concluded that the man in the catalogue was none other than a direct descendant of Nietzsche's Superman.

You must realize that during this time I was alternating between standing shrouded in voluminous folds of tent, shouting muffled directions to my wife and some friends who had rashly volunteered to help, and letting the main cross-beam fall on my tenderest toe, to rush outside and haul desperately on singularly unyielding and scratchy ropes.

Twilight was painting the scene with its myriad of colors when at last the east wall was erected. Erected is hardly the word at that. Seven of us—for most of the neighbors had come over attracted by the strange scene, which they thought at first was a Klan initiation, with myself beneath the tent as Imperial Cyclops—seven of us then, by dint of convulsive cooperative effort, had managed to kick, slam, haul and cajole the east wall into an approach to uprightness, and there still remained the other three walls. Then darkness settled down upon us, and as the patented gasoline stove, "John D." developed a serious leak and as our lawyer friend came over with an invitation to dinner, we decided to spend one more night in the drab haunts of civilization and put off roughing it until the following day.

Up with the dawn, shouting "Never say die," we ran happily to our tent, to find that during the night the east wall had given up the ghost and joined its fellows on the ground.

But we have been good Socialists long enough to realize that every defeat is really a moral victory, as Bill Feigenbaum and Charles Ervin can always prove to anyone, and we pitched in right heartily. We pitched in but not up. By noon we had restored the east wall's former position; by half-past-two we had the south and west walls out of the trenches; and then, with a glad cry that rang round and round the wooded slopes of North Mamaroneck just as darkness came again, the last stubborn wall yielded and we sank exhausted upon the twin beds "Evangeline" and "Hiawatha, Jr." ready for our first night out in the open, under God's canopy and our own tent tree.

To be sure, "The Marquee" exhibited an alarming tendency to lurch drunkenly about when the slightest breeze ruffled its canvas. But I assured my wife that this was only to be expected of titled things and we lay down to pleasant slumbers.

Natives of North Mamaroneck tell us that there have been worse storms than that which descended upon us at 2:30 o'clock the next morning, but all we have to say is, they can have them for their own.

(Continued on Page 6.)

:-: "A CONTINUAL MENACE TO PEACE" :-:

By STEPHEN A. DOYLE

A SHORT history of the nefarious practices of private detective agencies in industrial disputes is contained in a petition and affidavit which Mr. Doyle, president of the Bureau of Industrial Service of Chicago, presented to the Illinois Legislature. The petition is herewith presented; the affidavit, tracing the bloody activity of these capitalist-bred thugs since 1875, will appear next week.

A Petition

470 Caxton Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
To the Honorable T. J. O'Grady, of the Legislature of the State of Illinois.

Honorable Sir:

We, the associate members of the Bureau of Industrial Service, an organization devoted to the elimination, through State and national legislation, of the evils arising from the existence of private detective agencies, having fully investigated the activities of said agencies, especially in the field of industrial strife, and being convinced, beyond peradventure of doubt, that they serve no good purpose whatsoever to either Capital or Labor, or any other element in society, respectfully represent unto your Honor the following good and substantial reasons why a law should be enacted in this State to thwart what we believe to be a continual menace to peaceful relationship, not only between employer and employee, but also among a large body of the citizenship generally.

Over 900

Detective Agencies

1. That there are over 900 private detective agencies in the United States, a considerable number of which are located in this State.

2. That this non-productive body costs annually many millions of dollars for the thousands of employees and operatives maintained in this State.

3. That the source of income of these agencies is through strife and discord, or the fear thereof, among citizens.

4. That private detective agencies have made industrial strife their most lucrative source of gain and that their interest in industrial strife is not only entirely selfish and without any desire to better the relations between the contending parties, but that they are ceaselessly endeavoring, when opportunity presents, to keep Capital and Labor

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NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

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

Fifteen Telling Counts Against the Activity of Detective Agencies in Labor Disputes

further apart by perpetrating hideous crimes, including murder, and seeking to foist the blame thereof upon either Capital or Labor, as may seem most expedient to their purpose.

5. That to accomplish the aforesaid aims they require their secret operatives to become members of Labor unions, and that these "under cover" men are the originators and perpetrators of unlawful acts which so often culminate in profitable contracts of employment of these very agencies to assist in quelling the troubles that they themselves have bred, for the pre-

cise purpose of being employed.

"Continually Creating Trouble and Disorder"

6. That the private detective agencies do not honestly serve those who employ them, but are continually striving to create and foment trouble and disorder, with the sole end in view of extracting large sums of money for their services, and at the same time using all means in their power to place the blame for the outrages they commit upon innocent people who have nothing whatsoever to do with their perpetration.

7. That private detective agen-

cies have driven a billion dollars' worth of industry from Illinois, through their nefarious activities, within the past ten years, causing capital to locate in other States.

8. That the crimes connected with the Agrio strike, the Chicago Race Riots, the Herrin massacre, in each of which instances many murders were committed, and many others too numerous to mention here, were part and parcel of the program of conspiracy and intrigue of private detective agencies in their schemes to extract large sums through employment.

9. That the problem of settling

the differences between Capital and Labor can never be peacefully solved so long as these evil influences are among them seeking to keep them apart.

10. That their activities are tolerated in no other civilized country and, consequently, here in the United States, with a great amount in Illinois, there is twenty times more industrial strife than in the balance of the world.

Denounced

By Roosevelt

11. That no less a person than ex-President Roosevelt stated that they should be "run out of the

country," and branded as "a horde of rats and a menace more terrible than the bubonic plague."

12. That armed protection of life and property is primarily a function of Government and should not be usurped by private agencies under any guise whatsoever, even though they call themselves detective agencies.

13. That the elimination of private detective agencies will result in wiping out 90 per cent of possible outrages and breaches of the peace heretofore co-existent with the existence of industrial strife.

14. That a State like Illinois, so far advanced in the arts and sciences, is grievously hampered in its progress by the existence of such destructive influences.

15. That in substantiation of the above charges, we respectfully submit an affidavit by Mr. Stephen A. Doyle, one of the members of the Bureau of Industrial Service, and one whose entire life has been devoted to a systematic and comprehensive collection of data in connection with industrial strife, in which he avers that the covered hand of the private detective agencies has been at the bottom of practically every outrage that has been perpetrated during industrial strife since 1875 to the present day, and that one of the results of the workings of these secret operatives has been that many innocent men have been hung for crimes in which they did not even participate. And in further support of our charges we have available other affidavits and a mountain of evidence.

16. That the operation of private detective agencies and the operations of private detectives, according to the present private detective system, be made unlawful in the State of Illinois, so that there will not a repetition of the dastardly occurrences that have heretofore marked industrial strife among these agents of evil to whom murder is no crime.

Respectfully submitted,
BUREAU OF INDUSTRIAL SERVICE,
Stephen A. Doyle, President,
March 26, 1925.

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:-: THE KLAN AND THE WORKERS :-:

By JAMES A. WALLACE

WHAT is it? What is the chief result of its activities? Its greatest accomplishment is to divide the workers into two hostile, clashing groups. "Divide and Conquer" is a military maxim of prime importance. It was the favorite policy and maxim of Napoleon. It has been the most effective maneuver of all great generals, all great politicians, and the chief weapon and policy of the great Masters and "Bosses" in industry.

The principal effect of the work and tactics of the organization known as the Ku Klux Klan is to arouse and stimulate religious and racial hatred, strife, discord, heart-burnings and dissensions among the common people—the working class, and thus make them more easily held in subjection by the employers of labor—familiarily known as the Master Class; to cause the Protestant workingman to hate, fight and suspect the Catholic workingman; to cause the Catholic workingman to hate, fight and suspect the Jew workingman; to arouse racial hatred and prejudice between the Negro worker and the white worker. With the workers at cross-purposes, suspicious of each other and fighting among themselves, they are easily held in subjection to the bosses and industrial masters who exploit them.

The Klan of today is an organization far different from and has a more sinister aspect than the original Ku Klux Klan of reconstruction days in the South after the war. The main object and purpose of the Klan at that time was to keep the Negro, with his newly acquired freedom, in subjection and under control—to prevent black domination of the whites in the old slave States of the South.

The Klan of this day has many ostensible purposes. These are paraded before the public and the sought-for member to gull and dupe him into joining the organization. One of the high-sounding and patriotic purposes is said to be, "To uphold the Constitution of the United States and to maintain 'Law and Order.'" Remembering the fact that this nation was organized and the Constitution framed on the principle and idea of religious and civil liberty, the right to worship God according to the dictates of the individual conscience, and remembering the record of the Klan in various parts of the United States during the past four or five years, you have the answer to the claim that the Klan is 100 per cent American. Its record and the funda-

The K. K. K. as A Menace to the Unity of Labor

mental basis of this Government give the lie to that claim of the Klan.

The Klan ropes in the susceptible by claiming it is devoted to a long list of apparently laudable purposes and to the best interests of humanity. It deceives the rank and file of the membership and the general public by announcing and parading a lot of high-sounding principles and purposes (which by the way are as sounding brass and tinkling symbols) as a mask or front to hide its cloven hoof and forked tongue—the menace of the real purpose and the natural result of the activities of the Klan.

The greatest menace to liberty and a free Government of the people, by the people and for the people is the "stirring up of strife and discord, party and sect antagonisms, which create heart-burnings and dissensions" among the common people. This the Klan has succeeded in doing wherever it has gained a foothold.

In addition to this, designing men control it for their material and political advantage. The rank and file of Klan members either do not or cannot see the sinister purposes of the organization, being blinded by religious and political prejudice, and by the glitter of the moral and patriotic "principles" announced as the foundation on which Klan-Kraft is built. Fanaticism and bigotry, intolerance and suspicion are inculcated and aroused to deceive the workers into being enemies to themselves and to their brother workers of different religious beliefs and racial connections.

The present Klan has taken the creed and principles of the old "A. P. A." happily now extinct. It has revamped that dead organization, dressed up its skeleton and cloaked it with the name, regalia and tactics of the post Civil War Ku Klux Klan. The post-war Klan voluntarily disbanded after having been outlawed.

Bed Time Stories for the Bourgeoisie

(Continued from Page 5.)
The east wall was the first to go. I was asleep directly under it dreaming unhappily of the time when I had a good plastered roof over me put up by a member of the building trades who had never heard of God's canopy and would call a jurisdictional strike if he had, when several tons of soggy marquee struck my noble brow. By the time I had disentangled my wife from the west wall and we had stood upon the storm-lashed hillock with the marquee about our feet like Mr. and Mrs. John R. Ajax defying the light-

The following lines disclose in a humorous but very forcible way the main result that flows from Klan activities, as it affects the common people and the working class.

MIKE, THE CHRISTIAN, AND IKE, THE JEW.

Said Mike to Ike, "Ye dirty Jew—I'll whale the giblets out o' you! Yes blatherin' unbaptized galoot—I'm damn good mind to smash yer snoot."

Says Ike to Mike, "You Christian dog, You rotten beast-vot lives on hog! When dot Priest-rings dot old Church bell, I tells der Pope to 'Go to H'U!'"

Well, then the blood and whiskers flew,
From Mike, the Christian, and Ike, the Jew.

Now both these lobsters worked all day
For the self-same Boss for blamed small pay.
And "Devil-a-bit" did this Boss care
For bloody mugs and the gobs of hair.

"If I," said the Boss, "can keep these two—
Mike, the Christian, and Ike, the Jew—
Fighting about their creeds and such,
I can 'skin 'em both' to beat the Dutch."

"But if they drop their myths and creeds,
Ghosts and goblins and strings of beads—
If they find their INTERESTS both are one,
These fellows will soon put me 'on the run'!"

So the Boss lay back and smole a smile
As he thought of all the goodly pile

ning, I had come to the irrevocable conclusion that East 9th street, Manhattan, is a perfectly gorgeous summer resort, and that is my story and I'm going to stick to it.

For sale, cheap, or in exchange for talking parrot, a copy of the Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant, or second-hand bicycle, 1 One-Man Auto Camper's Marquee Tent Aaa. Can be put up by one man in fifteen minutes or seven men in two days, as the case may be. Address XXXXXXXX.
McAlister Coleman.

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Insist On This Label When You Buy Bread

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W.M. LEHMAN, Sec'y-Treasurer.

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The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

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

MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK

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Office: 3 WEST 16TH STREET Telephone Chelsea 2148
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The Board of Directors meet every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
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Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4549
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 6 P. M.
Bronx—E. 187th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
Bklyn—108 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—74 Montgomery St.
SALVATORE NINPO, Manager-Secretary.

SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.
120 East 28th St. Madison Sq. 147.
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY
TUESDAY AT 6 P. M.
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7082
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday
night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office.
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President
ED. GOTTESMAN, Sec'y-Treas.
L. B. DEGENER, Manager
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

Italian Dressmakers

Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and
Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board
Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 3 West
21st Street. Telephone 1748—Watkins.
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 67 of I. L. G. W. U.
117 Second Ave.
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 7106-7
A. SNYDER, Manager MOLLY LIFSHITZ, Secretary

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

130 East 23rd St. Madison Square 1934
Executive Board meets every Monday
at 7 P. M.
D. GINGOLD, A. WEINGART, Sec'y-Treas.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS

UNION LOCAL 68, I. L. G. W. U.
1 East 18th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3857
Executive Board meets every Tuesday
Night in the Office of the Union
Z. L. FREEDMAN, Pres.
M. M. ESSEFIELD, NATHAN KESSEL, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715
Telephones: 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. Telephones: Spring 7000-1-2-3-4
DAVID WOLF, General Manager ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
709 Broadway, New York City. Telephones: Stuyvesant 4330, 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 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5506.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 310 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 1351
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOZ, Sec'y-Treasurer.

Children's Jacket Makers

Of Gr. N. Y. Loc. 10, Sec. A, A. C. W. of A.
Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387
Executive Board meets every Friday
at 8 P. M.
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A. LEVINE, Rec. Sec'y.
M. LENCHEWITZ, Fin. Sec'y.

Lapel Makers & Pairsers

Local 151, A. C. W. of A.
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3809
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
ALBERT SNYDER, Chairman
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10.
A. C. W. of A. Section "B"
Office 353 Bowditch Ave., Bkn. Stage 10180
Ex. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m.
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.
J. BERKOWITZ, Chairman
J. FORTNEY, Rec. Sec'y.
J. FORTNEY, Bus. Agent J. Kleinholz, Fin. Sec'y.

Pressers' Union

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

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

GENERAL OFFICE:
11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3084
JOHN ZEICHNER, Chairman. CHARLES KLEINMAN, Secretary-Treasurer. ONSIP WALINKY, General Manager.

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK
Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Mark's Place. Phone Orchard 1209
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
MORRIS WALDMAN, J. KNAPPEN ANNA MUSICANT, Sec'y.
HERMAN WIENER and JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
Downtown Office: 640 Broadway. Phone Spring 4448
Uptown Office: 20 West 57th Street. Phone FITZGER 1896
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening.
HYMAN LEDERMAN, J. MULLINAK, Recording Secretary. Secretary-Treasurer.
ORGANIZERS: NATHAN SECTOR, I. H. GOLDBERG, M. GOODMAN.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

Set down these four names: Rt. Honorable Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the British Labor party; Morgan Jones, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education in the British Labor Government; Rhys Davies, former Under-Secretary of State, and Pierre Renaudel, one of the foremost leaders of the Socialist Party in France and probably its most eloquent orator. These distinguished comrades will presently visit the United States and Canada—our English comrades as delegates to the Interparliamentary Union at Ottawa, in October, and our French comrades in connection with the Interparliamentary Conference at Washington in September.

Each of these interesting and forceful visitors will fill a few speaking engagements, very few. Comrade Renaudel, who does not speak English, would be a "delight to French comrades if meetings were arranged for him in a number of university communities and in localities having numerous Frenchmen. Our English comrades should have every available date snapped up immediately, for in every city in this country there is profound interest in the British Labor movement, and these three can speak with authority and intense interest on that movement. Comrade Keir Hardie's visit is still a most pleasant memory to tens of thousands of American people who heard him a dozen years ago.

Take up this matter at once with your neighbors and with the National Office. Address 2553 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

The American Appeal

The very latest from Pittsburgh is a telegraphic order and remittance for \$100 worth of Appeal cards. From Minneapolis comes a bunch of ten "subs" and an order for twenty more "sub" cards. State Senator A. O. Devold doing the handsome hustling. Comrade Devold has pledged to sell 500 subscriptions. From all along the line,

Joint Executive Committee

OF THE

VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway. Phone: Orchard 6639

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

M. GREENBERG, Sec. Treas. PETER MONAT, Manager.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St.

MAILING: 7499

CARL GRABBER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION,

Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union.

Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.

M. REINS, President.

S. FINE, Vice-President.

E. FRIEDMAN, Rec. Sec'y.

E. WENNEIS, Fin. Sec'y.

H. KANDROFF, Bus. Agent.

FUR FLOOR WORKERS

UNION LOCAL 3, F. I. U. A.

Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Tel. Stage 5220

Regular Meetings Every First and Third Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Thursday.

FRANK ROSEN, President. JAMES CARUSO, Secretary.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.

7 E. 18th St. Stuyvesant 7878

Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Wednesday at 160 East 23rd Street.

Fred Fastelbeck, N. Ullman, President.

Henry Lutz, Vice-President.

Gus Levine, Financial Sec'y.

Business Agent Chas. Kazano.

N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 523). Phone Spring 2258-2259

ALDO CURSI, Manager. H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer.

Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.

Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.

Local 243—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.

Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.

Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.

These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 65

MORRIS KAUFMAN, General President. ANDREW WENNER, General Secretary-Treasurer.

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office: 22 EAST 22nd STREET - Phone: CAL edonia 0350

Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office

especially from every one of the district organizers, comes the cry, "We need most of all and need right now the national propaganda paper that will place the Socialists of the whole country in close touch with each other. We simply must have it—and have it soon."

ILLINOIS

Comrade William Henry has been encouragingly successful in Illinois. He has visited four towns and organized three locals. He reports having found some old-timers who have lost their nerve but many others who are eager to have the work resumed all along the line. Comrade Henry admits the difficulties—and attacks them. He will work next in Macoupin County, with Staunton as headquarters. At the St. Louis convention, July 4, he met many of the Illinois comrades from Macoupin and other counties near St. Louis and with them planned some of the work for the next few weeks. The new State Secretary, Comrade Hall, is doing all that can be done to secure cooperation throughout the State for the district organizer.

CALIFORNIA

Comrade Emil Herman's first daily report was for June 24; his latest, for June 27. These reports show Comrade Herman realizes the financial aspect of the work to be done in connection with the State Office, the National Office and the American Appeal; for these he has collected, respectively, \$15, \$19.50, and \$24.50. With the hearty cooperation of the State Secretary, Lena Morrow Lewis, and other comrades, he is laying out his work for the next few weeks while busy around the Bay. Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis is energetically placing the great conventions and demonstrations before the public of California. One paragraph of an attractively printed circular letter to the membership reads thus: "If Socialism touches your heart and conscience as it has touched Debs', you will return this pledge card with your name and address signed thereto. It pledges you to join the Socialist Party organization if 999 join. Sign it and send it now."

MISSOURI

Comrade William R. Snow attended the convention and demonstration in St. Louis, July 4 and 5, preparatory to his activities as district organizer in District 7. Comrade Snow is an old-timer and will meet the Missouri comrades far more than half way in an effort to get the movement going as it should in Missouri. It is clearly up to the comrades, not only in Missouri but in every organization district, to get busy in sincere cooperation with the district organizers if they really want something done and done now.

OHIO

Comrade Joseph Viola is up against wage-slavery as it is perfectly exemplified in Akron and Canton, Ohio. In Canton there is one plute whose income is at least \$15,000 a day. His wage slaves are timid. Akron is the famous and infamous "rubber" town. Viola is strenuously active and his efforts are the sort that constitute a test of

the situation. Comrade Viola addressed a keenly attentive audience in Massillon on the night of June 28. State Secretary Panschar is meeting the comrades of Ohio squarely with finely cooperative effort. The Miami Valley Socialist is working in perfect harmony with the American Appeal. Its entire mailing list has been furnished the National Office for the purpose of assisting in the promotion of the Appeal.

NEW JERSEY

State Committee meeting, Sunday, July 12, at 2 p. m. sharp. Outdoor meetings in Hudson County, Saturday, July 11. Hoboken—Washington and 5th streets. Speaker: Mary Harris Mainland.

Bayonne—Broadway and 23rd streets. Speaker: James Allman. Union City—Summit avenue and Courtland street; speaker: Frank R. Crosswaith. Bergenline avenue and 14th street; speaker: Patrick Quinlan.

West New York—Bergenline avenue and 14th street. Speaker: Charles Kruse.

Hudson County comrades should not fail to attend in full force the picnic of the Socialist Educational Club and Local Hudson County, to be held at Maywood Grove, Fairview, N. J. Take Boulevard bus to Numpnesser's, then take bus down the hill. Park is at foot of hill.

CONNECTICUT

The regular monthly meeting of the local was held at Machinist Hall, 99 Temple street, Wednesday evening, July 1. Arrangements were made to cooperate with the committee that is arranging the "Commonwealth" picnic and banquet. Plans were talked over for the running of a City Campaign, arranging of street meetings and increasing the circulation.

K. C. Jussek will speak on the New Haven Green, July 18, at 8 p. m.

A meeting of the Commonwealth Banquet Committee will be held at Spector's Fur Store, 11-7 Chapel street, New Haven, Monday, July 13, at 7 p. m.

Great interest is being taken in the coming municipal campaign in Bridgeport. Plans for the campaign are being formulated. With a complete ticket in the field and plenty of workers, Socialists in Bridgeport will put up a bang-up campaign. The party is in the best tactical position in years and in the best condition to make the most of it.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

District Organizer Lewis has added another local to the roster of locals in the New England District. The new local is known as Local Rockland and includes in its membership the Comrades from the neighboring town of Abington. This new local will have August Claessens for a speaking engagement next month. It is a healthy local and has a promise of long life.

Finnish Socialist Festival

More than 4,000 Socialists attended the annual two-day Summer Festival of the Finnish Socialist Federation of New England which was held in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, on July 4 and 5, at Saima Park, which is owned by the local branch. The program consisted of addresses, concerts, dances, athletic events and an operetta.

The festival began Saturday, July 4, at 10 a. m. by selections from the combined bands of the Maynard, Gardner and Fitchburg branches under the directorship of Comrade Lauri Koski of Maynard. Comrade William Reivo, translator secretary of the Finnish Socialist Federation, spoke in Finnish, and Comrade Savele Syrjala, National Executive Committee member of the Y. P. S. L., spoke in English. The big athletic event of the day was a 10-mile novelty relay race. Henry Koski, of Fitchburg, and Gunner Nilsson, of New York, defeated ten picked men of the Maynard, Gardner and Fitchburg branches by more than 300 metres. In the evening there was an operetta performed by the local Socialists' dramatic club and a dance for the young people at the spacious Saima Park dancing pavilion.

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 Stage 3544. Office hours, 8 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 6 P. M., Room 14.
F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

NEW MANHATTAN CASINO

155th St. and Eighth Ave. Phone Edgcomb 2653

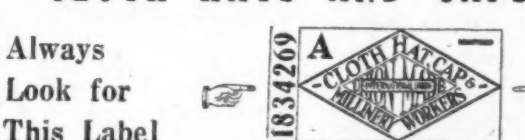
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Every Modern Convenience Can Now Be Found at the Entirely
REASONABLE RENT INSPECTION INVITED
(Holidays and Other Dates Available.)

WHEN YOU BUY CLOTH HATS AND CAPS

Always Look for This Label



(Continued on Page 8.)

Executive Board meets every Friday evening, at the Office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.

THOMAS F. OATES, President. CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer

BRITISH LABOR VIEWS THE BOLSHEVIKS

By JAMES ONEAL

In his article in *The New Leader* a few weeks ago William E. White reproached us for not having carried anything regarding the report of the British Trade Union Delegation to Russia. He was in error. We ran a story of this report in our issue of December 27, giving a liberal extract of the report as it appeared in a British publication. We also wrote for a copy of the report but never received an answer. Not until a supply of the report arrived at the Rand School a few weeks ago were we able to consult the report itself. We are inclined to think that if the Communists who are praising the report were to read it carefully they would burn all copies they could find. The following is an analysis of the report so far as it deals with the political rights of the working class in Russia and a review of the negotiations between the Russian and British Trade Unions. We only hope that the British Trade Unions will not suffer from the "united front" as others who have tried it in the United States.

PROBABLY nothing in the European Labor movement since the organization of the Communist International has caused so much controversy as the official report of the British Trade Union Delegation to Russia. This committee was selected by the Hull Congress of British Trade Unions last year to visit Russia, make an investigation of the economic, political and social conditions of that country, and ascertain whether cooperation between the trade unions of both countries could not be arranged. The committee spent less than forty days in Russia last November and December and its voluminous report of 234 pages, illustrated by maps, statistical tables, diagrams and photographs, has become the subject of heated controversy in the Socialist parties and trade unions abroad.

Shortly after the delegation returned home, a few of its members, in advance of the publication of the official report, gave interviews to British publications that caused considerable dissent by Socialists and trade unionists in England and on the Continent. In the first week of January the executives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Socialist and Labor International conferred on matters of interest to the two organizations in Brussels. Members of the two internationals gave some attention to these interviews, generally expressing astonishment and resentment that the British visitors to Russia had spoken so favorably of the Soviet rulers.

Fears of the "United Front"

What also caused apprehension at Brussels was the fact that Communist publications in Europe were exploiting the British interviews. It was feared that the Russian trade unions were only using the Englishmen as a wedge to get inside the International Federation of Trade Unions, to plant Communist "cells," create dissensions, and produce new divisions.

But experience had taught that the "united front" was simply a "strategic maneuver" of the Communists to get inside the old unions to carry on their work of propaganda. With this experience still vivid in the memory of those attending the Brussels conference, the reader will be able to appreciate their surprise that the British trade union delegates, which included A. A. Purcell, President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, had expressed views favorable to an alliance with Russian trade unions. Since January, the official report of the delegation has not only appeared, but the Englishmen have brought out a monthly magazine, "Trade Union Unity," in which they are stressing every reason which they believe to be valid in favor of international unity of all trade unions, including those under Communist control.

The Report Challenged

The report itself is being challenged by trade unionists and Socialists. They question the accuracy of the report although conceding the honesty of the delegation in whose name it is issued. In Germany, Belgium, France and Austria the main criticism of the report is that it attempts to present the Russian dictatorship in a favorable light by ignoring facts which the critics contend are obvious to all.

The delegation consisted of seven prominent representatives of British trade unions with A. A. Purcell as chairman. Three advisory delegates were attached to the Commission and these delegates wrote the report. Its critics point out that these three are not men of trade union experience but individuals who had served many years in the foreign service of the British Government. However, the report bears the signatures of the trade union delegates.

The report is a formidable presentation of data. It has all the characteristics of an objective study

An Analysis of the Trade Union Congress Report on Conditions in Soviet Russia

of facts which one would expect from experts except for one surprising omission. Considering the controversial questions with which it deals one would expect its authors would quote their sources of information. This would permit both friends and opponents to consult these sources and compare conclusions with them. Practically all the Russian sources are available in Europe, but the authors of the report have followed a course that requires its readers to accept what is presented, making it difficult and in some cases impossible to check the data.

Control by the Inner Ring

In the sections devoted to the Governmental and electoral systems the report becomes naive. On page 10 it is stated that local Soviet authorities and Communist organizations "draw up a register of those disfranchised, which is published a week before elections." A superior committee considers protests and its agents are present at elections held by each factory, group of villages, or trade union branch. The agents announce the candidates and the vote is taken by a show of hands. It is added that "there is no demand for secrecy." The reader is left to wonder whether the open voting which reveals the identity of opponents is not responsible for the fact that there is no demand for secrecy. It is also certain that such a demand would be equal to opposing the system maintained by the Communists.

The report goes on to state (p. 11) that this electoral system tends to "keep the same men at the top" and in "continuous and close contact with the electorate." The unconscious humor of the last sen-

tence does not occur to its authors, who go on to say, a few lines below, that "the rulers of the inner ring remain in power because of the tacit consent of a great majority of the electorate." With delicious naivete the authors conclude the paragraph by saying that "the motive force of the whole machine" is the Communist party!

In spite of the omission of sources, it is surprising that with such admissions as the above the report is accepted in many quarters as favorable to the dictatorship. The report attempts to present a favorable view but the admissions it makes are so damaging to its main theme that the reality is in stark contrast with the favorable opinions presented. A few more quotations show a painful attempt to avoid the obvious.

"Purging" the Party

The admissions become more amazing as we turn to other pages. It is admitted (p. 12) that the leaders of what the report calls the "inner ring" maintain their power by "purges" of the party membership; that is, where members show an inclination to disagree with the "inner ring" they are expelled from the party. Because of their periodic "purges" before elections the report states (p. 14) that "The Communist party now prides itself on the annual reduction of its membership as much as it previously did on its increase under War Communism." Due to "purges" the membership has declined from 586.6 per thousand in 1921 to 350 per thousand in 1924.

On the same page the report considers how much the Government is subjected to the influence of opinion, and its authors state that

"all opposition is as yet silenced." It would appear that nothing more could be added on this subject after making the above admission, but in the same paragraph will be found the statement that "the continuous stream of official publications and pronouncements keeps opinion informed of any defects that may develop." But this stream has its source in the Communist party and its government alone. Moreover, if "all opposition is silenced" it is evident that the "inner ring" alone keeps "opinion informed" and reasons out only that which it wants the people to know.

What Happens to Critics

But suppose criticism comes from within the "inner ring"? The delegation was already aware that Trotsky was deposed from the headship of the Red Army because of some minor criticism of the Communist party of which he was a trusted member. Indeed, the report shows (p. 15) what value may be placed upon keeping "opinion informed" in Russia by the statement that "At the Thirteenth Congress (of the Communist party) there was no declared opposition at all, which desired result was reached by previously reducing the ranks of the party one-third." The implication is that those members who disagreed with some party measure were expelled. The party and the Government had been purged of opinions that were not satisfactory to the "inner ring."

That all this is descriptive of a regime that represses opinions and establishes despotic and arbitrary rule is apparent to normal minds, but there are still more surprises in store for the readers of the report. The delegation reports (p. 17) its

conviction that a reign of terror "could not be honestly believed by any unprejudiced person travelling within the Union and talking to its citizens." In the same paragraph the statement is added that in many respects the system gives the "individual a more real and reasonable opportunity of participation in public affairs than does parliamentary government."

The Censorship

In the matter of censorship the report is just as absurd. "The printed word in any form," the report states (p. 117), is subject to the "control and jurisdiction of the Commissariat of National Education." In the case of books and pamphlets "the typed or printed MSS. have to be passed by a special Editorial Commission attached to the Publishing Department before final permission for publication can be obtained." But even this is not final as the Censor "then reviews the book in print."

Perhaps the most difficult task the authors faced was in trying to present the censorship of newspapers in as favorable light as possible. They write that members of a newspaper staff are not required to be Communists "but a Government inspector from the Censor Office reads through the proofs before each edition goes to press." This official is always a Communist and he "has the right to refuse publication of information which he considers contrary to the State regulations." Having thus defined the autocratic power of this official the authors then present the astonishing conclusion (p. 118) that "The ultimate responsibility, however, remains with the editorial staff!" The report is littered with such

contradictions, and what puzzles the careful student is that its authors believe it to be and its opponents accept it as a report favorable to the Russian rulers. The truth is that the opinions are favorable but the facts and the admissions are not. Practically all the evidence submitted and admissions made are in conflict with the opinions and conclusions that are offered.

Nevertheless, the debate waxes hot across the Atlantic and the English Labor men have presented a concrete issue in another matter. The Council of the British Trade Union Congress last February appointed eleven representatives to meet a delegation representing the Russian trade unions for the purpose of creating an Anglo-Russian Labor Alliance. The conference met in London on April 6, 7 and 8. It drew up a joint declaration on international unity intended to influence the trade unions of other countries and agreed on the terms of an Anglo-Russian alliance.

The first document affirms the necessity of unity, national and international, of all trade unions in order "to defend effectively the present position of the workers against attack"; to combat the "united front" of the "capitalists of all countries"; to save the eight-hour day which is imperilled; to ward off another war that threatens to involve the working people of many nations, and to strengthen the forces of Labor for common interests in all nations.

The Anglo-Russian Alliance

The terms of the agreement are rather moderate, the foremost being one "to promote cooperation between the All-Russian Trade Union Council and the British Trade Union Congress General Council in every way that may be considered from time to time advisable," and "for the purpose of promoting international unity." The two organizations are to exchange documents regarding their respective organizations and create a Joint Advisory Council to maintain contact between the two countries and to deal with "special emergencies" as they arise.

The Russian delegation returned to Moscow and submitted its report to the "Plenum of the All-Russian Central Union Council" on April 30. The agreement was ratified and five members of the Joint Advisory Council were elected, headed by M. Tomsky of the Red Trade Union International. Thus a definite alliance has been effected by the Russian and British trade unions and both sections expect to carry the issue of unity into the whole trade union movement of Europe. Thus far the continental organizations have, through their representative men, expressed opposition to any negotiation with the Russians unless it be on a basis of the affiliation of the Russians with the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, thus isolating the Red Trade Union International.

It is surprising that the objects of the Anglo-Russian alliance are so limited and that it is practically confined to an advisory body with only consultative powers. The alliance is offensive to the main body of continental trade unions and what the outcome will be cannot be foreseen. They believe the Russians are insincere and only desirous of obtaining another opportunity to promote their propaganda or create dissensions where they have not been able to establish their own mastery.

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WEST VIRGINIA MINERS READY FOR STRIKE

The long looked for action of a general campaign to organize the miners of West Virginia seems to be about ready to materialize.

Immediately after the conference held in Charleston last week between Van Bittner, personal representative of John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, and who has charge of the organizing campaign and the strike situation in the northern part of the State, and President Percy Tetlow, President of District 17, President Tetlow issued a statement to the effect that plans were maturing that would result in the calling of a general strike of all the miners in the State.

The final arrangements it is understood will be made at a conference between John L. Lewis, Van Bittner and President Tetlow at Washington this week.

President Tetlow, in a statement to the press, announced that the International Union was prepared financially to go into the fight with \$1,000,000 to start.

The miners of Southern West Virginia are ready to respond to the call, and would have long since been members of the organization had they had men like Bittner and Tetlow to have conducted a safe and sane campaign of education and organization.

For many months the miners in Fayette, Raleigh, McDowell, Mercer, Mingo, Logan, Pocahontas and Wy-

oming, have been ready for organization and it will be only a question of getting to the men and calling meetings to perfect organizations of local unions at the various mines throughout that district and organizers of ability to educate them as to the true purposes of the organization and impress upon their minds that it is a lawful and law-abiding institution and will countenance none of the wild rantings of irresponsibles that had retarded the growth of the organization in the past in Southern West Virginia.

In the Northern part of the State the situation is well in hand, where Bittner has had the assistance of such able local men as Jim Studard, C. F. Davis, Jim McCleary

and Tony Teti; and it is expected that when the general strike order goes forth affecting the entire State that 95 per cent of the mines will be closed down.

The miners all over the State have been anxiously awaiting for years for the United Mine Workers to invade Logan, McDowell, Mercer, Mingo and Raleigh and the calling of a strike that will include those sacred precincts of anti-union overlords will create an enthusiasm throughout the State, not only among the miners, but many operators as well, that will sweep the opposition aside and save the coal industry of West Virginia.

On The International Front

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

HUNGARY

Socialists More Aggressive

Heartened by their good showing in the recent municipal election in Budapest and the general signs of discontent among the masses with the dictatorship of Admiral Horthy, the Hungarian Socialists are becoming more aggressive in their fight against the reaction. When the Regent was promoting a big "popular" demonstration in his favor in Budapest following the revelations by Edmund Beniczky, a Legitimist chief and former Minister of the Interior, involving Horthy in the murder of the two Socialist editors, Somogyi and Basco, in February, 1920, Nepzava, the Social Democratic daily, remarked:

"The good old days of the murderous terror are gone and can never be brought back. Not only is their path barred by hatred and disgust, but in case of need blows will be met with blows from fists that are determined to defend themselves and have the ability to do so. The working class cannot be intimidated by threats, and these gentlemen might as well know that any such attempt will encounter firm resistance by the workers. We are determined and prepared to defend ourselves to the limit."

On June 11, when the pro-Horthy affair took place, the Socialists tried to hold a counter-demonstration, but the streets were filled with police and troops, so that their plans were changed and nineteen of the Socialist Deputies attempted to lay wreaths upon the graves of the murdered editors. Even this was prevented by the police, who, ignoring the Deputies' parliamentary immunity, used force in keeping them away from the cemetery. There was a loud echo of this high-handed action in the Chamber of Deputies the next day when the Socialists hurled volleys of invectives at the Horthy supporters and their police, but on June 16 the Committee on Immunity decided that because the Socialist deputies had refused to obey the orders of the police the latter had not violated their immunity in using force against them. This decision was greeted with derision by the Socialists and many of the other Opposition deputies, and Nepzava continued its drastic comments upon the Horthy regime, despite the fact that Comrade Johann Vanczka, its editor, had just been sentenced to a month's imprisonment and loss of his seat in Parliament for three years for having excoriated the Government for its in-

difference to the miserable condition of the working masses. The guilty conscience of Horthy was in evidence on June 7 when the Budapest police were busy all day confiscating copies of Nepzava containing a poem called "The Song of the Master of the Bath." Since Beniczky's revelations and arrest the Budapest populace has nicknamed Horthy "The Master of the Bath," in reference to the throwing of the bodies of the murdered editors into the Danube, and he has apparently accepted the title.

Details of the election of May 21 and 22 show that the Socialists occupy 54 of the 129 seats in the Budapest Board of Aldermen captured by the Democratic Bloc. Then there are eight Independent Liberals who are expected to vote with the Bloc against the 93 Christian Nationalists and twenty followers of Dr. Ripka, the Horthy Commissioner who has been governing Budapest since January 1, 1924. As most of the some 80 members owing their seats to their posts in various semi-official and professional bodies and to direct appointment by the Regent are reactionaries, the chances for a liberalization of the municipality are not very bright, despite the popular Democratic victory.

Answering an interpellation in the Chamber by Socialist Deputy Rothenstein on June 13, Minister of the Interior Rakovsky declared that there could be no question of lifting the ban upon the Arbeiter-Zeitung, the great Vienna Socialist paper, as its admission to Hungary would be injurious to "important national interests." This reply was approved by the majority, against the votes of the Socialists and Democrats.

SWEDEN

Reduction of Army Put Through

After lengthy debates and negotiations, the Socialist Government, headed by Rickard Sandler, has put through Parliament a military budget providing for a reduction of the army from twenty-eight to twenty regiments of infantry and a special corps for Gotland, from eight regiments of cavalry to four, and from eight regiments of artillery to seven, and a cut in military service bringing down from a range of 165 to 330 days to from 140 to 260 in the army and from 225 days in the navy to 200. The annual cost of the whole military establishment is cut from 140,000,000 to 107,000,000 kronor (at twenty-six cents apiece), despite the fact that as a conces-

sion to the Conservatives no reduction was made in the naval forces. As the Socialists, although the strongest party with 104 members out of a total of 231 in the Lower House, had to depend upon support from the 33 Liberals and the five Communists, they were unable to make the 50 per cent they had advocated during the campaign last fall, but they feel that they have taken a big step toward ultimate disarmament and that they soon will be strong enough to go farther along that road. The Government's proposal, that conscientious objectors be excused from military service and assigned to State industries for periods running from 90 to 120 days longer than the army service, was approved.

LITHUANIA

Gains in Municipal Elections
When the 87 delegates from 77 units of the Social Democratic party of Lithuania met in annual conference in Kaunas (Kovno) April 17-19, they were cheered by reports of the recent municipal elections showing that the reactionary Government's attempt to wipe out the Socialist representation gained in many cities and towns last year and failed and that they had almost everywhere held their own and even made some gains. All together the Socialists elected 459 Councilmen.

Most of the discussion at the conference was devoted to the program for the coming Parliamentary election next Spring, and it was declared that there were good prospects for increasing the Socialist representation in the Seimas, which at present is eight out of a total of 78, despite the Government's plans for holding down Socialist and Communist propaganda through laws practically abolishing free speech, press and assembly.

The Lithuanian Socialists have only one paper, a weekly, in addition to the monthly organ of the Yipsels and a periodical issued by the Social Democratic Students' Association. Comrade Bielinis is President of the Social Democratic party, and Comrade Markauskas is Secretary.

Lithuanian emulators of the deeds of Mussolini's Fascists fell upon Comrade Darksis, a member of the Seimas, while he was going home after having addressed a May Day meeting in Schaulen, beat him almost to death and left him lying in the road, where he was found the next morning and taken to the hospital. No attempts by the authorities to find and punish the criminals have been reported.

BRAZIL

Socialist Party Being Born

According to O. Povo, a Labor paper of Sao Paulo, active propaganda for the organization of a Socialist Party is being carried on in several parts of the big South American Republic with every prospect of early success. The mainstays of the national organization are expected to be the Socialist Party of Bahia, founded in 1920, and Labor groups in Sao Paulo, Santos, Parana, Rio de Janeiro, Amazonas, Para and Pernambuco. O. Povo remarks that in the past the organization of a Brazilian Socialist Party has been handicapped by the prevalence of Anarchist doctrine and lack of confidence in popular suffrage, but that both these influences are diminishing rapidly and that many of the Brazilian workers have been filled with enthusiasm for political action by Socialist and Communist victories in Europe and America.

GREAT BRITAIN

Appeal for Esperanto

In connection with the International Esperanto Congress held in Paris in May, the British League of Esperantists-Socialists, which includes Frank Hodges, A. J. Cook, George Lansbury, Margaret Bondfield, Ellen Wilkinson, Robert Smillie, Tom Mann, A. B. Swales, Robert Williams, C. Roden Buxton and S. Saklatvala, issued an appeal for the placing of Esperanto upon the programs of all working class educational movements as a means of breaking down the barriers of language separating the peoples of the world and of promoting that "international vision without which the world will perish."

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--- D R A M A ---

The Theatre of the Future

ANSWERING the question, "What will the Theatre Be Like Ten Years from Now?" leading dramatists of the Continent have the following to say in *Ma Este*, theatrical publication of Budapest:

GERHARDT HAUPTMANN: "The drama of the future will undoubtedly have a very close connection with the moving pictures. In recent years the theatre has become popular and all classes are equally interested in it. Thus from a bourgeois standpoint there can be no change foreseen in the drama. However, there might come some obscure, unknown genius and with a stroke of his pen give us thoughts never before dreamt of."

H. R. LENORMAND (author of "Faillures," "L'Homme et ses Phantomes," etc.): "It is my belief that one may not express anything else than desire when one speaks about the future of any art. One never can tell what the morrow brings. If tomorrow there should appear a new genius of the drama all of our carefully thought out theories and prophecies might be shattered—and we will be glad to have them shattered."

"It is the veil of ignorance which covers all of the time the opposition to everything that is new. In my eyes the line of development lies along the way pointed out by Pirandello, Capke and O'Neill. Paul Claudel, Strindberg, George Bernard Shaw were merely the refreshing influence in our own day, but the younger generation must not follow them. The human soul and spirit is continually undergoing great danger, and the dramatist of tomorrow cannot ignore those colossal intellectual influences which continue to shape the human brain from America to India. We believe that we have discovered that man has no conscience and therefore all mankind must be re-modeled."

HANS LIEBSTOECKI (dean of Viennese critics): "I believe the drama of the coming years will be the mystery drama. But I don't think of Maeterlinck's shallow mysticism. The new drama will be the result of science, perhaps of the occult sciences. I even believe that the drama of the future will be on very familiar terms with the world beyond."

GEORGE KAISER (author of "From Morn Till Midnight"): "I cannot answer a question like this. Let the man of today be interested in the literature of the day and the audience in the drama of the day only. Years change everything, anyway, and after a certain length of time there is nothing that would connect us with them."

SAM BENELLI (author of "The Jest"): "The two dominant factors in art are: Beauty and contents. It is my belief that technique and other external devices which seem to have much important roles in the theatre of today will pass away and will have no great effect on the shaping of the literature of the future."

ROBERTO BRACCO (eminent Italian playwright): "Conditions resulting from a great upset brought about by the war have made for the worse of dramatic literature. It seems to me that it would be idle to allow one's self to enter into predictions at a time when technique is placed high above art. True, we have many extraordinary talents with us and I am sure that once this period of prodigal abandon is over and economic conditions allow for a freer development we are sure to have much of value from the pens of those artists whose powers we are newly beginning to discover from behind the maze of superficiality and banality."

EUGENE HEALTAI (President Hungarian Playwrights' Society): "I don't like to utter statements, but I think that the drama of the world is on the verge of bankruptcy. The theatre of today seeks its effects with technique, with lightning and scenic efforts; although the greatest, the immortal dramas are built always of the simplest components. And since I don't think that revues and musical comedies are of eminent importance, something new must come to save the drama. If there had not been the war and revolutions, the Hungarian drama would now be leading the world. But we have lost a chance and it will take us much time to overcome the handicap. And if we lose, the rulers of the drama during the next ten years will be the American playwrights."

Rostand's Hero

"Cyrano de Bergerac,"
Film Story Well Told,
At the Colony Theatre

Here is a picture to warm the cockles of your heart. The lovely story of Cyrano and his undying devotion for Roxana is given in a beautiful rendition by the Italian artists who made this picture. It is not merely a movie version of Rostand's romance. It is that story itself told with fidelity to its source rarely found on the screen.

PIERRE MAGNIER
as Cyrano

This picture is made by an Italian company in Italy and acted almost entirely by Italians. Not at all in the German method, nor yet in the American cinema style, it is nevertheless thoroughly satisfying in every way, and you can go away with a warmth in your soul feeling that have had a good, satisfying debauch of sentiment.

For it is a gorgeous story that Rostand tells of the gallant Gascon who loves truly, yet ready to eat out his heart rather than betray the friend who also loved the beauty of his heart. Color, romance, swashbuckling, fighting, eating, loving—you get a full portion of pleasure in this superb story. No one takes it seriously, of course, but in its own field it is unsurpassed.

Much of the charm of the play is retained in the sub-titles. In the duel scene in the Theatre Burgoyne, we see Cyrano slashing around his trusty blade composing his poem as he does it—"And at the envoi I touch." And he does, much to the joy of everyone except the man he touches. The lines of the poem flash on the screen as the action goes on, an ingenious way of meeting what many deemed a difficulty in filming. I doubt if there ever has been a more thrilling scene than that in which Cyrano leads his gallant free living, free spending, free loving and free fighting Gascony cadets straight into the teeth of the foe.

Pierre Magnier plays Cyrano with fine restraint, never overplaying, but getting the last ounce of zest from the part. His death is an affecting scene, everything lost to him but his white plume of honor. Linda Moglia is a beautiful Roxane, quite in the Latin style. Angelo Ferrari is a fine Christian, brave, beautiful and dumb. And the ensemble was a brave looking body of men and women all in laces and feathers and gallant array just suitable for the story they were in.

The pictures are in "natural colors"—whatever that means. They are in colors that are hardly like anything on land or sea, but they are lovely to gaze at, and since the story is like nothing on land or sea, the unreal colors actually add to their beauty. There is an excellent surrounding bill and Massanet's "Phedre" was the overture.

W. M. F.

German Repertory Company at the Yorkville Theatre

Rudolph Bach, who has been producing German plays and operettas at the Irving Place Theatre during the last two years, has leased the Yorkville Theatre, on East 88th street, from Hurlig & Seamon and will establish a German repertory company there on October 1.

NEW PRODUCING FIRM

A new producing firm, Dowling & Anhalt, Inc., will present a new comedy by Daniel Carson Goodman and Alan Brooks called "A Man Among Women." Other offerings to follow are a musical comedy by Eddie Dowling, and one by E. E. Foulton and Bernard Hamblin, entitled "Cherry Blossoms."

The Actors' Theatre

"The Call of Life,"
By Schnitzler, to Open
Season at the Comedy

THE Actors' Theatre announced its production plans for next season, the fourth year of this organization. The Comedy Theatre has been leased from Lee Shubert for a period of forty weeks, beginning in October, and the plays of the Actors' Theatre production program will be housed there. The stage is being enlarged and the auditorium redecorated.

The first play to be offered will be "The Call of Life," by Arthur Schnitzler, as translated by Dorothy Donnelly. Miss Donnelly is now in Europe, and before she returns she will confer with Mr. Schnitzler. A little later will come "Magdeline and Mary," by S. K. Lauren, a new American author; "Storm," by C. K. Munro, the Irish dramatist, and "Moral," by Ludwig Thoma, as translated by Charles Recht. The latter plays have been produced abroad, but all four of the dramas named will be new to the American stage. In addition to these, the Actors' Theatre will present at least one significant drama from the past. Shaw's "Candida" and Ibsen's "The Wild Duck" will be sent on tour in the fall with Actors' Theatre casts. The policy of special productions for matinees will also be continued.

Dudley Digges and David Wallace have renewed their contracts with the Actors' Theatre for another season as director and manager respectively. Katharine Cornell has been elected to the Board of Directors.



ANN PENNINGTON,
of musical comedy fame, has an
important role in "Pretty Ladies,"
opening at the Capitol Theatre
Sunday.

Daylight Movies

A Hungarian inventor, says a despatch from Budapest, has given to members of the press a demonstration of a device for enabling cinema films to be shown in daylight instead of in darkened halls. Instead of the pictures being thrown on a canvas screen, they are projected on to a surface which, though continuous, is described as being made up of transverse colored strips moving over two cylinders in directions at right angles to one another.



ROBERT ARMSTRONG
who plays "Chick" Cowan in the
Gleason-Taber comedy, "Is Zat
So?" at Chanin's 46th Street
Theatre.

"All Wet"

Pointless and Noisy Play on
Nationalization of Women
Opens at Wallack's Theatre

Some zealous student of history supplies this footnote to "All Wet," the hackneyed bedroom farce that staggers along the boards at Wallack's Theatre these nights:

"When the Bolshevik regime first began to function in Russia, a somewhat fantastic doctrine was proposed by certain zealots of the Lenin-Trotsky cohort, which was styled the Nationalization of Women, and which in toto was a suggestion that a ukase be passed making every female over the age of eighteen—be she maid, wife or widow—the property of any man who wanted her, and if two or more males had a yearning for the same female she was to become their common property."

This fairy tale, which the author found only "somewhat" fantastic, supplies the excuse for "All Wet." But no excuse could redeem it. Mr. Willis Wallace Goodhue has taken all the stock-in-trade situations of the average bourgeois bedroom farce and has strung them along in such rapid fashion as occasionally take away the breath of the audience.

One virtue of the rapid action is that it misses most of the lines which in brilliant just about reach the standard of Lady Astor's "Shut Up, You Dogs." "If you were my husband I'd give you poison," cries an indignant lady. Which draws the charming bit of repartee: "If I were your husband I'd take it." Again, one Violet Fish announces she was once married to Oscar Fry. "Ah, fried fish," says the irrepressible comedian.

Yonkers is the region singled out as the locale for the perpetration of "All Wet." The immediate setting is the home of Thomas Finch Ingram, dramatist. It comes about, just how we can't remember, that the Ingram home is broken up—before "Nationalization of Women" sets in. It is then that Higgins, the butler, working with a sinister "inner circle," decides the hour of Nationalization has struck. We've been wondering for years just what this Nationalization was all about. Here was a chance to see, we thought. We thought wrong.

Mr. Goodhue has taken the usual ingredients of the bedroom farce, among them the innocent young couple on the verge of matrimony and two less innocent pairs on the verge of divorce—again without the aid of Nationalization of Women, and sets them through the regulation antics.

But why go on? It is sufficient and charitable to say of "All Wet" that it is a pointless and noisy attempt. "On to Bellevue," says somebody toward the end of the show. Which destination, we think, is eminently fit for anyone who permits himself to sit through to the end in this hot weather.

E. L.

Anderson-Milton Theatre School

JOHN MURRAY ANDERSON yesterday announced that he will build a new theatre at 130 East 58th street, which will be called The Park Avenue Theatre. The building will also house the new John Murray Anderson-Robert Milton School of the theatre.

Mr. Anderson and Mr. Milton will direct the policies of the new theatre and school. Among those who appear on the advisory council of the school are Blanche Bates, Mrs. Fiske, Elizabeth Marbury, Elsie De Wolfe, Margaret Livingston, Sam H. Harris, Irving Berlin, Edgar Selwyn, John Alden Carpenter, Rida Johnson Young, Jerome Kern, Holbrook Blinn, Otis Skinner, Richard Herndon, Robert Edmond Jones and Henry Miller.

The faculty and lecturers on special subjects will include Blanche Bates, Richard Bennett, Arthur Richman, Frank Reicher, Don Marquis, Channing Pollock, Helen Dryden, Robert E. Locher, Livingston Platt, Clark Robinson, Herman Rosse, Martha Graham, Michio Ito, and M. Clerk-Jeanotte. Charles K. Gordon and Hugh A. Anderson will be associated in the business management.

In addition to the use of the theatre as a laboratory for the school a repertory company will be organized for the presentation of new plays. Mr. Anderson, in association with Mr. Milton, will first present a light opera and a serious play by Don Marquis. Later in the season Mr. Anderson will offer a revue to be known as the "John Murray Anderson Follies."

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(Co-author of "Is Zat So?")
and GEORGE ABBOTT
with ERNEST TRUOX

Monta Bell's Production, "Pretty Ladies," To Be Shown At Capitol, Next Week

An all-star cast will be seen in Monta Bell's "Pretty Ladies," the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer production, which comes to the silver sheet of the Capitol Theatre Sunday, and which was adapted from an original story written by Adela Rogers St. John.

The leading roles are taken by Zasu Pitts, Tom Moore, Conrad Nagel, Norma Shearer, Roy D'Arcy, George K. Arthur, Lilyan Tashman, and Ann Pennington, musical comedy star. S. L. Rothafel announces Albert Rappaport, a tenor who has appeared in concert, will sing "Romana" from Bizet's "The Pearl Fishers." Other numbers include "An Hawaiian Night," a musical melange. Mlle. Gambarelli and Frank Moulan, will have the assistance of the ballet in "A Fantasy." The orchestra will be heard in selections from "Faust," by Gounod.

The air-cooling plans is now in operation at the Capitol.

Vaudeville Theatres

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY.
B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, will present a program of vaudeville headed by Herbert Ashley and Company; Bill Robinson; Lew Castleton and Max Hack; Ann Greenway; Parker, Rand and Cagney; Gaudier's Dogs; The Le Bretons, and other acts.

"The Light of the Western Stars," Zane Grey's romance of the Arizona border, with a cast that includes Jack Holt, Noah Berry and Billie Dove, will be the screen feature.

REGENT
Monday to Wednesday—Holmes and LeVere; Wainwright Sisters; Tracy and Hayes, others. Dorothy Mackaill and Aileen Pringle in "One Year to Live."
Thursday to Sunday—Cole and Snyder; Fulton and Parker; Paris Creations, others. Irene Rich and John Harron in "My Wife and I."

JEFFERSON
Monday to Wednesday—Johnson and Baker; Morton Harvey, other acts. Antonio Moreno and Aileen Pringle in "One Year to Live."
Thursday to Sunday—Dave Harris; Revue; Hyman, Mann and Hayden, other acts. Irene Rich and Huntley Gordon in "My Wife and I."



MARCELINE,
the noted comedian, is a summer
feature of the open-air show at
Luna Park.

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36th SENSATIONAL WEEK

Broadway Briefs

The 250th performance of "The Student Prince" was celebrated at the Jolson Theatre, Monday night.

Frank Morgan, who played the Duke in "The Firebrand," leaves for Rochester to try out in stock there, the week of July 13. "The Brigand," the comedy in which he is to appear under the management of Schwab and Mandel.

Ernest Truex, title role player in "The Fall Guy," is at work on a mystery play, the first he has written.

Harold Atteridge has been engaged by Rufus LeMaire to write several sketches and scenes for his new revue, "Greenwich Village Scandals." Bert Gilbert and Richard Bold have been added to the cast.

William K. Well's new revue, listed for the Globe Theatre, will be called "Parisian Artists and Models." Miss Patricola will be in the cast.

Lowell Sherman will open in "The Passionate Prince," by Achmed Abdullah and Robert H. Davis, October 12.

Frederick and Fannie Hatton sold the musical comedy rights of "Lombardi Ltd." to Al Aarons. Irvin Caesar will do the lyrics.

"The Pink Elephant," a new comedy by William Podmore, goes into rehearsal this week. Mark Byron is the producer. Augusta Boylston, Donald Campbell, Robert Harrigan, George Humbert and Clare Meserole are in the cast.

Ann Crawford Flexner, author of the dramatized version of "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," and of "The Marriage Game," has disposed of the Italian and American rights to her new play, "Venetian Love," to Maria Bazzi.



JACK HOLT
plays the Western hero in Zane
Grey's "The Light of the Western
Stars," coming to the Broadway
Monday.

"Sweet Rebel," a musical comedy by Herbert Fields, Lorenz M. Hart and Richard Rogers, will be placed in rehearsal on July 22, with Helen Ford in the leading role. Another musical comedy by the same author, with Puck and White in the principal parts, will be produced about the same time.

Arch Selwyn announced yesterday that Jack Buchanan, Beatrice Lillie and Gertrude Lawrence will head the cast of the new "Charlot Revue" when it opens at the Selwyn Theatre, on November 11.

The Realm of Books

Some Spring Fiction

A Review by MADELIN LEOF

THE SPRING FLIGHT. By Lee J. Smits. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

UNVEILED. By Beatrice Kean Seymour. New York: Thomas Seltzer.

THE MADONNA AND THE STUDENT. By Isabel Neilson. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

WITH the advent of the summer season come a host of books which to all intents and purposes have been awaiting this slack season of the year to make their appearance. Had they come in the busy season of the year, when the market is flooded with literature of every nationality and every sort, they might have passed by totally unheralded and unnoticed, but coming when the lull is as noticeable in the literature business as it is in the manufacture of woollen underclothes, the publishers can with impunity write on the jackets that these novels have been called by the critics the most startling events of the season. Classing three books in one short article is not quite fair to the authors; and we feel in this instance that we are not being altogether just to Beatrice Kean Seymour's "Unveiled," which, in truth is of a higher type than either "The Madonna and the Student" or "The Spring Flight."

In "Unveiled," the writer has set out to uncover the married life of a gentleman and a lady who, although of definite physical attraction for each other, have a complete mental disparity. In the beginning of their wedded life, when passion and admiration for each other keep them occupied, their opposed ideas of how to live do not enter their mode of living. However, no sooner has the first bloom of marital novelty worn off than disagreements set in. Two children are born, and then a third one who is mentally deficient. The wife insists on caring for the youngest as though he were a normal and healthy being. The husband feels neglected, and goes away to find forgetfulness in Africa, and then in another woman. The home is disrupted, and the marriage of two disparate minds is totally at an end.

The portrait of the wife, with

her pigheadedness, her self-righteousness, her will to reform, her optimism about righting the wrongs of humanity, and her unwillingness to enter into any sort of compromise with her much more liberal and care-free mate, is quite convincing. Her husband, too, is a real character, hating the shackles which living in a practical world imposes, and ever desirous of forgetting every-day cares, and plunging into a world of his own imagination.

Why the author brings into her story the social set of the lady who is recounting the tale we cannot fathom. The world is full of such sets—men and women who exert every fiber of their minds in an attempt to be original and clever, with never a thought of how their brilliant sallies may hurt the less agile minds of those around them who are incapable of the retort discursive. Their meetings in a studio and their continual discussions add little to the unveiling, and do not in any way throw a light on the reactions of the principal characters.

"The Spring Flight" is a study of American boyhood, its attempts to free itself from Puritan New England shackles, and to launch into the cosmopolitan world of free men and women. The fundamental precept is creditable enough, but the manner in which the book is done is too boring to be convincing. The incidents are too numerous and too similar, and the boy himself has not enough virility to warrant his revolt.

For "The Madonna and the Student" we have very little patience. We can not understand how it managed to pass the board of censors with its continual use of the word "rape," unless it was because the raping was talked about and never accomplished. The Madonna, beautiful and brilliant, remains untouched on the last page, and goes on with her determination to remain so even in the midst of hundreds of Viennese barons and students who are anxious to leave home and wife and living for one kiss from her beautiful lips. She believes in the independence of the female, and intends to devote the rest of her three-score years and ten to establishing the equality of woman and the right of every woman to live her own life.

Footlight Philosophy

A Review by JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

GLAMOUR. By Stark Young. Scribner. \$2.00.

DRAMATIC VALUES. By C. E. Montague. Doubleday, Page & Co. \$2.00.

PLAYWRIGHTS OF THE NEW THEATRE. By Thos. H. Dickinson. Macmillan. \$2.50.

KINGDOMS of old had often a triumvirate of advisors: a priest, a soldier, and a fool; the domain of the stage can have no less. In dignity as well as dogmatism, in the manner in which the detail of the moment subserves an ultimate point, the fact indicates the principle, Stark Young is fittingly high-priest. Despite his chosen title, Mr. Montague is the old campaigner preserving his reflections on his wars; a group of reviews are tied together by a post facto resemblance as a dozen battles are linked by a casus belli. The priest, indeed, is often of the church militant; but his comments on current performers hold always to fundamental values, to such eternality and such verity as the "eternal verities" in a world of relativity may possess.

As several of Mr. Montague's essays and many of Stark Young's deal with actors and the art of acting, the differences between the two writers stand out, and our initial analogy gathers power. For Mr. Montague is the mellow observer, the man who can swear in a tavern or lay his cloak before a queen; his essays are rich in quotable phrases, his knowledge of the battlefield is wide. And Stark Young, with fewer individual sentences one would draw out to quote, builds his ideas into paragraphs of coherent beauty; his prose has a genuine dignity and a well-modulated rhythm that suit the seriousness of his theme. Is not the theatre a sanctuary of the spirit? But the present American critic (Mr. Montague's essays appeared fourteen years ago, mainly in the *Manchester Guardian*) does more, even in his "purple passage" devoted to Duse, than throw a spotlight on the actor's spirit; he reaches behind the artist into the art, so that we see not merely Duse in the single circling glow, but around her the various valid moods and modes Duse did not possess. In this way we "place" the actress exactly as we place New York, not from a subway guide-map of the city, but on a revolving globe. This priestly ("Olympian") point of view is concentrated, is narrowed down as to a comparison of London and New York, in the series of "Letters From Dead Actors"; in these the actor opposes an actor or an attitude gone by with one that exists today, the better to illuminate the old and analyze the new. Again, in "Sophocles' Guest," it is the spirit of Greece that confronts up-to-date America: the mood of the Greek who "was at home in the world"—in no evasive, "restlessly optimistic" way, as are the youth of today, but with a clear-eyed, bravely questioning acceptance of its wonders and its problems.

The dictionary defines "glamour" as "enchantment; a spell or charm, as one which deceives the sight." If it be the function of the priest to stir the souls of his followers till their eyes be blinded by the glory, Stark Young grows beyond the title: for all the enchantment his pages weave, they pour a radiance, as well, across the archway of the stage, so that we may the more clearly behold the beauty, may begin to discern the secret of the spell.

C. E. Montague was a staunch soldier, and his campaign-tales are worth the noting. Much that they present, as is inevitable in reminiscence, is concerned with ephemera, casualties, locations; but there is often the redeeming nugget of thought, often, too, the summing-up of long experience into a pithy essay or a piquant phrase. "In art you may carry off and devour anything you can digest; that is the only test—does it turn to new tissue inside you?" An excellent essay attempts to take Shaw down; indicating how, in many of his plays, Shaw succumbs to the woman; praising the satirist and the wit while belittling the philosopher and the prophet: we are reminded of the pat American disposal, "Shaw is Ibsen's own little Charlie Chaplin." Yet Chaplin is likely to outlive several Valentinos, the sovereigns of romance; and who remembers the names of the dignified heroes of the heavy drama, so far above the clowning of mere comedian Charlie? The essay on "Good and Bad Subjects for Plays" is a stimulating start; it opens a wide field for consideration of the limitations of the theatre, and also of the changing attitudes of audiences through the years. Shylock was once a comic character; the maniac was formerly put on the stage to entertain. As for entertainment: "A gifted small girl, we are told, has explained that pins are a great means of saving life 'by' she went on, 'not swallowing them.' Plays, too, may save health, by having no significance at all for us to

swallow." Genial, discursive, ranging, Mr. Montague entertains—and gives us a modicum to swallow.

That jester, the irrepressible Gilbert, cries: "Oh, winnow all my folly, folly, and you'll find A grain or two of truth among the chaff!"

Mr. Dickinson gives us some facts as to the lives of many of our playwrights, and the dates of production of many plays—though he does not know "The Verge" was produced at the Provincetown Playhouse some three years ago—and he thinks "The Man Who Ate the Popomac" an American play. But when he essays criticism of the dramas he so fully lists, the author becomes as inept and incoherent as seems possible, even to one who might deliberately seek such qualities. There need be no surprise at the lack of proportion (of which we may soon become guilty) that spends many words on matters, such as the plays of Percy MacKaye, that the author tells us are unimportant, nor at the forgetfulness that tells us he will dispose of O'Neill's poorer plays out of their regular order, then acclaims "The Straw" as "one of the most admirable of O'Neill's works." Wonder at contradictions within a few pages: "When the poet commences playwrighting (sic) he brings to his task a fine set of tools.... So true was he as poet that he recognized that the requirements of verse were in mortal combat with the inner necessities of the playwright"; or the diatribe against the binding effect of pity, followed by praise of O'Neill's "gift of pity"; or the statement that O'Neill does not belong to the "frustration" school, which "identifies man's failure with the injustices of social organization," followed by the declaration that "all the sins of life, according to O'Neill, grows out of civilization, rightly or spaced contradictions is eclipsed wrongly so called"—wonder at such when we find paragraphs that end by affirming the opposite of their opening claim: "...it is not enough that we make our selection on the basis of artistic value.... What we can do is to center our interest.... in the performance rather than in the task performed."

We may linger over just a few of the points misread. The author suggests that "never before did the stimulus come to large numbers of people to create a world of the imagination because this world was too comfortable...." He refers to Rome and the hovels in the swamps, but overlooks New York with its tenements in the slums; and he ignores all the world's satire. "Balzac broke earlier, or they change to lighter stuff"—as Shaw to "Back to Methusalem" and "Saint Joan." Of O'Neill, especially, many things are said. "Diff'rent" is damned because "the author makes this a tragedy only by forcing social relations to hang upon individual qualities"; if they do not so hang, they must be suspended on moonshine. The statement that O'Neill "forces speech upon situations which in all human probability be speechless or at best inarticulate" rests upon two misunderstandings. The first would logically denounce Shakespeare for making his characters talk blank verse. The second is a failure to see what O'Neill, in many of his plays, such as "Diff'rent" and "Desire Under the Elms," is seeking to present. Life stifles many souls; it breeds tragedy, then so dwells the individual as to make him unworthy even of his tragedy, incapable of achieving that expression; he grubs sordidly to a mean end. If he were articulate, if he were stirred to break through the chains of circumstance, he would speak and act as in these plays of Eugene O'Neill. O'Neill lays bare the tragic that the paltry conceals.

But all this chaff does hide a kernel or two of truth, a cogent remark here and there. The phrase "Pain is the little brother of beauty" aptly carried the definition of genius that removes the last letter from "a capacity for taking infinite pains"; if only the author had taken more of the plural and spared us some of the singular!

An advisory triumvirate: not in the medieval sense, but as befits our day and stage. Looking back across them: a bad book (Mr. Dickinson has led us to expect better), a pleasant book (Mr. Montague's essays are always enjoyable), and (Stark Young has established himself as a scholar, stimulating, and sound) a book that brings the theatre into that relationship of clarity, joy, and beauty which it should ever bear to the spirit of mankind.

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Abbott or Babbitt

A Review by AUGUST CLAESSENS

THE NEW BARBARIANS. By Wilbur C. Abbott. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

WHO are these "New Barbarians" that threaten to overthrow our institutions and ravage our civilization? Who are these hordes that are invading our shores, menacing our vested interests, assaulting our traditions, and mocking our glorious American nationalism? In a recent spasm, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler named some of these devastating tribes. They are, says Butler, the Prohibitionists, the anti-Evolutionists, the Fundamentalists, the Sabbatarians, and the Ku Klux Klan. Wilbur C. Abbott, Professor of History at Harvard University, also suffered a fit, and in his convulsions saw a considerably different national menace. He labors to describe and analyse this in his book, "The New Barbarians." Among these hordes that threaten the United States in particular are the recent immigrants, "one generation removed from European serfdom, or even worse"; "the spawn of the factory system"; the reds, Socialists, Communists and Anarchists; H. L. Mencken; the new school of artists; the free verse poets; jazz composers; the newly acclaimed novelists and dramatists; those who desperately attempt "to break down the family" and "set youth against parental authority" and who would "substitute the State for the home." There is only one modern innovation (or damnation) that their professor can tolerate and that is birth control. The source of his enthusiasm for this is obvious! Otherwise he "New Barbarians," in his survey, comprise all and any who dare to challenge the dear old past and venture to blaze a trail into the untrodden future.

This book is heralded as "the first of an important group of books by eminent educators and authors dealing frankly with the subject of American nationalism." Professors William McDougall and Thomas N. Carver are mentioned as the authors of the next two books in this series. If Abbott's nightmare is a sample of what is further promised, then we are certainly in for a deluge of sublimated rot.

Abbott (or is it Babbitt?) following a searching inquiry, stumbles upon the profound discovery that American nationalism consists of democracy, popular government, liberty, equality of opportunity, co-operative individualism, a free society, patriotism, honesty and humanity. To this imposing array of fire-crackers he adds a roman candle or two and he says that A. N. stands for cleanliness; respect, even reverence for women; toleration and independence. All that he leaves out to complete the holiday is the bunting, the brass band and the paid patriotic pleader. Radicalism, says the professor, consists of mere phrases and glittering generalities. Oh, well—hell, what's the use!

Then come the Abbottian gems of wisdom. The middle class is defined as "not only the most intelligent, the most self-sacrificing, the most constructive, but the most numerous group in evidence today—nor it includes every man who believes in the old-fashioned virtues, the so-called platitudes of experience; and it reaches out at the same time to the new." Its product, we are told, is capital. The preamble of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles "is the Social list confession of faith." Capital "is the product, not the creator, of the capitalist." Socialism advocates "that the chief business of government is the equal distribution of property, rather than the encouragement of its production, much less its production." "Wealth is open to all." "The great majority of the country approved the action of the Government in committing us to the principle of conscription."

These quotations are but a few choice exhibits of the character of this book and its eminent writer. A more rambling, incoherent, contradictory and utterly stupid collection of bunk has yet to be written. This work does contain a few flashes of insight and serious thought, but they float on a sea of dullness and endless repetition. A few crisp epigrams occasionally appear among yards of the silliest platitudes. The writer attempts to buttress his argument with excursions into economics, sociology, social psychology and anthropology and he unwittingly places these noble sciences in the same light as Bryan's conception of evolution. What a sorry spectacle he makes of them all! Note this specimen of facetiousness: When the first man set off a piece of land and said, "This is mine," the enslavement of the race and the degradation of society did not commence. To believe the contrary, writes Abbott, "is a plausible fancy; but it is not true." He argues that the origin of private property was the founding of civilization. The originator of it introduced work and thrift and

fundamental stimulus to excel. He "brought into play, as well, the foresightedness into the world. And if greed and envy and selfishness also reared their ugly heads there is no reason to believe that these last elements were wanting in primitive man—for he had wives."

All this rhetorical hash ought to be highly palatable to the morons that are so numerous in this blessed land. It is written expressly for their consumption. If the dull wits and ignoramuses would only read books, a work like this one would run through many editions. Alas, this audience is not only deaf and dumb, but also blind, and the reading of so-called serious books is as popular among them as a Beethoven sonata is in a cabaret.

It is some job to follow Abbott's senile wanderings and keep cool in doing so. But a conscientious reviewer must sometimes wade through such trash. I would like to have thrown the nonsense into the waste basket after the first chapter. However, I read it all, but I had to read much less in and between each chapter to calm my temper and retain my sanity.

Professor Abbott is listed as a B. A., a B. Litt., a M. A. and a D. Litt., and he has served as instructor in history at Cornell University, the Universities of Michigan and Kansas, Dartmouth College and Yale, and is at present at Harvard. Since 1893 he has been teaching history. On page 228 of this brainstorm of his, this eminent educator agrees with two other unnamed eminent asses, that "Socialism and aliens were the causes of the downfall of the Roman Empire."

It may be charitable to hope that Abbott writes books only when he is on leave of absence and that when he is sober he is engaged as an instructor. If I am wrong in my belief, then I thank my lucky stars that my poverty has spared me a college education.

"Newer Spirit" Well Received

"THE NEWER SPIRIT," V. F. Calverton's masterful exposition of the theory of sociological criticism and analysis of literature, is winning widespread praise among the discriminating reviewers of books. At the time of its appearance *The New Leader* called Comrade Calverton's book, which is published by Boni and Liveright, "the most important contribution to sociological criticism and analysis of literature and human society that has appeared in this country."

That "The Newer Spirit" is a book that no thinking Socialist interested in literature should miss is further attested by the following opinions:

John Dewey: "I can't as yet determine the exact amount of my assent or dissent, but that is of no importance compared with the clearness and force with which you have stated the case. It is by far the best statement on behalf of sociological criticism I have ever read."

Scott Nearing: "Your 'Newer Spirit' is a very creditable piece of work. The first essay on the sociological criticism of literature I consider by far the most significant because of the parallel which it draws between economic forces and literary production."

Sherwood Anderson: "Remarkably fine. One of the few things I have read that has something to say."

The New York Sun: "Among the haphazard and subjective commentaries now generally offered us as books of criticism, it is a relief to come to a work like V. F. Calverton's 'The Newer Spirit.' Here is a scholar and thinker whose learning and whose thoughts have fetched him up somewhere."

The Baltimore Sun: "Here is a book by a Baltimorean that will challenge attention because of the unique approach to literature, literary standards and literary criticism. It is a stimulating contribution to historical and sociological criticism, and as such may be commended to those who have formed the habit of thinking."

Mark Van Doren, "The Nation": "Mr. Calverton does excellent as historian, psychologist and sociologist. His analysis of the shift from aristocratic to bourgeois ethics and aesthetics which took place in the eighteenth century is sound, as is his analysis of the still newer proletarian point of view. This explanation of the rise of realism, like his description of its technique, is shrewd and useful."

Spencer Brodney, Associate Editor of "Current History": "I have just finished reading your book, 'The Newer Spirit,' and want to express my very great appreciation of what you have done."

MUSIC

Denishawns to Present Two Dance Programs Wednesday And Thursday, at Stadium

Two programs by Ruth St. Denis, with Ted Shawn and the Denishawn Dancers, will be features of the Stadium concerts at the Lewisohn Stadium next week. The Denishawns are scheduled to dance at the Stadium on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, accompanied by the Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Clifford Vaughan, musical director of the Denishawns.

The concerts on the other nights will be conducted by Willem Van Hoogstraten. The program Sunday: Respighi's "Symphonia Drammatica"; "William Tell" Overture; "L'Arlesienne" Suite, Bizet; "Ride of the Valkyries." Monday: Tchaikovsky program: "Pathetic" Symphony, the "Nutcracker" Suite, Andante Cantabile for Strings, the Slav March.

Thursday: Wagnerian selections will include "Rienzi" Overture; excerpts from "Die Meistersinger"; Love Scene from "Tristan and Isolde"; Beethoven's Seventh Symphony. Friday: Moussorgsky's "A Night on Bald Mountain"; Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony; Schubert's "Rosamunde" Overture; Stravinsky's "Fireworks"; "Wiener Blut," Strauss. Saturday: Rimsky-Korsakov's "Spanish Caprice"; Prize Song from "Die Meistersinger"; three melodies of Percy Grainger; the Gluck-Mottl Ballet Suite; Dvorak's two waltzes for string orchestra and Liszt's "Preludes."

There will be three special features during the coming week of the Goldman Band concerts at New York University. Monday's program will be devoted to French composers. Wednesday, works of Italian composers will be repeated, and Saturday, July 18, the half of the program will be devoted to Richard Wagner.



RUTH ST. DENIS, Ted Shawn, and the Denishawn dancers will be the features of the Stadium Concerts next Tuesday and Wednesday, accompanied by the Philharmonic Orchestra.

Music Notes

"Roxy" (Rothafel), on the eve of his departure to Canada with the gang for a three weeks' tour, announced that he had engaged Duke Yellman and his orchestra to join his staff as part of his new theatre organization.

A tournament for boys' bands will again be held this year, on August 14. All boys' bands within fifty miles of New York City can enter the contest for prizes. The judges will include ten prominent musicians.

Josef Stransky, former director of the Philharmonic and State Symphony Orchestras, has accepted an invitation from the Paris Exposition for Decorative Arts to repeat, in September, the Mozart Festival, which he will direct at Baden-Baden, Germany, in August.

Music and Concerts

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BROADWAY—"The Light of the Western Stars," by Zane Grey, with Jack Holt, Noah Beery and Billie Dove.

CAMEO—"Private Affairs," from the story by George Fattullo, with Gladys Hulette, Mildred Harris and David Butler.

CAPITOL—"Pretty Ladies," by Adele Rogers St. John, with Zasu Pitts, Tom Moore and Ann Pennington.

COLONY—"Edmond Rostand's comedy, 'Cyrano de Bergerac'."

RIALTO—"Marry Me," with Edward Everett Horton and Florence Vidor.

RIVOLI—"Night Life of New York," with Texas Guinan, Rod La Rocque and Dorothy Gish.

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, July 11, 1925.

THE APPELLATE DECISION

BY a unanimous decision the Appellate Division of New York State has upset the Home Rule constitutional amendment by declaring it null and void. "The decision has reversed the plain intent of two Legislatures and of a smashing popular majority, and has thrown the business of some forty-one cities into confusion. The court, unless it is reversed on appeal, will have done all this on as minute a point of law as could be imagined," to quote the World.

This is a striking culmination of a system of written constitutions with a small judicial body sitting in judgment on legislation. More than forty cities are "up in the air," salaries of some officials in New York City are uncertain, transactions running over many months are suspended in a twilight zone between this decision and the next one, and nobody knows what is what or which is which.

We leave it to the corporate legal spiders to spin their webs of sophistry and editors to offer their ponderous reasoning pro and con. We are only amused. The one typical contribution of bourgeois political philosophy to the theory of government suddenly sends its expounders scurrying in confusion. We can only sit back and smile.

THE AMALGAMATED STRIKE

THE Amalgamated Clothing Workers are on strike against a number of clothing firms in Chicago and New York. No differences in form of organization, program or policies at any time justify any worker taking the place of strikers. Such action can only bring victory to the enemy and in the end return to plague those who take the vacated places.

Unfortunately, it appears that the United Garment Workers are advertising for men to take the places of Amalgamated men. The U. G. W. is affiliated with the A. F. of L. The Amalgamated is not, but this does not justify one organization taking jobs when the members of another organization are on strike.

The Amalgamated has never done this. Moreover, in the greatest struggle that A. F. of L. unions have waged in decades, the strike in the steel industry in 1919, the Amalgamated contributed \$100,000 to the strike fund. This one contribution of the Amalgamated amounted to more than the contributions of all the A. F. of L. unions combined! This contribution of the Amalgamated shows that while it is out of the fold of the A. F. of L. it permits no prejudices or misunderstandings to serve as a barrier to its duty to all other organized workers.

Is the Amalgamated now to be repaid for its aid to the A. F. of L. in one of its darkest hours by joining the employers to break the strike of its members? We hope that sober men high in the councils of the A. F. of L. will use their good offices to restrain the U. G. W. from pursuing such a course. It is a course that is short-sighted, lacking in gratitude, and that in the end will bring disaster to any organization that follows it. The struck masters would turn upon it when they finished with the Amalgamated. Aiding the employing class has never paid. IT NEVER WILL PAY.

The Communists are calling the trial committee before which their fellow members are being brought to book for their disruptive work the "Lusk Committee." It is rumored that it was originally proposed to call it the Cheka, but a hitherto unsuspected sense of shame prevented.

THE ARRESTED SOUTH

MR. J. W. BUTLER, author of the Tennessee anti-evolution law, is a member of the Primitive Baptist Church and lives sixteen miles from any railroad. He is firm in the belief that the Government is founded on Scripture and that the acceptance of evolution will destroy civilization. Not only the rustics of his backward community but probably a majority of his State, including Babbitts, lawyers, and other professional men, believe as he does.

These people are profoundly in earnest and it is useless to question their sincerity. They represent an example of arrested development. Before the Civil War great masses in the Mississippi Valley believed as they believe, but Northern capitalism was progressive and the slaveocracy was stagnant. Progress continued in the North but it was arrested in the South. In education, industry, social and cultural development, the South is two or three generations behind the North.

The cultural stagnation that extends over wide areas in the South is found in smaller areas in the North and it is in these areas that Fundamentalism has its strongholds. When it is remembered that men like Jefferson, Franklin, Paine, and others were Deists, these Tennessee rustics are absurd in their belief that the Government is founded on Scripture, but their belief is just as real to them as the facts are to others. That they should fear evolution as the work of the Devil is natural.

In the South it is a survival of the mind of the '40s. If we would know the intellectual life of the United States of that period, the period of the Mormon migration, of phrenology, of utopian colonies, of the Millerites and Whig politics, we may observe it in Tennessee. The South will arrive at the twentieth century in about a century if its development is not permanently arrested.

OUR FASCISTI BULLIES

SEVERAL times in the past few years New York Fascisti have appeared in the streets parading to glorify the paranoic and bully who rules Italy. Last week the Black Shirts organized to break up a Garibaldi meeting in Staten Island, some of their thick heads serving as a cushion for the clubs of the police. In Fourteenth street these potential assassins attacked an 82-year-old Garibaldi veteran, severely injuring the old man, who was walking alone in the street.

It is about time that the Police Department considered the activities of these understudies of Mussolini. They parade in their black shirts carrying clubs, and experience shows that they have not hesitated to use their weapons. A few weeks ago the Police Department raided a group of Communists who were rehearsing a pageant with some old guns preparatory to staging a festival.

Here is something demanding the attention of the department. Men who openly parade and carry clubs, men who have used these clubs in attacking others, constitute a provocative organization that should be driven from the streets. No organization can parade without a police permit and we presume Mussolini's cowards obtained a permit for their parade last week.

The Police Department knows who the Fascisti are. It knows what they have done. We rise to inquire, Are those armed bullies to be allowed the streets to assault men and women whose crime is that they do not agree to government by castor oil and education by the club? Are they?

THE STATE FAITH

IN the United States, England and some nations on the Continent many writers have observed an increasing tendency to sanctify the State as a holy institution to be worshipped. Some writers have gone so

far as to assert that the State is supplanting the Deity as an object of worship. With this new worship goes a religious ritual and ceremonial days dedicated to pious veneration of the State. A volunteer priesthood calls the faithful to observance of the new faith and threatens the unbelievers with dire penalties.

This State religion is a product of the World War. The ruling classes feared that the bourgeois State, their State, would go down in the revolutions that stalked Europe. To save their State from this fate their intellectual retainers naturally cultivated a worship of the State and made criticism of it an impious defiance of all that is good and holy. In this country the American Defense Society and hundreds of other similar organizations took up the work and they had little difficulty in getting contributions from the ruling classes for it.

Flag etiquette has become an important item in the numerous ceremonials for the devout. A standard ritual has been devised for the display of the flag and those who fail to observe it properly are regarded as religious dissenters were 100 years ago. Any other way of displaying it, said a speaker over the radio recently "is sure to suggest lack of dignity and respect." So important is this ritual that two worshippers at a recent flag ceremonial had a heated dispute as to what was the proper method of displaying the flag.

President Coolidge added his solemn platitudes to the faith on Flag Day. The flag, he said, "pictures the vision of a people whose eyes are turned to the rising dawn." It "has the sanctity of revelation." The religious note is pronounced in these words and suggests the adoration of primitive peoples for their totem pole.

When we add to solemn ritual and ceremonial the growing reverence for the "fathers" of the Constitution as national saints we have all the accessories of a religion of the State. That it has for its object the perpetuation of the present order with all its contradictions and injustices is apparent to the student of history.

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THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

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Government Exploitation

It is reported that employees of the Federal Government are quitting the service in such numbers that President Coolidge's sermons on economy are rendered superfluous. Luther C. Stewart, president of the Federation of Government Employees, asserts that resignations from the Federal service have increased "at an enormous rate" in recent months. The reason for this is the low salaries paid to workers, and they include many scientists and experts. Mr. Stewart claims that the average salary of Government workers is \$125 a month. A convention of the organization will meet in September to consider what has become a grave situation for these workers. That the administration exploits its scientists and experts is not surprising. Mr. Coolidge is general manager of a firm that represents the big property interests of the country. The firm pays him a good salary and they expect him to supply these interests with government as cheap as possible. Hence the sermonizing of Coolidge regarding "economy." Mr. Coolidge looks upon his job as the superintendent of Gary's steel pens does, with this exception. Gary gives his scientists and experts good salaries and skins the slaves beneath them. Coolidge skins both classes of employees and rubs salt into the wounds with his long and insufferable speeches about the virtues of "economy." If the experts and scientists think that as labor commodities of the firm Mr. Coolidge manages they are better than the common herd the manager will teach them different.

How feeble is the gesture for a Progressive "Progressives" party is evident by events since the February gathering of the C. P. P. A. at Chicago. Those who at that conference planned to organize this year have made little headway. They are opposed to a class party, and want a classless party, one that will represent everybody in general and nobody in particular. They do not recognize the most elementary fact of American political history, that is, that every triumphant party and every one that promised any success at all has been based upon representation of certain economic classes. To assume that the Federalist, the Jeffersonian, the Whig, the Democratic and the Republican parties have not been of this type is to be blind to economic history. The Progressive Political League of New York, has acted on the assumption of organizing a party that will represent everybody and has been seeking for a "leader." Senator Norris was looked upon as the successor to La Follette, but upon being approached Norris sends a characteristic letter. He declines the honor, because it seems to him that the country is suffering from too much partisanship. At the same time he presumes that "parties are necessary, but it is a mistake to regard a party as anything but an instrumentality of government." He prefers the selection of candidates regardless of party and will "be glad to work in unison with anyone, if he believes in the same progressive principles of government that I advocate." What a lame and impotent response, and yet nothing better may be expected of those who want a "classless" party.

Labor appeared before the bar of judicial clan twice this week. In Colorado a strikebreaker had obtained a judgment of \$50,000 against the railroad brotherhoods for their alleged action in preventing his em-

ployment on Colorado railroads. The Supreme Court of the State has decided that the trial judge erred in instructing the jury to find the defendants guilty of malice for the purpose of injuring the strikebreaker and another trial will be held. The unions are still in danger of being mulcted of a large sum. In the oligarchy of West Virginia a judge of the Circuit Court has issued a temporary injunction restraining officials and officers of the United Mine Workers from attempting to unionize the mines of the Ben Franklin Coal Company and the Glendale Gas Company. The miners are also prohibited from picketing the mines. We await another proclamation of 100 per cent organizations assuring the natives that the Constitution is the bulwark of our glorious "liberties."

The French Socialists

Our British exchanges give more detailed information regarding the Socialist vote of confidence given the French Government. The London Daily Herald summarizes the party parliamentary referendum by stating that it gave "62 votes for M. Comptore Morel's motion for a complete break; 49 for M. Renaudel's motion to support M. Painleve under certain conditions, and 13 for M. Aurio's proposal to continue support." It is evident that the two lesser motions were tied with Morel's motion for a break with the Cabinet. Morel's motion received 62 votes and Renaudel's 49, a total of 111. Renaudel's motion was to support Painleve under certain conditions. Did Painleve offer any concessions? He did not. The motion that was adopted reads: "The Chamber denounces with indignation incitements which endanger the lives of our soldiers as well as the work of civilization and the peaceful aspirations of France, and approves the declaration of the Government taking note of its resolve to carry on the negotiations with Spain for a solution in conformity with international treaties, which at the same time permits the free development of the inhabitants of the Rif, and thus assures peaceful relations with their French neighbors." From the London New Leader we learn that a second ballot was taken by the Socialists which resulted in a vote of 62 against and 61 for Painleve. It appears, then, that the French Socialists failed to carry out the clear implication of this second vote. We agree with the New Leader that "to be drawn into supporting an imperial war in Morocco . . . should have been impossible for an honest Socialist Party." Let us hope that the International Congress in August will take action to prevent such actions in the future.

The Patient Chinese

It is reported that the British Cabinet is "deeply incensed" over the part played by Russia in the Chinese disturbances and is sounding France on the possibility of joint action towards the Soviets. Considering that France and England are two of three Powers whose aggressions in China have brought about the present situation, this looks like the pot calling the kettle black. By way of London also comes the rumor that Japan would like to install a dictator for China, using some one of the numerous Chinese generals for this purpose. Japan has had her Chinese puppets playing this role before, but she will have to go slow considering that Coolidge may call a conference of the Powers to take up the Chinese question. Russia retaliates to the British attitude by having the Soviet Embassy at Peking refuse visas to Englishmen for trans-Siberian travel. The strikers are holding out in Shanghai and Hongkong.

Russia Trying To Bluff Germany

The announcement from Moscow of the sentencing to death of three German spies has been received in Berlin with comment to the effect that Russia is doubtless trying to bluff Germany into canceling the death sentences pronounced last April upon three Communists, including a Russian, in the famous "Tcheka" trial in Leipzig. Such bargaining has been done between Russia and Hungary and Russia and Poland quite openly, but in the present case it will probably have to be carried on more or less underground. In neither the Leipzig nor the Moscow trial does the guilt of the accused seem to have been definitely established. Pressure brought to bear upon the Soviet Government by the Socialists and Labor forces at home and abroad for the abolition of the notorious prison for political prisoners on the Solovetsky Isles in the White Sea appears to have been successful as it has been announced from Moscow that on August 1 all political prisoners are to be transferred to the mainland and no more are to be sent to the Isles. The demand for amnesty for imprisoned Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries was refused on the ground that the time for such action was not yet ripe.

Labor Organizes For Free Thought

With the American public more or less excited over the Scopes evolution trial in Tennessee, word comes from Europe of the organization, at a meeting in Teplice, Czechoslovakia, of the International of Proletarian Free Thinkers, comprising units in six countries with some 500,000 members. The new International has cut loose from the Old Free Thinkers' International of Brussels and come out squarely for an organization demanding the overthrow of economic, as well as spiritual, slavery. The new body will have its headquarters in Vienna, with Comrade Frantzl as Secretary. The Executive Committee is made up of Professor Hartwig of Brunn (Brno), who is President; Dr. Mierczynski of Lodz, Dr. Rostovezef of Leningrad, Wolff of Leipzig, Beran of Prague and Dr. Fritsch. The main task laid down for itself by the International of Proletarian Free Thinkers is the separation of Church and State and the prevention of intrusion by the clergy into the realm of secular education. In view of the strong position still occupied by the church in most European countries, even in such Liberal States as Austria and Czechoslovakia, the new body will have plenty of work for a long time. In its declaration of principles the International of Proletarian Free Thinkers emphasizes its belief that, while religion should be made a private affair so far as the State is concerned, it is the duty of all Labor and Socialist leaders to break away from all religious ideologies as inconsistent with Marxian philosophy.

THE Chatter-Box

To a Lady With Blue Eyes

I was cold and prosy,
So were the rainy skies—
I scoffed at love and lovers,
And sported at their sighs:
Flesh was flesh, I reasoned,
Bedecked with dainty lies.

And then, with eerie magic,
Above the raucous cries
Of mart and mob and matter,
Your voice sang in surprise—
And cloud and rain and patter
All fled before your eyes.

You will not make for romance—
The glamor quickly dies;
You will not play or dabble
Or toss coquettish lies—
You have too much of sunlight
And heaven in your eyes.

Bit by bit, we are encroaching upon the sacred sands of fame. This column is being read by the select, the elite, the non plus ultra of the literary world. Tremble, dear readers, each one of you, as you finger and peruse this page, that perhaps at the same moment with you, Sherwood Anderson, Robert Frost, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Clement Wood, and David P. Berenberg, are all drinking at the same fountain. Only this week we have received tributes from four of America's leading litterateurs, and we have had the exquisite privilege of rejecting three of them. Only D. P. B.'s Sonnet as it appears below having passed the high standard that our column always maintains. We have already advised all of England's poets and writers that they may expect hard treatment at our hands. We hope in the near future to advise you how delicately we turned back to Bernard Shaw several of his tributes. Here. Pinch us gently, Jim, we're sunburnt.

D. P. B., Reactionary

When, reading Joyce, I stumble on a maze
Of spineless words, and see no sense
therein.

When reading further, I meet phrase on
phrase
Still meaningless, my head begins to spin,

Then I am told by adepts at this trade
That I am something shopworn, growing
old—

That thus new roads are hewn, traditions
made,
That fame and fortune beckon to the
bold.

This may be true. But words must still
have meaning,
Though pundits waver, editors deny;
A little thought must be there for the
gleaning.

However rarefied and thin and dry.

The gang will swear I am a stuffy codger!
What ho! my cutlass! Up, the Jolly Roger!
D. P. Berenberg.

While we are happy to print David's diatribe against Joyce's "Ulysses," we are fearfully unhappy that we must disagree with him. If this infernal July day hadn't sapped at our patience, we might have re-sonneted in answer. But sonnets must have care and time and energy, and so we spare you all from our pen. In the harsh walls of prose we are constrained to affirm that of all the encyclopaedia of human thought that has come down to us through civilization we know and have read of no completer and more masterly presentation of mental bummer than Joyce's book. True, at times, "es lasst sich nicht lesen." The impatient temperament will only fret more quickly at its labyrinth of phrases and thoughts. The situations, actual and psycho-analytic, puzzle and twist and turn at every comma and semi-colon. At times there is a dazzling vari-colored pyrotechnic revelation; at others, blinding rifts of light—there is no more order or sequence in it all than there can be in the cerebral wanderings of any ordinary civilized human being. He keeps you dervishing from slut to saint, from muck to ethereal garden, from gutter swillage to the sanctum sanctorum where only the angels dare to tread.

It is really too bad David couldn't keep that priceless volume borrowed long enough for at least a two months' course. It took us three solid months' to browse through it, and we intend to take all of next winter for a post-graduate course.

Reconstructed

The babies were a lot alike
In size and disposition;
They cried all hours of the night
In vocal competition.

They wanted milk that was unskimmed.
They scorned the legal potion;
Their mothers' milk had, too, so thinned,
It was a futile motion.

Now Ann, she lives in Twenty-four;
Her mother does adore her.
Katrinka lives almost next door;
The neighbors do adore her.

The reason why is just plain sight:
Ann's back to milk so thick, its
Color is all creamy white;
Katrinka's got the rickets!

Naksar Ben & K. R. O'Ywen.

If you intend going to Tamiment for the season for your fortnight's vacation, we know of no better companion than The New Leader via the subscription route. Quite a few score of our column-tasters have taken advantage of our offer to give an autographed copy of our own collected verse with each yearly subscription that comes with mention of this offer. There are only a few more copies left, so be quick, be nimble and be happy.

Don't forget to mention "The Chatter-box."

S. A. DE WITT.