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America—Where Mussolini Rules

Documentary Proof of Blackshirt Activity Here— Vacirca Jailed at Fascist Bidding

By EDWARD LEVINSON

(This is a translation of a letter in Italian, the original of which is in the possession of The New Leader.)

FASCISTI LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA

THE DELEGATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Philadelphia, Pa., August 1, 1925.

Count Ignazio Thaon de Reval,
Presidente Fascisti League of N. A.
New York.

Dear Reval:

We were unable to come on account of the work required for the re-organization of the Reading Fascio and for the organization of the Fascio in Chester, Bethlehem, Easton, Allentown, Camden and in another town of which I do not recall the name.

I hope they will be ready in fifteen days, but it is a terrible fatigue which starts on Sunday and continues through the entire week, demanding all our spare time and also depriving us of the time we should devote to business. It is my intention to go to Pittsburgh next week, but as I have already spent too much of my money, I should like to know whether my expenses will be reimbursed, at least the railroad fare.

My decision to come over was determined by a letter from New York addressed to Passler, in which we were blamed for the delay in settling the well known consular affair, the delay being due exclusively to the aforesaid reasons. Personally I want to be assured that once I have formed an opinion concerning Vice-Consul Lucci, the Fascist hierarchies will pledge their word to abide by my decision, whatever the cost.

I hope by next Wednesday to be in Philadelphia, whence I shall leave directly for Pittsburgh.

Cordial greetings,

THE STATE DELEGATE.
(Signed) DR. LUIGI BORGIO.

WHERE do the boundaries of Italy end? What part of Italy is Pennsylvania? New Jersey? In what part of Italy is the 3rd District Magistrate's Court, New York City?

Foolish questions? Every child knows that Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York City are not part of Italy, but part and parcel of the sovereign United States, you say. Every child may know it. There are a few grown-ups, however, who do not. When these grown-ups happen to include the chief prosecuting attorney of Essex County and a magistrate of a New York Court it is time to look into the matter.

Look into it, then, and this is what you will find:

1. That at the behest of American Fascists, agents of Benito Mussolini, the prosecuting attorney of Essex County, New Jersey, has caused the apprehension and imprisonment of Vincent Vacirca, Italian Socialist leader.
2. That the charge against Vacirca is that he is wanted in Italy as a fugitive from justice, his "crime" in Italy being political opposition to the Mussolini dictatorship.
3. That if Essex County authorities can effect the extradition of Vacirca from New York State, where he now lies in Tombs prison, they intend to do with him as the Italian consul—the Newark envoy of Mussolini—wishes.
4. That the Fascisti League of North America is carrying on a feverish campaign, working overtime and with an apparently large supply of money, in organizing Fascio (bands of Black Shirts) throughout Pennsylvania. You may see the documentary proof in other columns on this page.
5. That, in violation of the immigration law, Mussolini has sent at least one organizer of Black Shirts here who is at present operating from Philadelphia.
6. That Mussolini, not satisfied with the huge extent to which he has made the United States the scene for Fascist organization work, is planning to send here, under a ruse, the Rome director of the Fascist work in foreign nations.

For many years Vacirca has been a leading Italian Socialist. Before his departure for Italy a few years ago, he was head of the then powerful Italian Federation of the Socialist Party. On his arrival in Italy he was almost immediately elected to the Chamber of Deputies. With the advent of Mussolini, he came quickly under the ban of the Black Shirts. He was then obliged to flee for safety to Switzerland. In that country he further earned the enmity of the Black Shirt Dictator by a number of effective, biting articles exposing the corruption and reactionary character of Fascismo.

The arrest and imprisonment of Vacirca this week is not the first instance of Mussolini's deadly feud against Vacirca, who, in Italy, was an intimate and comrade of Matteotti, the Socialist leader who was slain by the Fascisti a year ago.

Held Up At Ellis Island

The Fascisti influence here was shown the day Vacirca arrived at Ellis Island. On his arrival from abroad, he was detained at Ellis Island for several days pending the decision of a special board which considered the question as to whether he should be admitted. After several days' delay, he was finally admitted to the country.

Almost immediately, Vacirca started his tour on behalf of the Socialist Party which has been marked by continuous interference by American Fascists. The riot in Newark last Sunday was but the most recent incident of this kind.

It was out of the meeting in Newark that grew the proceedings against Vacirca that have landed him in the Tombs awaiting the pleasure of the Fascisti Consul in Newark. Vacirca had been warned and threatened with violence if he persisted in going through with the meeting, which

was scheduled to be held in Laurel Gardens at 10 a. m.

When Vacirca entered the train at the Hudson Tube station at 14th street and Sixth avenue, he noticed he was being followed by six burly men wearing the insignia of the Fascisti on the lapel of their coats. One of these he recognized, Alfred Consiglio, an ex-Anarchist, now turned Fascist.

Fearing the six intended violence, Vacirca decided to attempt to "shake" them by leaving the train before it arrived at Newark. He therefore got off at the Harrison, New Jersey, Pennsylvania station, from which point he planned to take the next train to Newark. But the Fascisti followed.

Threatened His Life

In the railroad station they boldly accosted him and roughly ordered him to return to New York. They told him he could proceed to the meeting only at the peril of his life. The station at the moment was deserted and when Vacirca refused to agree to return to New York, they made preparations for forcibly getting him on a New York-bound train. Fortunately, at that moment, a police officer who had been summoned by the ticket agent arrived at the scene.

The policeman then assisted Vacirca into a trolley car and the Socialist speaker made his way to the

Newark meeting, where a throng of more than a thousand people had been waiting more than an hour for him.

But the Fascisti had barely started their work. Vacirca had been speaking but a few minutes when several score of Black Shirts, led by "Count" Ignazio Thaon de Reval (more of the Count later), President of the Fascisti League of North America, entered the hall and swarmed down the aisles, wildly commanding that the meeting come to an end.

It took but a moment for the audience to perceive what was happening. Almost as one, the listeners rose from their seats to meet the oncoming Black Shirts. It was as

perfect a picture of Black Shirt Italy as could be painted. For the moment the spectator could have been told he was in Milan or Rome instead of Newark. There would have been no signs to disprove the statement.

For half an hour the battle raged. The meeting was in hopeless confusion. Seven seriously wounded were the casualties.

Reval Freed, Vacirca Jailed

Now observe the working of our sworn upholders of the Constitution. "Count" Reval knows his men. He hot-foots it over to the office of the prosecuting attorney of Essex

County. Follow several hours of consultation.

Within a few hours, we learn what the conference is all about. Reval is "arrested" for his part in the riot. He is "freed" on parole. So much for the Fascisti chief as far as the "toils of the law" are concerned. As for Vacirca, Socialist and bitter opponent of Dictator Mussolini—

Vacirca is "picked up" in New York City Monday night on a bench warrant charging him with "affray," which in New Jersey means inciting to riot, and declaring that he is a fugitive from justice in Italy!

Within twelve hours after his arrest, Vacirca found himself in the Tombs prison where he had been sent for thirty days pending the disposition of extradition proceedings which have been instigated against him before Governor Smith of New York State.

Before Magistrate Henry Goodman, in the 3rd District Court, New York City, the Essex County Prosecuting Attorney declared that Vacirca is wanted by the Fascisti Government, Vacirca's crime, in Italy, is opposition to Mussolini, for which, during his exile in Switzerland, he was convicted by a Black Shirt court. It is completely a political "crime" for which the Newark authorities are endeavoring to turn Vacirca over to the Black Shirt authorities.

"Up To the Italian Consul"

Counsel for Vacirca, retained by the Italian Chamber of Labor, asked Magistrate Goodman to fix bail at \$500. The Essex County Prosecutor repeated his tale of Vacirca's "crime" in Italy. He asked bail be fixed at \$50,000. Goodman made it \$50,000.

In the absence of the chief prosecuting attorney in Essex County Court House, Chief of Detectives of Essex County, Captain James Macy, who took part in the arrest of Vacirca, informed me of the proposed next moves.

"Vacirca is wanted in Italy for the same thing he's been 'pulling' here—this Socialist stuff, meeting and riots," Captain Macy informed me.

"What are you planning to do with him if the extradition papers are signed?" I asked.

"Oh, that's up to the Italian Consul. We are going around to see him tomorrow, to see what he wants done about it," said Captain Macy.

Meanwhile the Fascisti organization work goes merrily ahead and the Federal and local Governments, so alert for "conspiracies" where strikers and radicals are concerned, seem strangely disinterested. The letter in an adjoining column—written by the same "Count" Reval who led the raid on the Newark meeting—speaks for itself. Reading, Chester, Bethlehem, Easton, Allentown, Camden—these towns are but a few already "organized" for Fascism. If the authorities want the original of this letter—and if they mean action—The New Leader will be glad to let them have it.

Dr. Borgio Assistant

Dr. Borgio, "The State Delegate" who signs the letter, is not alone in his organization work. He is assisted by one Virginio del Guercio, who was sent here by Mussolini. The New Leader is informed, as a propagandist.

Del Guercio came here outside the quota as a tourist. He is at present living in Philadelphia—at 1244 South 13th street—where he pretends to be engaged in the real estate business. Here is another tip for the guardians of our peace. Will they act?

The Fascist record of the last few weeks is not complete without mention of the proposed visit to this country of Giuseppe Bastianini, member of Parliament in Rome and Director of Activities for Fascist activities in foreign lands. Bastianini plans to come here under the guise of a member of the Italian Debt Commission.

The State Department called Michael Karolyi dangerous and gagged his mouth. Will they apply the gag to this Fascisti gentleman, associate of the murderous Mussolini, open slayer of freedom?

Or is America another of Benito Mussolini's vassal States?

WHO MADE THE MOROCCAN WAR? -:-

By J. WALTON NEWBOLD

Economic Background of the War on Riffs

WHY is it that two Ministries in France, formed with the support of the supposedly pacific Left Bloc, have involved themselves in a struggle to subjugate the tribes of the Riff territory in Northern Morocco?

At first sight it seems unnatural that the Governments of two States traditionally so unsympathetic as France and Spain should be found acting together—and that at a time when Fascist reaction is ruling in the one and a Radical Left nominally controlling the other. Always it has been understood that Catholic and Conservative Madrid and freethinking and Liberal Paris were poles asunder, at any rate in Northern Africa. Yet here they are collaborating, if not very wholeheartedly, against those whom, for centuries, each has incited to incommode the other.

The explanation is to be sought in two inter-related economic motives, one connected with minerals and the other with finance.

In Southern Spain and in Northern Africa there are enormously valuable metal deposits, and they are largely undeveloped, although they have been known and worked since the days of Carthage and Rome.

From Huelva and Penneroya great volumes of extremely fine copper are carried to the ports of Britain and France, there to be crushed, refined, and used in innumerable industries, especially electrical; and it is upon electricity that France is relying to build up her new industrial economy.

From Almeria in Spain, and Oran in Northern Africa, iron ore is exported to Cardiff, the Clyde, Marseilles and Nantes, to feed the blast-furnaces of South Wales, Lanarkshire, the Haute-Loire, and the Basse Indre.

During the last forty years French ironmasters, as well as those of the West of Scotland and Wales, have tended more and more to seek in Almeria, and in the Atlas ranges of Algeria and Morocco, deposits of high-grade and non-phosphoric ore. An undue proportion of phosphorus makes the ore unsuitable for the production of acid steel. The ores

of Almeria are from 55 per cent to 58 per cent metallic iron, and only from .015 per cent to .018 per cent phosphoric. Those of Oran average 47.5 per cent metallic iron, and contain more phosphorus. The iron ore resources of Almeria are estimated at 15,000,000 tons, and those of Huelva at about an equal amount.

Now the ores of Central and Southern France are approaching exhaustion, and those of Normandy and Lorraine are highly phosphoric, and are, moreover, far from the districts where the older acid-steel producing plant is situated. The owners have, therefore, been turning to Spain, to Algeria, and to the extension of the mineral area in the Riff, just across the western frontier of Algeria and within Moroccan territory.

"The only iron ore deposits in Morocco which have been developed on anything approaching an extensive scale are those in the Riff territory. . . . The mining conditions are very worked." So says the Report of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research on Iron Ores, issued in 1917 (pp. 74 and 75). "Labor was abundant and cheap in 1914," and the content of metallic iron was as high as 67 per cent. "The mines were then in Spanish and German ownership; presumably

the French have succeeded to Germany's share.

Now we know that the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas has become interested in iron, zinc, and lead ores in the Riff, and the connection of French banks alike with Spain and with Morocco is worth a little careful examination.

As early as 1903 and 1904 the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas issued loans to the Sultan of Morocco, and in 1907 it headed a consortium of French banks which secured a concession from the Sultan and formed the State Bank of Morocco. In 1912 it joined with other concerns to form the Campagnie Generale de Maroc, and in 1922 to form the Morocco Railway Company.

In Spain foreign capital—mainly Parisian in origin—is chiefly interested in the copper and iron ore, and in railways. Railway development has been financed chiefly by the Rothschilds (who are associated with the founders of the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas), and by the Periers, whose instrument is the Credit Mobilier Francais. This latter has acquired vast interests in gold and copper mines all over the world. The Rothschilds are predominant in the Rio Tinto and Penneroya Companies, Intanco from Huelva, and they are very powerful in the French metal market. The

That Letter

(Not from Moscow nor Out of The Head of a Department of Justice Operative—Which is Often the Same Thing)

If You Want to Wait Until the Issue of the 5th September, 1925, Well and Good. But Perhaps You'd Rather Try a Guess?

3 WEEKS—AND YOU'LL GET IT IN THE MAIL

For the Lords and Liars are quaking

At the People's stern awaking

From the slumber of the ages; and the People slowly rise,

And with hands locked together,

One in heart and soul for ever,

Watch the sun of Light and Liberty leap upwards to the skies.

—Francis Adams.

A REAL LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By JAMES CAMERON

The International in 1918



The handful who attended the historic Berne Conference in 1918; when contrasted with the hundreds who gather today in Marseilles, offers striking evidence of the speedy recovery of International Socialism from the ravage of the war-years. In the picture may be noted Johnson and Wallhead of the Independent Labor Party, England; Hilferding, Germany; Reinhard, Switzerland; Ledebour, Germany; Longuet, France; Crispin, Germany; Faure, France.

At three o'clock this afternoon (August 22) there opens in the Exposition Building in Marseilles an international meeting of far more importance for the peace of the world than the periodical conferences of the League of Nations. It is the Second Congress of the Socialists and Labor International, the worldwide organization born in Hamburg the last days of May, 1923, from the fusion of the old worn-out Second International with the "Two-and-a-Half International," the league of Socialist parties that had broken away from the Second International during and after the World War.

When the Socialist Mayor of the second city of France welcomes today the hundreds of delegates from forty-three Socialist parties in thirty-three countries he will face an audience filled with confidence in the future of the international labor movement, rejoicing in the "come-back" staged by the Socialist parties all over the world and far removed from the pessimism that was only too much in evidence at the Hamburg meeting. And when the delegates who attended the conference in Bern, Switzerland, in February, 1919, of some eighty Socialist parties from a score of countries, where

the first feeble efforts were made to revive the spirit of international labor solidarity following the end of the war, hark back to that historic event the contrast will be still sharper.

Two years ago most of the Socialist parties of Europe were still struggling to recover the political ground lost as the result of the war and to heal the internal divisions due to attacks by the Communist International. Today there are minority Socialist Governments in Sweden and Denmark; in Belgium and Czechoslovakia the Socialists play a leading part in coalition Cabinets; in Germany and Austria they form a militant and menacing opposition; in Great Britain, after a brief experience as a minority Government, the Labor party is back as the Opposition, stronger by a million votes, although with fewer members in the House of Commons; in France the Socialists are able to make or break Cabinets, while wisely remaining outside the Government, and even in Fascist-cursed Italy there are signs of an awakening of the masses and a marked increase in Socialist strength. In nearly every country, including the United States, the Communist disrupters have shot their bolt and are now busy "liquidating" the various tendencies and factions within their own depleted ranks, while the membership of the Socialist parties is steadily increasing.

There is plenty of work for the Congress, which faces the task of outlining the policy to be followed by the leading Socialist organizations of the world during the next three years. Arthur Henderson of Great Britain will make the formal opening speech; C. R. Buxton of Great Britain will report on the Attitude of the S. L. I. toward the problems of security and disarmament; Morris Hillquit of the United States, Rudolf Hilferding of Germany and Leon Blum of France will report on Labor's struggle against the danger of war; Louis de Broeckere of Belgium will report on unemployment and the conditions of life of the workers; Tom Shaw of Great Britain will report on the Washington Convention and the

eight-hour day; Secretary Friedrich Adler will report on an organization and levy scheme and a delegate selected by the Women's International Conference, held just before the Congress, will report on that conference and its proposals.

The high spots of the Marseilles Congress are expected to be the debates over the question of Socialist participation in coalition Governments and the problem presented by the French Socialist Deputies' qualified support of the Painlevé Government's war policy in Morocco. The Chinese situation will also come up, as will the whole problem of colonies and so-called inferior peoples.

The American delegates to the Congress elected by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party are Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Jacob Panken, George E. Roewer, Jr., James H. Maurer, Thomas M. Duncan and Algernon Lee. Mrs. Vera Hillquit, Mrs. Meta Berger and Miss Ellen Persons were chosen to represent the Socialist Party at the Women's International Conference. All these delegates, except Comrades Lee, Maurer, and Meta Berger, are probably now in Marseilles. Guest privileges at the Congress were requested for State Senator Joseph W. Padway, of Wisconsin, and Arthur Shustkin, member of the Milwaukee City Council.

Among the delegates from other countries are Rickard Sandler, Premier of Sweden; Emil Vandervelde, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium; Karl Seitz, Mayor of Vienna; Paul Loebbe, President of the German Reichstag; and H. H. Van Kol of Holland, the only delegate who was a member of the First International, founded in London in London sixty-one years ago.

To give the names of all the delegates would be like calling the roll of the leading Labor political leaders and theoreticians of the world.

DEBS WILL LEAD INDIANA DRIVE ON OPEN SHOP

THE address of Eugene V. Debs, national leader of the Socialist Party, will be the feature of the Convention of the Indiana State Federation of Labor, to be held here during the week of August 26. Comrade Debs will address a mammoth mass meeting from the steps of the Vigo County Court House, following the convention parade and demonstration to be staged on Thursday evening, August 27.

The committee in charge of arrangements expects a crowd of fully 10,000 people aside from the 800 delegates who will represent the various Labor crafts at the convention, to hear the address of Debs, which will deal with Labor and the laboring man's problems. There will be five different State conventions of Labor organizations in progress here during that week.

The annual State conventions of the plumbers, the painters and the machinists will be held on Sunday, August 23, all of these being one-day sessions. On Monday and Tuesday, August 24 and 25, the annual convention of the Indiana Building Trades Council will be held.

These meetings will be followed by the big convention—the forty-first annual convention of the Indiana State Federation of Labor. The State Federation convention will open on Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock at the Knights of Columbus auditorium. Percy Head, President of the Central Labor Union, will call the convention to order.

Thousands of people throughout the Wabash valley are expected to be attracted by the Debs address.

In connection with the Debs mass meeting, announcement has also been made by local Labor officials that a bronze tablet, containing a profile of the Socialist Party's leader, will be placed in the Labor Temple. As this probably will occur some time during the three days of the convention, there doubtless will be an appropriate ceremony arranged for this event.

The parade will form at Ninth and Ohio streets at 7 o'clock Thursday evening. The line of march will be west in Ohio street to Third street, north in Third street to Wabash avenue, east in Wabash avenue to Thirteenth street, and countermarch back to the courthouse for the Debs speech.

The Debs address as the feature of the Indiana State Federation of Labor Convention should serve as an indication to both Labor unions and their central bodies and to Socialist locals of the mutual assistance they can be to each other.

The Socialist Party, as always, is willing to place its full resources in the battle for the rights of the unions. The Debs speech in Terre Haute will be specially gratifying to those who seek to cement the fellowship of both wings of the Labor movement, inasmuch as it is the first time in many years that the Indiana Federation of Labor, considered "conservative," has invited the Socialist Party's spokesman to aid them in their efforts.

The Terre Haute Central Labor Union announces the parade and address by Debs will be staged "to prove to our Chamber of Commerce that the Labor organizations in the State of Indiana have not been broken" by the open-shop movement.

People ARE Like That

LAST WEEK we were asked, by the conductor on the train that speeds us homeward each evening, that old, old chestnut, "Who will do the dirty work under Socialism?" Since we came within the fold we have heard the same inquiry at least 7,000 times, often from intelligent people. It's such a silly question because the answer should be apparent to almost everyone past their sixth birthday. By "dirty work," the interrogator usually means—cleaning the sewers, streets, and digging the ditches, collecting the garbage and general scavenger work.

The people who have proved most efficient in doing the dirty work under capitalism will do the dirty work under Socialism. These include the lying editor and newspaper publisher who takes a fiendish delight in serving the interests and whose hands are always smeared with mud to blacken Labor and the workers' rights. The slimy politician who stops at nothing in his anxiety to remain in the good graces of Capital. The Labor hater and strikebreaker. Corrupt judges and unscrupulous lawyers who serve the plutocracy at all costs to conscience. The overbearing employer who sees only profits and cares nothing for the misery and poverty of Labor. Then, too, we have some preachers prating the sacred rights of Capital and forgetting that Jesus, one of the poor and oppressed, died for humanity. With all these must be placed those who prostitute mind and heart to serve the God of Gold and help to keep the people in bondage.

Surely here is a vast army, large enough and certainly efficiently trained by experience to do the dirtiest of the dirty work. They will not be deprived of that pleasure under a sane system of society. The master of ceremonies will see to that.

"When I first sent in my subscription to The New Leader it was to help a publication that has the courage to advocate the principles of the Socialist Party. But in renewing I find the reason totally different. I find The New Leader not only the best weekly of the Socialist and Labor movement in America, but the newspaper that publishes the most accurate news of the movement here and abroad. I hope The New Leader will be successful in the effort to make it a powerful weapon of the Socialist Party and the working class."

Chicago, Ill.

M. V. Halushka.

People in the circulation business say that we have a larger percentage of renewals than any other publication. Once a reader of The New Leader, they stick. More subscribers means more Socialists and a better paper. Go after a sub. or two today. If you can't get him for a year, land the victim for six months. He may subscribe as a personal favor, but he will renew because he wants the news. In a few days you will receive a letter from James O'Neal all about the biggest stunt ever pulled by a Socialist paper. Watch for it.

Mike, the Barber, says: "You guys have such good intelligence that you know all about Socialism, so why don't you use those brains when making more Socialists. All the time your speakers and papers talk about Europe. What's the matter with America? I came here eleven years ago and already I talk more about the United States than you do. We don't care about the old country so much any more. Why not live with us with your heads as well as you do your stomachs?"

Had he been born a century earlier there is every probability that we should have spent most of our life in jail. Collectors, collection agencies and judgments, are somewhat annoying, but the prospect of years in jail for a tailor's bill makes us glad we were born in the latter instead of the early quarter of the nineteenth century.

For this little gladness we thank our own James O'Neal, who wrote "The Workers in American History." We quote from this splendid book:

"The debtors' prisons were provided expressly for poor men. Murderers and counterfeiters had their wants generally provided by the State, but unless the poor debtor was provided for by friends or charitable societies, he was left to rot in rags. The low wages paid necessarily increased this class of 'criminals' and they were helpless to defend themselves. When they did organize to improve their lot with the opening years of the nineteenth century they were frequently tried for conspiracy and jailed."

"The number in debtors' prisons and the magnitude of their 'crimes' are of interest to their descendants of today. In 1816 there were 1,984 debtors imprisoned in New York City, of whom 1,129 owed less than \$50 and 729 owed less than \$25 each. Every one of them would have starved to death but for the kindness of the Humane Society. One man in Vermont owed a firm of two, 54 cents. By dividing the debt the victim was imprisoned on two counts of 27 cents each. The costs piled up to a total of \$14.54, for which he was held responsible. In Boston—'The Cradle of Liberty'—between 1820 and 1822, 3,492 debtors were jailed which affected 10,000 human beings. One woman was taken from her home and two children for a debt of \$3.60. One man was imprisoned thirty years and a fund of \$3,000 was raised to pay the jail fees and costs that had accumulated during the long period of confinement. In Philadelphia—'The City of Brotherly Love'—in 1828, 1,085 debtors were jailed; their total debts were \$25,409; amount received by creditors, \$295; cost of maintaining the prison, \$285,000. In 1831, the same city held 40 debtors owing a total of \$23. One man owed 2 cents, another seventy-two cents. This penalizing of poverty began to disappear in response to the early Labor agitation, the last States to abolish it being Connecticut in 1837, Louisiana in 1840, Missouri in 1845, Alabama in 1848."

"I take the liberty to drop you a few lines to tell you that the wrapper on my paper is very loose and in handling in the mail the wrapper slips off, and so I lose the paper, which I miss very much for I am anxious to hear how the Socialist and the Labor party is growing. I have lost three papers. Not that I care for the price, but the information regarding what the laborers are doing for their wives and children. I have been a Socialist for 40 years and will die one, so I wish I could get out and work as I did, but I cannot walk any more and I shall be 75 years old soon. So hoping the comrades and the paper will grow in strength and elect several Congressmen and Senators next year."

Sherman, Texas.

George A. Rath.

THE PAPER AND THE MOVEMENT ARE GROWING IN STRENGTH. SLOWLY BUT SURELY WE ARE RECOVERING FROM WILLOPS GIVEN US AS THE RESULT OF THE WAR. MISTAKES HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE BUSHEL, BUT WE LEARN THROUGH EXPERIENCE. YES, WE ARE COMING BACK, BROTHER, AND THIS TIME NO POWER CAN BAR OUR PROGRESS.

The Society of Tired Radicals held its first meeting last week. Nine new members were admitted after each had taken oath and pleaded not guilty to a constructive thought or action since 1920. One applicant was denied admission after the submission of evidence proving he had made an optimistic statement in the fall of 1923, and two others were barred because of their enthusiasm about the coming campaign. Henry Wilfo spoke on "What I Did for Socialism in 1912." During the discussion it developed that none of the errors made that year were by members of the society. It was decided to elect a permanent referee for future discussions. John S. Stone was unanimously elected after it was discovered that he is a deaf mute and the only member who did not intend to take part in debates. Israel McCarthy will be the speaker at the next meeting, his subject being: "Why I Am a Better Speaker than Eugene V. Debs." Twelve members desired to speak on this topic, but Mr. McCarthy proved the best poker player.

For two weeks our subscription department offered Arthur Morrow Lewis's great book, "Evolution, Social and Organic," with three six months' subscription cards to The New Leader. Many took advantage of this combination for \$3 and already we have several letters from readers thanking us for bringing this splendid work to their attention. We cannot accept any more orders for this book. Our supply is exhausted.

Beginning last week we published the first coupon offering James O'Neal's "The Workers in American History" with three half-yearly subscription cards for \$3. Many Socialists know more European than American history. Here is an opportunity to secure a most interesting volume (take our word for it, we read the book last week) without cost. The subscription cards can be easily sold and are good at any time.

O'Neal's book is well printed on good paper. It's bound in cloth and a splendid addition to any library. Our subscription clerk reports less than 400 left. Get yours now. You will find a coupon on another page of this issue.

Rufus Osborne.

Keep Cool

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CEMENTING AMERICAN LABOR

The Pan-American Federation of Labor, which has organizations affiliated with it in eleven nations, has sent a statement of its purposes to organizations in all Latin-American nations with the view of extending its aid to the workers in organizing them into trade unions and having them affiliate. The statement in part follows:

THE Pan-American Federation of Labor is composed of affiliated national labor movements in the Western Hemisphere. It has for its purpose the general advancement of the rights, interests, and welfare of all the wage-earners of America, and the promotion of international understanding and good will between peoples and governments. Each affiliated labor movement retains its full autonomy and freedom of action. The one object is helpfulness in mutual agreement.

Appeals for aid are constantly coming to the American Federation of Labor via the Pan-American Federation of Labor from all of the twenty Latin-American Republics. Even with its limited strength and facilities the Pan-American Federation of Labor already has done much to meet these requests for help, some of them pitiful and tragic in their cries for elementary justice. This organization has before it an opportunity to play a great justice-promoting, peace-begetting role in Pan-American industrial, social and political life.

An Essential Step Toward Democracy

We deem it an essential step toward democracy and justice that there shall be established for the masses, who have hitherto been without regular agencies for expressing their views and desires, opportunities that will enable them to have a voice in helping and determining international affairs.

The labor movements of the various countries constitute the instrumentalities that can best accomplish this purpose and give expression to national ideas and convictions that have been too inarticulate and impotent.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor was formally organized and its objects declared to be:

"1. The establishment of better

The Pan-American Federation of Labor—Its Work

conditions for the working people who emigrate from one country to another.

"2. The establishment of a better understanding and relationship between the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.

"3. To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the protection and promotion of the rights, the interests, and the welfare of the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.

"4. To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the purpose of cultivating the most favorable and friendly relations between the labor movements and the peoples of the Pan-American Republics."

A Means of Communication

Until a short time ago there had been no means of communication between the masses of the peoples of the American countries. The only relations existing were those established by the financial, commercial and industrial interests, and, as every one knows, these interests are not always actuated by a desire to promote the welfare of the people, nor do they represent the higher and nobler ideals of the peoples of the American countries. These interests are actuated by three motives; namely, profits, profits and more profits. In their mad rush for material aggrandizement they completely lose sight of the rights and interests of humanity. Since the financial, commercial and industrial interests of Pan-America are so closely allied and are every day extending their activities over a wider field for exploitation, it is all the more evident that the wage-earners of Pan-America must unite for their own protection, for in our present day the organization of the wage-earners on a purely national scale will not be adequate for the protection and promotion of their interests and for the attainment and realization of their hopes and aspirations.

Preparation for Mutual Protection

In the Congresses of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, all of these problems will be rendered

easier of solution if all the Pan-American labor movements contribute with their moral and material support. Therefore, to the end that the workers of all the American countries may be better prepared to act concertedly for their mutual protection and advancement, we again urge them to organize in their respective countries in unions of their respective trades or callings, these to affiliate under the banner of one national federation, which will in turn affiliate to the Pan-American Federation of Labor so that the collective action of the wage-earners of the American continent may better serve to promote the interests of humanity and to impose a check upon those forces which would subordinate them to their own material aggrandizement.

If the employers, the capitalists, of Pan-America thus unite for the protection of their common advantage, it becomes all the more evident that the wage-earners of these countries must also unite for their common protection and betterment.

Political freedom and equality are the first step in giving liberty to those who toil, but this freedom and equality when achieved has not and cannot save the toiler from injustice and exploitation. Political institutions which enable free men to make the laws of the State which govern them cannot serve all purposes or solve all human problems.

Organization the Determining Factor

daily bread, whether as employees in private industry or employees of the State, their status as workers will be determined by the strength, intelligence and activity of their economic organizations, more than by any other factor.

The law may declare that men are free, but the existence of freedom will be found only among those who are determined to protect and to exercise this basic human right. The law may declare that industrial wrongs shall not exist, but the printed page is not sufficient. Those who toil must have within themselves the power to declare that in-

justice shall cease. They have this power in the principles, policies and methods of the trade unions which compose the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

We hold that the principle of self-government in industry are one and identical, the first functioning through political institutions and the second through these industrial institutions which trade union movements have established. Through these two institutions, each acting within their proper sphere, civil and industrial democracy is made to function continuously, so that in civil life and in industry there shall be no rule, regulation, law or authority except by the consent of the governed.

Men are not and cannot be truly free, regardless of their full measure of political liberty, unless industry presents an equal opportunity for self-expression and self-government.

To Destroy Tyranny in Industry

In the same manner that men established free political institutions so that tyrants could no longer oppress them, the trade union movement established an institution of industrial freedom which enables the men and women of labor to overcome and destroy tyranny in industry and establish in its place liberty, justice, equality and fair dealing between all those who participate in the production of wealth.

It is essential to the success of this Pan-American Federation of Labor that its policies and programs should be established only through mutual agreement.

The great strength which this Federation can develop must exist wholly through the free consent of those who participate. There may be matters regarded as essential by some, but not by all, and where such conditions arise, the final decision should be held in abeyance until understanding and experience have developed agreement among us. We are convinced that any attempt to force principles, policies or tactics upon minorities in an international federation of labor such as this must lead to the destruction of those fraternal bonds which now unite us. In like manner every attempt by minorities, through strategy or otherwise, to force their decisions upon majorities must be equally fatal.

Principles Outlawed

Our hope for today and the future is based upon the application of the principles and the methods of democracy, to the solution of all of the problems with which we are compelled to deal.

This Executive Committee hopes to help and facilitate the noble and great task of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and all Latin-American labor organizations to communicate with our office when any matter of interest or conflict may occur, sending us reliable information, counsel and advice. Also we offer to you every information on every subject matter that may interest the labor organizations of any country.

In the meantime we invite all countries to give their first attention to securing better standards of life and work in accordance with the principles of trade unions:

Higher wages, shorter workdays, more safe and sanitary conditions in all places of employment, better homes, better surroundings, prohibition of child labor, protection of children.

Legislative enactments to achieve and maintain equal rights, the right of association, the right of free assembly, the right of free speech, the right of free press, the right, singly or collectively, to withhold our labor power—the right to strike.

It is with these thoughts and hopes uppermost in our minds and our hearts, the spirit of which we have but barely expressed, that we appeal to our fellow-workers of Pan-America to give this, our solemn purpose, their immediate, hearty and constant support.

Address your communications to the Pan-American Federation of Labor, 207 American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.

Very fraternally yours,
WILLIAM GREEN, President.
CHESTER M. WRIGHT, English-Speaking Secretary.
SANTIAGO IGLESIAS, Spanish-Speaking Secretary.

Pullman Porters

Organizing a Union
An organization campaign to round up the Pullman porters, all of whom are Negroes, and who are miserably underpaid, is now well under way. The first organization meeting will be held this Tuesday evening, August 25, at Elks' Auditorium, 160 West 129th street. This campaign is being conducted by the Negro Trade Union Organization Committee of the A. F. of L. unions in New York.

Samuel Masin Dies

Samuel Masin, for many years one of the most active members of the Socialist Party in Brooklyn, died Tuesday under operation at the Post-Graduate Hospital, New York City. Comrade Masin was a leading member of the Forward Association. His generosity and real devotion to the Socialist Party earned for him the deep attachment of thousands of comrades.

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THE NEW YORK CAMPAIGN

By NORMAN THOMAS

Socialist Candidate for Mayor of New York City

FOR more than a week the Primary fight has been going on in the Democratic party without, as yet, any real discussion of principle or program for the benefit of toiling millions of New Yorkers herded in subways and tenements. Nothing that Mayor Hylan can say can undo his record. Mr. Walker's personal platform is a commonplace political document of pious hope. He is for the five-cent fare, municipal ownership and operation and free transfers, but gives no hint how he will get them or why I. R. T. and B. M. T. stock have gone up on hope of his nomination. He has no program on housing, but speaks tenderly of the real estate interests. The New York World pleads with us to make Walker Mayor because "Al Smith is a great man and it doesn't like Hearst. Truly an inspiring reason. The Republican campaign is a joke.

I remind you all of these things not because you do not know them but because they ought to stimulate you to hard work for our party and give you persuasive arguments to use with your friends. During the Primary campaign our main job will be to take note of what our enemies say about each other, do effective personal work with our neighbors and brother workers, build up our own Party organization, and raise the campaign fund on which we have had a flying start. This foundation work

may not be as showy as what comes afterwards. But if it is not well done no building can stand. We are pushing forward now the printing of some leaflets. They will be attractive in appearance and valuable in contents. They are to be used and not wasted. Let Party Headquarters know if you can help in getting them used.

I see that our Communist friends have done us the honor of adopting an imitation of some of the planks of our City Platform and that they have passed resolutions for a united front. About the same time the Daily Worker had this sweet headline, "Socialist Party Corps in Los Angeles Gives Off Faint Aroma." Not exactly the sort of talk to precede a happy marriage, is it? A united front on the part of labor on the political field is highly desirable. Theoretically it ought to be possible in a Municipal campaign, even where there are some sharp differences as to ultimate philosophy and tactics. In New York, however, it must wait for more assurances of courtesy and good faith than we have at present. Nevertheless, I cannot too strongly urge that our business in this campaign is not to center our attention upon Communists, but upon the old capitalist parties. We must prove that we have the energy, the desire and the program to teach the rank and file of those upon whose labor the prosperity of New York will rest and persuade them that they can by joining us make the City their servant as it never has been before.

COMRADE SPEYER'S DEATH

IT WAS with great sorrow that New York comrades heard this week of the death, on Saturday, August 15, at 8 p. m., of Comrade George J.

Speyer, one of the veterans of the German section of the American Socialist movement.

Comrade Speyer was a member of the Socialist Party since its organization. His particular interest lay in the German section. He was active in the affairs of the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Society and the Socialist gymnastic clubs. In recent years, following the Left Wing split, Comrade Speyer was instrumental in carrying on the work of the German movement until it had passed through the dangerous period brought about by the party wreckers.

Comrade Speyer founded the Rundschau, a monthly organ of German Socialism in America, which was but recently succeeded by the People's Voice, a weekly paper. During his membership in the party, Comrade Speyer was also an active member of Typographical Union, Number 7.

Speyer also interested himself in the affairs of the New York Call Printing Company, of which he was president and active manager until three months ago when he relinquished his work to undergo the operation from which he never recovered.

Funeral services were held Tuesday, August 18, at Engel's Funeral Chapel, 315 East 83rd street. The following day his body was cremated at the Fresh Pond Crematorium.

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:-: A PLAN TO NATIONALIZE COAL :-:

Report of the Miners Nationalization Committee Presents Basis for Solution

"HOW TO RUN COAL?"
That is a question that is agitating workers, owners and consumers alike. The enlightened sections of the workers and consumers have long answered: "Nationalization."

Here is the nationalization plan drawn up by the United Mine Workers Nationalization Committee in 1921. The New Leader reprints the plan at this time, not so much because we are in agreement with many of the features enunciated, but because it provides an excellent basis for discussion of nationalization of coal, the only solution for the ever-recurring problem of how to make the mines serve the miners and their fellow workers, the consumers.

I.—THE AMERICAN PLAN

WE SHALL first present our plan in summary form, and then tell why we believe each item is necessary. These are our proposals:

1. A Secretary of Mines in the Cabinet.
2. A Federal Commission of Mines, to control budget and policy on the basis of continuous fact-finding.
3. A national mining council, to administer policies, with miners, technicians and consumers represented.
4. The safeguarding of collective bargaining through joint-conference.
5. Freeing production management from wage squabbles and sales problems, by making wages the first charge against the industry and therefore making wage measurement one of the functions of the Federal Commission under the principles of collective bargaining, which will be safeguarded by an independent joint wage scale committee.

Why

Men are willing to risk their lives and spend their days in dangerous and racking toil. This is not the gift of a few unusual men. It is the steady average annual offering of over a half million miners. But the Nationalization Research Committee of the United Mine Workers of America is getting in touch with miners who are willing to invest with the same boldness and persistence of effort in planning good administration for their industry. They give ten, twenty, forty years to hard labor. We ask them to give but one hour a week to the firm thinking that will sweeten all the job.

The happiness of multitudes of common people rests on thinking out the problems of human relationship under the strain of industry. It is no revelation from heaven that is needed. It is the hammering out of some simple devices in administration. Man is an animal that organizes painfully and poorly. He grows irritable in large-scale industry. But as long as he elects to try for a thing called civilization—to come in out of the wet and eat cooked food—he must push on, with his unnatural experiment and not lie down in the midst of the muddle. What are needed are some plain rules of the road.

The coal industry has been so disorganized and mismanaged that the situation in recent years has approached what big business men and stand-pat Senators describe as a "catastrophe." Intelligent men, with the welfare of the industry at heart, agree that the "game is up"—the old game of speculative profits, over-production, shortages, sky-high prices, unemployment, gunmen, spies, the murder of miners, a sullen, desperate public. Unless unification and order enter the industry, there will be a blow-up somewhere, followed by drastic, angry and frenzied legislation. The American Kingdom of Coal is today in as chaotic and explosive condition as

the States of Europe. No single constructive suggestion has come from the operators. No large leading idea has come from the public. The public is feeling intensely, but is not yet thinking wisely.

The operators have a fresh explanation for the annual crisis as often as it rolls around. One year it is car shortage, another year high wages, then the war, then Government interference. Of thought-out plan and remedy they have offered none.

The only large-scale proposal has come from the United Mine Workers of America in their demand for nationalization. It is the only proposal that grapples with slack work for the miners, high prices and irregular supply for the consumers. It is now the job of the miners to decide what kind of nationalization they want. There are only three plans possible for control and administration. All other plans are minor variations on those three. There are only three plans possible, because, after the owners are bought out, only three interests are concerned—the public, the miners, and the technical and managerial group. The plans differ in the proportion of power they give to each of the three interests.

Democratic Management

Any plan of unification to be acceptable to a free people must fulfill several demands. It must not only yield a good American life to the worker in the sense of wages, hours, safety, health, and all other living conditions; it must also satisfy his demand for a voice in management, for a share in the actual administration of the industry. The American worker has no use for the thing called State Socialism. To have a group of politicians at Washington manage coal would be as distasteful to the miner as it would be to the long-suffering public.

Any plan of nationalization must give a larger area of control inside the industry to all workers. Against

great odds and powerful opposition the workers have won a measure of control, certain negative functions of management. Their method has been collective bargaining, and their instrument has been the union. The workers have won at least a measure of control over the rate of pay; the length of working day; the details of daily life inside the mine and in leisure hours; the qualification of the worker to be hired; the manner and tone of the manager; the right to inspect the conditions of the mine and, through the checkweighman, to inspect the amount of work done. These are real gains in personal freedom and economic status. They have been largely won by the union. The proof is that these rights are not granted in a non-union field.

But these gains are not enough for a worker in a democratically managed industry. He wishes the right to make suggestions on technical improvements, on car-pushing, on slack work, on output, and the right to take part in carrying them out. There will be no complete cooperation until his suggestions are welcomed and weighed. His good will and intelligence should be encouraged. They must be incorporated in any successful scheme of administration. The working miner must have a real part in the government of coal. Democratic management is what the worker wants. By democratic management he means that coal shall be run by the people who mine it, who apply their scientific knowledge to its problems, who transport it, who sell it, who use it. If coal were run by a bureau at Washington, the miner would feel as far away from being represented in the industry as he feels today under private ownership. Democratic management must be the blood and bones of a plan of nationalization for the mines.

Public Ownership

But any plan of nationalization must also include ownership by the

public. Ownership of the mines by the miners alone would be as unjust and as disastrous as ownership by the coal operators has proved itself to be. The public must give the final decision on the large issues of the industry. But it is always ownership that gives the power of decision. So the public must own the mines.

Control

Any plan of nationalization must include the separation of control from administration. The decision of policy is one thing; the job of administration, that is, running the industry, is quite a different thing. To give control to the community as a whole, to safeguard the future as well as the present, to practice the American policy of conservation equally with that of business initiative—all this is in the job of control. Control means to know what is actually being done, as well as to know what must be done to get results and to order the thing to be done. Control means statistics of output, requirements, stocks; it means tests, inspections, research, publicity; it means the collection of all the necessary new and now unknown facts about the industry.

Under public ownership and democratic administration, the coal industry will find out how much coal the people want, how much of the supply is already in stock, what is the cost of mining coal, how much pay a miner gets, and what the correct price is for a ton of coal. These are simple, easy, fundamental and essential facts in running an industry. But not one of these elementary facts is known today. A permanent fact finding agency will be one of the instruments of control. Control means a permanent Federal Interstate Commission of Mines, and the eyes of the Commission will be a fact-finding agency, with uniform accounting and a research group. At the head is the Secretary of Mines, a Cabinet member. This Federal Commission will

be created by Congress, and composed of at least eleven members. Five of these members should be named by such bodies as the professional and industrial associations (Engineers, etc.). The other six members will be appointed by the President. The functions of this Federal Commission include fact-finding, scientific costing, budget determination, price fixing, research. A scientific budget is essential to the success of this plan.

Safeguarding the Public

The power of the purse will rest with the permanent Federal Commission of Mines. The national mining council will present to the Commission its account—receipts, expenses, salaries, wages, costs, development of new coal fields, prices on coal.

Any plan of nationalization must arrange for the determination of price, quality and quantity of output by the whole community and not by the group of workers. This means that the Federal Commission of Mines and the Secretary of Mines will have the final say on these matters. This will be the public safeguard.

Wages

Just as the Federal Commission of Mines will have its Bureau of Fact-Finding, so it will have its Bureau of Wage Measurement. The Federal Commission will pass upon the determination of its Bureau of Wage Measurement from the point of view of business expediency and economic feasibility. The Bureau of Wage Measurement will deal scientifically with the disputed points in rate fixing, such as dead work for which no satisfactory standardized rate has been worked out. Its function is that of an impartial body to make all necessary tests. The larger questions of wage determination, such as the national basic rates, will be the business of the Joint Wage Scale Committee. Wages will be determined on a national basis, with the necessary differentials worked

out for risk, skill, difficulty, and local conditions. Wages will be made the first charge against the industry. A good American life for the miner will be regarded as of equal importance with a steady supply of coal at a reasonable price to the public. For the first time in the history of the industry, disputed wage questions will be removed from the administration of the industry where they do not belong, and placed under the economic control of the industry, where they do belong. The mine manager will be able to turn his face away from the business office and direct his full attention to the getting out of coal. In the past, the "good" manager has too often been forced to be a Labor "squeezor," cutting rates to prove his efficiency. The good manager of the future will be ranked by his skill in coal-production and in the sound organization of work. Administrators, instead of wage haggling and market-juggling, will administer.

The considerations in wage determination are these:

1. The establishment of a national basic wage.
2. The wage as the first charge against the industry.
3. The differentials for risk, difficulty, skill.
4. The local conditions of yardage, timbering, rockfalls, dirt, faults.
5. The determination not to rest on emotional appeal, nor class warfare, but on measurement.

With unification of the industry the apparently innumerable variables of local wage conditions will fall within like general limits as workmen's compensation and life insurance.

Administration

The job of administration is to do. Administration means a National Mining Council. This council will be made up of three kinds of members. One group will be the administrative heads of the industry—financial, technical, managerial. One group will be the miners. The third group will represent the coal consumers, the consumers in other allied industries, and the community. There will be regional councils for the various large coal fields, such as the central competitive and the tide water districts, the anthracite, the southwest, and so forth. These district councils will be made up on the same threefold lines of local executives, miners and consumers.

In the mine or group of mines there will be mine committees. Their function is advisory. The mine is conducted by the mine manager.

The National Mining Council appoints the mine managers, in consultation with the regional councils. The mine manager will have the authority of his position.

Collective Bargaining

Any plan of nationalization of the coal mines must include the safeguarding of the union and collective bargaining. The prime cause of Labor disputes is removed by nationalization in the elimination of the profit motive. Nevertheless, such questions as the division of the annual product and rates of pay for the various grades of work, and the conditions of the working place, will always remain. So it will be necessary to provide a special and separate machinery for collective bargaining. This machinery will be the same joint conference between miners and directors of the industry as has always existed in union fields. Without this the workers would be almost as well off under the old system. The miners will be nominated by the United Mine Workers of America.

In other words, the United Mine Workers of America under nationalization will not only participate in administration, but must in addition maintain its own life and integrity as "an independent organization of initiative and defense." It must be in a position to discuss wages through the Wage Scale Committee—an independent joint conference board. This is the same right which workers under consumers' cooperation enjoy.

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:-: MAUD DAVIS WALKER PASSES :-:

SOCIALISTS and their friends were profoundly shocked last Saturday upon learning that Maud Davis Walker, wife of Ryan Walker, met her death in a railroad accident while on her way to see her husband in the Polyclinic Hospital in New York City.

Comrade Walker had been in ill health for months but had continued his work on the Daily Graphic as director of the art department until his condition required that he submit to an operation. A slight relapse during his convalescence induced his wife, who had visited him every day, to start early Saturday morning, when the accident happened at the Great Notch Station of the Erie Railroad.

Mrs. Walker had frequently contributed book reviews to the New York Call and The New Leader and had contributed to other publications. Ryan Walker is widely known in this country because of cartoons on Labor questions, and his work is also greatly appreciated in England, Australia, and New Zealand. Devoted to the Socialist movement, he and his wife have always been recognized as the highest type of which the movement is proud.

The funeral services were held on the lawn under the trees of their home in Great Notch, their simplicity being in keeping with the ideals of Ryan and his wife. With the

casket strewn with flowers, three poems of Walt Whitman were read by Dr. Keeler, who, with James O'neal, made short addresses. Comrade Walker was carried to the lawn by friends and again to the car, and accompanied his wife to the cemetery.

The State Committee of the Socialist Party of New York and Socialist friends sent flowers. Among

with their sorrows, privations, insecurity and social barriers, would be no more. To the extent that she could build that future she built.

"It was her rich experience to associate her ideals with a prince among men, her husband, our friend, Comrade, and lover of mankind, Ryan Walker. Their rare spiritual kinship, union of ideals, affectionate companionship and nobility of pur-

pose, measured or weighed. Such a life is a social heritage of the present and future, and in union with similar lives they form a stream that gathers all that is good and noble and conserves it for the happiness of mankind. It were better to be a relative or friend of such a one who has passed from us than to be with one whose soul never quickened to the tragedies of life, or

MAUD HELENA DAVIS WALKER

By EUGENE V. DEBS

THERE has seldom come to me a message so painful and shocking in the news, it contained as the one announcing the cruel and tragic death at Great Notch, New Jersey, of Maud Helena Davis, beloved wife of Ryan Walker, the widely-known Socialist and cartoonist.

How blind and pitiless the fates are in dealing their crushing and unsuspected blows, and how often their victims are among the sweetest, finest, and tenderest of earth!

Ryan and "Maudie" Walker were ideal lovers. They perfectly adored each other. Every hour of their life was "jewelled with a joy." Two braver hearts, two sweeter spirits, two finer souls, I have never known.

We were long together at Girard, Kansas, in the days of the old Appeal. We spent hours and hours in the beautiful companionship that has ever since been a treasured memory.

In the evening, though they were doing only "light housekeeping," "Maudie" always had something in the way of a surprise on her little pantry shelf, and her hospitality knew no bounds. She had beauty, brilliancy, wit that flashed from her sparkling eyes, and a winsomeness, kindness and abounding good nature that won and held for her the love and admiration of the whole community.

And now this beautiful creature, this noble-hearted woman, this adored wife and adorable Comrade, lies

cold and stark in her newly-made grave. Standing at the railway station, awaiting eagerly, impatiently, the train to New York where her beloved husband was to undergo a critical operation at a hospital, she was struck down by the rushing train, her fair flesh was mangled and bespattered with her own precious blood, and within a twinkling her radiant and beautiful young life was snuffed out and her great white soul winged its way to the farther shore.

How weak, how very feeble, words are in an hour of such heart-breaking and soul-sickening bereavement! Ryan Walker, the supreme artist, idealist and dreamer; the lover of and the sympathizer with the lowliest of earth; the friend of the friendless; the refuge of the weary and heavy-laden, who never harmed a living creature but knew only how to be kind and gentle and to extend a helping hand wherever it was needed, stricken by a cruel fate, lies helpless at a hospital after a critical operation, and in this agonizing hour the news comes, the cruel and terrible news, that his adored "Maudie," speeding to his bedside with anxious, aching heart, is struck down and her precious life crushed out and brought to its tragic end by the very train that was to bear her with her comforting presence to the relief of her stricken and suffering husband!

Words fail here and the heart stands still.

As these lines are written, Maud Walker, the beautiful and beloved wife, sister, Comrade and friend, is being laid to rest, but her radiant spirit will remain undimmed, her noble personality will abide, and her brave, inspiring example will remain a blessed memory to the world.

the Socialists present were John McMahon, Bruce Calvert, W. W. Passage and wife, William M. Feigenbaum, Ben Belsky, William Nudelman and wife, and James O'neal and daughter.

At the lawn services James O'neal spoke as follows:

"We who are gathered here on this sad occasion with friends and relatives of she who sleeps before us find it difficult to give utterance to what we feel. Those who were privileged to know Maud Davis Walker as a tender friend also came to know of her universal sympathy for those in distress. She knew no barriers of caste or artificial distinctions that impose on mankind. She was intensely human.

"The afflicted never appealed to her in vain. Although childless, she mothered the children of all men. The human derelicts cast up by a maladjusted civilization made her conscious of the kinship of all humanity. She watched and waited, worked and hoped, and dreamed of a day when social maladjustments,

pose, made their home a Mecca for those who knew it. Their affection was not circumscribed by the bounds of family and personal friends; it embraced all mankind. Their hearts leaped with sympathy and understanding for those less fortunate than themselves.

"Our departed friend and Comrade united her will with the will of others who also had a vision of the race as one human family, and in that union with others of like vision she realized a forecast of the future that will yet bless mankind.

"I have said that she was childless, but no deeper or more affectionate motherhood can come to woman than that which includes all childhood within its range. Maud Davis Walker experienced this. Thwarted childhood appealed to her, and the cry of her sisters, drawn into the sordid vortex of greed, vexed her sensitive soul and made her shrink from the moral disaster that often awaits them.

"Such a life is never lost. Neither can its influence for good be separated from the onward march of the

whose zest for its joys never awakened.

"It was my good fortune to know both husband and wife and to also share something of the vision that sustained them. The rich heritage of both in word and deed will one day appear in the fraternity and brotherhood which they visioned in the wider family that is to be. Surely this is some consolation for such a loss and the memory of it will tend to soften a shock otherwise difficult to bear.

"Our last tribute, our last wish, is, may we be worthy of her confidence, her affection, her rare life, and may she sleep well."

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Solving the Coal Problem

Tragedy in One Act

PLACE: Smoking compartment of sleeper plying between Chicago and St. Louis.

TIME: Between 7:50 and 11:30 p. m.

CHARACTERS: First Traveling Salesman.
Second Traveling Salesman.
Intellectual.
Tired Business Man.
Very Tired Business Man.
Innocent Bystander.
Old Lady in upper two.
George, a Negro Porter.

FIRST TRAVELING SALESMAN: "Wow! hasn't this been a scorcher?"
Second Traveling Salesman: "I'll tell the world it was."

Intellectual (looking up from his paper): "It ain't the heat but the humidity that makes it so hot around here."

Tired Business Man: "Whatta mean, humidity?"

Intellectual: "The moisture that's in the air."

Tired Business Man: "If that's so, how come that rain makes air cooler?"

Very Tired Business Man: "The way I look at this humidity business, there ain't a thing to it. I just come back from Northern Wisconsin. There are more lakes up there than you can shake a stick at an' if humidity makes it hot, how can people go there to cool off?"

Intellectual: "Search me."

First Traveling Salesman: "Well, if those blamed miners go on a strike, we won't have to worry about humidity next winter, one way or the other."

(Innocent Bystander, sitting on wash stand, perks up both ears.)

Intellectual (looking up from his paper): "I see the White Sox lost another game."

Third Business Man: "If I had my way, I'd shoot every n one of them Bolsheviks."

Intellectual: "I always said if the White Sox hadn't sold—"

Very Tired Business Man: "The trouble with them miners is they don't know what they want."

First Traveling Salesman to Second Salesman: "That real stuff you told me I could get at Bauernfanger's old place on Washington Street is nothing but spiked beer."

Tired Business Man: "Well, I should worry about spiked beer. I make better beer right at home than any brewery ever dared to put out."

CHORUS (in unison): So do I.

Intellectual (looking up from his paper): "Say, do any of you fellows know a river in South America with seven letters?"

Tired Business Man: "Watcha gotta watch is to bottle it just at the right time."

Second Traveling Salesman: "If them miners had saved their money they wouldn't have to strike. I've heard of one of them fellows, what's a hunkie, too, who made three hundred dollars in one week, and that's better than educated men like us are doing."

Very Tired Business Man: "I filter mine through a felt hat an' it comes out clear as a whistle, but you've got to boil the hat first."

Intellectual (looking up from his paper): "I said right away when the White Sox sold—"

First Traveling Salesman: "I bought a case of Old Crow for sixty bucks, but somebody must a monkeyed with it because it hadn't as much kick in it as my home brew."

Intellectual (looking up from his paper): "Talking about monkeys, do any of you guys know anything about this Evolution business?"

Tired Business Man: "The way I look at Evolution, the less we say about it the better it will be. The way I look at this proposition, it disturbs business."

Very Tired Business Man: "Oh, I don't know, Dayton didn't do so bad at it."

Tired Business Man: "Well, I ain't thinking of Dayton, I'm thinking about business in general."

Intellectual (looking up from paper): "Speaking of generals, reminds me that it says here, that General Andrews, who is in charge of prohibition enforcement in Washington, fired five hundred enforcement officers for being in cahoots with bootleggers."

First Traveling Salesman: "Serves 'em good and right. Them's the guys who are responsible for me paying sixty bucks for a case of Old Crow—that hadn't no more kick in it than my home brew. My bootlegger said—"

Intellectual (looking up from paper): "Talking about legs, here's a piece about a switchman who is suing the Alton for fifty thousand dollars for losing one leg."

Second Traveling Salesman: "It's a good thing that switchman wasn't a centipede and lost all of his legs—he'd sure bust the Alton."

Very Tired Business Man: "The trouble with Labor is them fellows don't know where to stop. Now, you take them miners, for instance. What do they want to strike for when they ain't got any work anyhow? If I had my way, I'd have every one of them agitators shot before—"

Intellectual (looking up from paper): "Say, do any of you guys know what a shot firer is?"

CHORUS: "No."

Intellectual: "Not me."

Intellectual: "Search me."

Intellectual: "Whatta bout it?"

Intellectual: "Well, it says here that over two thousand shot firers were killed in the coal mines last year."

First Traveling Salesman: "Serves 'em right. I guess them's the guys that done all the shooting around Herrin."

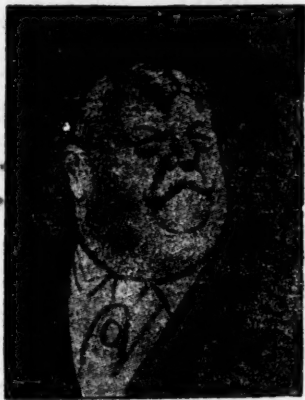
CHORUS: Thasso.

George (entering smoking compartment): Genn'men, the old lady in upper two says you must keep quiet o' she's complain to the conductor."

First Traveling Salesman (getting hot under the collar): "Get out of heah. In the section of the country where ah come from, we don't allow any niggers to tell white gentlemen to shut up."

(Exit George.)

HOW TO CURE WORLD UNREST



No. 7
JOHN B. GRAB.

Salt Lake City, Utah.—John B. Grab, a well-known financier of this city, has given out an interview on Labor problems and the cure for widespread discontent. Mr. Grab advocates "Labor At Homes" one day in the week, when the workers can visit the homes of "the best people" and look at the carpets, chairs, chandeliers, wood-work and all the other beautiful things which they have produced.

The Forerunners of Robert Owen

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION: As we have seen in the preceding chapter, it was revolutionary France of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries that produced the greatest of the Utopian Socialists. France, however, was not the only country to make its contribution to this important school of social thinkers. England followed, with Robert Owen as its most conspicuous example.

But between the ends of the seventeenth century, where we left England earlier in our book, and the days of Robert Owen many men of fine social idealism and far-reaching social vision appeared in England and added their mite to the Communist and Socialist philosophies of their day. This was inevitable. For it must not be forgotten that while France was passing through its spectacular and bloody revolutionary period, a revolution of even greater importance to the industrial life of the world—the great Industrial Revolution—had been going on steadily, relentlessly, grimly, in the British Isles. And the history of Utopian Socialism and of the later Socialist movement would be indeed incomplete without a brief review of the developments in that period.

Controversy Between Natural and Civil Law Continues: The England of the eighteenth century necessarily inherited much from the social philosophies of the preceding centuries. Among other things it became the heir to the controversy regarding the relative advantages of the State of Nature and the State of civil law. This, in the nature of the case, carried with it the discussion of Communism vs. Individualism.

Pope, Reconciler: In the early days of the eighteenth century, in the period before the Industrial Revolution, a number of noted scholars entered the arena of debate for and against the Communist point of view. One of the first to oppose Communist conceptions was the poet Alexander Pope (1678-1744). In his "Essay on Man" (1734), Pope tried to reconcile the two states of society and to show that the unrestrained character of men's nature made an ordered society under civil law a necessity. Men, he declared, should take a lesson from the ants, "how those in common all their wealth bestow, and anarchy without confusion know." They learned "Order is heaven's first law; and this confessed,

"Some are, and must be, greater than the rest,
More rich, more powerful."

Edmund Burke: Edmund Burke (1729-1799), the British statesman, thoroughly alarmed at the growing discontent of his period, also entered the lists of combatants against Communism. In his "Vindication of Natural Society" (1756), which was supposedly written by an upholder of the natural State, Lord Boling-

Tired Business Man: "That all comes from them d-m-d Labor agitators. If I had my way I'd shoot every one of them dirty stuffs what refused to go down in the mine."

Innocent Bystander (sitting on wash stand): "Have any of you gentlemen ever worked in a coal mine?"

CHORUS (in unison): "Not me."

Intellectual: "Whatcha take me for?"

Intellectual: "Who do you think I am?"

Intellectual: "I wouldn't go down there for a thousand."

CHORUS: "for a million dollars."

Very Tired Business Man: "I guess we better turn in and settle the coal problem some other day."

CHORUS: "Guess so."

Intellectual (looking up from paper): "If the White Sox hadn't sold—"

broke, Burke attempts, through his superb irony, to demonstrate the absurdity of the arguments advanced in behalf of the natural State and the Communist form of society, and to bring home to social reformers that their agitation was bound to lead to revolution. But he presented the indictment which was then being brought against the society of the day with such force and incisiveness that the book created a most disturbing effect on many of the conservatives of the times.

Blackstone and Adam Smith: Other noted opponents of the natural State of that period were the great legal authority, William Blackstone (1723-1780) and the classical economist, Adam Smith (1723-1790). Blackstone, presupposing a primitive Communism, declared that private property was demanded to guard individuals in their peace and security. The economist, Smith, though holding that "in the original state of things... the whole produce of labor belongs to the laborer," took the position that the improvements in production stimulated by private ownership sufficiently justified the guardian of such ownership—the civil Government.

Wallace, Forerunner of Malthus: While distinguished economists, statesmen and lawyers were calling attention to the virtues of private property, moralists were busy pointing out its iniquities. One of these was Robert Wallace, the progressive preacher of the Royal Chapel of Edinburgh. In his "Various Aspects," Wallace drew a strong indictment against private property, on the ground that it rendered great numbers of poor the slaves and the beasts of burden of the rich; that, on the one hand, it led to overwork, and on the other to idleness, and that it did nothing to advance morality. These evils, he maintained, could only be remedied by the abolition of private property.

However, it must be admitted that there were a number of obstacles to the attainment of a Communist State. The powerful minority could oppose any radical change, and only in time of revolution could men be lifted to a state of enthusiasm and a spirit of sacrifice sufficiently great to bring about the transition. Or a new order would have to be introduced by means of small, successful Communist experiments, led by men of exceptional ability and demonstrating the truths of Communism. But the chief obstacles to a Communist State would be the problem of over-population. Under Communism, men would incur no inconvenience in bringing up large families. The main check to the growth of population in the past would thus be thrown aside, and the population would then press so hard on the means of subsistence as to lead to a return of poverty. In this argument Wallace laid the foundation for the Malthusian doctrine, a doctrine which did yeoman service for the conservative forces of the country.

Archbishop Paley Gives a Parable: More vigorous than Wallace in his criticism of individualism was Archbishop William Paley (1743-1805). In his picturesque indictment of the immorality of private property, the Archbishop declared:

"If you should see a flock of pigeons in a field; and if (instead of each picking where and what it liked, taking just as much as it wanted, and no more) you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they got into one heap, reserving nothing for themselves but the chaff and the refuse, keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest, perhaps worst, pigeon of the flock, sitting round and looking on all the winter, whilst this one was devouring and throwing about and wasting it; and if one pigeon were hardy or hungry than the rest touched a grain of the hoard, all the others instantly flying upon it and tearing it to pieces; if you should see this, you would see nothing more than what is every day practised and established among men."

He agreed, however, with Adam

Smith that private ownership possessed certain counteracting advantages, among them the increase of productivity and the improvement in the conveniences of life.

The Industrial Revolution Blackens England: Archbishop Paley was the last of the school of social thinkers in England who were writing in terms of the days before the Industrial Revolution. Indeed, while the noted clergyman was setting forth the misery of the British people, great and impressive changes had already begun as a result of the significant inventions of the period 1760 onward. Factories were springing up in every part of England, and wealth was accumulating "beyond all credibility;... and there," as Wadsworth puts it,

"Where not a habitation stood before,
Abodes of men irregularly massed
Like trees in forest—spread through
spacious tracts,
Or which the smoke of unrelenting
fires
Hangs permanent, and plentiful as
weaths
Of vapor glittering in the morning
sun."

Until 1806 wages were high and employment plentiful. Then came unemployment and depreciation of Labor. To adjust society to the great changes in the economic structure, "peace, watchfulness and social reform were necessary. Instead of which came war, repression of the discontented elements, suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, high treason trials, indiscriminate poor relief, and Malthus population theory as a salve to the agitated conscience of the nation."

Influence of Locke and Bentham: The Industrial Revolution and its immediate aftermath brought inevitably in its wake a group of Socialist and Communist thinkers. Some of them based their radical conclusions on the philosophic premises laid down by Bentham. Locke, declared his Socialist followers, showed that common possession was natural. From this it follows that private property is unnatural, and should be abolished. Locke stated that Labor was the title to property or wealth. If this be so, all deductions from the produce of Labor in the form of rent, interest and profit are contrary to law. Nature, including human nature, is governed, maintained Locke, by divine laws. Therefore, all reform should be directed to the restoration of, or be in harmony with, natural law.

The Socialist followers of Bentham, who, for a time, supplanted Locke, argued from a somewhat different angle. Bentham had held that the real test of governments or other social institutions was: Do these institutions lead to the greatest good to the greatest number? The system of private property, the Socialists stated, does not pass this test, for under it the mass of people are doomed to misery. It does not lead to security, for the worker is never secure in his product, but is compelled constantly to divide it up with the capitalist and the landlord. Common ownership is the only alternative.

Spence, Single Taxer: Who were some of the fundamental thinkers of the late eighteenth and period of the Industrial Revolution? Roughly speaking, they were divided into the agrarian reformers, forerunners of our single taxers, and the Communist and Socialist writers.

Of the former group, Thomas Spence (1750-1814), William Ogilvie (1736-1813), and Thomas Paine (1737-1809) were the principal figures. Spence, a Scotch schoolmaster, originator of the Single Tax reform, was the first of this group. During his days as an obscure school teacher, the corporations of Newcastle, Durham and other cities enclosed the commons, rented it out for agricultural purposes, and divided the rent between the members of the corporation to the exclusion of the freemen. The latter brought action against the corporations, demanding

(Continued on Page 8.)

Some Real History

Bourgeois Bed Time Stories

WE ARE all cheered up, boys and girls. We are in receipt of a letter from our friend Judge Ryckman, who says that he liked our piece in The New Leader about Dayton.

Praise from Judge Ryckman is praise indeed. We would rather have the letter from the Judge than a bottle of pre-war Scotch, and that is saying a lot.

We don't want anyone to suffer under the impression that the Judge is an ancient. To be sure, he has lived since long before Clarence Darrow and he practiced law in Chicago, and for those who do not know him he may seem to be what is politely known as an "elderly gentleman."

But as a matter of fact the Judge is far younger in heart and mind than the slickest and most sophisticated sophomore in the Dayton High School, and if we ever grow old, which God forbid, we want to grow old just the way the Judge has grown old. He lives in Los Angeles, the "City of (Fallen) Angels," where the realtors reign triumphant and the boosters are galore. And in spite of this he keeps his sanity and sense of humor and is head of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Civil Liberties Union and is ready at any time to slide down the pole when the alarm goes out that a Comrade is in trouble. Furthermore, he can write English with a precision and beauty of style that might well make a fancy magazine writer turn green with envy. And invariably he writes for unpopular causes.

One of our pet projects is to have leisure and money enough to write a book called "Heroes and Heroines of the Labor Movement" in which we would celebrate the careers of men and women who, like Judge Ryckman, have given of their brains, energy, and fine ability, to help the underdog. We would have some snappier title than that on our book but it gives you the idea.

Instead of hymning the praises of Brass Hats and Stuffed Shirts, as do the bulk of our public school history books, we would tell the kids about real folks who have done real things to make this a better world. There wouldn't be a soldier in the book, nor a statesman, nor a successful merchant. Instead, we would write about the life and deeds of Judge Ryckman, Oscar Ameringer (who is Adam Coaldigger, and whose services for humanity make an amazing and colorful American epic), Gene Debs, of course, and Victor Berger. And there would be women in the book—Freda Hogan, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Bertha Mailly, to name but a few of those to whom our hat is off for the brave work they have done to make this country liveable.

When we were up at Manumit the other day, Bill Finck told us that there were no books of this sort to be had and that the real heroes of America were for the most part ignored by the capitalist historians.

Jim Oneal has done his part to make permanent the record of outstanding American Laborites, but there is still need of a book for the children of the workers that will make men and women such as I have mentioned above as well worth emulating as George Washington, Admiral Dewey, and Theodore Roosevelt.

How many school children today are told the magnificent story of the life of Wendell Phillips, the colorful career of Tom Paine, the struggles and successes of William Lloyd Garrison?

The lives of these men, devoted as they were to the common weal, are far more fascinating than the rattle-trap existences of men of "blood and iron." To be sure they waged no triumphant battles, nor did they wade through the blood of their fellow men. But they fought the good fight for decency and withstood the persecution and scorn of a world of go-getters and "successes."

Judge Ryckman, Bob Boynton, and I played around together down at Dayton, and I am here to state that you can go the world over and not find two more lovable companions than Boynton and the Judge. Here are two civilized men with a burning hatred for bigotry and intolerance and the courage to show that hatred under any and all circumstances.

All three of us felt that Clarence Darrow's apology to Judge Raulston, when the latter held the Chicago lawyer in contempt of court, was uncalled for. Now I know in my heart that if it had been Judge Ryckman who had been in contempt there would have been no apology from the two-fisted fighter for tolerance. Many a time and oft has the Judge been in contempt in cases that he has tried for the oppressed workers on the Coast and never so far as I know has he bowed before the judicial thunderings.

When you consider what an insane asylum this world of ours is and how much time you have to spend with its worst cases, it is a relief to run into men like Ryckman and Boynton and agree with Browning when he said "Grow old along with me; The best is yet to be."

McAlister Coleman.

THE ITINERANT REPORTER

Say, boss, can you give me a job?

I'm fairly good, I guess.

One time I worked with Munsey

On the New York Press.

Oh, yes, I've had experience,

And many's the yarn I've spun.

I also worked with Munsey

On the New York Sun.

I won't say that I was a star

Nor wore a royal robe;

But I did have a job with Munsey

On the New York Globe.

You say the staff is full up—

Well, I'll be kittin' the trail.

But remember, I worked with Munsey

On the New York Mail.

I then joined up with the Herald,

And that was a terrible jam.

And, let's see—I worked with Munsey

On the New York Telegram.

WHAT ARE THE WILD MEN SAYING?

ROCKAWAY BEACH has gone quite crazy. Fortunes—on paper—have been made in ten minutes and greater fortunes in ten minutes more.

The streets have become curb markets and men and women mill around all day yelling and shrieking like so many lunatics. Out of that Bedlam people think they are "making" money; out of that Bedlam will come a magnificent community headache, if it has not already come by the time these words appear.

Little bits of sand lots normally used as beds upon which to lay out clam shells in attractive patterns as front gardens to bungalows are now being peddled around as if they were located at Broadway and Forty-seventh street. Local booster patriots are talking about convention halls holding 10,000 people, about huge theatres, palatial hotels to compete with those of Atlantic City and apartment houses like those of Park avenue. Nothing small about their delirium!

Creating "Land Values"

It's a great pipe dream, but meanwhile little men and women are milling around on the street yelling "Three for ten!" and industriously thinking they are creating land values by writing worthless checks for fictitious land corporations.

It is all so simple—and so insane. The Rockaways have a wonderful ocean front beach—about six miles from Neponsit to Far Rockaway. Although not within a five-cent fare the whole stretch of beach is within easy reach of the city. The Rockaways have grown up something like the old Coney Island—that is, crazily, with a swarm of vermin each trying to make his little profit out of the people's need for a breath of fresh air. Since the beaches are not quite so accessible as Coney, wealthier people—a "better class" of people, as we democratic snobs call them—have patronized Rockaway and the noise and shrieking and insanity that characterized Coney at its worst have not been so bad here. But just the same, Rockaway has grown up crazily, each section and subdivision, for itself.

As Coney Used to Be

Coney Island used to be like that, only infinitely worse. Then came Borough President Riegelmann with his plans for the Boardwalk to improve Coney, to raise its tone, to increase the value of its real estate. Over the protests of the concessionaires, each of whom was interested in his little segment of beach and his strategic position to fleece the people, the Boardwalk was built, and a beautiful thing it is, too. But just as little real estatists and concessionaires began to lick their chops in happy anticipation of increased values and earning power (created by the people who come there), lo and behold! it was discovered that practically the whole Boardwalk front, with its immensely valuable sites for restaurants and amusement parks and hot dog stands, was nailed down and in the hands of a realty company with which this same Riegelmann was connected! Now, since Riegelmann has since become a Supreme Court Judge, to draw the obvious conclusions might be construed as contempt of court, so we'll let that pass.

But the Rockaways have voters as well as Brooklyn. Rockaway realtors have political influence no less than Coney Island realtors, and they are as hungry for profits. Why shouldn't Rockaway follow Long Beach and Coney Island and undertake to back Atlantic City and Miami off the map?

A Judge In the Making?

No sooner thought of than—thought of. A local Gang Assemblyman, who is a realtor in addition to being a statesman, undertook to get authorization for a boardwalk along the six miles of Rockaway ocean front—and incidentally to make a little money for himself. Maybe when the boardwalk is built he will be elevated to the Supreme Court, too, and to criticize him may then become contempt of court.

MAX WOLFF
OPTOMETRIST AND OPTICIAN
526 W. 125 St., Bet 5th and St. Nicholas Aves.

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

**WHITE
LILAC
TEA**

At All Grocers. 10c a Package

Rockaway Real Estate Booms and Draws A Miniature Picture of Our Entire System

Now, there are a lot of little business men and would-be business men and women who live in the Rockaways. They read "success" literature. They hear every day about Mr. Bryan's real estate operations in Miami and Benjamin Winter's operations on Fifth avenue and how money is doubled overnight by the proper kind of manipulation, and how everything is booming. They read the ads in the papers of new model automobiles and furcoats and wonderful ocean trips and money—easy money—seems oh! so desirable.

What more do you want than just such a situation? A whole community "sold" with the idea of cheap, vulgar, money success as the only thing in life worth while; a boardwalk about to be built—dreams of instant skyrocketing of land (or sand) values. And then nothing is needed but a spark to touch it off.

Picture Another Monte Carlo

At Rockaway, everyone was dreaming that the Boardwalk would increase land values and make them rich; everyone was talking about it and building castles in the air. It needed but one spark to set them off, and the lunacy began. One sale of a lot at a big profit—one considerable profit on a resale, one man to boast that he had "made" a thousand or a million or a billion—it really doesn't matter which. And everyone went crazy.

The details are pretty well known by now to all newspaper readers. Men and women bought and sold like so many wild people. They became hysterical, crazed, with the idea of quick profits, huge fortunes made overnight. At first business was more or less "legitimate." Cash was paid, deeds were signed, profits

were substantial. But as the insanity grew, people paid one-tenth as deposit and sold at a paper profit, taking another tenth as deposit. So a "profit" of a thousand might easily have been only \$100.

Soon the indicated fictitious values of lots became so great that even the vast hoped-for prosperity that the projected boardwalk is expected to bring would hardly support them in the style to which they hope to become accustomed. So instead of cottages, the lunatics began to dream of hotels and convention halls and huge theatres, and to talk big accordingly. In their mind's eyes they had already built a Miami, a Monte Carlo, a Lido.

Piling Up The profits

Meanwhile the Assemblyman-Realtor who started everything by making a fight for the Boardwalk is

said to have cleaned up a million and a half, but don't talk out loud because in a few months this noble statesman will want to write a nice, conservative income tax statement. Other men have made several millions actually in cash. Others have made a few thousands or even hundreds of thousands. But many, many others have "bought" land and "sold" it without even a deed to prove it, without a transfer of title, without even a valid check to bind the operation.

Of course, everyone "buys" a lot hoping to sell it to someone who expects to sell it to someone who expects to sell it at a big profit. But someone sometimes will have to stop buying and selling, and build, and get the benefits of the Boardwalk crowds. By that time the prices of land will have become so enormously high that after "paying" rents, in

ures are derived? If the statistics are not available, then perhaps you can inform me where I can obtain the information I desire.

Fred Shulman.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Government report on this matter is found in "Intelligence Ratings," October, 1918, being Chapter X of the "Personal Manual." Whether copies are still available we do not know. The book by R. M. Yerkes and C. S. Yankum entitled "Army Mental Tests," New York, 1920, considers the question in detail. C. Brigham's "American Intelligence" may also be consulted. Chapter X of Case's "Non-Violent Coercion" is an excellent survey of the army tests while Professor Barnes in his "The New History and the Social Studies" (pp. 150-152) gives a brief though valuable presentation of the matter. The chapter in Professor Case's book is the best that we have seen and we especially recommend it. An interesting fact brought out by the army tests is that Socialists and other objectors to the war had the highest intelligence ratings while those who submitted like sheep had the lowest.

order to make a profit on whatever will be for sale, prices for food in restaurants, amusements in the theatres, lockers and rooms in bathing houses, and the rent of bungalows, rooms and suites in hotels will have to be so huge that no one but the wealthiest will be able to afford to enjoy it. And so the goose that laid the platinum eggs will be found to have been killed and cooked.

When the Bubble Bursts

"But it will never get so far. When the bubble bursts (if it hasn't already burst when this issue of The New Leader appears) it will be found that the vast majority of the 'purchases' on the streets in front of real estate offices have been invalid, without deeds, without proof of the passing of titles. And so it is likely that the vast majority of the parcels will return to their original owners—or more probably to the Realtor-Statesman or some other firm of big real estate gamblers. And the people who dreamed of wealth and cars and independence and fur wraps and trips to Florida and box seats at the Follies will wake up with a big katzenjammer, cleaned out—their dreams ashes and an ache in their hearts. The big operators will clean up and add their huge profits to the prices that visitors to the Boardwalk will have to pay. And then we'll go along, making profits at a normal, natural rate until the next insanity.

A lot of people are kidding themselves that they are going to get rich. A lot more are having a great time laughing at the yaps who think that they will get rich out of this insanity. But after all, what is it but the natural process of our thriving industrial system—just speeded up a bit? Huge profits made on others' labor, the toll being paid by those who get nothing for it, the gain won by those who merely own pieces of paper—or at best, those who display the low cunning of gamblers and manipulators, adding nothing whatever to the value of that which they buy and sell.

A lot of people are laughing at the lunatics who mill around on the streets screaming meaningless words and thinking that by doing that they are making money. But what is it but an accurate picture on a small scale of Wall Street and the Stock Exchange? What is it but a picture of our whole industrial system?

The New Leader Mail Bag.

A Letter from Comrade Panken
Editor, The New Leader:

The following letter from Comrade Jacob Panken will be of interest to your readers.

Morris Berman.
Pleasantville, N. Y.

Dear Folks:

I spent last evening with the Breitscheids. They asked me to remember them to you.

I had a very interesting talk with "der Hearn Doktor." The Party in Germany is in wonderful state. You will be surprised to know that, though the economic conditions of the country is in a woeful state, the Party has all the funds it can possibly use. There are 130 publications, most of them self-sustaining and some actually making big profits. At present the Party has 800,000 good-standing members. It is accounted for by the fact that the Communists are constantly losing.

Germany is very quiet. It seems that all the available funds were put into machinery and other frozen assets. So that they find themselves without fluid capital to carry on their industries. There are some here who believe that the economic depression is the result of a plan conducted by big industry to further reduce the standard of living of the workers. God knows that is low enough here. The wages, between 100 and 150 marks monthly, in the face of the fearful high cost of living, denies the workers meat more than once a week.

Still, Germany is sound—and is coming back. There is a bit of building going on here and there. I am leaving for Kovno today—just stayed only two days. I hope to return at the end of the week.

If you think it worth while, you can give so much of the information in this letter to The New Leader; it should be interesting for its readers.

Jacob Panken.
Berlin.

Anarchism and Socialism
Editor, The New Leader:

In your answer to a correspondent who recently protested against your sympathetic attitude toward the doctrine of Evolution, you stated that The New Leader "fights for free education in all fields . . . and will oppose the selection of any special doctrine, creed or science for State support."

Isn't your position here nearer to Anarchism than to Socialism, as ordinarily defined?

Isn't it generally understood by Socialists that the triumphant State (controlled by the workers, democratically organized) is to regulate not only industry, but a great many other human activities?

I know that you repudiate the Bolshevik dictatorship in Russia. But isn't it a fact that the Bolshevik leaders are Socialists? And haven't they endeavored to control education and religion, as well as industry?

Robert Marion.

New York City.

Our position of opposition to "the selection of any special doctrine, creed or science for State support" is not nearer to Anarchism than to Socialism. Anarchism seeks the abolition of the State. Socialism seeks to use it as one agency for Labor emancipation and to transform it into an organ for the service of all.

Bolshevik leaders are not Socialists and because they are not they call themselves Communists. They have endeavored to control education and religion by State power but they have compromised with religious organizations and that they have failed to control education and thinking is evident by the struggle of the Russian working class to get rid of the dictatorship.

The A. F. of L. Policy
Editor, The New Leader:

No doubt you have noticed that the capitalist newspapers have given the usual A. F. of L. Executive Council declaration on the subject of politics space on the front pages with headlines declaring that the American Federation was done with supporting third party movements, when, as a matter of fact, the A. F. of L. did not endorse the third party in 1924, but only its presidential candidate. Inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor has never endorsed any political party as such, it could not have ceased to endorse third parties, as those lying headlines imply. It could not have repudiated a position that it has never taken. I call attention to this matter, so that our comrades in the organized Labor movement may be urged to offset the advantage that old party heeled in the economic movement may take of capitalist newspaper misrepresentation. We hope that the time may speedily come when organized Labor will definitely resolve to take up independent political action, but in the meantime our comrades can show that the A. F. of L. has even endorsed Socialist candidates on occasion, and that the failure to follow our English cousins does not imply that organized Labor is any more committed to the Republican or Democrat party than to any third party, headlines to the contrary notwithstanding.

Herbert M. Merrill,
State Secretary, Socialist Party.
Albany, N. Y.

Intelligence Tests

Editor, The New Leader:
Can you furnish me with the figures representing the average mental and physical status of the American soldier, as found to be the case, during the period of the operation of the selective draft, and also the sources from whence these fig-

By JAMES ONEAL

The Conflict of Past and Present

A NATION ruled by corpses would be a ghastly theme for some novelist. Imagine the ruler of some nation rattling his bones in a swivel chair or a judge issuing a decree while his ancient skull is only partly concealed by a black cowl—lawyers, editors, politicians, clergymen and statesmen issuing from their tombs to expound their daily round of wisdom and crawling back after a day's work of imposing it upon the living.

However, something like this prevails in modern society. The man who votes a Republican ticket in the belief that it is the party of Lincoln has his conduct guided by dead men of the middle of the nineteenth century. The same thing is true of those who think of the Democratic party in terms of Andrew Jackson and his followers. Habits, customs, beliefs, traditions and prejudices associated with the dead of generations ago survive to guide the conduct of the living.

This is civilization ruled by the dead. The corpse does not have to appear on the scene but it is only necessary to imagine it reappearing to complete the picture of modern society. The minority of those who think are compelled to live in the society of ghosts and goblins that walk in the minds of the majority. Vast herds of human beings are thus possessed by the ideas of another age. They live in our century physically but mentally associate with the dead. For all practical purposes they are themselves dead and the great task of civilized men and women is to restore these dead to life.

It is the sway of the past over the living that leads to irrational conduct. How else can we explain the amazing conduct of wage workers who vote for parties and candidates that are clearly owned by capitalists, bankers and their kind? The tendency of so many human beings to follow a course of conduct that is against their own welfare has led many psychologists to claim that acceptance of non-rational beliefs must be considered as normal. This is to say that the dead rule the living.

The more human beings are guided by the goblins of the past the more certain are they that they are capable of answering all questions. One writer says that a person of this type "will have fairly settled ideas upon the origin and nature of the uni-

verse and upon what he will probably call its meaning. He will have strong views upon military and naval strategy, the principles of taxation, the use of alcohol and vaccination, the treatment of influenza, the prevention of hydrophobia, upon municipal trading, the teaching of Greek, upon what is permissible in art, satisfactory in literature, and helpful in science."

Just because he is certain that his goblins see all and know all he is suspicious of those who live and think in the modern age. He regards the modern man as an impious intruder among his ghosts and goblins. The herd turns upon the modern as a rebel against the most sacred things, but here and there the light breaks. A few are awakened from the sleep of the dead and desert the herd. Slowly the herd instincts break down and eventually they give way to modern ideas and a new civilization is born.

Then the process is repeated over again. The new civilization develops its problems and a new conservative herd appears to prevent any change. The ideas that once became modern now become ancient and are associated with the past. They, too, become ghosts and goblins, held sacred by the new herd. Again the dead rule the living and a new race of moderns is required to challenge the old taboos, customs, ideas, traditions and prejudices. So it goes in a tragic cycle of history, over and over again.

The question that faces every reader of this is: In what class do I belong? Am I one of the herd under the sway of the dead or one who lives in the present and looks forward to a better and nobler future?

So evident is this tendency in history that I have determined that if we realize the ideals of Socialism in my time, as soon as the new order is stabilized I shall join the new minority. There will be the same tendency to collect in herds and to venerate the ideas that brought Socialism and to protect them against all assault. New problems will appear that we cannot foresee and the old ideas will not be adapted to their solution. They will require a new outlook and this new outlook will come into conflict with the new herd traditions. The intellectual rebel is always the herald of progress. He always belongs to the living and I do not want to belong to the dead.

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the Emblem of
The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, A. B. of T.
Office
584 Hudson St., City.
Local 584 meets
on 3rd Thursday
of the month at
ANTURIA HALL,
62 East 4th St.
Executive Board
meets on the 2nd and
4th Thursdays at the
FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East
Broadway, Room 3.
F. J. STERNBERG, Pres. & Bus. Agent.
NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

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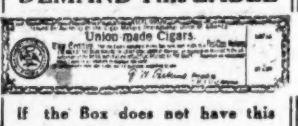
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The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148

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

DISTRICT COUNCIL MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Office: 3 WEST 16TH STREET
The Council meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday
The Board of Directors meet every 1st and 3rd Wednesday
R. GREENBERG, President. S. LEFKOVITS, Manager.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

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Office, 231 E. 14th Street
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 6 P. M.
Bronx—E. 187th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Halem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'klyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—78 Montgomery St.
SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary.

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LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.
130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 147.
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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.
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ED. GOTTESMAN, Sec'y-Treas.
L. D. BERGER, Manager
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Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 8 West 21st Street. Telephone 1748-Watkins.
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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117 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 1106-7
A. SNYDER, Manager
MOLLY LIFSHITZ, Secretary

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

120 East 25th St. Madison Square 1094
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7 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3887
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31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715
Telephone: Stuyvesant 6300-1-2-3-4-5
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

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Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10, A. C. W. A.
Office: 235 Bushwick Ave. Pulaski 3120
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Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
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Local 3, A. C. W. A.
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JOHN ZEICHNER, Chairman. CHARLES KLEINMAN, Secretary-Treasurer. OSSIP WALINSKY, General Manager.

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OF GREATER NEW YORK
Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Mark's Place. Phone Orchard 1200
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
LOUIS SMITH, President. MORRIS WALDMAN, J. KNAPPER ANNA HUSCANT, Treasurer, Fin. Sec'y.
HERMAN WIENER and JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

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Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
Downtown Office: 640 Broadway. Phone Spring 4548
Upper Office: 30 West 27th Street. Phone Fitzroy 1336
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening.
HYMAN LEDERMAN, J. MULINAK, Chairman, Sec. Board, Recording Secretary, Treasurer
ORGANIZERS: NATHAN SPECTOR, L. H. GOLDBERG, M. GOODMAN

By KATE R. O'HARE

THE Prison Labor Trust, and all of the flock of human vultures who share their spoils, justify the wrongs and abuses of prison labor for private profit by declaring that the exploitation of the convict is used to train him in useful labor and establish "habits of industry."

The whole theory that Labor is a curse and a suitable method of punishment is a falsehood, a vicious attitude of mind, and an insult to all who do useful and productive work. Labor is neither a curse nor a punishment, it is the very basic law of life. The man who creates lives physically, mentally and spiritually; grows into real manhood, and achieves genuine happiness to the extent he serves himself, his loved ones and the race. The idler, the parasite, and the human leech who lives by robbing others, is always undergoing a slow process of death and decay. His flabby body dies long before the undertaker removes it; his flaccid mind decays, and his soul is rotten long before the kindly earth hides his carcass away from the sight of men.

Prisoners Called Underfed

Normal, natural labor under sane and decent conditions is not punishment, it is life, but labor under prison conditions is death to the body, decay to the mind and damnation to the soul. Recent developments in modern psychology are demonstrating that there are three great urges whose normal expression and gratification makes possible all human progress, and whose unnatural repression and violation causes degeneracy. The first great urge is for food, which includes all physical comforts; the second is for mental expansion, which embraces all we call education and culture, and the third is the urge for love, which includes all of our emotional life from the most elemental sex

THE PRICE YOU PAY

The Revolting Conditions That Produce Prison-Made Garments

attraction to the highest religious expression. There is another vitally important urge, but of which psychologists have said little, possibly because they have not suffered its repression, and that is the desire for freedom of action.

Our prisons violate all these natural urges. Convicts are always hungry because they are chronically underfed; mentally starved because they are shut away from all normal human relations and denied opportunities for education or culture. Prisoners are not only always hungry, but they are prevented from earning their food by their labor, and they are robbed of the food for which the taxpayers pay by corrupt politicians. The State Legislature of Missouri appropriated more per day to feed each prisoner than I have ever spent to feed my four growing children, now all college students, yet my children have always been well nourished and the convicts in the Missouri State Penitentiary are always in a state of semi-starvation. And no decent citizen can escape the responsibility for the fact that 200,000 human beings in the United States are being starved into a state of animal ferocity, while at the same time these hungry, brutalized convicts are driven to inhuman labor as chattel slaves for the private profit of a few prisoner labor contractors and corrupt politicians.

A Picture By Gorky

Maxim Gorky, in his story of Russian working class life, "Mother," draws a vivid picture of the moral effects of slavish labor and underfeeding which should be read by every judge before pronouncing the penalty of "hard labor," and by every citizen when he is tempted to buy a prison-made garment. He says:

"In the evening, when the sun is setting and the red rays languidly glimmered upon the windows of the

houses, the factory ejected its people like burned out ashes. The servitude of hard toil was over for the day. The day had been swallowed up by the factory; the machines had sucked as much out of men's muscles, as much vigor, as it needed. The day was blotted from life, not a trace was left. The accumulated exhaustion of years robbed them of their appetites, and to be able to eat they drank long and deep, goading on their feeble, jaded stomachs with burning vodka. Exhausted with toil they drank deeply and swiftly, and in every heart there awoke and grew an incomprehensible, sickly irritation. It demanded an outlet. Clutching tenaciously at every pretext for unloading themselves of disquieting emotions, they fell upon each other for trifles with the spiteful ferocity of beasts, breaking into bloody quarrels which often led to serious injury, and even sometimes to murder. This lurking malice increased, inveterate as the incurable weariness of their bodies. They were born with this disease of the soul inherited from their fathers. Like a black shadow, it had accompanied them from the cradle to the grave, spurting on their lives to hideous crimes soul sickening in their aimless cruelty and barbarity."

The Price of A Prison-Made Garment

Our prison workshops are full of men and women sucked dry by the

vampires of the "task" and underfeeding, and they cannot be trained in useful labor under such conditions, nor can they acquire habits of industry. The work prisoners do in the prison workshops does not give them proper training for earning a living outside. When a prisoner has "pulled the task" for five years making garments he has not acquired training that is of the slightest use to him, for men do not make shirts, overalls, nor women's house dresses in free factories; this is always women's work. The months of slavish labor presumed to train him for useful, law-abiding life outside is worse than wasted for the criminal. The vicious "task" to which he has been driven by the most brutal punishment gives him no skill with which to earn a living. Driven and unpaid work never did, and never will, create self-respect, or respect for law or labor. Slavery never made an industrious man, nor brutal exploitation an efficient worker.

Weakened by slow starvation, sapped by confinement and bad air, bent by driven labor, broken by the lash and the dungeon, contaminated by consumption and venereal diseases, dressed in prison shoddy, penitence, consumed by hates and social grudges, the convict steps outside the prison gate to face the struggle for existence. Usually he is not strong enough to stand the test. He goes down in the struggle, drifts back into crime, and goes back to prison to be a perpetual expense to decent, law-abiding, taxpaying citizens, and a constant menace to free labor. And don't forget, Mr. Union Man, that all of this is a part of the price you pay when you buy a prison-made garment.

LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

Workers Massacred in Chile

That the strike of the workers in the nitrate plants of the Provinces of Tarapaca and Antofagasta last June was forced by the bosses, who were looking for a pretext to stamp out the trade unions in the interest of native and foreign capitalists, and that the Chilean Government sent in troops that deliberately shelled the strikers' encampments without warning, killing men, women and children, is the gist of a statement sent to President Alessandri by Luis V. Cruz, Secretary General of the Executive Committee of the Chilean Federation of Labor, demanding an official investigation and the liberation, or speedy trial, of the prisoners still in jail. The alleged excesses by the strikers, recounted with great detail to the newspaper men at the time of the massacre as justification for the bloody work of the troops, were of slight importance, not a nitrate plant being put out of commission and not a single soldier being killed. All the wild stories about Communists, one actually wearing a "uniform resembling a Russian costume," leading the uprising appear to have been made out of whole cloth, as it is asserted that the few real Communists in Chile are not foolish enough to think they could get away with an armed revolt and that the masses of the workers would not follow them even if they did. The charge that the strikers were influenced by Peruvian propaganda against Chile is also branded as a silly lie. The real reason for the repression is no doubt the fear of organized labor felt by the nitrate bosses, who seem to be powerful enough to use even a supposedly Liberal Executive like Alessandri for their ends. La Vanguardia of Buenos Aires printed a letter from Valparaiso on July 10 in which the Chilean authorities were charged with having taken a number of groups of "captured" strikers from the nitrate fields in the dead of night and placed them on board two cruisers in the Bay of Iquique, which steamed out to sea where the manacled prisoners were dropped overboard. The number of killed, wounded, exiled and imprisoned in this episode of the class war in Chile is estimated at 3,000.

Metal Workers for Peace
In connection with a conference in Wiesbaden of delegates of metal workers' unions from all over Europe on the Belgian strike situation, there was held on July 19 an international demonstration for

Russian Textile Strikers Win
According to a report from Moscow received by the Russian Social Democratic Committee in Berlin, the strike of the textile workers in the Central Russian industrial district has ended with a comparative victory for the men, wages having been raised to about 90 per cent of the pre-war figure. The operation of three looms, the institution of which was the original cause of the strike, will only be permitted in cases where the workers receive a material wage increase. (Continued on Page 9.)

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, 161 E. 151st St. Melrose 7490
CARL GRABHER, President.
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

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 STAG 2144. Office hours, 8 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 7 P. M. Room 14.
F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. N. Y. Tel. STAG 6738
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.
R. REISS, President.
S. FINE, Vice-President.
E. FRIEDMAN, Sec. Sec'y.
W. WENFIS, Financial Sec'y.
H. KALNIOFF, Bus. Agent.

FUR FLOOR WORKERS

UNION LOCAL 3, F. I. U. A. A.
Office and Headquarters, 349 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. N. Y. Tel. STAG 6738
Regular Meetings Every First and Third Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Thursday.
FRANK BARROSI, JAMES CARUSO, President, Secretary

NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7074
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Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union.

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LOCAL 15
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FUR NAILERS' UNION

LOCAL 10
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FUR CUTTERS UNION

LOCAL 1
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The Truth About EVOLUTION PLAINLY TOLD

IV. Proofs of Evolution

By DR. M. M. METCALF

WHO DR. METCALF IS:
(Dr. Maynard M. Metcalf is engaged in private research work at the Johns Hopkins University, specializing in zoology. From 1893 to 1914 he taught college zoology, first at Goucher, then at Oberlin College, at Oberlin, Ohio. He received his bachelor's degree at Oberlin, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Johns Hopkins University, and the degree of Doctor of Science at Oberlin. He has memberships and has held offices in the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Society of Zoologists, and numerous other scientific and economic societies. During the past year he has been chairman of the National Research Council. He is author of numerous books and articles on zoology and evolution.)

INTELLIGENT teaching of biology or intelligent approach to any biological science is impossible if the established fact of Evolution is omitted. Discussion of the methods by which Evolution has been brought about is less essential, but the fact of Evolution must be emphasized and the evolutionary point of view must be emphasized for any understanding of the growth of the universe, of the Earth, of plants or animals; for any proper grasp of the facts of structure or function of living bodies as involved in medicine and in animal and plant husbandry; psychology, whether of normal or diseased minds, must constantly remember the processes of evolution; human societies, with their diverse customs, are unintelligible without the facts of their origins and changes, their evolution.

Teaching in any field that deals with living things is disgracefully, yes, criminally, inadequate if it omits emphasis upon Evolution. An intelligent teacher could omit such emphasis only at the expense of his self-respect and of his moral integrity. Such teaching would be criminal malpractice just as truly as would a physician's failure to follow established sound methods of treatment because of fear of persecution by ignorant neighbors. For a teacher to fail to bear testimony to essential scientific truth is as unworthy, as cowardly, as essentially sinful as for a man to fail to stand by his religion.

"A Pivotal Truth In All Nature"

The fact of Evolution—of Man, of all living things, of the Earth, of the Sun, of the stars—is as fully established as the fact that the Earth revolves around the Sun. Change, growth, evolution, is a fundamental, a pivotal truth in all Nature. Those familiar with the phenomena of Nature testify with unanimity to this. The great mass of evidence of different sorts from different sources, when once seen, is overwhelmingly convincing to any normal, human mind. It can be only the uninformed who fail to accept Evolution as a fact established beyond doubt.

On the other hand, there is great uncertainty as to the method by which Evolution has been brought about. Many different factors have been in operation, among them probably the chief has been the mysterious intimate activities of the living substance itself, about which as yet we know so little. As to the numerous "causes" of evolution and their relative importance there are about as many varieties of opinion as there are students of Evolution. I am somewhat acquainted personally with nearly all the zoologists in America who have contributed extensively to the growth of knowledge in this field and I know many of the botanists and a goodly number of the geologists, and I doubt if any two of these put exactly the same relative emphasis upon all the numerous interacting "causes" of evolution. But of all these hundreds of men not one fails to believe, as a matter

Next Week: Organic Evolution from the Point of View of the Soil Investigator

By JACOB H. LIPMAN

of course, in view of the evidence, that evolution has occurred. . . .

Evolution Going On Today

Not only has evolution occurred; it is occurring today and occurring even under man's control. If one wishes a new vegetable or a new flower it is, within limits, true that he can order it from the plant breeder and in a few years he will produce it. Hundreds of new plants and animals have been and are being produced in this way. This is evolution of just the sort that has always occurred, only it is influenced by man's purpose. We can see evolution occurring in our experiment stations and our laboratories and we can control and modify the conditions of the experiments and can thus modify the resultant product to suit ourselves.

Evolution is a present observable phenomenon as well as an established fact of past occurring. The organisms produced by this present-day controlled evolution in our experiments are as divergent from one another and from the original stock as are animals and plants in Nature. The different kinds of domestic horses, produced by human experiment, differ far more than do the different kinds of horses found in Nature. Domestic fowl under man's control have evolved into a large number of kinds far more widely divergent than are the wild kinds in the genus Gallus from which our domestic chickens came. The genus Brassica, plants belonging to the mustard family, include a number of different sorts of plants. One of these, Brassica oleracea, is the ancestor, the form from which man has evolved the cabbage, the cauliflower, kale, Brussels sprouts, Kohl rabi and the Swedish turnip, which differ among themselves far more than do the wild members of the genus Brassica.

Four Groups of Evidence

The same sort of thing is seen in hundreds of domestic animals and plants, dogs, cattle, sheep, pigeons, cucumbers, radishes, lettuce, dahlias, roses, wheats, corns, strawberries, peaches, apples, pears, etc., etc. This is all true evolution and is going forward today with ever-increasing strides. To describe adequately the tremendous mass of phenomena which establish the fact of past and continuing evolution would require not a book, or a series of books, but a library. In the main these evidences may be arranged in four chief groups: (1) The phenomena of comparative anatomy; (2) the phenomena of comparative embryology; (3) the phenomena of paleontology and geology; and (4) the phenomena of geographical distribution. Much in the fields of physiology, psychology and human cultures has very important bearing upon Evolution.

1. We can arrange plants and animals in a double, parallel series showing increasing complexity of organization. 2. In the development of an individual from egg to adult, this individual passes through a series of stages of increasing complexity, and this individual series is one of the higher organisms strangely parallel and agrees with the racial series first mentioned.

3. In the fossiliferous rocks we find actual bodily remains of organisms of the past and these form a series showing increasing complexity

within each taxonomic group, the animals and plants in the older rocks being more simple, while the successively younger rocks show more and more complex organisms in each group under observation.

4. The distribution of animals and plants over the Earth is such as to suggest strongly the origin of each group of animals or plants at some one place, and their gradual spread from that center, divergent evolution occurring while they are spreading. No other suggestion even plausible, let alone convincing, has been made to explain these phenomena. Evolution is the only key we can find.

In each of the four groups of phenomena mentioned, there are many very striking things. One set of these things, in the first, morphological group, is that of the vestigial organs in animals and plants. There are in man, for example, very many structures of no conceivable present use, but showing resemblance to organs in other animals which are useful. The appendix vermiformis is one structure, a mere vestige of an organ of great importance in some lower mammals. The human tail-bone coccyx with its rudimentary muscles—is another. The wisdom teeth of man are approaching a vestigial condition.

It is interesting to observe that an organ in one kind of animal may have a different use from the similar organ in a related animal. There are very few, if any, structures in man, for example, which do not show clear indications of relationship to, descent from, an organ of different use in some related animal. The lungs of man correspond to the swim bladder of fishes; hair has apparently been derived from tactile sense organs in the skin of aquatic vertebrates; certain bones connecting with the human larynx were derived from the supporting arches in the bars between the gill slits of our aquatic ancestors; our teeth were once scales in the skin; and so on and so on. Probably there is no structure in the human body which was not at some time used for a different purpose. As the use of an organ changes, in evolution, its structure correspondingly changes and we see a most complete series of intergrades between the earlier and the later conditions.

In all this discussion I have not used the word "species." There are no such things as species in Nature. In Nature we find different kinds of

animals and plants. The words "species," "genus," "family," etc., are terms used to describe the fact that animals and plants differ among themselves and differ to different degrees. Those that are closely similar, that is closely related, we class in one species; those less closely related, but still not too different, we place in different species, putting the related species together in one genus; and so on. Species, genera and so forth, are man-made pigeon holes in which to classify the real animals and plants seen in Nature.

I have recently made about 150 species of protozoa, but I have never made an animal. The word species is indefinable, and is used by biologists as a convenience, and it has wholly different meanings when applied to different groups of animals and plants. There are many genera of animals and plants in which most of all the species completely intergrade so that specific distinctions are purely artificial. This is true to a large degree among the protozoan forms I have been studying recently. I have made species among them on the basis of distinctions for too minute to be considered for a moment as of "specific" value among, say, insects or mammals.

SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORT-FOLIO MAKERS' UNION

11 West 18th Street, Chelsea 5427
The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month.
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Office and Headquarters: 215 E. 59th St.
Tel. Regent 3625
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening
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President, Charles J. Connelley
Vice-President, J. J. Connelley
Sec. Secretary, J. J. Connelley

WAITERS' UNION and Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS

Local 219, N. Y. C. & R. I. A. & R. I. A. of A.
Office & Headquarters: 170 E. 40th St., N.Y.
LENOX 1874
Regular meetings every Tuesday, 8 P. M.
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Headquarters 366 EIGHTH AVENUE
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Structural Iron Workers

UNION, Local 261, Brooklyn
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Open Daily from 7:30 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.
Meetings Every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
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LOCAL 499
Brooklyn
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers
Meetings Every Wednesday Evening
at LAUREL GARDENS, 73 E. 116th St.
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N. Y. Printing Pressmen's Union

Local 51, International Printing Pressmen's & Assistants' Union
Office: 23 WEST 16TH STREET
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UNION DIRECTORY

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

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LOCAL 34
Office: 339 EAST 84th STREET
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BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Local No. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 919 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 51am.
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
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UNION, Local 63, I. H. C. & C. L. of A.
Office, 12 St. Marks Place. 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday, closed all day.
DRY DOCK 6962.
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
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Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 44th STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
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Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76

Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283
Meets Every 2d and 4th Wednesday, Beethoven Hall, 210 East 8th St., 6:30 Sharp
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Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 166 East 56th Street.
Telephone PLam-4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

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Office: 62 East 106th Street Telephone: Lehigh 3141
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Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.
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Phone Warkins 9188
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Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
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WILLIAM PIPOTA, Financial Secretary.
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LOCAL UNION No. 463, of NEW YORK CITY
Office 2033 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4878.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 243 East 84th Street.
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Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Phone: Sterling 9732.
Regular Meeting every Monday evening, at 185 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn.
Executive Board meets every Friday evening at the Office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
THOMAS E. GATES, President. CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Forerunners of Robert Owen

(Continued from Page 5.)

their share of the rent. It was this controversy that decided Spence to fight for a fundamental change in land ownership, a plan of which he submitted to the Newcastle Philosophical Society in 1775. Spence assumed the existence of common land in the natural State. It is contended, declared Spence, that private property originated in agreement. But an agreement, to be binding, must be renewed with each successive generation. Had it been thus renewed? Neither, he nor anyone else was aware of any such renewal. Besides, civil society came into existence to free man from burdens, not to impose new burdens upon him. Locke had defended private property on the ground of Labor. The argument might hold true in the case of the manufacturer, but not in the case of the landholder, for no one could argue that the aristocracy had created the land. The land should

be restored to its natural heirs, the people. It should be transferred to the parishes, the latter renting it out to farmers at moderate rental, this rental to be the only form of taxes.

The real struggle of the people, he added some years later, was not about certain forms of government, but for "a system of society capable of delivering us from the deadly mischief of great accumulations of wealth, which enable the few rich, unfeeling monsters to starve whole nations."

Spence sold his tracts on the streets, shocking the good members of the Philosophical Society thereby and scaring away his pupils. He was frequently arrested and imprisoned for his attacks on the Government, but, unmindful of his own comfort, he kept constantly at his propaganda to his death in the hope that through his panacea the time would soon come when mankind would be virtuous, happy and wise.

SO-CIALIST OPPORTUNITIES IN ARIZONA

By COLIN ELLIS McEWEN

Problems and Prospects for Party Work In the State Notorious for Bisbee

NORMALLY, Arizona casts a comparatively large vote for Socialist candidates, particularly in the national contests. Previous to the War, Socialist strength was increasing yearly, and there was apparent reason for anticipating further gains. Yet the war-time slump came to us here just as surely as it did to other districts, although it was largely due to a shifting working-class population. But conditions have again changed: the mines are once more producing, and the necessity for Socialist organization work is greater than it has been in years. Ours should be a period of reconstruction, of building.

In 1916, Comrade Benson polled in Arizona 3,174 votes, or 5.4 per cent of the total vote cast in this State for Presidential nominees. At that time, the mines were all producing. The bulk of the vote came from the mining districts, but Maricopa County, almost entirely agricultural and urban, contributed 574.

Then came the war-hysteria, the Bisbee deportations, and other I. W. W. troubles. Most of these alleged I. W. W. were in fact American Federationists, but the spirit of 100 per centism in the business men's vigilance committees could hardly be expected to sanctify truth. Finally, the market for copper having become glutted, the mines were closed by their owners, the workers themselves finding homes where best they could. For most of them, it was necessary to leave the State.

Thus it was when the 1920 elections were held, when Comrade Debs secured a vote of only 222. This is the low mark in Arizona Socialist activities, amounting, as it

did, to only .33 per cent of the vote cast.

In the last Presidential election, Senator La Follette polled 17,210 votes, or 23.2 per cent of the total Arizona vote. Proportionately, this was only slightly over four times as much as the State had given Comrade Benson in 1916.

The vote for Socialist gubernatorial candidates in Arizona has seldom gone over 3,000, due largely to the unmerited esteem in which the Democratic nominees have been held by working people. George W. P. Hunt, now serving his fifth term as Governor, though loud in his praise of Labor when speaking to laborers, and profuse in offering his sympathy for them, has in practice signally failed to bring about much Labor legislation. "The only thing

that Governor Hunt has ever done for Labor," a Phoenixian said to me some time ago, "was to refuse to speak on a platform that had been built by scab labor; and that was a long time ago." But even the miners, who have considered him their hero, are tiring of his empty promises; last year, when Hunt was almost defeated by Dwight B. Heard, newspaper publisher and capitalist, many of them turned from him. It is an open secret among well-informed people in the capital that Hunt again at the helm of the State Democratic ticket would be an unknown quantity—but perhaps of better-understood quality.

Speaking to an audience of miners previous to the last election, when he was holding before them rosy dreams of a home exclusively

for old miners. Governor Hunt said, "We'll get something better than the Socialists ever thought of. . . . I have always proposed it as promised, but those darn legislators killed it." Surely the Governor must have known that such would inevitably be the fate of such a proposal, yet he would not champion instead the far more scientific plan for old-age pensions to apply to all workers. Good campaign material, and that is all.

A word about Socialist propaganda in Arizona.

The field where the best immediate results will ensue from Socialist propaganda is without question among the miners, of whom there are thousands. All of the large properties are now producing at a good rate, and the State, as

a whole, is rapidly growing. Many of the miners are now Socialists or at least have vague tendencies in that direction. They present great opportunities for Socialist reconstruction work.

Even in Maricopa County, agricultural and urban, there is considerable Socialist strength. But there is no organization, no directing force. It needs to be moulded and brought together into a fighting, militant movement.

The high schools, colleges, and the University present striking contrasts. There are elements of liberalism and rampant 100 per centism. The writer has seen these things at first-hand, having lived among Arizona college students as one of them. He, with others similarly inclined, attempted to direct the Socialist sentiment, small and groping as it was, that was found there. How much success has been achieved, he does not venture to say. But a few people have been made to think in new channels leading toward a clearer view of the forces making for social change. And that, perhaps, is one of the most difficult things in the world to do.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

All inquiries regarding organization in unorganized States, speakers, methods of organization, national leaflets and books, the American Appeal, and other matters of this kind, should be addressed to the National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

The National Office would be glad to have any Comrade anywhere in an unorganized locality send to this office the names and addresses of from a dozen to three dozen comrades who might be induced to attend an organization or reorganization meeting, to be held in an inexpensive hall or, preferably, in a private home. We should be glad to have such Comrade name the place, the date and the hour of such meeting.

This office will then prepare a letter of invitation urging each person in the list to attend such meeting, and we will mail these letters from this office direct to the persons named in the list.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

Comrade Claessens, second to none as a propagandist, writes of his recent Boston meetings:

"Thanks to the splendid work of State Secretary Fitzgerald and District Organizer Lewis, the last few days I have had opportunity to address the largest outdoor crowds held here in years. Last Sunday I spoke from the bandstand on Boston Common to a huge crowd, estimated by local papers at 2,000, and the following evening another great audience on the street corner near the Common. Wonderful response at the meetings. We also held two excellent meetings in Attleboro, and Comrade Lewis organized a fine local there."

District Organizer Alfred Baker Lewis has added another Local to his credit. It is Local Attleboro in the Southern part of Massachusetts. This new Local has already purchased a quantity of American Appeal sub cards—has sent a hurried call to the District Office for speakers—has prepared a program of activity which includes an organized and systematic literature distribution campaign, and has had the foresight to select a live wire, R. C. Fisher, as its secretary. Will this branch live? You can't kill it.

INDIANA

District Organizer Wm. Henry has lost his brakes and his low-gear combination can't stop him. His very latest performance is a local at South Bend which has been considered hopeless for a long time. This and two others in the last week. He thinks if we had our American Appeal going now every new Local would be far more easily organized and would surely add to its membership more rapidly and snap into the propaganda business of a real live Local at once. Henry has some temperature when it comes to the American Appeal. However, Herman, in far-away California, sets a hot pace when it comes to taking subscriptions.

ILLINOIS

Comrade William R. Snow has again been elected State Secretary for Illinois, Comrade Florence S. Hall having resigned. Comrade Snow is giving attention to preparation for the regional convention and demonstration to be held in Chicago August 29-30. Comrade Snow reports having more encouraging success in rounding up dues-paying members than at any other time for

years past. The great Chicago rally will take place in Riverview Park, the afternoon of Sunday, August 30. Snow is neglecting nothing necessary for the success of the convention and rally. He asks for, deserves and must have, cooperation.

PENNSYLVANIA

TO PENNSYLVANIA READERS

Information concerning the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania may be obtained from the State Secretary, Darlington Hoopes, 415 Sweden street, Norristown, Pa. News items concerning Pennsylvania Socialist activities should be sent to that address.

Local Berks Picnic

Local Berks is planning a monster picnic in Black Bear Grove on Sunday, August 23. The main attraction will be an address by President James H. Maurer, of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor on "The Real Facts of the Threatened Coal Strike." Reading merchants have contributed a large number of prizes which will be distributed. Lunches will be served, and the best of music provided by the Philharmonic Band.

The Reading Italian Branch has arranged a meeting at Spartacus Hall, Chestnut street, above Fourth, which will be addressed by Vincenzo Vacirca, a former member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, who was forced by the Fascists to flee from Italy.

Southwestern District Items

Local Westmoreland is planning to hold a picnic on Labor Day but has not yet announced where it is to be.

The Southwestern District Committee met in Pittsburgh on Sunday, August 9, and decided to put on a general organization campaign. They are going to route Alfred Baker Lewis for five days in Westmoreland County, five days in Lawrence County, three days in Fayette County, two days in Butler County and about fifteen days in Allegheny, Greene and Washington Counties. They also expect to have Birch Wilson for ten days, Esther Friedman for two weeks, Ross D. Brown for three weeks and to arrange meetings for Comrades Smith and Henderson, Labor members of the British Parliament.

Branch New Castle has appointed a committee composed of Comrades Crawford, Strayer and Coates to manage the organization work in that town. That is the kind of activity that counts.

District Organizer Birch Wilson is down to business in the Scranton and nearby territory. He has taken full charge of the work of preparing for one of the greatest meetings ever held in eastern Pennsylvania when Comrade Debs speaks in Scranton, October 16. Every community for many miles around will be prepared to contribute in every way to the success of that great rally. The Italian comrades are especially active and co-operative with Comrade Wilson. The Socialist movement of the whole locality is being roused to the opportunity thus presented.

From New Castle, at the other end of the State, two good letters have come to the National Office, asking for and offering cooperation. Now that is what we like. And the New Castle lads are not afflicted with timidity. Noticing that the distinguished English Comrades Arthur Henderson and Rennie Smith are presently to be in this country and likely to speak in Pittsburgh, the New Castle comrades are on their toes in negotiations for one or both of these English comrades. They will presently have Comrade Esther Friedman for one or more speeches. They have practically mandated that the State Secretary assign Alfred Baker Lewis to New Castle.

MICHIGAN

District Organizer Joseph F. Viola has organized a healthy Local in Pontiac. He is now working in Saginaw, with the expectation of organizing a Local. Then his route will run: Bay City, Flint, Jackson, Battle Creek, Kalamazoo and Detroit. State Secretary Charles Robson is tireless in his cooperative efforts with Comrade Viola. He is rejoicing over Viola's husky new Local at Lansing.

CALIFORNIA

Score three for Comrade Emil Herman, District Organizer for California: a new Local at Riverside, one at Redlands and one at San Bernardino; and in his letter is this: "We shall certainly have a new Local right off at Hemet. Eight calls made on August 9 resulted in seven new members." One thing Comrade Herman needs. Give him that one thing, and a new Local is inevitable. That one thing is just a reasonable amount of cooperation.

And, precisely that is what every district organizer needs, deserves—and must have if our national movement is to get upon its feet again to stride forward in the greatest work in the world.

The San Francisco Labor World very properly estimates the two regional conventions and demonstrations as a very great help to the State movement. Comrade Debs, accompanied by his brother Theodore, was in the National Office last Saturday, on his way home from California. He was full of his old-time good cheer, jubilant over the work in California, eager to return there, full of fire and fight, ready for the Chicago convention and demonstration and for the trip East.

NEW JERSEY

Leo M. Harkins, District Organizer, reports sincere and energetic

activity in New Jersey. His bugle call to the comrades throughout the State to rally for the great business of making the movement move again in the old-time fashion is a most effective address to the membership.

Camden County has formed an organization committee, has contributed \$15.00 to the Organization Maintenance Fund, and has plans and purposes for real cooperation.

Hudson County Meetings, Saturday Night

HOBOKEN—Washington and Fifth streets. Speaker, Charles Kruse.

BAYONNE—Broadway and 23rd street. Speaker to be announced.

UNION CITY—Summit and Cortland street. Speaker Richard Boyajian. Bergenline and Gardner.

Speaker, Leo Harkins.

WEST NEW YORK—Bergenline and 14th street. Speaker, Frank Crosswaith.

Organizer Leo Harkins canvassed twenty-two former members of the Twelfth Ward in Jersey City this week to attend the branch meeting. Out of this number, sixteen attended and two sent regrets that they were unable to attend. The members purchased all the American Appeal cards on hand and made plans for reaching all other former members

CONNECTICUT

Mr. and Mrs. Karl C. Jursek of Local Hamden expect to start on a ten-day vacation in the Maine woods. They will go in their "Henry" and will also take along their canoe, guns, and fishing tackle.

Local Hamden will meet at the home of W. E. Davis, 48 Belmont street, Whitneyville, Friday evening, August 21, and will make plans for the town election which will be held the first Monday in October.

Comrades Mr. and Mrs. William E. White of Local Hamden returned home a few days ago from England, where they have been visiting for the last year.

NEW YORK STATE

The meeting of the State Executive Committee, held at Peoples' House, last Sunday, concurred with the arrangements made by the New York City Committee and the National Office of the Party as to arrangements for holding the Regional Convention, including change of dates from September 19-20 to October 10-11. The Committee unanimously adopted a resolution offered by William M. Feigenbaum tendering (Continued on Page 11.)

"THE WORKERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY"

BY
JAMES ONEAL
Editor, THE NEW LEADER

"The Workers in American History" considers the tragedy and sufferings of European workers which drove them to America in colonial times and how their coming enriched transportation agencies and landed gentry in the American colonies who held them in a system of servitude.

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Other chapters show that the new nation born of the Revolution brought no change in the servile status of the workers, that the franchise was withheld from them for decades under the Constitution, that whites were still bought and sold, that they were imprisoned for "conspiracy" when they organized, and then goes on to trace the organized struggles of the working class to emancipate themselves from the old abuses and injustices.

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LABOR JOTTINGS from ABROAD

(Continued from Page 7.)

crease. As before the war, the wages of the textile workers are among the lowest in Russian industry.

Unions Gain in Memel

At the second congress of the Trade Union Federation of Memel, the former German port district now in possession of Lithuania with the permission of the League of Nations, it was reported that, despite terrible economic conditions and general uncertainty, the membership was materially higher than when the Federation was founded, being well over 2,000. There were

ten wage actions and eleven strikes and lock-outs during the past year. The Federation's income was 54,724 litas (at 10 cents per litas), of which it spent 11,702 supporting strikes, 9,445 for unemployment benefits and 658 for death benefits. The congress decided to build a central office of its own.

Dutch Unions in a Come-Back
At last the decline in membership of the unions affiliated with the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions has been halted and a real increase in numbers is reported in the Dutch union papers. On April 1 the Federation had 187,839 members, against 186,673 on January 1, 1925, and 188,642 on July 1, 1924. The membership of the next strongest of the other six national federations in Holland, the Roman Catholic Federation, on April 1, was 94,173, a gain of 35 since January 1.

Austrian Unions' Income Gains
In the report of the Austrian Federation of Labor for 1924 it is noted that, despite economic troubles and unemployment on a huge scale, the Federation's income last year was 55 per cent above that of 1923. It totaled 14,936,214 schillings (at 14 cents apiece), while expenditures were 10,454,795. The membership on January 1, was 828,088, against 826,763 on January 1, 1924.

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The Truth About EVOLUTION PLAINLY TOLD

IV. Proofs of Evolution

By DR. M. M. METCALF

WHO DR. METCALF IS:
(Dr. Maynard M. Metcalf is engaged in private research work at the Johns Hopkins University, specializing in zoology. From 1893 to 1914 he taught college zoology, first at Goucher, then at Oberlin College, at Oberlin, Ohio. He received his bachelor's degree at Oberlin, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Johns Hopkins University, and the degree of Doctor of Science at Oberlin. He has memberships and has held offices in the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Society of Zoologists, and numerous other scientific and economic societies. During the past year he has been chairman of the National Research Council. He is author of numerous books and articles on zoology and evolution.)

INTELLIGENT teaching of biology or intelligent approach to any biological science is impossible if the established fact of Evolution is omitted. Discussion of the methods by which Evolution has been brought about is less essential, but the fact of Evolution must be appreciated and the evolutionary point of view must be emphasized for any understanding of the growth of the universe, of the Earth, of plants or animals; for any proper grasp of the facts of structure or function of living bodies as involved in medicine and in animal and plant husbandry; psychology, whether of normal or diseased minds, must constantly remember the processes of evolution; human societies, with their diverse customs, are unintelligible without the facts of their origins and changes, their evolution.

Teaching in any field that deals with living things is disgracefully, yes, criminally, inadequate if it omits emphasis upon Evolution. An intelligent teacher could omit such emphasis only at the expense of his self-respect and of his moral integrity. Such teaching would be criminal malpractice just as truly as would a physician's failure to follow established sound methods of treatment because of fear of persecution by ignorant neighbors. For a teacher to fail to bear testimony to essential scientific truth is as unworthy, as cowardly, as essentially sinful as for a man to fail to stand by his religion.

"A Pivotal Truth In All Nature"

The fact of Evolution—of Man, of all living things, of the Earth, of the Sun, of the stars—is as fully established as the fact that the Earth revolves around the Sun. Change, growth, evolution, is a fundamental, a pivotal truth in all Nature. Those familiar with the phenomena of Nature testify with unanimity to this. The great mass of evidence of different sorts from different sources, when once seen, is overwhelmingly convincing to any normal, human mind. It can be only the uninformed who fail to accept Evolution as a fact established beyond doubt.

On the other hand, there is great uncertainty as to the method by which Evolution has been brought about. Many different factors have been in operation, among them probably the chief has been the mysterious intimate activities of the living substance itself, about which as yet we know so little. As to the numerous "causes" of evolution and their relative importance there are about as many varieties of opinion as there are students of Evolution. I am somewhat acquainted personally with nearly all the zoologists in America who have contributed extensively to the growth of knowledge in this field and I know many of the botanists and a goodly number of the geologists, and I doubt if any two of these put exactly the same relative emphasis upon all the numerous interacting "causes" of evolution. But of all these hundreds of men not one fails to believe, as a matter

Next Week:

Organic Evolution from the Point of View of the Soil Investigator

By JACOB H. LIPMAN

of course, in view of the evidence, that evolution has occurred. . . .

Evolution Going On Today

Not only has evolution occurred; it is occurring today and occurring even under man's control. If one wishes a new vegetable or a new flower it is, within limits, true that he can order it from the plant breeder and in a few years he will produce it. Hundreds of new plants and animals have been and are being produced in this way. This is evolution of just the sort that has always occurred, only it is influenced by man's purpose. We can see evolution occurring in our experiment stations and our laboratories and we can control and modify the conditions of the experiments and can thus modify the resultant product to suit ourselves.

Evolution is a present observable phenomenon as well as an established fact of past occurring. The organisms produced by this present-day controlled evolution in our experiments are as divergent from one another and from the original stock as are animals and plants in Nature. The different kinds of domestic horses, produced by human experiment, differ far more than do the different kinds of horses found in Nature. Domestic fowl under man's control have evolved into a large number of kinds far more widely divergent than are the wild kinds in the genus Gallus from which our domestic chickens came. The genus Brassica, plants belonging to the mustard family, include a number of different sorts of plants. One of these, Brassica oleracea, is the ancestor, the form from which man has evolved the cabbage, the cauliflower, kale, Brussels sprouts, Kohl rabi and the Swedish turnip, which differ among themselves far more than do the wild members of the genus Brassica.

Four Groups of Evidence

The same sort of thing is seen in hundreds of domestic animals and plants, dogs, cattle, sheep, pigeons, cucumbers, radishes, lettuce, dahlias, roses, wheats, corns, strawberries, peaches, apples, pears, etc., etc. This is all true evolution and is going forward today with ever-increasing strides. To describe adequately the tremendous mass of phenomena which establish the fact of past and continuing evolution would require not a book, or a series of books, but a library. In the main these evidences may be arranged in four chief groups: (1) The phenomena of comparative anatomy; (2) the phenomena of comparative embryology; (3) the phenomena of paleontology and geology, and (4) the phenomena of geographical distribution. Much in the fields of physiology, psychology and human cultures has very important bearing upon Evolution.

1. We can arrange plants and animals in a double, parallel series showing increasing complexity of organization.

2. In the development of an individual passes through a series of stages of increasing complexity, and this individual series is one of the higher organisms strangely parallel and agrees with the racial series first mentioned.

3. In the fossiliferous rocks we find actual bodily remains of organisms of the past and these form a series showing increasing complexity

within each taxonomic group, the animals and plants in the older rocks being more simple, while the successively younger rocks show more and more complex organisms in each group under observation.

4. The distribution of animals and plants over the Earth is such as to suggest strongly the origin of each group of animals or plants at some one place, and their gradual spread from that center, divergent evolution occurring while they are spreading. No other suggestion even plausible, let alone convincing, has been made to explain these phenomena. Evolution is the only key we can find.

In each of the four groups of phenomena mentioned, there are many very striking things. One set of these things, in the first, morphological group, is that of the vestigial organs in animals and plants. There are in man, for example, very many structures of no conceivable present use, but showing resemblance to organs in other animals which are useful. The appendix vermiformis is one structure, a mere vestige of an organ of great importance in some lower mammals. The human tail-bone coccyx with its rudimentary muscles—is another. The wisdom teeth of man are approaching a vestigial condition.

It is interesting to observe that an organ in one kind of animal may have a different use from the similar organ in a related animal. There are very few, if any, structures in man, for example, which do not show clear indications of relationship to, descent from, an organ of different use in some related animal. The lungs of man correspond to the swim bladder of fishes; hair has apparently been derived from tactile sense organs in the skin of aquatic vertebrates; certain bones connecting with the human larynx were derived from the supporting arches in the bars between the gill slits of our aquatic ancestors; our teeth were once scales in the skin; and so on and so on. Probably there is no structure in the human body which was not at some time used for a different purpose. As the use of an organ changes, in evolution, its structure correspondingly changes and we see a most complete series of intergrades between the earlier and the later conditions.

In all this discussion I have not used the word "species." There are no such things as species in Nature. In Nature we find different kinds of

animals and plants. The words "species," "genus," "family," etc., are terms used to describe the fact that animals and plants differ among themselves and differ to different degrees. Those that are closely similar, that are closely related, we class in one species; those less closely related, but still not too different, we place in different species, putting the related species together in one genus; and so on. Species, genera and so forth, are man-made pigeon holes in which to classify the real animals and plants seen in Nature.

I have recently made about 150 species of protozoa, but I have never made an animal. The word species is indefinable, and is used by biologists as a convenience, and it has wholly different meanings when applied to different groups of animals and plants. There are many genera of animals and plants in which most of all the species completely intergrade so that specific distinctions are purely artificial. This is true to a large degree among the protozoan forms I have been studying recently. I have made species among them on the basis of distinctions for too minute to be considered for a moment as of "specific" value among, say, insects or mammals.

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The Forerunners of Robert Owen

(Continued from Page 5.)

their share of the rent. It was this controversy that decided Spence to fight for a fundamental change in land ownership, a plan of which he submitted to the Newcastle Philosophical Society in 1775. Spence assumed the existence of common land in the natural State. It is contended, declared Spence, that private property originated in agreement. But an agreement, to be binding, must be renewed with each successive generation. Had it been thus renewed? Neither, he nor anyone else was aware of any such renewal. Besides, civil society came into existence to free man from burdens, not to impose new burdens upon him. Locke had defended private property on the ground of Labor. The argument might hold true in the case of the manufacturer, but not in the case of the landholder, for no one could argue that the aristocracy had created the land. The land should

be restored to its natural heirs, the people. It should be transferred to the parishes, the latter renting it out to farmers at moderate rental, this rental to be the only form of taxes.

The real struggle of the people, he added some years later, was not about certain forms of government, but for "a system of society capable of delivering us from the deadly mischief of great accumulations of wealth, which enable the few rich, unfeeling monsters to starve whole nations."

Spence sold his tracts on the streets, shocking the good members of the Philosophical Society thereby and scaring away his pupils. He was frequently arrested and imprisoned for his attacks on the Government, but, unmindful of his own comfort, he kept constantly at his propaganda to his death in the hope that through his panacea the time would soon come when mankind would be virtuous, happy and wise.

—:— SOCIALIST OPPORTUNITIES IN ARIZONA —:—

By COLIN ELLIS McEWEN

NORMALLY, Arizona casts a comparatively large vote for Socialist candidates, particularly in the national contests. Previous to the War, Socialist strength was increasing yearly, and there was apparent reason for anticipating further gains. Yet the war-time slump came to us here just as surely as it did to other districts, although it was largely due to a shifting working-class population. But conditions have again changed: the mines are once more producing, and the necessity for Socialist organization work is greater than it has been in years. Ours should be a period of reconstruction, of building.

In 1916, Comrade Benson polled in Arizona 3,174 votes, or 5.4 per cent of the total vote cast in this State for Presidential nominees. At that time, the mines were all producing. The bulk of the vote came from the mining districts, but Mari-

copa County, almost entirely agricultural and urban, contributed 574.

Then came the war-hysteria, the Bisbee deportations, and other I. W. W. troubles. Most of these alleged I. W. W. were in fact American Federationists, but the spirit of 100 per centism in the business men's vigilance committees could hardly be expected to sanctify truth. Finally, the market for copper having become glutted, the mines were closed by their owners, the workers themselves finding homes where best they could. For most of them, it was necessary to leave the State.

Thus it was when the 1920 elections were held, when Comrade Debs secured a vote of only 222. This is the low mark in Arizona Socialist activities, amounting, as it

did, to only .33 per cent of the vote cast.

In the last Presidential election, Senator La Follette polled 17,210 votes, or 23.2 per cent of the total Arizona vote. Proportionately, this was only slightly over four times as much as the State had given Comrade Benson in 1916.

The vote for Socialist gubernatorial candidates in Arizona has seldom gone over 3,000, due largely to the unmerited esteem in which the Democratic nominees have been held by working people. George W. P. Hunt, now serving his fifth term as Governor, though loud in his praise of Labor when speaking to laborers, and profuse in offering his sympathy for them, has in practice signally failed to bring about much Labor legislation. "The only thing

that Governor Hunt has ever done for Labor," a Phoenixian said to me some time ago, "was to refuse to speak on a platform that had been built by scab labor; and that was a long time ago." But even the miners, who have considered him their hero, are tiring of his empty promises; last year, when Hunt was almost defeated by Dwight B. Heard, newspaper publisher and capitalist, many of them turned from him. It is an open secret among well-informed people in the capital that Hunt again at the helm of the State Democratic ticket would be an unknown quantity—but perhaps of better-understood quality.

Speaking to an audience of miners previous to the last election, when he was holding before them rosy dreams of a home exclusively

for old miners. Governor Hunt said, "We'll get something better than the Socialists ever thought of. . . . I have always proposed it as promised, but those darn legislators killed it." Surely the Governor must have known that such would inevitably be the fate of such a proposal, yet he would not champion instead the far more scientific plan for old-age pensions to apply to all workers. Good campaign material, and that is all.

A word about Socialist propaganda in Arizona.

The field where the best immediate results will ensue from Socialist propaganda is without question among the miners, of whom there are thousands. All of the large properties are now producing at a good rate, and the State, as

a whole, is rapidly growing. Many of the miners are now Socialists or at least have vague tendencies in that direction. They present great opportunities for Socialist reconstruction work.

Even in Maricopa County, agricultural and urban, there is considerable Socialist strength. But there is no organization, no directing force. It needs to be moulded and brought together into a fighting, militant movement.

The high schools, colleges, and the University present striking contrasts. There are elements of liberalism and rampant 100 per centism. The writer has seen these things at first-hand, having lived among Arizona college students as one of them. He, with others similarly inclined, attempted to direct the Socialist sentiment, small and groping as it was, that was found there. How much success has been achieved, he does not venture to say. But a few people have been made to think in new channels leading toward a clearer view of the forces making for social change. And that, perhaps, is one of the most difficult things in the world to do.

Problems and Prospects for Party Work In the State Notorious for Bisbee

—:— THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK —:—

NATIONAL

All inquiries regarding organization in unorganized States, speakers methods of organization, national leaflets and books, the American Appeal, and other matters of this kind, should be addressed to the National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

The National Office would be glad to have any Comrade anywhere in an unorganized locality send to this office the names and addresses of from a dozen to three dozen comrades who might be induced to attend an organization or reorganization meeting, to be held in an inexpensive hall or, preferably, in a private home. We should be glad to have such Comrade name the place, the date and the hour of such meeting.

This office will then prepare a letter of invitation urging each person in the list to attend such meeting, and we will mail these letters from this office direct to the persons named in the list.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

Comrade Claessens, second to none as a propagandist, writes of his recent Boston meetings: "Thanks to the splendid work of State Secretary Fitzgerald and District Organizer Lewis, the last few days I have had opportunity to address the largest outdoor crowds held here in years. Last Sunday I spoke from the bandstand on Boston Common to a huge crowd (estimated by local papers at 2,000, and the following evening another great audience on the street corner near the Common. Wonderful response at the meetings. We also held two excellent meetings in Attleboro, and Comrade Lewis organized a fine local there."

District Organizer Alfred Baker Lewis has added another Local to his credit. It is Local Attleboro in the Southern part of Massachusetts. This new Local has already pur-

chased a quantity of American Appeal sub cards—has sent a hurried call to the District Office for speakers—has prepared a program of activity which includes an organized and systematic literature distribution campaign, and has had the foresight to select a live wire, R. C. Fisher, as its secretary. Will this branch live, you can't tell it.

August Claessens' meeting on Boston Common was such a remarkable success that the Boston comrades are planning other meetings on the Common to be held in the near future. The local papers estimated the crowd at 2,000.

The Italian branches in conjunction with the English-speaking branch of Boston will hold an outing at Weymouth Landing, Sunday, August 23.

INDIANA

District Organizer Wm. Henry has lost his brakes and his low-gear combination can't stop him. His latest performance is a local at South Bend which has been considered hopeless for a long time. This and two others in the last week. He thinks if we had our American Appeal going now every new Local would be far more easily organized and would surely add to its membership more rapidly and snap into the propaganda business of a real live Local at once. Henry has some temperature when it comes to the American Appeal. However, Herman, in far-away California, sets a hot pace when it comes to taking subscriptions.

ILLINOIS

Comrade William R. Snow has again been elected State Secretary for Illinois, Comrade Florence S. Hall having resigned. Comrade Snow is giving attention to preparation for the regional convention and demonstration to be held in Chicago August 29-30. Comrade Snow reports having more encouraging success in rounding up dues-paying members than at any other time for

years past. The great Chicago rally will take place in Riverview Park, the afternoon of Sunday, August 30. Snow is neglecting nothing necessary for the success of the convention and rally. He asks for, deserves and must have, cooperation.

PENNSYLVANIA

TO PENNSYLVANIA READERS

Information concerning the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania may be obtained from the State Secretary, Darlington Hoopes, 415 Sweden street, Norristown, Pa. News items concerning Pennsylvania Socialist activities should be sent to that address.

Local Berks Picnic

Local Berks is planning a monster picnic in Black Bear Grove on Sunday, August 23. The main attraction will be an address by President James H. Maurer, of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor on "The Real Facts of the Threatened Coal Strike." Reading merchants have contributed a large number of prizes which will be distributed. Lunches will be served, and the best of music provided by the Philharmonic Band.

The Reading Italian Branch has arranged a meeting at Spartacus Hall, Chestnut street, above Fourth, which will be addressed by Vincenzo Vaciria, a former member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, who was forced by the Fascists to flee from Italy.

Southwestern District Items

Local Westmoreland is planning to hold a picnic on Labor Day but has not yet announced where it is to be.

The Southwestern District Committee met in Pittsburgh on Sunday, August 9, and decided to put on a general organization campaign. They are going to route Alfred Baker Lewis for five days in Westmoreland County, five days in Lawrence County, three days in Fayette County, two days in Butler County and about fifteen days in Allegheny, Greene and Washington Counties. They also expect to have Birch Wilson for ten days, Esther Friedman for two weeks, Ross D. Brown for three weeks and to arrange meetings for Comrades Smith and Henderson, Labor members of the British Parliament.

Branch New Castle has appointed a committee composed of Comrades Crawford, Strayer and Coates to manage the organization work in that town. That is the kind of activity that counts.

District Organizer Birch Wilson is down to business in the Scranton and near-by territory. He has taken full charge of the work of preparing for one of the greatest meetings ever held in eastern Pennsylvania when Comrade Debs speaks in Scranton, October 16. Every community for many miles around will be prepared to contribute in every way to the success of that great rally. The Italian comrades are especially active and co-operative with Comrade Wilson. The Socialist movement of the whole locality is being roused to the opportunity thus presented.

From New Castle, at the other end of the State, two good letters have come to the National Office, asking for and offering cooperation. Now that is what we like. And the New Castle lads are not affected with timidity. Noticing that the distinguished English Comrades Arthur Henderson and Rennie Smith are presently to be in this country and likely to speak in Pittsburgh, the New Castle comrades are on their toes in negotiations for one or both these English comrades. They will presently have Comrade Esther Friedman for one or more speeches. They have practically demanded that the State Secretary assign Alfred Baker Lewis to New Castle.

MICHIGAN

District Organizer Joseph F. Viola has organized a healthy Local in Pontiac. He is now working in Saginaw, with the expectation of organizing a Local. Then his route will run: Bay City, Flint, Jackson, Battle Creek, Kalamazoo, Detroit. State Secretary Charles Reardon is tireless in his cooperative efforts with Comrade Viola. He is rejoicing over Viola's husky new Local at Lansing.

CALIFORNIA

Score three for Comrade Emil Herman, District Organizer for California: a new Local at Riverside, one at Redlands and one at San Bernardino; and in his letter is this: "We shall certainly have a new Local right off at Hemet. Eight calls made on August 9 resulted in seven new members." One thing Comrade Herman needs. Give him that one thing, and a new Local is inevitable. That one thing is just a reasonable amount of cooperation. And precisely that is what every district organizer needs, deserves—and must have if our national movement is to get upon its feet again to stride forward in the greatest work in the world.

The San Francisco Labor World very properly estimates the two regional conventions and demonstrations as a very great help to the State movement. Comrade Debs, accompanied by his brother Theodore, was in the National Office last Saturday, on his way home from California. He was full of his old-time good cheer, jubilant over the work in California, eager to return there, full of fire and fight, ready for the Chicago convention and demonstration and for the trip East.

NEW JERSEY

Leo M. Harkins, District Organizer, reports sincere and energetic

activity in New Jersey. His bugle call to the comrades throughout the State to rally for the great business of making the movement move again in the old-time fashion is a most effective address to the membership.

Camden County has formed an organization committee, has contributed \$15.00 to the Organization Maintenance Fund and has plans and purposes for real cooperation.

Hudson County Meetings, Saturday Night

HOBOKEN—Washington and Fifth streets. Speaker, Charles Kruse.

BAYONNE—Broadway and 23rd street. Speaker to be announced.

UNION CITY—Summit and Cortland street. Speaker Richard Boyajian. Bergenline and Gardner.

Speaker, Leo Harkins.

WEST NEW YORK—Bergenline and 14th street. Speaker, Frank Crosswaith.

Organizer Leo Harkins canvassed twenty-two former members of the Twelfth Ward in Jersey City this week to attend the branch meeting. Out of this number, sixteen attended and two sent regrets that they were unable to attend. The members purchased all the American Appeal cards on hand and made plans for reaching all other former members

of this branch. Comrade Harkins has been so successful in this work that he will take it up for other branches.

CONNECTICUT

Mr. and Mrs. Karl C. Jursek of Local Hamden expect to start on a ten-day vacation in the Maine woods. They will go in their "Henry" and will also take along their canoe, guns, and fishing tackle.

Local Hamden will meet at the home of W. E. Davis, 48 Belmont street, Whitneyville, Friday evening, August 21, and will make plans for the town election which will be held the first Monday in October.

Comrades Mr. and Mrs. William E. White of Local Hamden returned home a few days ago from England, where they have been visiting for the last year.

NEW YORK STATE

The meeting of the State Executive Committee, held at Peoples' House, last Sunday, concurred with the arrangements made by the New York City Committee and the National Office of the Party as to arrangements for holding the Regional Convention, including change of dates from September 19-20 to October 10-11. The Committee unanimously adopted a resolution offered by William M. Feigenbaum tender-

(Continued on Page 11.)

"THE WORKERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY"

BY

JAMES ONEAL
Editor, THE NEW LEADER

"The Workers in American History" considers the tragedy and sufferings of European workers which drove them to America in colonial times and how their coming enriched transportation agencies and landed gentry in the American colonies who held them in a system of servitude.

The book then considers the various forms of servitude these early workers endured, compares it with Negro slavery, their servile status in colonial law, their treatment by colonial masters, their revolts against their masters, their life as mudsills in the social system of the colonial ruling class, and the part they played in the American Revolution.

Other chapters show that the new nation born of the Revolution brought no change in the servile status of the workers, that the franchise was withheld from them for decades under the Constitution, that whites were still bought and sold, that they were imprisoned for "conspiracy" when they organized, and then goes on to trace the organized struggles of the working class to emancipate themselves from the old abuses and injustices.

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LABOR JOTTINGS from ABROAD

(Continued from Page 7.)

crease. As before the war, the wages of the textile workers are among the lowest in Russian industry.

Unions Gain in Memei

At the second congress of the Trade Union Federation of Memei, the former German port district now in possession of Lithuania with the permission of the League of Nations, it was reported that, despite terrible economic conditions and general uncertainty, the membership was materially higher than when the Federation was founded, being well over 2,000. There were

ten wage actions and eleven strikes and lock-outs during the past year. The Federation's income was 54,724 litas (at 10 cents per litas), of which it spent 11,702 supporting strikes, 9,445 for unemployment benefits and 658 for death benefits. The congress decided to build a central office of its own.

Dutch Unions in a Come-Back

At last the decline in membership of the unions affiliated with the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions has been halted and a real increase in numbers is reported in the Dutch union papers. On April 1 the Federation had 187,839 members, against 186,673 on January 1, 1925, and 188,642 on July 1, 1924. The membership of the next strongest of the other six national federations in Holland, the Roman Catholic Federation, on April 1, was 94,173, a gain of 35 since January 1.

Austrian Unions' Income Gains

In the report of the Austrian Federation of Labor for 1924 it is noted that, despite economic troubles and unemployment on a huge scale, the Federation's income last year was 55 per cent above that of 1923. It totaled 14,936,214 schillings (at 14 cents apiece), while expenditures were 10,454,795. The membership on January 1, was 828,088, against 896,763 on January 1, 1924.

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DRAMA

New Play Form for Workers

AN interesting series of articles on the Workers and the Theatre have been appearing in the London Sunday Worker, written by Huntly Carter. The present article, under the above title, brings forth many features of a new form for Working-Class plays. We quote in part:

Where must a start at a technique be made?

At scratch. This is where many of the new painters and sculptors are re-starting. They have gone to scratch for first principles.

Every now and again artists make this return in order to make a fresh start. Otherwise art forms would simply perish of too much brains.

Worker playwrights have no need to return, they are at scratch already. They are not buried beneath a heap of effete mentality, like the "professors" as M. Dooley calls them.

Is there an existing framework?

Yes. Melodrama. It is the oldest and most adaptable framework in the world. It underlies the Greek tragedies, Moliere's satires, Shakespeare's plays. Present-day melodrama is an up-to-date version of the old morality play. The virtuous heroine pursued by the villain and rescued by the lover is Virtue v. Vice and a means to destroy vice.

The plays in London by an Italian author, which are said to form a new dramatic force, are simply melodrama of the mind, or dramatized metaphysics. Their theme is Reality v. Appearance. Could dramatic bankruptcy go further?

How can Workers fix their dramatic material in the old framework?

By keeping it simple, free, and natural. By keeping the framework loose and elastic for changes in the Workers' drama. By rejecting all so-called progressive methods of playwrighting and production, like expressionist, futurist, etc.

What are materials?

1. Theme (say) Capital v. Labor. 2. Story to illustrate the theme. Labor robbed of life and a Fair Deal, or Labor crushing the serpent. 3. Characters to illustrate story. Workers, and bosses represented by Workers. 4. Style—the breath of working-class life in everything.

This is the order in Mr. Galsworthy's "Strife and Justice." His characters represent classes. But everything including style is meant to fit the middle-class theatre.

The tendency with the "highbrows" is to put characters (Mrs. Muff or Mr. Huff) or types (a man, a woman, as in expressionistic plays, see Toller, Kaiser, etc.) first, to set them in an environment, say a factory (as in Kaiser's "Gas"), and to let something come out of the conflict of minds (slaves and slave-owners).

So far I have said nothing new except to suggest a practical framework for the new things which I am going to put in it.

Let me illustrate: In a recent issue of the Sunday Worker, there is a vivid little story of "A Day in the Life of a Building Trade Worker." Here you have a synopsis ready made for an improvised Workers' little mass play.

The materials are as above. The theme, Workers and Bosses. The story to illustrate theme, how the Worker is robbed of life to put money in the pockets of the bosses. Characters to illustrate story, Workers on the job, including one or two athletes able to fall about. Style, Workers' own. Costumes, Workers'. Any officials, say police, would be shown by Workers wearing policeman's helmets. Scenery, the new industrial—some scaffolding in course of erection.

The play would be nearly all action as suggested by the synopsis, with a few forcible words thrown in to bind the action together.

A curtain rise there would be men in the background working on the scaffolding with just a suggestion of a roof. Two or three characters in the foreground state the situation and prophesy trouble.

This would raise suspense in the minds of the audience. The scene moves swiftly with the action on the scaffolding and the bits of dialogue are given in the synopsis. Then comes the crash. Here the audience join in. Many of them go on the stage and form the crowd (as in a street accident) while the doctor is fetched to examine the man, etc.

Finally would come the denouement of the whole bad business, the discussion of the moral, and the proposed method of removing the cause of strife and injustice in which all could join. The whole might close with the singing of a song.

Everything in this little play must be done to rouse the audience to the highest pitch of excitement, and to keep up the excitement, so that they go home full of it.



JANET BEECHER
plays the leading feminine role in
"The Kiss in the Taxi," a new
farce coming to the Ritz Theatre,
Tuesday night.

"It All Depends"

Kate McLaurin's New Comedy
at the Vanderbilt Theatre Is a
Commonplace Story of Youth

Although the new comedy at the Vanderbilt, "It All Depends," is by Kate McLaurin, author of "Whispering Wires," that enjoyed a considerable run here a season or so ago, and is produced by such "old-timers" in the theatre as John Cromwell and William A. Brady, Jr., and a cast that includes such actors as Katherine Alexander, Lee Patrick, Jane Grey and Norman Trevor, this new offering of the theatrical season is not to be depended upon for much enjoyment by the wise theatregoers. The play suffers from the start from obviousness. A prologue laid in the bedroom of a present day debutante and a visiting friend of hers, which is designed to both amuse and shock the audience, neither shocks nor amuses to any degree, and has the fault of letting the audience in at once of what is going to happen in the three ensuing acts. From here on the plot is conventional with many stretches of commonplace conversation and a few amusing turns or quips to relieve the mildly interesting proceedings.

In brief, the plot concerns two young girls, typical of the day, and their revolt against the manners and morals of their elders. The daughter of the house pursues her way in accepting the attentions of a much older married man, and is prepared to "go through to the finish" via the divorce courts for the unhappy wife, when she is brought to her senses by having the girl of the same age and views who is visiting her endeavor to start an affair with her own father. All ends morally, though, by this modern young lady dismissing her married suitor and her girl chum and thereby bringing her father and mother together with the prospects of the re-united family again taking the usual trip to Europe for the inevitable happy ending.

The characters portrayed are so conventional that no one in particular in the cast is to be singled out, although Jane Grey, as the suffering mother, and Norman Trevor, as her husband, who almost becomes involved with the young girl, as efficient as the parts call for. Katherine Alexander and Lee Patrick, as the two young ladies in the plot, portray their roles in a competent but uninteresting manner. Charles Trowbridge as the unspoken and unmarried suitor of the daughter of the house gives a manly performance of an ungrateful role. Felix Krembs, as a married man in love with the heroine, and Grace Andrews, as his wife, are miscast in respective roles.

Vaudeville Theatres

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY
At B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, the screen will have Ernest Lubitsch's latest production, a Parisian romance, "Kiss Me Again," with Monte Blue, Marie Prevost, John Roche, Clara Bow and Willard Louis. The stage attraction will include Eddie Carr, assisted by George Edwards and May Mally, Harry Green, Harry Jans and Harold Whalen, Charlie Howard and Company, The Four Harmony Kings, and Amazon and Nile.

FRANKLIN
Monday to Wednesday—Royal Pekin Troupe; Keno & Green; Norton & Melotte; others. Rod La Rocque and Bebe Daniels in "Wild, Wild Susan." Thursday to Sunday—"Hitland": Roxey La Rocca; other acts. "Tracked in the Snow Country" with Rin Tin Tin.



BLANCHE YURKA
plays a Norwegian sea captain's daughter in the new drama, "The Sea Woman," which will open Little Theatre, Monday night.

The Coming Season

Crosby Gaige to Present New Owen Davis Play.
—Walter Hampden's Theatre Opens in October—
New Don Marquis Play Headed for Broadway

Walter Hampden, it was announced yesterday, has leased the Colonial Theatre, Broadway and 63rd street, and will reopen it in October as Hampden's Theatre with a production of "Hamlet." It will be in all respects a new production of the play and will be followed by other plays to be announced later. In the meantime Mr. Hampden will cause several changes to be made in the stage of the theatre.

"Mister Pie-Eye," by Don Marquis, has gone into rehearsal under the direction of James Gleason. Philip Goodman is the producer. Charles Lawrence heads the cast.

Ralph Spence, author of "The Gorilla," has a new comedy, "Here Lies the Truth," which will be presented here early this season by Donald Gallaher and James W. Elliott.

"Playthings," by Frederick and Fanny Hatton, now playing in Los Angeles, will be presented in New York in the late Fall by Thomas Wilkes and Jones and Green.

David Belasco is now rehearsing "Canary Dutch," a new play by Willard Mack, based on a story by John A. Moroso.

A new play by Henry Myers, "The Stolen Me," is being considered for production during the season. Mr. Myers is the author of "The First Fifty Years."

"The Right to Kill," by Herman Bernstein, will be produced here October by Charles Bryant.

An American tour of the Stratford-on-Avon Players is announced for this season, by Mabel R. Beardsley.

Gustav Blum plans to produce three plays this coming season. The first, "Caught," by Kate L. McLaurin, and Pierre Vebor, will be presented by the Ritz Theatre, Tuesday night. Arthur Byron and Janet Beecher are the featured players. Others in the cast include Claudette Colbert, John Williams, Eleanor Williams, George Graham, Edward Rigby and Harry Hanlon.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"THE SEA WOMAN," a new play by Willard Robertson, will be produced by L. Lawrence Weber Monday night, at the Little Theatre. The cast includes Blanche Yurka, Rhea Martin, Paul Kelly, Clyde Fillmore, Charles Halton and Roger Pryor. William B. Friedlander staged the production.

"THE ENCHANTED APRIL," a dramatization by Kane Campbell of the novel of the same name by Countess Russell, will open at the Morosco Theatre, on Monday evening, under the direction of Rosalie Stewart. The cast includes Helen Gahagan, Elizabeth Risdon, Alison Skipworth, Meric Madder, Hugh Huntley and Herbert Yost.

TUESDAY

"THE KISS IN THE TAXI," a farcical comedy adapted by Clifford Grey, from the current Paris success of Maurice Hennequin and Pierre Veber, will be presented by A. A. Woods at the Ritz Theatre, Tuesday night. Others in the cast include Claudette Colbert, John Williams, Eleanor Williams, George Graham, Edward Rigby and Harry Hanlon.

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"CAUCASIAN SKETCHES"
Tchaikovsky-Dvorak-Bach-Reger

ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway)
PRICES, 25c, 50c, \$1.00

'The Lucky Break'

Zelda Sears' Sentimental
Community Comedy is
Well Staged at the Cort

"The Lucky Break," Zelda Sears' new comedy at the Cort Theatre, is one large, gelatinous, quivering mass of goo. In every detail, conception, story, treatment and even acting, the play is indistinguishable from the slushy sentimentalism that used to pass for sentiment in the dear, dead days before the movies. And yet, strange to say, the audience liked it and I liked it and came away feeling fine. But it's got to be well done. And "The Lucky Break" is well written and well staged.

John Bruce is a portly gentleman of about 40 who came back to his old home town far away in Connecticut to see if he could do something for the old folks there with some of his riches. What he finds back home is a bucolic community afflicted with the gimmes. The old friend who runs a struggling hotel has a daughter who has a voice that needs cultivating. Tom thinks he is a painter who needs encouragement. Mrs. Barry has a daughter who could use a husband with a lot of money. Benny Ketchum thinks he has the makings of a super-salesman and all he wants is the chance to show big business in New York what he could do.

All of which pained John beyond measure, because he was that kind of a hard-boiled business man who still believed, after two decades in Wall Street, that there is love and sweetness and light and everything in the world.

So he told everybody that he had lost every cent he had and was busted, and waited to see. And what he saw! Everybody turned sweet on him and was good and kind and sympathetic and nice, and the hotel gave him a job as assistant manager, and he used his business ability to put the establishment on its feet and make a big success of it.

And so he turned out to be richer than ever and gave the painter the chance he wanted and married the nice girl, and sent us all home feeling more glowing and generous and at peace with the world than any time since we saw "Polynna."

George MacFarlane, fatter than ever and not quite so good an actor as he used to be in "Tribble" and "The Only Girl," was John Bruce. MacFarlane has a glorious voice, you know, so in each act he burst into song for no reason at all.

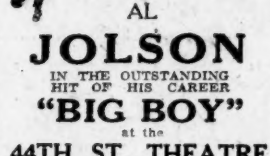
The balance of the cast did well.

W. M. F.

is responsible for the direction of the new De Mille film, "Hell's Highway," from the novel by Ernest Pascal, opening at the Colony, Sunday.

Welcome Home!

Return of the
World's Greatest Entertainer



AL JOLSON
IN THE OUTSTANDING
"BIG BOY"

at the
44TH ST. THEATRE
Monday Night

Even. 8:30. Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30.

CASINO

35th & B'way. Even. 8:25.
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30.

LAST TWO WEEKS OF THE
MUSICAL COMEDY TRIUMPH!

WILLIE HOWARD

in "SKY HIGH"

A STAR CAST AND THE
GREATEST DANCING
GIRLS in THE WORLD

CHASIN'S
46TH ST. THEATRE
Even. 8:15. Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:15.
5TH MONTH—THE LAUGH SENSATION

IS ZAT SO?

By JAMES GLEASON
(Co-author of "The Fall Guy")
and RICHARD TABER

ELTINGE THEATRE, 42d W. of B'way
EVEN. ONLY AT 8:30

6TH MONTH OF THE COMEDY TRIUMPH!

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By JAMES GLEASON
and GEORGE ABBOTT
with ERNEST TRUAX

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of 1925

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SPARKLING MUSICAL REVUE

KLAW Thea. 45th St., W. of B'way. Even. 8:40.
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THEY WHAT THEY WANTED

A COMEDY BY SIDNEY HOWARD

with PAULINE LORD and LEO CARRILLO

THE NEWEST
THING IN
TOWN AND
THE GAYEST.
—Eve. World.

"WILL RUN
FOR MANY
MONTHS."
—Percy
Hammond

Broadway Briefs

"Siegfried," Wagner's Folk Story of the Gods of Valhalla, will be shown on the screen at the Century Theatre beginning Sunday. The picture will remain only four weeks, and then make a tour of the principal cities. Wagner's score of the opera will be used. The presentation is being made by Ufa. Notices from abroad, especially from England, laud the film in highest terms.

Monday night "The Dove," discontinued because of the summer heat, will reopen again at the Empire Theatre. Holbrook Blinn and Judith Anderson return to their former roles.

Walter Woolf will be starred next season in operetta on Benvenuto Cellini with music by Oscar Strauss.

Al Jolson, in "Big Boy," Reopens at 44 St., Monday

Al Jolson and his large supporting cast in "Big Boy," are playing at the Apollo Theatre in Atlantic City this week. On Monday, the metropolitan reopening will take place at the 44th Street Theatre. The cast includes Edythe Baker, Flo Lewis, Leo Donnelly, Frankie James, Frank Holmes, Cosmo Bellw, Maude Turner Gordon, Ralph Whitehead, Ralph Glover, Hugh Banks, William Bonelli, Franklyn Batie, William L. Thorne and George Gilday.

On Monday, August 24, the Ross Gorman "Vanities" orchestra will begin to broadcast its concerts from the auditorium of the Earl Carroll Theatre. The second concert will be given on August 31 and on every Tuesday thereafter, from 8 to 8:45.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"Kiss Me Again," with Marie Prevost, Monte Blue and Clara Bow.

CAMEO—Reginald Denny in "Where Was I?", by Edgar Franklin.

CAPITOL—Constance Talmadge in "Her Sister From Paris," from the story by Hans Kraly.

CENTURY—"Siegfried," Wagner's immortal story, with music from the composer's score.

COLONY—"Hell's Highway," a picturization of Ernest Pascal's novel, with Leatrice Joy.

RIALTO—"The Ten Commandments."

RIVOLI—Thomas Meighan in "The Man Who Found Himself," with Virginia Valli and Julia Hoyt.

The Realm of Books

Evolution at Work

A Review by AUGUST CLAESSENS

THE PASSING OF THE PHANTOMS. By C. J. Patten. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. \$1.

In this little book we have another eminent specialist, a Professor of Anatomy this time, out on a joy ride. The subject matter of his excursion belongs to the domain of animal psychology and anthropology. Both of these are considerably unrelated to anatomy, particularly the former. But, then, even a specialist is entitled to a fling now and then, and so Professor Patten has had his. His brief treatise, altogether too brief, is on the theme of evolutionary psychology and morals, and though parts of it are rather technical and weighted with a jargon quite foreign to the layman, it is, nevertheless, an intensely interesting essay.

An effort is made to prove that we may hope for the passing of the phantoms (imagination and superstitions) and eventually attain a more sensible attitude towards phenomena and a more rational code. The writer takes us on a delightful ramble. We are given fleeting glimpses of the pre-natal evidences of Evolution; the cycle or repeated history of life-forms, extinct and extant, in the human embryo; and the unfolding of the mental faculties and the kinship, or, as he calls it, the cousinship of all creatures, including man. Now, here is enough ground for a young library, but Patten covers all this in thirty tiny pages, very entertainingly to be sure, but woefully inadequate and far from convincing.

unless the reader is more widely informed.

Patten plunges dauntlessly into the battle-field of comparative and behavioristic psychology and he enlivens his exposition with many vivid observations of animal behavior. He proves himself an alert analyst and an enthusiast in the joyous pursuit of knowledge, but unless I am badly mistaken, I believe he has walked into quicks and on the topic of inherited experiences. If the behaviorists and environmentalists among our contemporary psychologists catch him at it he surely is in for a spanking. Particularly so when he speaks of "the evolution of theology as an inherent instinct," or of "social instincts" and the moral sense or instinct as "implanted" or inherited, our Professor of Anatomy is surely borrowing trouble.

His study of the evolution of the moral sense follows the line of evidence and reasoning of Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid" and Patten's discourse is much too brief to compare with that famous work. Nor is his meiotic treatment of the evolution of human morality satisfactory to those who are acquainted with the scholarly works on that subject by Spencer, Ward, Westermarck, Tozer, Dewey and Marrett. And lastly, when our amiable anatomist, after lancing hoary superstitions, tries to reconcile their essence, with the modern scientific approach and arrives at an "agnostic theology" we were more than happy that our friend had limited his otherwise interesting argument to 102 pages.

Political and Social History

A Review by JAMES ONEAL

A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1829-1925. By Homer C. Hockett. New York: The Macmillan Co.

A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1829-1925. By Arthur M. Schlesinger. New York: The Macmillan Co.

THESE two volumes are intended to be a continuous history of the United States from its European beginnings to the present year. For those who have no time for the larger works of many volumes and who are dissatisfied with the one volume text book, the design of this history will be welcome. Whether the execution of the work is satisfactory will, of course, depend upon the point of view of the reader. Of the first volume we confess a certain disappointment. Professor Hockett writes that "While, political development still properly forms the central theme of history, the operation of the deep-seated social and economic forces which give it much of its significance must be made plain." The performance falls short of the promise. The economic background is evident in the first volume, certainly more evident than in the histories of twenty years ago, but not sufficient to give American political development the significance promised by Professor Hockett.

I have recently read somewhere of the tendency of some American historians to promise much in the way of social and economic interpretation and then when they approach the task to avoid the full implications of the promise. Professor Hockett seems to fall into this class of writers. Where he deals with social and economic factors he presents just enough to be tantalizing and not sufficient to satisfy the expectant reader. Yet the reader will find this volume accurate, and were it not for its partial failure to satisfy on the score of its author's promise there would be no need to criticize.

At the end of each chapter will be

found a serviceable bibliography and there is only one criticism we have to make of it. The American Historical Review is cited a number of times and yet no date is given to enable the reader to consult the article referred to. Some of us would like to follow up these references and even to pick up a copy of the Review in some second-hand book shop. In the case of magazines it is useless to cite them unless the particular number is mentioned.

We turned to Professor Schlesinger's volume with anticipation as any reader would who is acquainted with his remarkable study of the colonial merchants in the Revolution and his "New Viewpoints in American History." His promise is somewhat similar to Professor Hockett's, but his performance is more satisfactory although we feel that he has exercised a restraint in considering economic and social backgrounds that is not warranted by his other work. The "dynamic currents" which he considers as having shaped the nation's life are: (1) the growth of nationality; (2) the struggle for greater democracy; (3) changes in the methods of production and distribution (as evidenced, for instance, by the introduction of machinery and the social adjustments necessitated thereby); (4) the constant striving for social amelioration, including the contest for free public schools, improvement in the lot of women and children, and the successive movements for humanitarian reform; and (5) the expansion of the national boundaries.

Into the period of this volume falls some of the most notable struggles in American history. The Jacksonian Democracy, a peculiar compound of urban and rural radicalism in revolt against the capitalist and planter aristocracy of the East; the increasing importance of the contest between Northern capitalism and the Southern slaveocracy for possession of the Western lands; the rise of the Labor movement; the shattering of the old political parties over the extension of slavery;

the appeal to arms and the Civil War; the triumph of capitalism to the Gulf and enforcement of its rule by military power; the liquidation of Republican "idealism" in the dirty carousal of Grant's Administrations; the rise and growth of the higher capitalism and its expansion overseas, are all considered in a well-balanced narrative.

Here and there Professor Schlesinger ventures an opinion which, although not as forceful and pregnant with meaning as Oberholtzer's in his two excellent volumes, is to the point. For example, "The undoing of the 'Slave Power' meant the removal from national politics of an aggressive political force, whose place in the nation was presently taken by the rise of a new capitalist class, domiciled in the North and based on manufacturing and railway holdings." However, the opinions and interpretations do not have that vigorous character that are found in the other two works mentioned. Since their publication Professor Schlesinger has gone to Harvard, and one wonders if the more conservative atmosphere of Cambridge has had an influence in restraining that tendency for decisive and more forceful judgments which distinguished his work in Iowa.

We note in the bibliography he has mentioned the books of a few Socialists who have written on American history, and one rather astonishing citation is offered in the bibliography following the last chapter. The sole reference for the Washington Conference is Mark Sullivan's "The Great Adventure at Washington." Our recollection is that this book merely reproduces the "atmosphere" of the Conference and one may search in vain for the backgrounds of the Conference, its actions, its decisions and the reasons back of them. Professor Buell's "The Washington Conference" is an informing work and how it came to be overlooked is something we do not understand as the bibliography appended to each chapter bears evidence of careful selection.

English Contrasts

A Review by MARY P. FULLER

LIFTING MISTS. By Austin Harrison. New York: Thomas Seltzer.

MAY FAIR. By Michael Arlen. New York: George H. Doran.

TWO volumes with an English setting—so exceedingly English—as English as "Tom Jones," which I have read for the first time during a bit of midsummer leisure; and to digress from my subject briefly, what writing, was there, my friends! such quaint philosophizing, such penetrating understanding of human nature, even without the aid lent by modern psychology; such delicious irony. Fielding was consciously writing a story and admits it; our more recent authors seldom admit that there is not indeed verisimilitude between the events they describe and actuality.

But, of course, there is an actuality about every novel, for no author can write except from his experience, vicarious though it may be. In the case of "Lifting Mist" there is the English public school with which, somehow, the American readers are very familiar, having met it from the time when "Tom Brown's Adventures" were enacted to the days when Stephen McKenna's "Sonia" sparkled across the reader's stage. And there is the English lad attending the public school. He may be more sensitive than young Sam Hone, or far less so, but he is the same English boy with his admiration for sports, his respect for tradition, his acceptance of authority.

This story has a peculiarly charming interlude in the little idyl between the boy and the girl, who, unlike the boy, is decidedly unique. Someone has remarked that the incident is reminiscent of the love episode in "Richard Feverel." One is also reminded of Bjorkman's "Soul of a Child" as one watches this lad struggle to discover what he is and what life means, what sex is and means. His elders offer him no help at understanding these life stirrings in himself—nor do his companions. Through his choice comradeship with the little girl he works it out satisfactorily and beautifully.

The author is the son of Frederic Harrison and edited the "English Review."

There could scarcely be a greater contrast than the simple, straightforward writing of Mr. Harrison and the style which Mr. Arlen has selected for the delectation of his audience. One writes "selected" advisedly, since there never was a style which seemed so definitely striven for and strained after, so that the effect is that of intense artificiality. The reader is carried along in the "Green Hat" by the scintillating quality of this Mazzabul style and by the intrigues and suspense of the plot, but "May Fair" fails to absorb him, leaves him cold.

"May Fair" is a poor imitation of the short tales of de Maupassant, O. Henry, and the general run of "Cosmopolitan" short story. Its artificiality affects the reader on every page. It would appear that the author, having met with success and fame, had felt that, by employing his ability to turn a very unusual phrase and hit on an improbable plot, he could get away with a volume of short stories. There are a few human touches in the volume but not a single human being; there are brilliancies, but the glare only hurts the eyes; occasionally one is carried away by the smooth charm of a passage or line, but in general the machinery creaks. Smart London society is bound to wear on one sooner or later. Would it be too much to hope that Mr. Arlen will return to his earlier sincerity and perhaps to a more wholesome study of people who do not draw their entire income from British consols or feudal estates?

Constance Talmadge at Capitol in "Her Sister From Paris"

Constance Talmadge comes to the Capitol Theatre, Sunday, in "Her Sister From Paris," a new domestic comedy-drama just produced for First National, by Joseph M. Schenck. Ronald Colman has the principal male role, and supporting players include George K. Arthur and Margaret Mann. Sidney A. Franklin directed. The story is an original one by Hans Kraly, who wrote many of Lubitsch's European successes and recently wrote "Her Night of Romance" for Constance.

WORKERS' EDUCATION

By MARGARET T. HODGEN

A sympathetic comprehensive review of the many efforts made within the last century to enrich the lives of wage-earners, especially manual workers, through cultural education beyond what they could have got at school. \$5.00

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THE WORLD OF THE INCAS

By OTFRID von HANSTEIN

who shows that Bellamy's dream was really "Looking Backward" for a purely Socialist State actually existed among the Incas.

It is authenticated history, but reads like a novel.

\$2.50 at any bookstore
E. P. Dutton & Co., 681 5th Ave., N. Y.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

(Continued from Page 9)

ing condolences to Comrade Ryan Walker on the death of Comrade Maud Davis Walker. There was considerable discussion in regard to the coming visit to this country of certain European Socialists, and the desirability of entertaining them by a banquet or otherwise. It was decided that the American Socialist Party should make the best use possible of the distinguished comrades who come to our shores as delegates to the Interparliamentary Union.

Organizer Stille reports that Local Poughkeepsie has reorganized and that the comrades are full of vim and disposition to work. A new meeting place for the Local has been secured, lectures and forum meetings are planned, and new members are being brought in at every meeting. Stille went to Poughkeepsie for three or four days to complete the work started there some time ago. National Organizer Stille expects to take up Cohoes next.

Comrade Theresa B. Wiley of Schenectady, candidate for State Comptroller in 1924, will substitute for Comrade Merrill as State Secretary while the latter is taking his annual vacation.

District Organizer Samuel H. Stille, is out for big game. His latest is setting for himself a goal of 500 subscriptions for the American Appeal within the next few weeks. He writes from Albany: "Our new Local here has sixty members, and more coming. We elected officials, put a full ticket in the field, selected a dues-collecting committee and another committee to take care of the American Appeal suits, assigned jobs to as many as possible, rented a respectable home for the Local. We had a grand meeting tonight, full of new hope. . . . If this can be done in Albany it can be done in any city in this country."

He has added fifty-two new members to the Glens Falls local, making sixty in all. He says the "new officials are going strong."

Big Syracuse Meeting
Ester Friedman spoke in Syracuse at an open-air meeting to about 300 people. Twenty-five copies of The New Leader sold like hot cakes. The comrades advise all locals that hold open-air meetings to use The New Leader at their meetings. The crowd listened very attentively to all that Comrade Friedman had to say relative to conditions in Europe and their effect on Americans.

GREATER CITY COMMITTEE

Wednesday, August 26, 8:30 p. m., at 7 East 15th street, Room 505.

NEW YORK CITY

New Leaflets Ready
The persistent demand which has come from active Socialists for literature to be used in the campaign has been met by the Literature Committee of the City Committee. Two excellent leaflets are now in the hands of the printer and will be ready in a few days: "Seven Points

for New York Voters" and "What Socialists Are and Are Not." The former is a digest of the Party platform, while the latter is an educational leaflet that will be in great demand by those who are interested in the educational work of the Socialist Party.

These leaflets will be printed attractively on fine, antique paper, and will be quite an improvement over the old style leaflets previously used in campaigns.

For those who desire the full Platform adopted by the Fusion Convention of the Socialist Party and the American Labor party, there is available an eight-page pamphlet.

Another leaflet, "What Is Socialism?" issued by the National Office, will also be on hand shortly.

Requests for literature should be made to the Executive Secretaries in the various counties.

LOCAL NEW YORK

Central Committee
Tuesday, August 25, 8:30 p. m., at Labor Temple, 243 East 84th street.

22nd-23rd A. D.
Wednesday, August 26, 8:30 p. m., at 3785 Broadway, corner 157th street. Branch meeting. William Karlin will lecture on "Revolutionary Methods, Past and Present."

Friday, August 28, at 8:30 p. m., street meeting corner 157th street. Speakers: Ella O. Guilford, George Meyers and Alexander Schwartz. Sam Gradstein, chairman.

14th-15th-16th A. D.
Thursday, August 27, 8:30 p. m., at 227 East 84th street. Branch meeting.

6th A. D.
Friday, August 28, 8:30 p. m., at 137 avenue B. Branch meeting.

3rd-5th-10th A. D.
Monday, August 24, 8:30 p. m. Branch meeting at 7 East 15th street, Room 402.

Thursday, August 27, 8:30 p. m., Street meeting at 24th street and 8th avenue. Speakers: Mary Goff, Leonard C. Kaye, Sam Gradstein, Chairman.

Upper West Side Branch
Wednesday, August 26, 8:30 p. m. Street meeting. Speakers: Gertrude Weil Klein and Samuel H. Friedman. Chairman, Lester Diamond.

17th-18th-20th A. D.
Wednesday, August 26, 8:30 p. m. Street meeting, 116th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: Ella O. Guilford and Leonard C. Kaye. Chairman, Eli Cohen.

LOCAL BRONX

The Bronx battalion of speakers are ready. The 1925 campaign will be opened with the old fighting spirit for which the Bronx is famous. The trumpet call sounds. Every Comrade to the front. The Secretary works restlessly and he is not inclined to listen to any real Socialist soldier asking for rest. No more rest after September 1. Every Comrade on the job. The Bronx will not be caught napping, for we know real work will result in victory. Our organizer, August Claessens, reports splendid success on his tour through

THEATRES



EUGENE O'NEILL'S GREATEST PLAY
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42nd SENSATIONAL WEEK

B. S. MOSS' BWAY at 42nd St.
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NOON TO 1:30 P. M.
Hotter the Weather—Cooler the Colony
BEGINNING SUNDAY

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A sparkling, gorgeous entertainment

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LUBITSCH'S MASTERPIECE
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GREATER MOVIE SEASON

"Kiss Me Again"

—WITH—
MARIE PREVOST
Monte Blue and Clara Bow
AND

World's Best Vaudeville

MUSIC

Three Audition Winners
To Appear in Final Week
Of Stadium Concerts

Three young American artists, selected by the Stadium Auditions Committee and the National Music League, will be soloists with the Philharmonic Orchestra under William Van Hoogstraeten's direction at the Stadium Concerts next week. They are Dorys Le Vene, pianist; Bernard Ocko, violinist, and Marion Anderson, mezzo-soprano.

The program: Monday—"A Victory Ball," Schelling; Hungarian Fantasia, Liszt; Miss Le Vene. "Don Juan," Strauss; "Nutsacker" Suite, Tchaikovsky; Slavic March, Tchaikovsky. Tuesday—"Overture," Weber; "Two Elegiac Melodies" for Strings, Grieg; Concerto in F sharp minor, Wieniawski; Mr. Ocko. Music from "A Midsummer Night's Dream," Mendelssohn; "Pacific 231," Honegger; Les Preludes, Liszt. Wednesday—Military March, Richard Strauss; "O mio Fernando" (La Favorita), Donizetti; Miss Anderson. Dances, Debussy-Ravel; Negro Songs and Spirituals, Miss Anderson. Symphony No. 1, Brahms. Thursday—Overture to "The Flying Dutchman," Wagner; A Siegfried Idyll, Wagner; Prelude to Act 3 of "Lohengrin," Wagner; Symphony No. 7, Beethoven. Friday—"Coriolanus" Overture, Beethoven; "Unfinished" Symphony, Schubert; Two Tone-Poems, Saint-Saens; "A Night on Bald Mountain," Moussorgsky; "Tannhauser" Overture, Wagner. Saturday—Overture to "The Merry Wives of Windsor," Nicolai; "Firebird" Suite, Stravinsky; "Isle of the Dead," Rachmaninoff; Waltz, "Blue Danube," Strauss; Overture, "1812," Tchaikovsky. Sunday, August 30 (Closing Night)—Request Program.

Boston Civic Opera Co. Opens
in "Aida," at Manhattan
Opera House, on Labor Day

Thirty-one members of the Boston Civic Grand Opera Company embarked at Genoa, Italy, on Thursday, August 20, on an Italian steamship, including practically all of the leading singers, conductors and artistic staff. None of the principal artists have ever sung in



CLARA BOW

heads the players in Ernest Lubitsch's screen production, "Kiss Me Again," at Moss' Broadway next week

THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association.
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Saturday, August 22, 1925

DOES MUSSOLINI RULE HERE?

THE amazing extent of the influence of the Italian Fascists in this country is revealed by the arrest of Vincenzo Vacirca of the Italian Socialist Federation as told on another page of The New Leader. A year or two ago the long arm of Mussolini reached across the Atlantic and placed Carlo Tresca in an American penitentiary. Recently Mussolini's followers attempted to mob a Garibaldi celebration and later beat up a Garibaldi 80-year-old veteran in the street. Vacirca is followed by the black-shirt cowards, his peaceful meeting is entered, broken up, and Vacirca is held by the police under charges of an "affray".

Is the United States to become a gendarme to do the dirty work of the paranoic who rules Italy, as though Italians are all cattle? It is time that a thorough investigation should be made to ascertain the reason why Mussolini's agents can engage in violence and courts be used against their victims. If the United States is a colonial dependency of Mussolini, let us have it stated in a treaty. Meantime, we urge the organized working class to protest and watch that Vacirca is not turned over to Mussolini and his assassins.

OUR MOROCCAN HEIRS

PERHAPS the French and Spanish Governments will be relieved of the holy task of extending "civilization" to Morocco, and the United States may assume the burden. From Berlin comes the news that an Anglo-American syndicate will purchase gigantic interests of the Mannesmann brothers in the Spanish zone of Morocco, which includes coastal ports, zinc, sulphur, and other mines and extensive agricultural tracts. Otto H. Kahn, the New York banker, is reported to be in on the deal.

If the deal goes through, the United States and Great Britain will fall heir to much of Moroccan real estate and other properties and the State Department will have to create a bureau to kindly look after the American end of this investment. We may be sure that our imperialist politicians will also become interested in extending "Christianity" to the heathen in that part of the world and to bring "stable government" that will be satisfactory to banker Kahn and his British colleagues.

Thus far the French and Spanish civilizers have had a bad time of it in civilizing the Rifians in Morocco. Quite a number of Rifians have been "pacified," as graves in the Rif testify, but those who are alive are rather stubborn about accepting the "civilization" of their "betters." The British and American Governments have a lot of cannon fodder that may be enlisted in the noble crusade if necessary, and we may yet be engaged in another war to make British and American bankers happy.

In any event, it will be interesting to observe how the American Government rises to its opportunity to serve our financial oligarchy in Morocco the moment it is known that the deal has gone through.

Jimmy Walker is the candidate of the Tammany firm of political brokers, and one ardent admirer expresses his emotion by inserting an advertisement in the World which reads: "Jimmy Walker! Win With Walker! He's A Corker!! Jimmy Walker!!!!!! The argument is overwhelming. He's a corker and we surrender!"

The Colorado Koo Kos have deserted the Imperial Lizard, have organized the Minute Men of America, and will go after the dollars of the booby without dividing up with Atlanta. In this free country there is a chance for every boob.

SLAVERY, ARCHAIC AND MODERN

THE temporary commission on slavery of the League of Nations reports that slavery is practically confined to the Mahomedan countries but that peonage in Latin-American countries is for all practical purposes often slavery. Technically, all that goes with the word slavery is abolished in the modern countries, but its essence, the subjection of one class to the exploitation of another, survives.

The capitalist form of subjection is becoming universal. It consists of one class being dependent upon the means of employment owned by another class. Those who profit by this form of subjection are eager to wipe out archaic forms of robbing Labor but are very anxious to preserve their own method of accomplishing the same purpose. Indeed, they consider their own system as one of equity and regard those who desire to wipe it out as very dangerous persons.

Then there are millions of workers who find it difficult to think of the wage system as exploitation because wage payment conceals its real character. The worker parts with labor power, receives money for it, and pays it out for commodities. The money he receives appears to be an equitable exchange for his labor power, but in reality the capitalist who purchased the labor power gets a surplus value which he pockets for himself.

Thanks to this mystery of exchange of labor power for wages the subjection of the workers is obtained without them becoming aware of the real transaction. The naked forms of slavery and peonage are glaringly obvious, and for that reason they are out of date. Capitalism adds hypocrisy to deceit, and only sound education of the masses will enable them to understand that they part with more values to an owning class than any other subject class in history.

WRITTEN BY REQUEST

WE ARE urged by the National Office of the Socialist Party to make a request on this page for the benefit of unattached Socialists. This request is that Socialists in unorganized localities who are readers of The New Leader should send their names and address to the National Office, and they in turn will get some interesting information that is essential and helpful in their work. We herewith add the observation that the isolated Socialist is a contradiction. He must surround himself with others of like opinions and then all organize for systematic educational work. It is helpful information.

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THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

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Joint Action Of Miners

A secret conference of the leaders of the United Mine Workers in Philadelphia, including representatives of the bituminous and anthracite miners, would appear to bear out the suggestion that the bituminous workers may strike with their brothers in the other field. There have been threats of joint action and it is possible that the miners have been stimulated by the concessions won by the British miners because of the solid front presented by the whole Labor movement. Here such a wide solidarity is not yet possible. Most of the unions are still so parochial in their outlook that united action of a number of organizations is still an ideal of only a small section of advanced trade unionists. The fact that the two main sections of the miners are thinking of joint action is evidence of progress. They have never contemplated it before. The futile utopians who are urging a general strike, especially calling upon the railroad unions, might as well bay at the moon. In the first place, these unions do not always cooperate with each other. Then the matter of a general strike is not only a matter of a long period of preparation but it is also a weapon that cannot be used on every occasion. Each situation must be carefully studied even after the workers are prepared in order to avoid an adventure that might easily prove to be a disaster however well prepared organized workers may be for it.

Textile Masters Challenged

The letter of President Green of the A. F. of L. to the President of the American Woolen Company protesting against wage reductions in the textile industry is blasting in its analysis and logic. It is the most creditable document that has come from that source in many years. Mr. Green gives some recent history of the industry, showing that the fat oligarchs who own it have obtained from the Government high tariff rates and behind the tariff wall have mercilessly made reduction after reduction in wages. At the same time articles that sell for \$10 at the factory have a labor cost of from \$1 to \$2 while dividends have been voted ranging from 50 to 2,000 per cent. Simultaneously with the appearance of this letter in the press there appeared a statement by 150 representatives of 20,000 Rhode Island textile workers protesting against another 10 per cent wage reduction and appealing to President Coolidge in order that publicity might be obtained for their distress. It is also a striking fact that the New England textile region has generally rolled up big majorities for the G. O. P. The dogma of "protection" has appealed to the textile workers just as it did to the iron and steel workers for a generation. Eventually the

tion that will aid unorganized Socialists which the National Office desires to impart to the scattered soldiers of the new emancipation.

As this is written, a reader in a little town in Ohio puts an interesting question. He asks, "If it required 100,000 years to evolve a K. K. K. American, how many million years will it take to evolve a Socialist out of a Kluxer?"

This appears to be a poser, but we should not forget that shortly before the Civil War the Dred Scott decision affirming the perpetuation of slavery was acclaimed as the final word on the "peculiar institution." After "Bloody Sunday," in 1905, the Russian revolutionary organizations suffered the most terrible pessimism, but twelve years later Czarism was no more. Moreover, despite the temporary setbacks in some nations, in recent years the working class movement throughout the world is more powerful than ever. The answer to our reader's question is obvious.

Address the National Office, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, get instructions, and then go to work!

ALL FOR THIRTY CENTS

A WRITER in the Typographical Journal offers a suggestion to increase the number of jobs for those working in the printing trades which is typical of what Professor Hoxie called "business unionism." He would have a million printers and allied craftsmen "spend a two-cent stamp to send for any booklet or circular offered by any national advertiser in a magazine or weekly advertisement. The booklet or other printed matter comes promptly. Then comes a follow-up letter with more literature (a circular), and still later another letter with additional advertising matter (a different circular) to stimulate a sale."

More details are given, but the idea is apparent. The writer estimates that if all those working in the printing trades were to do this fifteen times "at a cost of the magnificent sum of 30 cents per each individual" they would wipe out 100,000,000 pieces of printed matter. He becomes enthusiastic over the prospect of exhausting catalogues and advertising matter of business firms so rapidly that printers and others in the trade would never want for work.

Rarely have we seen a more striking example of business unionism than this. It is no accident that the mind that could gestate this suggestion is also one that could only conceive the World War as one of "polishing off the Kaiser." What he wants is work. He would be satisfied with a crazy proposal for having printed matter destroyed as rapidly

as it came from the press. He would enjoy a civilization where men were set to digging post holes and filling them up again.

The unionism that has no ideals or social objectives, that sees nothing more than the pay check, differs little from the Babbitt of the average chamber of commerce. It would be unfair to indict all unions on this score, but that the writer in the Typographical Journal represents a large number of union men must be sadly admitted.

WHITE CIVILIZATION

ARTHUR BRISBANE shapes the opinions of millions through the Hearst publications and yet there is no more shallow reasoning done by any journalist, although he is capable of better work. He presents French imperialism in Morocco as the extension of "civilization" and damns the Rifians for believing the "bloody doctrines" of Mohammed.

Very well. But he proceeds to show the superiority of the French in killing with flying machines and other modern weapons. "Those ancient regions," he writes, "around Damascus will know what modern science means." In other words, Rifians subscribe to "bloody doctrines" when they kill, but when the French kill it is a demonstration of "modern science."

Then the United States "should remember that France is making civilization's fight and the fight for white-man rule on earth in her African and Eastern fighting." France is doing nothing of the kind. She is fighting for the extension of the rule of French capitalists and bankers and nobody else. The same class exploit their own color and nationality at home.

In the United States before the Civil War there were 18,000 Negroes owned by the free Negroes and the latter were opposed to abolition. William Garrison is said to have made the acquaintance of a Negro in Charleston, S. C., after the war and congratulated the Negro on emancipation. The Negro answered, "Huh. Me glad? They took all my niggers away."

The moral is obvious. Exploitation knows no color line.

Socialists are now rarely charged with the intention of breaking up homes. Probably this is a matter of pride with the retainers of capitalism considering the job they did during the World War.

The Mexican Communist party is lacking in discipline and in Marxist-Leninist education.—Communist Organ. Try a pamphlet on Dowieism, boys. That will set 'em right.

iron and steel workers realized the same experience that the textile workers are now enduring. Moreover, the organization of the iron and steel workers has been crushed in the larger industries which they helped to protect with their voting power. Why do workers continue to wrap their ballots into clubs and hand them over to their enemies in this age of enlightenment?

German Agrarians Get Tariff Rise

Just before adjourning until the middle of November the German Reichstag made good the pledge made by the bourgeois Government to the Agrarians last year in return for their support for the Dawes Reparation Plan and passed a tariff bill materially raising the duties on all farm products. To hold the industrialists in line for the food duties they received an increase in the rates on most of their products, especially automobiles. The Socialist and Communist Deputies fought this bill for many weary weeks as calculated to increase the already high cost of living, but they were outnumbered and on the day of the final vote the Socialists left the hall in protest and the Communists loudly shouted "No!" During the debates several Communists were removed from the Reichstag by the police because of their violent tactics. The Reichstag also passed an Amnesty Bill on the last day of the session described as intended to set at liberty practically all of the few 100 per centers jailed for having tried to overthrow the republic or for beating up Socialists or Communists, while keeping behind the bars most of the imprisoned Communists and Labor men convicted on similar charges.

Mexico Honors Felipe Carrillo

On Sunday last President Calles unveiled in the City of Mexico a bust of Felipe Carrillo Puerto, the Socialist Governor of Yucatan murdered by the revolting troops of the Eighteenth Infantry Battalion on Jan. 3, 1924. In addition to the thousands of Mexican workers present at the ceremony, there was a delegation of Maya Indians from Yucatan who had come to pay tribute to the memory of their beloved leader. A few days before the unveiling, a report from Honduras told of the suicide there of Juan Ricardo Broca, chief of the De la Huerta counter-revolution in Yucatan. Broca shot himself because he dared not return to Mexico and was unable to find employment in Honduras.

A general tightening of the political lines of the political class struggle in France is likely to result from the good work accomplished at the special Congress of the Socialist Party

held in Paris Aug. 15-18. The Congress began throwing out Alexander Varenne, once a prominent Socialist leader, for having accepted the job of Governor General of Indo-China from the bourgeois Poincaré Government, and it ended by adopting a resolution serving notice upon Premier Poincaré that unless he made speedy peace with Abd El-Krim and also accepted the principle of a capital levy when the Chamber of Deputies reassembled in October the Socialist Deputies would do their best to turn him out of office and clear the decks for a straight-out electoral contest in which the Socialists and the more advanced followers of ex-Premier Herriot would be lined up against the Right Bloc and the near-Radicals. That the Socialists are ready for a new election is indicated by the fact that the dues-paying membership of the party is now more than 102,000, a gain of over 25,000 since the beginning of the year and 9,000 more than the membership in 1914. At the time of the split forced by the Communists at Tours in 1920 the membership was 180,000, of whom only about 50,000 stuck by the Socialist party. That the French Socialists are overwhelmingly in favor of clear, uncompromising tactics is shown by the fact that the Congress cast 2,219 votes for Leon Blum's motion for non-participation in any bourgeois Cabinet to 559 for Pierre Renaudel's motion in favor of participation, and that the vote by which Varenne was ousted was 2,095 to 391. Paul Faure, National Secretary of the party, is a leading champion of straight Socialist policy.

ADD WEEK'S NEWS

Tientsin has been another scene of firing on strikers, this time the firing being done by Chinese guards and police, and the situation there was tense for a few days. The strike in Shanghai has been the longest of any in the history of the country, which shows that the Chinese workers have acquired a fighting spirit that is hopeful for the future. Meantime, the demand of the Chinese for the abolition of extraterritorial "rights" of foreigners continues and the latter express fear of their property and lives if it is conceded. Thomas F. Millard's articles in the Times are the most informing that have appeared. He stresses the fact that only five per cent of the population are literate but that the masses are easily stirred over the power held by aliens. The natives are not in favor of the Soviets although they appreciate the renunciation of imperialist control by the Russians and contrast it to the disadvantage of the capitalist Powers. There are 1,700,000 men in the armed forces, and experts assert that it would take 300,000 troops two years to defeat the Chinese if war occurs, to say nothing of the billions that would be sunk in such an enter-

THE Chatter-Box

Sea Moon

Last night the moon rose up
From out the sea—
A maiden blushing
In her modesty.

But came a ravisher;
I saw not how, nor whence—
So soon she paled
With her experience. . . .
Saturday Night, Belmar, N. J.

We are somewhat elated by the evident interest shown through the correspondence from all parts of this country about our medical melée of recent issues. Comrade Larcom, from Nogales, Arizona, compiles in his Gatling gun of a letter most of the complimentary comments of those less articulate than himself, and we sure do wish space would permit his machine-fire against the doctors et al. But with all this encouragement always comes the fear that perhaps we are overdoing it to the detriment of our own peaceful mission of letters in this column. We are naturally more interested in poetry than we are in therapeutics, and to neglect the muse that lies clamoring from 100 contrails in the bottom drawer of the desk is well-nigh criminal. We take issue with Dr. Gold, however, whose letter last week evidences his taking the matter of his profession rather lightly. Our Chatterboxing will have been utterly futile if every now and then we do not get down from our Parnassian perch and take a hay-making wallop at the frauds and quackeries that beset us. Just grinding away on one tune of making Socialists through the old methods of propaganda would become boring to the organ-grinder and his public, both. If the pugnacious chih of a public pest gets too close to our itching fist, we just have to take a slam—that's all. And take it from any worker who has had the misfortune of dealing with the healing profession, public pest is entirely too complimentary. But more anon.

Food

April found the kitchen door. . . .
Now, she thought, I'll go:
Life was not a splintered floor
Nor pots in a row.

April found the window pane. . . .
So she put them back:
Life was not a bedless lane
Nor a hungry track.

S. Bert Cooksley.

Revolt

I have desire to shout, to swell the air
With long-neglected voice—to retreble
The aeon silence of my heart, and share
The balm of mentioned feelings. Oh, the
mute,
Long grieving! Oh, the virile, cloistered
tongue!
For all it could have said and saith not,
For all the music lost in stifled song,
For all the thoughts thus dungeoned to
be rot!

No longer shall emotion be subdued,
Nor tethered by the dearth of hearken-
ing ears;
The swelling heart shall joyously exude
In healthy song, its many joys and fears.
What that its voice be neither heard nor
sought?
The heart's unburdened with each winged
thought.

Joseph Resnick.

Paeon to the Sixth Avenue El

Bounded by your brittle speed,
The hybrid peoples of hating world
Crowd in a proximity
Not much closer than the nations
They have left.
Yet—they sit in peace.

Shawled Maggie yonder speaks strange
words
With comprehensive gesture
And international eyes
To Isaac's Slavic bride:
Archaic Abdul, turbaned by a derby,
Garbles incoherence in accents eons old
To a greasy Greek;
The while your brittle speed
Welds a mechanic microcosm
In which they sit—in peace.

Is it dogmatic democracy,
Falsely flouted by the fettered nation
Whose smoke-titted space you ride—
Is it bland "Brotherhood of Man,"
Still-born in the souls of dreamers—
Or is it just indifference,
Fostered by the narrowness of living,
Forever barred by brittle speed,
That lets them sit—in peace?

Gloria Goddard.

We pause here long enough to inform you above the din of the pseudo-battle between the hirelings of Tweedledeum and Tweedledum for the control of the city of East-Side-West-Side-All-around-the-town that we, too, are somewhat interested. If you are at all voting in the primaries, please remember that in a certain section of the afore-mentioned city there is a place called the Borough of the Bronx, and that said section is sorely in need of a Socialist President—and that we would be sore indeed if we were not elected to that position. The issue is clear cut, and the decision lies in your hands—oh, proletariats!

S. A. DE WITT.

prise. The Chinese will fight any attempt of the Powers to take further control, and this prospect of stiff resistance makes the Powers hesitate to embark upon a policy that would be likely to meet great opposition at home and pile up another staggering war debt. It is probable that the capitalist Powers will rely on negotiations and save as much of their "rights" in China as they can and not provoke a war that might involve other sections of Asia.