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TIME TOPI

By Norman Thomas

THE policeman who arrested me under the sour apple tree in Garfield, New Jersey, was an honest, good-natured sort of chap who didn't like his job. While the mighty intellects of Hackensack were trying to draw up a complaint for him to sign, I, my friend the cop, soliloquized thus: "Well, the meeting was moral, it was certainly peace, but law and morals ain't the same thing, and a policeman has to go by the law, only sometimes he doesn't know what it is."

That rather humorous bit of philosophy has found tragic illustration in the decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts upholding the lower court and denying Sacco and Vanzetti a new trial. What the court said may be law—we have our doubts of that—it certainly was not justice. All the legal decisions of all the black-robed justices of the world cannot alter the fact that the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti on the basis of their trial will be judicial murder. The evidence against them would not have hanged an East Side gunman, except for the anti-Red hysteria. These men are condemned as murderers, not on the weight of the evidence, but because they are "Reds."

Let me briefly review the facts. The atrocious crime of murder and robbery took place at South Braintree, Mass., April 15, 1920. Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested May 5, 1920, when they were active in arranging protest meetings in the famous Salsedo case. Would bandits have been engaged in such public activities? At first the two suspects were questioned only with regard to radical activities, and the misleading answers returned by them had reference to these activities. Two days later they were suddenly charged with murder and robbery. The men were denied separate trials, the courtroom was turned into an armed camp, anti-foreign feeling ran high. Eighteen Italians swore to having seen Vanzetti in Plymouth at the time of the murder. Their testimony was utterly disregarded. On the face of it, the identification of Sacco and Vanzetti by five witnesses was extraordinarily weak. Since the trial two of the star witnesses for the prosecution have recanted their testimony and shown their utter unreliability. A third testified under an assumed name, and is now known to have served two terms for larceny. The testimony of other alleged eye-witnesses was contradictory. A new witness has been found who stood within two feet of the murder car and is certain that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti was in it. Finally, micro-photographs of the mortal bullet show that it could not have come from Sacco's revolver, as the prosecution contended. If in addition to this evidence you know either Sacco or Vanzetti, you know how impossible it is to believe that either of them was guilty of this atrocious murder. Here is a new Mooney case to disgrace what we call justice in America. Let the workers send up such a volume of protest that even at this late hour the courts and the Governor of Massachusetts may hear.

Community sentiment is swinging (Continued on page 6)

East Side Barbers Strike For Better Conditions

ABOUT 2,500 barbers, members of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union, Local 752, walked out of their shops last Monday when their employers refused to grant demands for better conditions.

The workers, through their union, demanded an increase of ten percent in wages, which means three dollars a week over the present scale, and that the hours be limited from 8 a. m. to 9 p. m. on week days, from 8 a. m. to 9 p. m. on Saturdays, and a half day on holidays, from 8 a. m. to 1 p. m.

The strike affects the entire east side from 34th street south, and from Broadway east. One of the purposes of the strike is also to unionize the territory above 14th street, as well as the lower downtown business section where the barbers are miserably underpaid.

A statement issued by Anthony Merlino, organizer of the International Union, and a vice-president of that body, who is here to assist in the conducting of the strike, points out that the demands of the union are very moderate, and that the organized barbers of other cities throughout the country are enjoying considerably higher wages and better conditions.

The union is appealing to organized labor and the public in general to give them their moral support by patronizing union barber shops that display the union label.

BOSTON REFUSES MEETING FOR SACCO

Italian Radicals Face Electric Chair—Nation Sends Many Protests

By Art Shields

BOSTON. THE news that Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were to be turned over to the public executioner has caused a flood of protest from all parts of the country that has amazed everyone, even the defense committee. More than 40 mass meetings in leading cities are being held or arranged for and telegrams and pledges of support are pouring into the defense office.

Only in Boston is there difficulty in giving expression to the outcry of the working class. A mass meeting advertised for last Sunday with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn a principal speaker had to be cancelled because no hall could be secured. The managers of the public park halls, selected as the only ones large enough to handle the expected crowds, one and all turned down the application after some of them had tentatively agreed.

While the hands of the executioner are momentarily stayed by appeals for rehearing Sacco and Vanzetti are fearfully awaiting out the very short period that is to bring their case to a close one way or another.

"We have faith in the working class," is the substance of their messages to the outside world.

I visited Vanzetti in the waiting room at Charlestown penitentiary where the atmosphere of enameled steel bars depresses the spirit. It was the first time I had seen Vanzetti since the news of the Supreme Court's verdict. He smiled with the same warm sincerity as before. The thumbs down of the judges had not shaken his nerve nor made him morbidly self-considering. He talked about the labor movement and said he placed his trust in it.

The Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee meanwhile is continuing the legal defense of the men. The appeal for a rehearing of the former arguments by the State Supreme Court is now being taken. At the same time a motion for a new trial is being placed before Judge Webster Thayer—trial judge—on the basis of new evidence (Continued on page 2)

Shoe Strike Chief



James A. Grady

SHOE STRIKERS HOLD FAST

Grady Says the Union's Ranks Hold Faster Than Ever Before

A REST hall and social quarters to which striking shoe workers can retire between shifts of picketing the shoe factories in Brooklyn has been opened at 558 DeKalb avenue, the center of the strike area. Women members of the American Shoe Workers' Protective Union will provide the resting picketers with sandwiches and soup.

"The Power in Union Solidarity" was the subject of a talk to strikers by August Claessens, former Socialist assemblyman, at Volker Hall, 272 Prospect avenue, Long Island City, this morning. Claessens told the strikers what would happen if they break union ranks and return to open shops. Two thousand listeners cheered him.

William Feigebaum, editor of the English edition of the Jewish Daily Forward, addressed a meeting at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Jerome Valenti, organizer of the shoe union, announced that meetings would be held every morning at 10:30 in six halls, one in each of the six sections involved in the strike. The halls are: Volker Hall, 272 Prospect avenue, Long Island City; Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Myrtle and Willoughby avenues; Miller's Hall, Grand and Havemey streets; Imperial Hall, Red Hook Lane and Fulton streets; Lenox Hall, Waverly and Myrtle avenues; and union headquarters, 132 Cumberland street, Brooklyn. All (Continued on page 2)

WRNY CENSORS THOMAS' SPEECH

Radio Station Forces Elimination of Reference to Hoover and Trust

A RADIO broadcasting station in New York City finally opened its doors to free speech this week and permitted Norman Thomas, Socialist, and director of the League for Industrial Democracy, to broadcast a speech which had been barred by other stations.

WRNY broadcast Thomas' speech, but only after Charles D. Isaacson, director of programs, had given a typical illustration of the constant fear of official and commercial pressure under which the radio broadcasting stations work.

In accordance with the hard and fast rule of radio stations, Thomas was forced to submit his speech for the advance perusal of the radio organization. This he did. His speech dealt with the dangers of political control of the radio and with the danger of the radio trust over smaller stations. He urged the enactment of the Dill bill which aims to establish non-political control over radio.

On receipt of Thomas' address, the officers of WRNY insisted on Isaacson writing the following letter:

"My dear Mr. Thomas:

"You know how anxious I am that everything will be arranged for Monday night, so I know you will understand me and try to meet me with any suggestions I make.

"On page 3, after the first paragraph, put in three or four sentences more explaining that under the present conditions stations necessarily are forced into a position which other arrangements would not cause them to be called upon to direct. On the same page, where you speak about labor organizations, etc., instead of saying that they have not been able to get a license, say that they have no license so far—why, you do not know. Also say that Labor has been on this station, WRNY. Note the attached.

"I would rather that you soften down or eliminate the more specific charges you make and develop rather what you feel would be an ideal condition in broadcasting arrangements. Tell how things ought to be run instead of how (Continued on page 2)

Rockefeller Employees Coerced Into Buying Wild-Cat Oil Stocks

Baldwin Tricked Labor; Miners' Strike Goes On

Accuses Baldwin



Ernest Bevin

LONDON. THE "gentleman's agreement" made by Prime Minister Baldwin with the Trades Union Council through Sir Herbert Samuel as an intermediary, by which the general strike was called off, has proved to be nothing less than a huge confidence trick perpetrated on the miners and the entire British labor movement.

Baldwin has refused to live up to the terms he agreed upon for adjusting the mining controversy.

The miners' delegate conference, as was foreseen, decided to reject Baldwin's proposal, which it described as "not honoring the premier's pledge that 'the government was not fighting for a lower standard of living for the miners or any other section of the workers'."

During the negotiations it had become clear that the government was demanding an immediate 10 percent wage reduction of all wages over 45 shillings a week, as the condition for calling off the lockout notices. In addition, the wage board proposals were tantamount to compulsory arbitration, empowering the "independent chairman" to abolish the national minimum wage and substitute district minimum wages, and to order any further reductions he chose.

The resolution of the miners' executives, while refusing to agree to any reduction in wages "which admittedly do not now provide for a decent standard of living" offers to render every assistance possible towards proposed administrative reforms. The resolution was adopted with absolute unanimity.

In a formal statement, Ernest Bevin and two other members of the Trades Union Congress' council have accused the prime minister of breaking his word. Bevin stated that the strike was called off only on the definite assurance from Samuel that the formula he laid down, and accepted by the council, would be the policy of the (Continued on page 3)

President of Struck Maryland Road Admits Workers Were Tricked in Stock Fake

WASHINGTON

CHARGES of the most sensational nature were made against the management of the Western Maryland Railroad, of which John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is the main owner, by W. A. Paddock, Assistant Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, in session here.

Paddock charged that the officials of the railroad, where a strike of engineers and firemen has existed since October 15, 1925, had, in addition to refusing to pay the rates of pay in force on every other Class 1 road in the country, defrauded the employees by wild-cat oil schemes.

It was stated that a corporation known as the Maryland Oil Corporation had been promoted by A. Williamson, superintendent of the western division of the Western Maryland, and his chief clerk, the first being president and the second treasurer of this company.

Employees coerced into buying. The employees were coerced and coerced by these two officials into investing their savings. Some who refused to buy were written offensive letters and others were called from their beds by the company "oil boys" for the purpose of procuring loans.

After all who could be induced or forced to buy stock had been duped, the headquarters of the oil company were moved from Cumberland, Md., the division headquarters and Williamson's home town, to St. Louis. Inquiries addressed to this alleged office were returned by the St. Louis post-office with notations that the firm was unknown.

It was asserted by Paddock that some of the employees were induced to draw money from the relief department of the railroad to buy this worthless stock and that deductions had been made from their pay to meet the installments.

No Accounting Made

Paddock further charged that no accounting for the affairs of this company had ever been made, and that employees who requested an accounting were browbeaten and discharged by the officials responsible for the scheme.

Letters written to offices of county clerks in places where the company was alleged to have leases received replies to the effect that the Maryland Oil Corporation was unknown and that no record of its holdings existed.

Paddock gave a history of two years negotiations carried on by the Brotherhood in vain attempts to induce the company to concede the same rates of pay paid on other similar roads. It was charged that the company, while pretending to be still negotiating, hired strike-breakers and then locked out the men by issuing a "yellow dog" contract in which an unconditional and individual surrender of the points of controversy was demanded.

Thirty-six engineers and firemen were discharged for refusing to sign. Scabs Caused Accidents

A part of the testimony was the record of the strike-breakers hired to replace the locked out men.

The record of one, C. E. Massie, as given by Paddock, created a sensation in the committee.

It was stated that this strike-breaker had been the cause of two great and a considerable number of less important accidents; that two men had been killed while working with him, and that the Interstate Commerce Commission had, after a thorough investigation, pronounced him responsible for the worst disaster which had occurred on the railroad in many years.

This was a runaway on Mount Savage, in which sixty-three cars and an engine were demolished and damage estimated as high as \$200,000 was caused.

Senator Henrik Shipstead, under whose resolution asking for an investigation the hearings were held, stated, in answer to questioning by Senator Bruce, that he had introduced the resolution in answer to popular demands from ministerial associations, commercial bodies and large numbers of citizens along the line of the road.

Maxwell C. Byers, president of the Western Maryland, who unexpectedly appeared and asked to be allowed to testify, did not deny the charges made by the Brotherhood official concerning the sale of stock by the officials of (Continued on page 3)

"THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS"

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the company. He stated that he deplored the incident and that as soon as he learned of it he ordered it stopped.

Attorney Challenges President Byers' testimony was principally confined to an elaboration of the financial condition of the property, upon which he based a claim that the Western Maryland was unable to pay the 5 per cent. increase asked by the men and that it would have faced a receivership had it done so.

He was sharply questioned by Senators Wheeler, Gooding and Putnam. Senator Wheeler asked Byers to explain a newspaper statement in which it was claimed that the net income of the Western Maryland was three times as large in 1925 as in 1924. This was the period during which the negotiations between the men and the company which culminated in the strike were being conducted, the men now on strike being on the engines 9 1/2 months of 1925.

President Byers' repeated statements that he was not opposed to unions was sharply challenged by Paul Praeger, a Cumberland attorney, who immediately followed Byers on the stand.

Praeger stated that the railroad had, by abrogating its agreement with its shopmen and farming out its maintenance work, produced a "feeling of consternation" in the cities along the line of the road.

Ministers Challenge Byers
He claimed that the places of life-long employees had been taken by men who came "from everywhere about the country."

The Reverend E. E. Miller, who represented the Ministerial Union of Cumberland; Dr. Thomas Koon, mayor of Cumberland, and F. W. Misch, president of the Washington County, Md., Farmers' Co-operative Association and a heavy shipper on the road, all gave testimony which was in direct opposition to that of Mr. Byers as to the state of public feeling along the line of the road.

A sensational development of the hearings was a direct contradiction of Byers' testimony by W. P. Crabtree, a former brakeman of the Western Maryland. Byers charged that the brakemen had not set up hand brakes to assist in controlling the trains, and that they had failed to co-operate in other ways while the strike was on.

Crabtree made the point - blank charge that he had seen a strike-breaking official of the company turn an angle-cock connected with the air brakes in an attempt to create the impression that someone had tried to trip the control of the train while on a mountain grade. He also charged that he had been discharged for refusing to sign false statements in connection with the runaway.

No attempt was made by Byers to explain the record of C. E. Massie, a strike-breaker hired by him, who was charged with two runaways, one of the worst disasters in the history of the road, and as being responsible for the death of two men while working with him.

He claimed that Massie was highly recommended by the Virginian Railroad officials, from which road he came and on which a strike is still going on; and, in answer to questions as to report of the Interstate Commerce Commission which placed the blame for the destruction of 63 cars and an engine on Massie, took exception to the fairness of the commission's report.

Frequent references were made in the testimony to the attempts of citizens along the line to interest Rockefeller, Jr., in settling the dispute. President Byers said that Rockefeller had opposed his labor policies, but implied that he had pursued his present course in defiance of that opposition.

In this relation, Mayor Koon stated that the situation was so entirely opposed to the public utterances of Mr. Rockefeller on the subject of industrial relations that he did not believe that he had been properly acquainted with the facts. He read extracts from Rockefeller's book, "Personal Relations in Industry," which took direct issue with the labor-baiting policies charged to the Western Maryland.

The Cumberland mayor read into the record copies of the correspondence between himself and Mr. Rockefeller, in which responsibility was disavowed on the ground of minority holdings.

BECKERMAN BANQUET TO BE GALA AFFAIR

A reception and banquet will be tendered to Abraham Beckerman by the Socialists of Greater New York City on Friday evening, June 4th. The place of this gathering has been changed from the Rand School to the Park Palace, 3 West 110th Street, to accommodate the largest gathering of Socialists and Trade Unionists in recent years. A fine musical program has been arranged with Miss Adelaide Klein, contralto, and Leo Deutsch, violinist. Prominent Socialists and Trade Union leaders will be present. Reservations should be made at once through August Claessens, Room 401, People's House, 7 East 15th Street. No active Socialist can fail to attend this important gathering. The arrangements are under the auspices of the 6th, 8th and 12th Assembly Districts branch—Abe Beckerman's branch.

THE HEALTH EDUCATOR AND GUIDE

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WILLIAM HAYES, M. D.,
SECAUCUS, NEW JERSEY

RANDOLPH WILL SPEAK AT OPENING CELEBRATION OF SESQUI EXPOSITION

A. Philip Randolph, well known Socialist, general organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and one of the most advanced leaders of the American Negro, has been invited to make an address at the opening of the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, May 31.

The invitation comes from Mayor W. Freeland Kendrick of Philadelphia. Randolph has accepted the invitation. He will make his subject "The Negro Faces the Future."

SHOE WORKERS HOLD FAST

(Continued from page 1)

union members are urged to attend daily.

A special meeting for all union members working in shops in which no strike has been declared will be held in the union headquarters next Monday at 5:30 p. m. Strikers from the Morse and Burt company will meet at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum next Monday at 1 p. m. and from the George Baker Shoe Company next Tuesday at 1 p. m. in the Labor Lyceum.

L. Mendelson, a striker, was fined \$3 by Judge Brozsky of the Jefferson Market Court on a charge of disorderly conduct for entering the Vassar Shoe Company, 52 Grove street, Manhattan, and urging a worker to leave the factory. A. Kosoff, 1022 Stebbins avenue, the Bronx, arrested for picketing, was dismissed. The statement of officials that the factory is not involved in the strike is denied by James Grady, president of the 7,000 union shoe workers striking in Brooklyn.

One thousand strikers from I. Miller and Sons Shoe Company, Long Island City, rose to their feet and cheered Abraham Shiplooff and Leonard Flinsina who spoke at a mass meeting in Volker Hall, 272 Prospect avenue, Long Island City. Grady announced that the "spirit of the strike was 100 percent better than last week."

WRNY CENSORS THOMAS

(Continued from page 1)

they have been run. Give your conceptions of the right conditions. I can conceive of a speech on capital punishment, let us say, where I tell, not about the crimes of execution, but about the virtue of correction. I can conceive of a speech made about censorship which does not mention the censors, but tells about the freedom of speech. Here I can conceive of a speech which not once mentions anybody. I know how you feel about it. Do not misunderstand me. If I were dealing with you entirely for myself I would say go and tell anything you like, but I should be much happier if you would meet me on this point and seek to eliminate personal attacks, even if they are thoroughly justified. I feel you are able to draw up a case without them if you wish.

"Talk more about the Dill Bill. On page 3 could you not say this: 'Such criticism as I may have to offer about the present situation is not so much criticism of individuals or stations as of the situation which we have allowed to grow up.'"

"Can you not write this sentence on page 3? 'A hundred thousand dollars or more have been expended and received for licenses, ending the sentence in that manner. Of what value is it in the points you are trying to achieve by this speech to talk about the trading in of licenses?'

"I am not going to insist upon your eliminating the paragraph which refers to the trust; but why talk about it? Why not take the attitude I have suggested above?"

"Of course, you may say that I am exhibiting the same sort of fear as the others. I am not, however. I am trying to make a perfect case for you and myself."

"I think that your statements about the controversial questions is entirely in point, but I would like to have you take out, if you will, please, the Hapgood and Ogden references."

"Mention the fact that the invitation came to you personally through Mr. Isaacson. In other words, throw all the blame on me. Let me take the chances if there are any to be taken."

"Very truly yours,

(Signed)

"CHARLES D. ISAACSON."

Among the names mentioned which Isaacson "suggested" he eliminated was Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, regarded in some quarters as "dictator" of the radio.

The wisest of us must, for by far the most part, judge like the simplest: estimate importance by mere magnitude, and expect that which strongly affects our own generation will strongly affect those that are to follow.—Carlyle.

Next Lecture of Course on Communism vs. Civilization

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PARADE IS HELD FOR PASSAIC STRIKERS

Catholic Priests Join in
Huge Demonstration
for Workers' Peace
Terms

By Esther Lowell

PASSAIC.

THE people of Passaic have spoken! "We want a just and speedy termination of the strike" read the banners carried by citizens marching in the parade of 20,000 men, women and children under direction of the Associated Societies and Parishes of Passaic and Vicinity. The 47 organizations in the Associated Societies include Greek, Russian, Polish, Slovak and Roman Catholic churches and their organizations—a powerful block of Passaic's population.

With flags and banners flying and bands booming, the parade marched proudly onward. Hosts of little children, whose own parade had been attacked by police a few weeks before, trotted along singing and shouting in treble voices the strikers' songs and cries.

"When you're up, you're up. When you're down, you're down. When you're up against the strikers, you're upside down." Even the tiniest four-year-old could pipe: "Solidarity forever, for the union makes us strong." And the flapper and young "sheik" strikers, who had to go into the mills instead of into high school, cheered for Weisbord, their strike leader, who was not in the parade.

Two-Hour Parade

For over two hours the long procession of strikers and sympathizers trudged through Passaic streets, up through the business district and over the hill, where the finer residences stand in big gardens. Strikers had never been up in this part before. "Not for workers," said one marcher to another as they passed a grand new house in construction. Their comments grew to boos at the mansions of Julius Forstmann, of Forstmann, Huffmann Mills; of Safety Commissioner Abram Preiskel; of Col. Charles F. H. Johnson, of Botany Mills, and of other mill officials.

Traffic stopped and tourists were educated to the fact that the people of Passaic—a big majority of them—want the strikers to win. Police—for the first time since the strike started, without their clubs—controlled impatient Sunday autoists and gave the strikers right of way. In the crowded mill district of Dundee, a detective picked a quarrel with a bystanding worker and called the police patrol over for ripping the man's coat with his violent shaking. The momentary whirl of the wagon did not disrupt the parade, although police massed menacingly in their old way against the crowd.

At first Ward Park the great parade merged into the largest mass meeting the town has seen. Thousands of people who had watched the marchers added their numbers to the meeting. William Vanacek, chairman of the Citizens Committee, which had come out frankly for the strikers when their mediation efforts were met with slammed doors by mill owners, presided.

One by one the priests of the different parishes spoke—each in a different language. But all spoke to the same effect: that the workers must stick together and they could win and win their union. Every mention of the union was loudly cheered. When one of the priests ridiculed the Forstmann-Huffmann company union, the crowd laughed loudly and applauded. References to the cold reception given the Citizens Committee in Washington by New Jersey senators were boomed.

Vanacek spoke in English "to the scabs, if there are any here. The way you can help this strike is to stay out of the mills. Don't go to work tomorrow, but stay outside with these strikers." Vanacek reiterated that he and the Citizens Committee set up by the Associated Societies are trying to do everything possible to help the strikers win. "Fight for your union and organize yourselves into political clubs so that you can elect men of your own group to represent you in Washington, instead of Edwards and Edge." Gustav Kosic, editor of the Polish Catholic paper counseled.

And so the weary marchers turned homeward to meagre suppers after such a strenuous day. Mothers carried babies on their arms or pushed two or three in one buggy—their own and their neighbors' babies, tumbled in together. Fathers held tightly the hands of their small sons, who still waved their flags and sang fragments of strike songs. Young men and young women left quietly—and all went with eyes gleaming and faces lighted with hope renewed in their hearts.

The capitalist system places idleness on the throne and industry in the jail.—Eugene V. Debs.

The registration begins June 1st at International Ladies Garment Worker's Union headquarters, 3 West 16th street. The office urgently requests its friends and members to register early to insure comfort and efficiency.

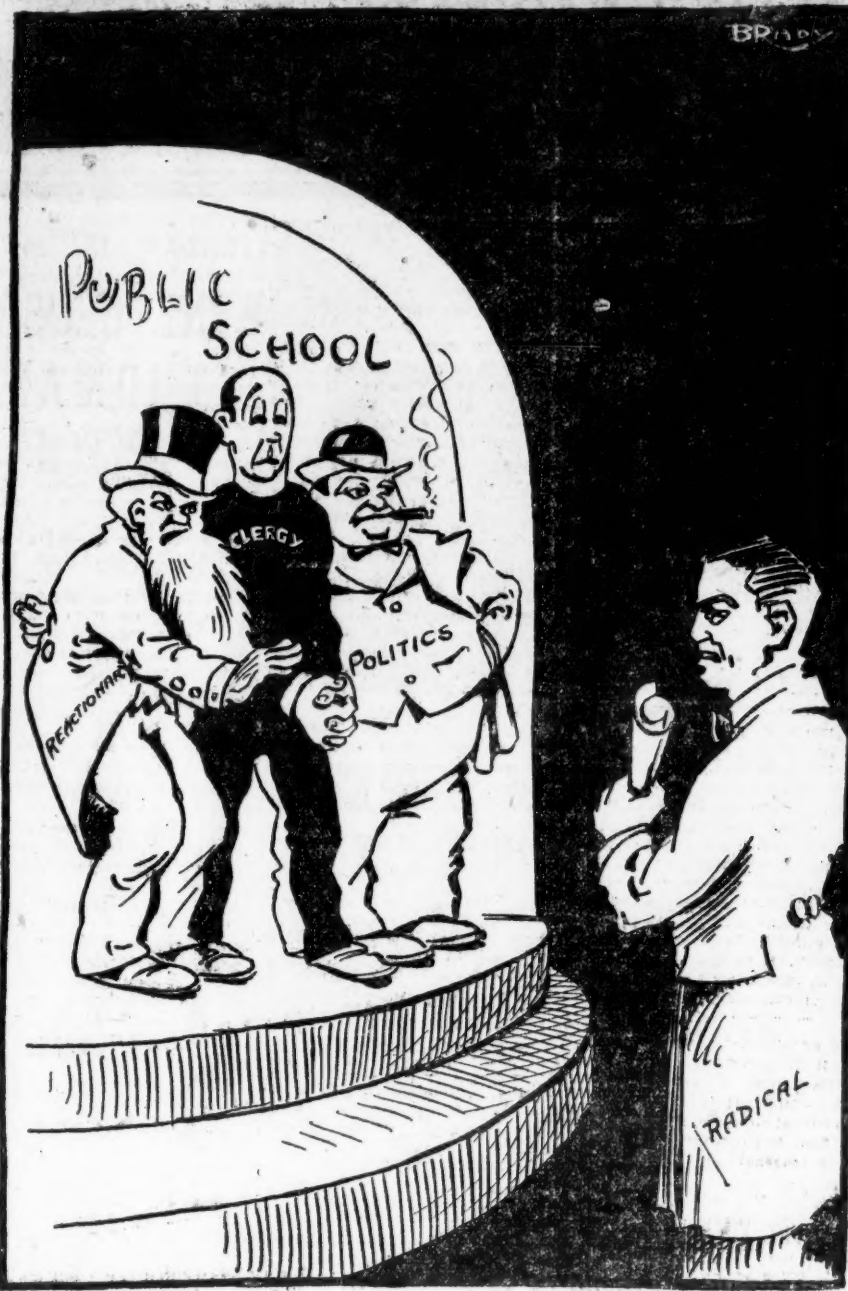
The country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.—Abraham Lincoln.

The capitalist system places idleness on the throne and industry in the jail.—Eugene V. Debs.

The Bronx Free Fellowship

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8:15 P. M.
Music and Open Forum
"The Cause and Cure of Race Prejudice in America"
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BARRED!



"Sorry, But You Might Say Something We Wouldn't Agree With"

New York School Board Bans Free Speech Meeting—Appeal Will Be Taken to State Authorities

THE Board of Education of New York City has voted unanimously to deny the application of the American Civil Liberties Union to hold "an old-fashioned free speech meeting" in Stuyvesant High School. Its action, the board said, was based upon the purposes of the Union as set forth before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives, the statements of Roger Baldwin, a director, recorded in the Lusk Committee report of 1920, and the statements of Allen S. Olmstead, Jr., before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House at hearings last March and April.

Samuel Untermyer attacked the decision of the board as evading the

Issue, since neither Mr. Olmstead nor Mr. Baldwin was to speak. He accused the board of assuming arbitrary and unwarranted censorship rights. Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the Civil Liberties Union, defended the organization in a public statement in which he attacked the Lusk Committee report. The decision of the board, he announced, would be contested to the state educational authorities.

The application for the meeting was made after Eugene C. Gibney, director of extension activities of the Board of Education, had refused to permit Arthur Garfield Hays and James Weldon Johnson to speak at a meeting in Morris High School scheduled for May 17 under the auspices of the League of Neighbors and the Union of East and West. Charges were then made that the board maintained a "blacklist" of organizations accused of "un-American spirit."

Unity House Lures Many Workers

CHILE CLERICAL WORKERS URGE FORMATION OF NATIONAL FEDERATION

A big step toward forming a real national federation of labor in Chile was taken at a special convention of the Federation of Commercial and Clerical Workers, held in Santiago on March 6 and 7 and reported via Amsterdam. A resolution was passed to try to unite the various organizations on the basis of the program of the International Federation of Trade Unions and it is thought such a proposition will eventually win through, despite the opposition of the Communist elements.

Another resolution passed by the convention called for the formation of an independent Welfare Fund for commercial and clerical employees. The existing funds are maintained by a 10 per cent deduction from wages, and administered by "liberal" professional politicians just as they choose. In addition to the private employees, those engaged in the public service are also exceedingly discontented. They have just formed their own union which will federate with the commercial employees. Trade unionism among the civil servants has been greatly stimulated by the fact that the Government tried to put the burden of a budget deficit of 300,000,000 million pesos, onto the shoulders of their employees.

Much labor and money has been spent to further improve equipment for the comfort and pleasure of its ever growing stream of guests.

The library shelves are groaning with the weight of the many new books that are being added this year. A radio will be installed to fill a new need. We have not touched the lake. Whoever has seen that glittering diamond set in a rim of greenest, shadiest banks, knows its unexcelled beauty. But the many row-boats and canoes have been newly painted in reds, blues, and yellows. The bathing and swimming facilities have been put in prime condition.

As for the rich woodland, the many shady inviting enticing nooks, these too have been enhanced by new foliage, larger, shadier, cooler and more enticing than ever before.

Field sports will range from the mildest to the wildest to suit all degrees of enjoyable endurance. There will be lots of fun on land—on lake—on road; and when hungry—OH!

WHAT EATS!

At night, music and dancing for the young of all ages. Celebrities will be there—each week a fresh batch—poets, painters, artists and all sorts. They come, these outstanding individualists, because there is something fascinating about workers who have so strong a healthful outlook on life that they would own their own rest and recreation resort and run it solely for the sheer joy of living.

The registration begins June 1st at International Ladies Garment Worker's Union headquarters, 3 West 16th street. The office urgently requests its friends and members to register early to insure comfort and efficiency.

Open May 28 to Sept. 12. Rates on application. Special Decoration Day week end rate, Friday to Monday—\$15.

Make early reservations
CAMP TAMIMENT—7 E. 15th St., Phone Stuyvesant 3094

A DELIGHTFUL VACATION
You can't realize what a really good vacation means unless you come to Camp Tamiment, nature's wonder spot in the Blue Mountains of eastern Pennsylvania—only a few hours from Philadelphia by train or auto.

Every modern, complete facility for all outdoor sports. Dancing. Safe, delightful bathing. Entertainment. Jolly folks. Excellent food. 15 splendid tennis courts—baseball diamond—handball, etc.

Open May 28 to Sept. 12. Rates on application. Special Decoration Day week end rate, Friday to Monday—\$15.

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Labor's Dividends

Brooklyn, Pa.—A broken cable wire hurled several sheets of steel on the back of Theodore Kendall, a steel worker. He died almost immediately.

Sharon, Pa.—Explosion of a quart of nitro-glycerine killed two oil workers near here.

Quincy, Cal.—Two bodies, the last of six killed in a tunnel cave-in, have been taken from the excavation where they had been at work.

Washington—March coal mine deaths total 169, according to the Department of Labor.

New York—A cableman, Will McInerney, was killed while crossing the subway tracks.

Collapse of a wall in Bath Beach killed a foreman at work on the job.

While on his knees repairing a track, Terrence Carnyn was instantly killed by a subway train.

Cave-in of a trench killed Anthony Amador, a workman, in Newark.

James Lurobio, a messenger boy, stumbled into an elevator shaft while carrying a heavy package. His body lay in the shaft for two days, crushed to death by the elevator.

MACHINISTS GET NEW NATIONAL PRESIDENT

Johnston, Ill., Resigns—
Wharton, Former Rail
Board Member, Succeeds Him

WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON, president of the International Association of Machinists, who has been in ill health for the past several months, tendered his resignation to the Executive Council of the Machinists, Friday, May 21, to become effective July 1, 1926.

The Executive Council, in accepting Mr. Johnston's resignation, expressed its regret that President Johnston felt it necessary to relinquish the office he has held continuously since January 1, 1912.

The Council has appointed Arthur O. Wharton, former president of the Railway Employees department, A. F. of L., and former member of the Railroad Labor Board, to fill the vacancy created by Johnston's resignation. Wharton will assume office July 1, 1926.

Johnston was taken ill last September and returned to his office only about a month ago. His strength has not returned sufficiently to warrant his taking part in lengthy conferences, day after day, in the way the head of the organization is compelled to do. Wharton, who first came into national prominence through his leadership of the Harriman railroads' shop strike in 1911, is one of the best posted and most vigorous executives in the machinists. Before becoming a labor member of the Railroad Labor Board his home was in St. Louis.

This change in leadership of the largest of the shop crafts, coming at the moment when railroad labor is planning the application of the adjustment machinery authorized by the Watson-Parker rail labor act, gives to the shopmen the immediate benefit of Wharton's knowledge of conditions and of the history of negotiations affecting their status on all the transportation lines. It also gives to the machinists a general president who was not a party to the recent internal difficulty in their organization, which virtually paralyzed their organizing activities during the past year.

The clearing away of this factional controversy, leaders on both sides have declared, would be of the highest value to the union, since it would turn the energies of the entire membership toward recruiting new members, recovering old ones who dropped out through lack of faith, and galvanizing the good will of all the members into a determination to conquer new ground.

Wharton is expected to make an announcement of policy when he takes office, July 1. Meanwhile, grand lodge headquarters is getting ready, under the new rail labor law, for a period of expansion and raising of wage standards.

BOSTON REFUSES MEETING FOR SACCO

(Continued from page 1)

about which important disclosures will be made in the next few days.

The defense committee is not organizing the agitation that is springing up everywhere. That is done by such organizations as the Sacco-Vanzetti Conference, a disassociate body of unions and individuals, in Boston. But the defense committee welcomes the continued solidarity of the working class, says a statement it is issuing, explaining its position.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

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Celebration

GALA CONCERT AND BALL

Sunday Evening, May 30th

at
Rand School Auditorium
7 East 15th Street, New York

Artists:
ELEANOR STARKEY, Soprano
MEROLD TOLLEFSEN, Baritone
CONSTANCE VEICH, Cellist
JEAN STOCKWELL, Violinist
PAUL JELENEK, Pianist

Address by Harry Watson
DANCING

Admission \$1.00
TICKETS on Sale at the Office of the
RAND SCHOOL, or by mail from
WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE,
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Something of Interest Every Evening
Non-Chorus (Sole and choral training)
Tues.—Sex Talks (women only)
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Thurs.—Modern Marriage Problems
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Sat. Aft.—Theatre Parties
Sat. Eve.—Social Dancing (members and friends)
Sun.—Hikes and outdoor recreation
Join "CULTURE CLUB"
(annual dues \$5) any evening at
433 Lafayette St., New York
(Near Astor Pl.)

15,000 WORKERS DEMAND SHORT WEEK

The Bookkeepers' Dilemma—Rebellion?—Open Shoppers Meet—Rail Labor—Textile Unity

AT the call of the General Strike Committee of the Fur Workers Union of New York City, fifteen thousand working men and women gathered in the New Madison Square Garden, New York City, in a mass demonstration in favor of the forty-hour week. The meeting had the support of the American Federation of Labor as was symbolized by the fact that John Coughlin, Secretary of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council, acted as chairman and John Sullivan, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, was one of the speakers.

Besides speeches by these two, addresses were also delivered by Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union, Louis Hyman, General Manager of the New York Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit and Dress Makers and Ben Gold, the youthful General Manager of the New York Joint Board of Furriers. Telegrams were received from all parts of the country.

The audience was an enthusiastic one and, well might they be, in a worthy cause. Only the absence of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' representatives marred the proceedings. They were not present partly because it would have been displeasing to the A. F. of L. officials and partly because they felt that they ought to have had a voice in organizing the meeting. It is unfortunate that the Furriers' leaders did not seize this opportunity to arrange for a joint management. It would have been an important practical step towards amalgamation, which is one of the constant theoretical demands of the "lefts."

The one mention of the Amalgamated at this demonstration simply brought forth boos for Hillman. The "lefts" had not informed their followers that the Amalgamated had just the day before given \$25,000 to the striking furriers. The Madison Square Garden demonstration was a clever move to discredit the International administration, which is "right" and had been urging the strikers to settle at forty-two hours; to frighten the "bosses" and at the same time to enlist the support of the entire American labor movement.

Despite this complexity of motives, good luck to the Furriers in their historic struggle!

The Union Bookkeepers' Dilemma

The peculiar position in which unionized bookkeepers who are employed by organizations affiliated with organized labor may find themselves is illustrated in two recent occurrences. Last summer at the time of the scrap of the New York left wing locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union with the parent body, several members of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union of New York City were dismissed by the Dressmakers' Union, No. 22, presumably because they were "right," while two non-union workers against whose employment protest had been made previously were retained. The Bookkeepers proceeded to picket the Dressmakers' headquarters on the ground that they had been locked out. With the intervention of President William Green of the A. F. of L., the strikers were reinstated with the exception of Herman Herman, the shop chairman. A recent decision by Organizer Hugh Frayne, acting for President Green, condemns the re-

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society

Notice is hereby given to all the members that the assessment amounts to 10 cents for each hundred dollars of insurance. Assessments will be received at the following places:

NEW YORK-MANHATTAN
In the Home Office of the Society, No. 237 East 84th Street
From April 26th until May 29th

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
In Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, No. 949 Wiloughby Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
From May 5th to May 29th inclusive

LONG ISLAND CITY AND VICINITY
In Kleins Hall, 413 Astoria Avenue
From June 1st to 4th

CORONA
In E. Floet's Echo Cafe at Northern Boulevard and 102d Street
June 5th to 7th inclusive

BRONX, N. Y.
At 4215 Third Avenue, Northwest corner of 3rd Avenue and Tremont Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.
From June 8th to 14th inclusive

The office hours for all places outside of Manhattan are from 10 A. M. to 6 P. M.; Saturdays to 1 P. M.

THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT

Governor's Board for Demands Of Ladies' Garment Workers

By Louis Silverstein

AT last the long-awaited final recommendations of the Governor's Advisory Commission for the cloak, suit and skirt industry of New York City have been made public. It is a remarkable document. It is supposed to settle a long standing dispute between labor and capital, but in order to accomplish this it analyzes and proposes to reorganize the industry involved. In this respect it is a complete confirmation of the union's contentions.

To those who are not familiar with economic conditions in the needle trades, the report will seem but an academic treatise. On the contrary, though, it deals only with vital matters. The proof of it is that it is the union which made the original proposals to reconstruct the cloak, suit and dress industry so that the workers would be able to have adequate wages and satisfactory working conditions.

The class struggle in the trade under discussion does not follow a simple formula. There are the workers, who are represented by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, though it is the New York joint board which is directly involved. Then, there are three groups of capitalists, who are struggling among themselves and in some cases actually find themselves more in harmony with labor than with what should theoretically be, their own side. The manufacturer, in the ordinary sense of the word, is one element. He generally has a large establishment known as an inside shop. All the work is done under his own roof and since he has immediate supervi-

fusion to reemploy Herman as a gross violation of the principle of unionism that a striker must be taken back to work but admits that in view of the delicate political situation, it were best that he find employment elsewhere, while being reasonably reimbursed for loss of time.

The other incident involves the office staff of the Amalgamated Bank of New York. An arrangement has just been made with the Bookkeepers' Union whereby the check-off, as in the case of the miners, is established. At the same time increases in salaries have been given to all employees. The first check for union dues from the bank staff has already been received. It is expected that other union banks, the offices of labor organizations and eventually private establishments will follow suit and thus solve one of the most serious problems of organizing white collar workers.

Rebellion?

A spark of hope which ought to be kindled into flames was discerned at the last monthly meeting of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council held May 20, 1926. Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union took the floor to report to the delegates on Governor Smith's veto of the teachers' salary rise bill. His speech met with a responsive chord with many of the delegates. Several arose to express their strong condemnation of the Democratic Party—and even of Tammany—for not living up to election promises. What was especially gallant was the incident of last summer when the New York City authorities did not grant the expected increases to building workers engaged by the city. It is disconcerting based upon such concrete foundations as the above that will awaken the American workers to the duplicity of the two old parties.

The Open Shoppers Talk It Over

As we go to press, news comes of the opening in Detroit of the National Open Shop Conference, which was organized in Salt Lake City in the Spring of 1922, during the open shop drive. The nature of this gathering can be judged by considering the following items which appear on the agenda: how to keep an open shop community open; converting a closed shop neighborhood town; putting the community into the open shop ranks; national aspects of the open shop in building construction, in amusement and in the printing and allied industries; outlook for the open shop on transportation systems; presenting the open shop to women's clubs, churches, dinner clubs, civic organizations, schools, employees and other groups; uncovering the disintegrating agen-

tion of the men and women he employs he is able to produce a better quality and a more stable line of goods.

The Manufacturer's Minor Part
But the manufacturer plays but a minor part in the industry. Most of the work is done under the so-called jobbing-sub-manufacturing system. On account of the prevalence of rush and slack seasons, the necessity of quick adaptation to style changes and the temptation to avoid union control, the capitalist has worked out an ingenious scheme. He becomes a jobber. That means that he rents some space, sufficient to maintain an office and a cutting room. His salesmen then go out and get orders. He simply has his cutters cut the material; then he ships the bundles of cloth, thus prepared, to sub-manufacturers.

Now, the latter are usually small fry. They have been able to set themselves up in business because it has required but little capital; a cheap loft and a few machines rented for the purpose. Then, they go out to bid for work among the jobbers. A cut-throat competition results. The jobbers have them at their mercy, for the season is short and time is money. The sub-manufacturers bid below their means. Then they return to their shops and offer their workers miserable wages to satisfy their commitments, made in the desperation of getting some business or none at all. The employees must submit to the terms offered, for it is too precarious to go out into the open labor market and seek for better employment when the season is brief. The workers and the sub-manufacturers both suffer. The jobber is free from worry; he has no contract with labor, except in the case

of his cutters; his overhead charges are small; he has his choice from among anxiety-driven sub-manufacturers who are glad to get work under any terms; and he is able to offer the retailer changing styles at a moment's notice.

Now, the union realized that the industrial geniuses with whom it had to deal had neither the gumption nor the intelligence to take hold of the cloak, suit and dress industry and eradicate the obvious ills. It was no use demanding wage increases when economic circumstances resulted in clandestine violation of scales agreed upon and the short season cut into the worker's earnings. It was necessary to encourage the genuine manufacturer, who had the inside shop, and who could control and be controlled, and to curb the tyrannical, unintelligent power of the jobber.

Consequently, in the summer of 1924, under the leadership of President Morris Sigman, the union made the following unprecedented demands upon the three organized groups of capitalists in the industry, the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association (the jobbers), the Industrial Council of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association (the manufacturers) and the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association (the sub-manufacturers):

(1) The employment by jobbers of sub-manufacturers who have shops with at least fourteen machines.

(2) The adoption of a sanitary union label.

(3) The establishment of an unemployment insurance fund.

(4) A minimum guarantee period of employment.

(5) The designation of a minimum number of steady sub-manufacturers by each jobber, with the obligation to furnish them with work to enable them to give their workers the minimum period of employment.

(6) An increase in the minimum scale of wages.

(7) A reduction of working hours from 44 to 40 hours per week.

The employers had rejected these demands and the members of the union had voted in favor of a general strike, when Governor Smith intervened. Both sides agreed to submit their dispute to an Advisory Commission appointed by him. On June 27, 1924, this Commission recommended the adoption of the first three-mentioned demands of the union, the establishment of an impartial chairman machinery, the further investigation and study of the other proposals and the signing of an agreement for one year. For four weeks beginning July 8, 1924, a general stoppage was conducted to reorganize the industry in accordance with the Commission's recommendations. In the spring of the following year, that is, until June 30, 1925. This was accepted by the membership by referendum vote.

This spring the Commission published two research reports, one dealing with wages and wage scales and another with employment and earnings of workers during 1925. Then on May 20 it made public its final recommendations:

(1) The extension of the work of the impartial chairman and the attachment to his office of an accountant to see that contracts are being carried out.

(2) The payment of unemployment insurance by the sub-manufacturers who in turn shall bill the jobbers. (The present method of direct contributions by jobbers has proven inefficient.)

(3) The establishment of a labor employment bureau under the auspices of the Trustees of the Unemployment Insurance Fund.

(4) An increase in minimum wage scales ranging from \$2.50 to \$6, making the highest wage fifty dollars and the lowest thirty.

(5) The advisability of a joint committee, headed by the impartial chairman, to check up the sending of work to non-union and unauthorized shops.

(6) A system of penalties in cases of evasion or misuse of the sanitary or "Prosanis" label.

(7) The continuance of the Bureau of Research.

(8) The right of manufacturers having a regular force of thirty-five or more employees to reorganize their shops once a year at the beginning of the season, provided it shall not in any one year cause a total displacement of more than ten percent.

(9) Adoption of a system of limitation of the number of sub-manufacturers with whom a jobber may do business.

It is seen from the above recommendations that the general position of the union has been held. Also, the manufacturers and sub-manufacturers can have very little complaint to make. It is the jobbers who are hit hardest. Nevertheless, at the time of writing (May 26), all sides have been marking time, waiting for each other to make the first move.

The union, of course, would have a difficult time convincing the rank and file that the limited right of discharge granted to the larger inside shops was not a backward move. Also the absence of any reference to the demand for the forty-hour week and a guaranteed minimum period of employment would prove stumbling blocks. Only the designers' local, in whose behalf a supplemented request had been put in for recognition of their union, have expressed official disapproval of the recommendations and are prepared to strike.

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tion of the men and women he employs he is able to produce a better quality and a more stable line of goods.

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PORTERS TO TEST NEW RAIL BOARD

Randolph Will Present Negroes' Case as Soon as Members Are Appointed

THE new railroad labor bill enacted by Congress will be placed to a test insofar as the railroad unions outside of the four Brotherhoods are concerned when the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters submits its claims for recognition as soon as the members of the new rail mediation body is appointed by President Coolidge.

General Organizer A. Philip Randolph plans to have the Porters' case recorded as the first to come before the new machinery. Implicit confidence was expressed by Organizer Randolph. "On the merits of our case alone victory is assured. The eyes of the organized labor movement, especially of the transportation workers, are focused upon the Porters' fate," he said.

BALDWIN TRICKS LABOR

(Continued from page 1)

making speeches that the working class movement will read in the future with shame.

Saying that as the general strike went on fear spread over the General Council with few exceptions, he continued:

"Thomas could see the streets running with blood, and John Bromley said if the miners would not agree with the Trades Union Congress proposals they would call the railway men out of the struggle."

"The General Council tried to make the miners accept the Samuel proposals, threatening to call off the general strike. We were told that they had a guarantee that the Government would accept the Samuel proposals."

"We did not think the Trades Union Congress would dare to call off the general strike and betray the miners, but betrayal it was."

Cook stated in conclusion that in addition to the \$274,000 received from the Russian miners he had had another wire that they had collected almost the same amount again and help was coming from the Continent and America.

The answer of the miners to the Prime Minister, he said, was that they would be beaten into starvation before they would accept the recommendations for longer hours and lower wages.

Leaders like MacDonald and Philip Snowden have replied that the general strike was doomed by economic reasons to fail. They blamed the government for precipitating the strike. Snowden declared in Commons that "lockouts and strikes have seldom or never served any useful purpose." He added that "the greatest victories of trade unionism have been won by negotiation and conciliation."

Henry Noel Brailsford, editor of "The New Leader," official organ of the Independent Labor Party, criticizes the Union Congress for ending the strike without conferring with the miners. "The generalship was deplorable," he says. Brailsford also suggests that the Council was afraid of the possibility of letting the strike continue, and hints that Thomas, who, he alleges, was always distrusted by the miners, was mainly responsible for ending the strike.

John Wheatley, writing in the Glasgow "Forward," declared:

"The struggle will surely rank as the greatest and most bungled strike in history. To the consternation of the country, the strike was called off without apparent rhyme or reason, and some days must elapse before we learn accurately all that caused the dreadful debacle; but I have no doubt that when everything is straightened out cowardice will occupy a prominent place."

Meanwhile the calling off of the general strike and the surprising conditions signed by the leaders of the railroad unions, admitting that the sympathetic strike was a "wrongful act," seem to preclude all possibility of industrial aid and a remobilization of the masses in support of the miners. That puts it into the rank and file of the other unions to give all possible financial help. This will be done, and there is hope of much useful assistance from abroad. The Russian unions' gift of over a million dollars will help, while Purcell's tour of north European countries is believed to have already resulted in promises of another quarter of a million dollars.

WHAT ABOUT AMERICA?

tions of the Commission seem on the whole eminently fair. The union, of course, has not had all its demands granted, but, on the other hand, it has had its main claim upheld, that the jobbing-sub-manufacturing system must be restricted and, if possible, replaced by the inside shop. What else the union leaders can hope to gain depends entirely upon their estimate of and confidence in their economic strength. If the union is not in the pink of condition, even the best of recommendations will go unenforced. Moreover, there is a certain strategic advantage in accepting the suggestions in principle. It will mean the backing of the Commission and the enlistment of "public sympathy," which is a factor in making or breaking the morale of one side or another.

Let's See Your Tongue!

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

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Puritan Go-Getters

By James Oneal

THE most conspicuous contribution of American capitalism to intellectual progress is the collection of ideas known as Puritanism. It is the creed of the he-man, the Babbitt and professional Rotarian. United with Fundamentalism, it is Puritan capitalism, a compound of piety and profits, of vulgar worship of dollars and of a God who glorifies the "success" of this he-man.

It is interesting to trace the evolution of this monstrosity. There was a time when the Christian had no use for this creed of success and dedicated his life to the service of others. If he accumulated a surplus he shared it with his brothers. The usurer was shunned as a leper. Taking interest was an offense against humanity. The profiteer was regarded on a level with swine. His accumulated wealth was regarded as an offense in the sight of God.

That this early Christian bears no relation to the modern exponent of Puritan capitalism is evident. The development of commerce, trade and banking in the feudal age brought the beginnings of the Puritan creed. Those who engaged in these increasingly profitable forms of business found them in conflict with the old beliefs. It became necessary to adjust beliefs to a life dedicated to the accumulation of interest and profits but this adjustment also came into conflict with the ruling class of nobles. The latter owned vast estates and lived on the labor of serfs. Hence came a conflict between agriculture and the business interests bound up with commerce, trade and banking.

So the middle class man, or bourgeoisie as he is called, had little in common with either the servile or noble class. Professor Becker in his "Beginnings of the American People" wrote that the bourgeoisie had "little in common with the noble who despised his birth, ridiculed his manners, envied his wealth little with the priest who found him too rigid, too intelligent, too reserved with his money . . . little with the peasant who renounced him as a renegade or ignored him as a parvenu. All these benefits the bourgeoisie returned in full measure, despising the peasant for his ignorance and servility, resenting the ineffectiveness of the clergy and the condescension of the nobility, at the same time that he aspired to the power of the one and the superior position of the other . . . The Protestant theory was but the reasoned expression of the middle class state of mind . . . It implied the Puritan conception of morals and conduct." The Puritan "transformed his qualities into virtues and erected his virtues into social standards of value." Then he proceeded, as soon as he obtained power, to make his standards a rule for all.

In 1854 Senator Charles Sumner in a lecture before the Mercantile Library Association of Boston presented the same theme. The following excerpts from that lecture are remarkable for their clarity and insight into the evolution of the bourgeoisie from a position of dependence to one of dominion. "The man of trade had been so low that it took him long to rise," he said. A London merchant, the famous Gresham, in the time of Elizabeth, founded the Royal Exchange, and a college also; but trade continued still a butt for

The Christian Gospel According to Coolidge and the American Babbitry

jest and jibe. At a later day an English statute gave new security to the merchant's accounts; but the contemporaneous dramatists exhibited him to the derision of the theatre, and even the almanacs exposed his ignorant superstitions by chronicling the days supposed to be favorable or unfavorable to trade.

"But in the grand mutations of society, the merchant thrived. His wealth increased; his influence extended, and he gradually drew into his company decayed or poverty-stricken members of feudal families, till at last in France . . . at the close of the seventeenth century, an edict was put forth, which John Locke has preserved in the journal of his travels, 'that those who merchandise, but do not use the yard, shall not lose their gentility;' (admirable discrimination!) and in England, at the close of the eighteenth century, his former degradation and growing importance were attested in the saying of Dr. Johnson, that 'the English merchant is a newly discovered species of gentleman.' . . . At this moment, especially in our country, the merchant, more than any other character, stands in the very boots of the feudal chief. Of all pursuits or relations, his is now the most extensive and formidable, making all others its tributaries, and bending at times even the lawyer and the clergyman to be its dependent stipendiaries."

So the bourgeoisie Puritan had belonged to a despised class and gradually emancipated himself from servility. But as he rose to power he also had to transform the old ideas into a philosophy that would justify his love of accumulating cash and change the Christian creed from one of fellowship and service to a business code of

profits, stocks and bonds.

When the Puritan bourgeoisie founded New England he established a political and religious oligarchy. His persecution of Quakers and other dissenting sects, his grading of human beings into social rank determined by wealth and occupation, his regulation of manners, dress and morality by law, his pursuit of material gains in the slave trade which he justified on the ground that he was bringing a "gospel dispensation" to the heathen, his Sabbath piety and week-day profiteering, are too well known to require extended discussion. The Yankee has always been synonymous with the Puritan and it was Wendell Phillips who said that the former, much as he feared hell, would leap across it and run chances of falling in if there was a dollar on the other side.

We may now consider the modern heirs of the Puritan bourgeoisie. In this country he has become supreme. Ours is a Puritan bourgeoisie civilization. The conspicuous type is the business man, ranging from the merchant to Gary of the steel trust. Fundamentalism and Ku Kluxism, pietism and profits, ignorance and intolerance, are his intellectual traits. Art, literature and science are to him foreign devils. That great generalization of modern science, evolution, is fought by the Puritan capitalist as his ancestor fought witches.

Our ruling bourgeoisie class has no conception of artistic and human values. Bulk alone appeals to them. It will be remembered that Sinclair Lewis has George F. Babbitt boast at the dinner of the Zenith Real Estate Board of the condensed milk, evaporated cream and lighting fixtures manufactured in his town while his quality of education is in direct ratio to the size of the high schools and their system of ventilation.

In 1924 the elected chief of American Babbitry, Julius H. Barnes, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, brought out a book, "The Genius of American Business," in which the vulgar and disgusting

creed of the Puritan bourgeoisie is glorified. He writes with religious fervor of the mass production of American capitalism, its enormous output of chewing gum, tobacco, soap, pig iron, steel, razor blades. Bulk, not esthetic or human values, appeals to him. He boasts that the people of the United States "produce and consume approximately one-half of the news print of the world, signifying the general spread of information and knowledge." How much of this news print goes into shoddy books and periodicals does not concern him. He measures "information and knowledge" by the number of tons of wood pulp transformed into paper and we presume he buys his "literature" by the pound. Real human values are unknown to Barnes and it goes without saying that this parvenu does not like trade, unions and is sure that Socialism will destroy his "civilization." It will.

The "civilization" of the Puritan bourgeoisie, as Horace Kallen in his "Culture and Democracy in the United States" has said, "has produced pigs instead of poets, machines and money instead of men, bunk instead of beauty. It is a country evangelical, superficial, afraid of ideas, glib and smart; staid in its intellectual and esthetic life, coarse in its pleasures, vulgar in its tastes . . . Of its artists it makes merchants, of its thinkers, preachers. Demanding, above all, conformity, it stifles genius and prostitutes talent."

A recent book by R. H. Tawney entitled "Religion and the Rise of Capital" (N. Y. Harcourt-Brace) presents the life history of the Puritan bourgeoisie and the process by which he and his class transformed the old religious views into the modern creed with its alliance of piety and profits. The bourgeoisie has eliminated the old fellowship and humanistic aspects of earlier beliefs so far as business practice is concerned and reduced all human relations to considerations of profits and "success." If capitalism produces in large bulk and a small portion of the population swine in luxury, the bourgeoisie smirks with satisfaction. The human misery below the social pyramid is attributed to personal sin. The economics of capitalist production have become the religious piety of the capitalist class.

Naturally, President Coolidge is an admirable exponent of this creed. A small town Babbitt himself, he expounds the "homely virtues" of the Puritan bourgeoisie. A few months ago he quoted figures of the increase in American exports by way of showing how "prosperous" we all are. No man in public life more frequently pays homage to the alliance between piety and profits. To him Jesus Christ was a great merchant whose sales and profits increased each year. This is the "civilization" which the Puritan bourgeoisie seeks to preserve as the best than humankind can have. It does not rise above the level of swine fighting over swill.

Changing Communism

By I. Tseretelli

IT is clear that the opposition is right when it points out the tendencies of the capitalist transformation of Soviet Russia and the adaptation of the policy of the ruling majority to this transformation. Notwithstanding the reservations and the incompleteness of its criticism, it produced enough facts and evidence to support the thesis.

But it was unable to meet the demand by the majority to be shown practical means with which to avoid the dangers indicated. The opposition limited itself to the expression of vague and nebulous wishes: "Don't make the situation look rosy," "Hold the bourgeoisie in check," "Protect the proletariat and the poor peasants." It was hard for the opposition to submit a more exact new policy, for it, too, shares the original principles of the majority—the "proletarian dictatorship" by the Communist Party as a State system and the "Nep" as a means of maintaining it. These premises are certain to bring about the very results that the opposition tried to denounce at the congress—the re-establishment of capitalism in its primitive and rapacious forms upon the ruins of a more developed capitalism.

Industry Has Advanced

In comparison with the first epoch of Bolshevism in Russia, with that of "war communism," when industry was completely blocked and famine ravaged the countryside, the present condition of industry and agriculture marks a big step in advance. This is what the representatives of the majority never cease emphasizing and what the opposition also recognizes. But this amelioration, as is admitted by both sides, is due exclusively to the "Nep" policy; that is, to concessions made to the principle of free trading and to this new bourgeoisie, primitive and rapacious, that was born and is growing in the heart of the Soviet regime, and that puts its imperial stamp upon the whole economic life of the country, as well as upon the mentality of the country's rulers.

The salient point of the Bolshevist regime consists in the fact that the reconstruction of capitalism is being done under conditions very unfavorable for the working classes. While the rising class of the new bourgeoisie—the "nepmen" in the cities and the "kulak" in the country—finds a way to adapt itself to the dictatorship and to adapt the latter to its own interests, the proletariat and the poor peasants, having no other means to defend their interests than those conditioned upon political and trade union liberty, find themselves, under a regime of iron,

[The following summary of the situation of the Communist Party of Russia was made by Comrade Tseretelli, who is the leader of the Social Democratic Party of Georgia and a member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International, at the conclusion of an article in which he dealt at length with the debates over the "Nep" policy and the "Kulak" danger at the last convention of that party. As has been reported in The New Leader, the majority of the delegates, led by Stalin, Bukharin and Rykov, favored the extension of private industry and trading and of the power of the richer peasants, while the minority, under Zinoviev, Kamenyef and Krupskaya, contended that the immediate advantages of such a policy were more than offset by the building up of a big class of exploiters at the expense of the poorer peasants and factory workers.]

completely disarmed in the face of the struggle.

[At this point Comrade Tseretelli takes exception to the belief entertained by some Socialists, including Otto Bauer of Austria, that although there are many grave defects in the Soviet regime, there is a possibility that, if left in peace, the Russians will work out their own salvation and give the world proof that capitalism is not necessary. Tseretelli contends that the Socialist administration of the city of Vienna is furnishing better proofs of the creative ability of Socialist institutions than are to be seen in Russia, where every gain in production is made at the expense of a capitulation to the worst elements of capitalism.]

Stalin, Rykov and other leaders of the majority have tried to represent the opposition as merely the result of the personal self-esteem of its chiefs. They have brought proof that Zinoviev and Kamenyef, having attempted to establish their personal dictatorship, only rose in protest against the majority after this attempt had been checked. Regarding the personal aspirations of Zinoviev, Rykov and the other leaders, it would not be surprising if they equaled those of Stalin and their other friends of yesterday. But it is none the less true that, once thrown into the opposition, they have made themselves the mouthpieces of the

movement of deep discontent discernible at the heart of the Russian proletariat and which, in spite of the cruel dictatorship, has been able to express itself in a whole series of conflicts and strikes.

Cling to Dictatorship

And if the rigorous measures applied to the opposition silence it within the Communist Party, if the leaders like Kamenyef and Zinoviev are easily able to accommodate themselves with the triumphant majority, it would be naive to conclude that these reprisals will be able also to stifle the discontent of the masses of the workers.

What will be the final evolution of the Bolshevist regime?

Will the Soviet power be able to adapt itself to the ever-increasing exigencies of capitalist society? We doubt it, for the future economic development of Russia is bound to collide with the very base upon which the Bolshevist power reposes—the principle of the dictatorship. None of the despotic systems of the past has given proof of a capacity to make concessions in this domain, and the discussions that we have just summarized have shown us quite clearly that, while renouncing all other principles, the Bolshevists cling to all the more tenaciously to their fundamental principle—dictatorial and despotic power.

Danzig Socialist Coalition Approved

ENTRY of the Parliamentary group of the Social Democratic Party of the Little Free State of Danzig into a coalition Government last August for the purpose of heading off a reactionary combination and obtaining concessions for the working masses of the population was unanimously approved by the 112 delegates to the party's annual convention held April 17 and 18. It was noted that,

with only 30 members in a parliament numbering 120, the Socialists could hardly be expected to put through all their demands, but it was conceded that they had really done a great deal toward stamping out jingoism, both by Germans and Poles, and toward improving the condition of the workers. The resolution of approval carried recommendations for a number of radical reforms in the administration of the Free State.

The report of the national executive showed that the appalling unemployment had naturally not left the party organization unaffected, but it was possible by an enrollment of more than 800 new members during the year to compensate completely for the losses. Valuable constructive work is being done by the Party in the municipalities. In twenty of these the Socialists have the majority. Altogether 504 Socialist representatives are active in town and country municipalities.

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Socialism On Vital American Issues

By Victor L. Berger
(A Speech in Congress)

A BILL providing for the pensioning of all wage earners who are without means of support after attaining the age of 60 was introduced by me while Congress was considering an increase in the pensions of Spanish-American War veterans and their dependents. I heartily supported the proposed increase. It passed this House unanimously.

But in doing so I wished to call attention to the fact that the veteran of industry as well as the veteran of war was deserving of consideration in his advanced years.

We pension soldiers because they render service on the field of battle which is dangerous to life and limb. People understand and approve such pensions. But the work of the soldier of industry is much more necessary and for the most part as dangerous as the work of the soldier on the battlefield.

There are more people killed in our industries than in our wars, and more people injured in industry than in war. Any worker who has faithfully labored for a meager wage for 20 years or more has created more wealth than a pension in old age can repay. He has earned the right to be taken care of decently in his old age. These workers have made civilization possible for everybody, and especially for the comfortable classes.

It is cruel and unjust to expect those who have lived a life of usefulness, creating wealth for others, to suffer the indignities, the sordidness and the misery of the poorhouse when too old to work.

The wages most of them receive during the years of their labor are insufficient to enable them to lay anything aside for the days when they will be thrown upon the scrap heap. My old age pension bill is, therefore, a measure of simple justice, and it offers no more than other countries have already done for the veterans of industry.

Under the provisions of the bill the highest amount the Government will pay to any person 60 years of age or over—male or female—will be \$3 per week. That will permit an aged couple to receive \$16 a week, and thus help keep the family together. Those having income from other sources will have the amount reduced correspondingly. A certain period of citizenship and residence will be required to make one eligible to receive a pension.

I also introduced a bill to repeal the espionage act which was passed during the war.

The impression prevails that the wartime laws which made it a crime punishable by 20 years in the penitentiary to criticize the war policies of the

4—Old Age Pensions. 5—The Espionage Act. 6—Registration of Aliens

Wilson administration have been repealed. That impression is wrong. The espionage act is still on the statute books, to be revived the moment war is declared.

The espionage act was the most outrageous measure ever enacted in the United States. Under it 2,000 men and women who dared to exercise their constitutional rights of free speech and free press were convicted and sentenced to terms up to 20 years. Not a conviction was had of any citizen charged with actual espionage.

That law not only made speaking and writing a crime, but even thinking against war was a crime, for if you thought as others did there was a "meeting of the minds"—and a conspiracy.

The strangest feature of it was that it was enacted by the Democratic party, which was born of the opposition to the alien and sedition acts enacted by the Federalists in 1798. The Republican party, of course, ably assisted the Democrats in 1917. The old alien and sedition acts were not nearly as vicious, however, as the espionage bill; the maximum penalty for its violation was two years in the old law.

The only purpose of retaining the espionage act on the statute books is to assure financiers and profiteers and patrioters, whenever it suits their ambitions to push us into the next war just as they pushed us into the last war, that all opposition will be silenced. It will be used in the next war, as it was in the last, not to punish espionage but to stifle all criticism of international slaughter.

The time to wipe that law off the statute books is now. When war is declared, those advocating its repeal will be subject to a prison sentence of 20 years.

I wish to refer particularly to the immigration question. When the present law, which separates families and creates untold hardship among families kept thousands of miles apart, was under consideration I offered two amendments. One of them was designed to help reunite husbands and wives, even though the husbands may only be declarants. In a speech I made in favor of my amendment I called attention to the importance of encouraging and making possible the reunion of families, and that failure to do so must result in breaking up an institution more basic than any other—the human family, upon which other institutions rest.

My amendment was rejected, and in spite of the effort that has been made to liberalize the law along the lines I have suggested, it is now certain that

the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization is indisposed to even permit a consideration of the question on the floor of this House.

Instead of liberalizing the law, the committee has been considering legislation for the deportation of aliens who have entered the United States without complying with the entrance requirements.

The gentlemen who introduced some of them forget that this country was settled and built up by aliens. Even a member of the oldest white American family can count the generations it has existed in America on the fingers of his hands, and not use all the fingers.

There is, for instance, a registration of aliens bill which provides for a compulsory yearly registration of aliens and a payment of a fee of \$10 for first registration and \$5 for each subsequent registration.

Every alien is to register with the postmaster of the district where he resides, and removal from one district to another must be recorded on the registration card. The card is to be exhibited whenever demanded by any policeman or any other official designated in that act.

Whenever the physical appearance of an alien changes this must be reported to the postmaster. Presumably, therefore, when an alien gets to be stout or loses weight, or a woman undergoes another physical change, or has her hair bobbed, or a man raises a mustache, or shaves his beard—that must be reported to the postmaster and recorded on the card.

Nor is this all. In case of war or any other emergency, the President is to have the right to herd them all together and fix the place where they must be—in Tennessee or Louisiana, if he so orders.

Violations of this act are to be punished by a \$5,000 fine and two years in the penitentiary, and the culprits are also to be deported. Just imagine this provision in force with a man like A. Mitchell Palmer as Attorney General.

Mr. Johnson of Washington: Would they throw a bomb at him?

Mr. Berger: Maybe he would deserve—

Mr. Johnson of Washington: Does the gentleman think he deserved to have a bomb thrown at him, as was done a few years ago?

Mr. Berger: Would deserve to be made a candidate for President on the Democratic ticket. Do not try to catch me with a question like that, Mr. Johnson, please.

Mr. Berger: This is the right thing because it is the humane thing. Permit me to tell you that immigration

that is coming now is probably better than what came to this country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Besides some religious fanatics, it was the scum of Great Britain and Ireland. Pickpockets, jailbirds, and streetwalkers. White slaves—because this is what the "indentured servants," so called, really were—formed the great bulk even in the eighteenth century. The best immigration came here from 1830 to 1900.

I also think that the suggestion of the Secretary of Labor—who is really a fine man in most respects—that school teachers should help in the espionage only makes that bad bill so much worse.

And above all, unless a tremendous force of inspectors to enforce the act is set up—something like that which we have for the Volstead Act, only much larger—the law could not be enforced. And just imagine the fearful field for oppression and graft. Because under this act aliens convicted of violations of the act would immediately be arrested and deported.

The opportunities for graft in this instance would be infinitely greater than either those of income-tax inspectors or prohibition employees.

Moreover, let us not forget that such an inspector could pounce upon any citizen and demand that he give proof of his citizenship.

According to a statement made before the House Committee on Immigration more than one-half of the native-born citizens of the United States are today unable to produce any record of their birth. And any citizen who could not produce evidence of his citizenship would be subject to penalties under this act, because he did not register.

Our entire policy in regard to immigration is foolish. It is stupid tyranny. Our rulers do not say it openly, but the purpose is to keep out Jews, Poles and Italians.

And as to the Italians, God bless them! They will give American life a touch of art, which we sorely need. And you can not say anything against the Poles. There are no harder working people than the Poles in this country. Just go to the mines of Pennsylvania or the rolling mills of Pittsburgh.

Mr. Johnson of Washington rose.

Mr. Berger: I will answer the gentleman from Washington later on, but I want to develop my theme first.

Mr. Johnson of Washington: Let us hire a hall and have it out right [Laughter.]

Mr. Berger: Yes; in Milwaukee, Chicago or New York.

Mr. Johnson of Washington: I will share the expense.

Mr. Berger: Not absolutely necessary; I will gladly pay.

Mr. Holaday: I would like to be the referee. [Laughter.]

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"The Last Refuge of Scoundrels"

WE are suffering from a regular epidemic of Spring patriotism. It is breaking out like a rash all over the body politic. Of course we don't mean real patriotism, which is as different from the sort that is prevalent around New York these days as German measles differ from genuine measles. We mean the sort that is a katzenjammer after a jag of too much fear.

We mean such shows as the United States Army and the Sons of the American Revolution put on at White Plains, N. Y., the other day. Some professional patriot decided that the Citizens' Training Camps up Westchester way were turning out to be more or less of a flop. So he looked into the history book that is edited by the American Legion, the American Federation of Labor, the Daughters of the Confederacy, the Boy Scouts, the National Security League, the Knights of Pythias, and other learned bodies and discovered that 150 years ago Washington fought a rear-guard action with the British under General Howe at White Plains. To be sure, the battle was fought in October, but what are little things like dates between patriots? It was decided to have a sham battle between regular U. S. Army forces at a place five miles away from where the original battle was fought. (But what are little things like five miles between patriots?) Besides, it so happened that at the spot where the battle was to be pulled off there was one of White Plains' most promising real estate developments with a lot of choice plots still unsold. So taking advantage of this happy coincidence the 150th anniversary of the Battle of White Plains was celebrated by the United States Army, some 4,000 guileless citizens and the entire selling staff of the real estate company, to the greater glory of God and country and the undoubted profit of said company. Bombs were thrown about, machine guns were brought into play, aeroplanes dropped imitation poison gases. Everything was lovely. Especially when the salesmen made their flank attack and came home with the bacon.

This alliance of real estate and our army, while nothing new in the annals of our history, suggests the revision of some of our patriotic airs. For example: "Hail Columbia, happy land! Realtors on every hand Who'll sell you lots at reasonable rates, Who'll sell you nice, fresh real estates, And when the smoke of battle's o'er, Will set you back a 'grand' or more."

Or again, "O, say, can you see, by the dawn's early light, What so proudly you bought from the realty man? Whose wet swamps and salt marsh in the midst of the fight, Seemed a bargain no doubt when you looked at the plan."

The epidemic has spread to our school-marm, male and female, who are always unusually susceptible to Americana Dementia in its most pernicious forms. Discovering that in the persons of Arthur Garfield Hays and James Weldon Johnson (who were due to make speeches on peace in one of the high schools), the Hun was at the gate, these worthies announced that neither Hays nor Johnson could speak in those temples of learning which have so refining an effect upon the young of New York as is evident to those who have the misfortune to ride on the subways on Sunday evenings. It seems that it is most unpatriotic to suggest that peace is a desirable state of affairs. If the youthful car rowdies, embryo gangsters and gunmen who are regularly turned out of our public schools after thorough drilling in the manly arts of doing one's enemies should hear about peace they might take it seriously and where would our standing army be then? Flat on its back, according to the school-marm. So away with Hays and Johnson and all the rest of the damned radicals. Stand up and s'loot the flag or get the hell out of our schools.

We told you last week how the rash has affected Major General Robert Lee Bullard, Rtd., and his National Security League which is working overnight to defeat the plottings of what he calls the "Great Garland Fund" (not to be confused with the "Great God Brown"). And now the radio broadcasters are getting itchy. We have never met a radio broadcaster. We would dearly love to do so. It fascinates us to think what a man would be like who had to listen five times a day to the "Barcarolle from the Tales of Hoffman," fourteen times a day to "Yes, Sir, She's My Baby," and at least once to the Bedtime Story About Peter Rabbit. But of course, we have no doubt that such an intellectual genius is just the sort of person best fitted to censor what the "great radio audience" shall hear about matters such as freedom of speech and other economic and social problems. At any rate that seems to be the accepted opinion among those who watch over our public morals because four New York broadcasting stations have already forbidden the use of the microphone to Norman Thomas and a fifth insists on censoring his speech on "Freedom of the Air."

What is happening is this, that patriotism, which is after all merely a natural affection for one's birthplace and nation has become so perverted by such degenerate practices as those we have described as to make almost anyone who professes it a suspect in the eyes of his intelligent fellows.

McAlister Coleman.

Social Democrats' Immediate Demands

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

Immediate Demands of Social Democrats

PROCEEDING from these principles to the immediate demands, the party urged universal, equal and direct suffrage; direct legislation; a people's army in place of a standing army; freedom of speech and the right of free assembly; equality between the sexes; separation of the church from the State; compulsory secular education; free administration of justice; free medical treatment; progressive income and inheritance taxation; abolition of direct taxes and such protective labor legislation as the fixing of an eight hour normal working day, prohibiting night work and child labor, guaranteeing a rest period of 36 hours a week, legalizing labor combinations, granting equality of remuneration as between industrial and agricultural workers and establishing a system of social insurance, with effective co-operation of the working class in its administration.

The Erfurt Program represented a triumph of the Marxists, led by Liebknecht and Bebel, over the Lassalle group. It reflected the feelings of the Prussian socialists, confronted as they were by the autocratic, militaristic Prussian state, with its undemocratic constitution, its uncompromising opposition to the rights of the workers and its highly organized industrial system.

Opposition of Revisionists A gradual opposition developed to this point of view. It was the opposition of the Revisionists. The center of the opposition was in Southern Germany—in Saxony, Bavaria, etc., where capitalist industry had not developed so rapidly as in Prussia and where the state was more democratic. George von Vollmar, the leader of the Bavarian Social Democrats, always refused to accept the dogma that capital and land—particularly the latter—were concentrating in fewer and fewer hands. He urged that increasing attention be given by socialists to immediate reforms, and maintained that this was necessary in order to obtain the support of the farming population who

would be alienated if the socialists insisted that aid could come to the present proprietors only through the evolutionary process leading to the concentration of farming, and to ultimate socialization.

Eduard Bernstein The cause of the Revisionists was greatly aided by the publication of Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie (translated under the title, Evolutionary Socialism).

Bernstein was born in Berlin in 1850, the son of a locomotive engineer. He was educated in a German gymnasium, and at the age of sixteen became a clerk in a bank. In 1872 he joined the Social Democratic party and from that time was actively identified with the German socialist paper, Die Zukunft.

In 1878, Bernstein gave up his position to become private secretary to the well-to-do secretary of Die Zukunft, Karl Hochberg. In that year, the year of the anti-Socialist Act, he left Germany, and was an exile from that country for the next twenty odd years. Until 1888, he acted as editor of the Zurich edition of the Social Democrat, which, despite the exceptional laws, was distributed widely and regularly in the cities of Germany. The German authorities eventually brought pressure to bear on the Swiss Government to deport Bernstein, and, in 1888, he left for London, where he served as London correspondent of the Berlin Vorwaerts, and as an historian and theorist of the socialist movement.

While in England, Bernstein came into close contact with the British socialist movement, although taking no active part therein. For years he was a close and loyal friend of Frederick Engels and spent many an evening at the latter's London home. Indeed, his friendship for Engels deterred him for some years from giving publicity to his criticisms of the Marxian economic structure. He also knew intimately the leaders of the Fabian Society, and their point of view must have greatly influenced his writings.

As Marx elaborated his theories in

his London home, so it was in London that Bernstein wrote his criticisms of Marxism. These criticisms appeared in a series of articles, among others, in the Neue Zeit during the late nineties, and led to and evoked much controversy with the German party. Later he set forth his views in a letter to the Convention of the Social Democratic Party meeting at Stuttgart in October, 1898. This letter was followed a few months later by his book, "Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus. The Hanover Congress of 1899 spent more than three days discussing the conclusions reached in this book, at the end, however, passing a resolution indicating their dissent from these views.

When Bernstein again returned to Germany about the year 1900, he became the leader of the school of thought known as Revisionist school, which, despite the official opposition of the Social Democratic party, gained a large following among the younger men.

From 1900 until the outbreak of the World War the controversy between the Revisionists and the Marxists, the latter led by Karl Kautsky, occupied much attention in the socialist press.

Main Contentions of Revisionists

Bernstein's contentions, as set forth in a letter written in October, 1898, to the Social Democratic party, meeting in Stuttgart, were in brief as follows:

1. The collapse of the capitalist system is not imminent. It is therefore a mistake for the party to adopt tactics which presuppose the immediate development of a great, social catastrophe.

2. The theory of social evolution set forth in the Communist Manifesto was correct in so far as it characterized the general tendencies of that evolution. However, it was incorrect in its estimate of the time the evolution would take. Frederick Engels unreservedly acknowledged this in his preface to the Class War in France.

3. Social conditions have not developed to so acute an opposition in classes as was depicted in the Mani-

festo. "The enormous increase of social wealth is not accompanied by a decreasing number of large capitalists, but by an increasing number of capitalists of all degrees. The middle classes change their character but they do not disappear from the social scale."

4. The concentration of productive industry is not being accomplished even today in all its departments with equal thoroughness and at an equal rate. In a great many branches, the forecasts of the Marxists have been justified. In agriculture, however, concentration proceeds more slowly. There exists today an extraordinarily elaborated gradation of enterprises.

5. Under the pressure of the working class movement, a social reaction has set in against the exploiting tendencies of capital. "Factory legislation, the democratizing of local government, and the extension of its area of work, the freeing of trade unions and systems of co-operative trading from legal restrictions, the consideration of standard conditions of labor in the work undertaken by public authorities—all these characterize this phase of the evolution. But the more the political organization of modern nations are democratized the more the needs and opportunities of great political catastrophes are diminished." Is the conquest of political power by the proletariat simply to be a political catastrophe? Marx and Engels in 1872, in the preface to the new edition of the Communist Manifesto, announced that the Paris Commune had exhibited a proof that "the working classes cannot simply take possession of the ready-made State machinery and set it in motion for their own aims"; while Engels in 1895 declared that the time of "revolutions of small conscious minorities was at an end." And yet Engels even in 1895 overestimated the rate of the process of evolution.

6. A greater security for lasting success lies in a steady advance than in the possibilities offered by a catastrophic crash.

(To be continued next week)

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

Chapter IX

Agatha's Love for Dan

THE Gaylards went to their summer home at Lake Minnetonka late in May. Agatha liked it the best of their several residences. The windows of her spacious bedroom opened into the green foliage of maple trees which strained the morning light before it fell into patterns on warm Persian rugs. Birds built their nests in these trees, and the sound of the lake, like domestic music, played slow accompaniment to all one's thoughts. Here she came after her passionate friendship with Dan Minturn, and here she tried to repossess that experience in her thoughts.

"I have come home to get caught up with myself," she told her Uncle Matt. "To come to your senses, I hope," he answered, not unpleasantly. One morning soon after her arrival she lay in bed watching skeins of sunlight tangle themselves in the leaves. She had awakened with the clear sense of Dan's proximity. That was it. His will drew her against her will. He commanded her allegiance despite resistance. She wondered if she did not still hate him. She did at times, she concluded. She shrank from the ordeal of introducing him to her friends. Even Maggie Toller hadn't met him yet. She often doubted the wisdom of her resolve to marry him. She had gone to bed twice with headaches trying to see her way out of the dilemma of having a brilliant church wedding without having Dan's family. Yet she did not break with him. The fierceness

of his desire for her drew her back, fascinated.

She fell to wishing he was coming down today instead of next month. She was anxious to see how he looked in a bathing suit, and she wanted to discuss with him the question whether their wedding day should be September 20 or October 2, and smiled at herself for coupling such irrelevances.

She confessed to herself in that moment that there was something physical about her love for Dan. "Perhaps that is all there is to it," she told herself. "What else could there be? I don't want children."

She had risen from her bed and thrown aside her pajamas, and was preparing to don her bathing suit for a morning plunge. She caught a glimpse of her nude body in the beveled glass of the French doors.

She was filled with sickening fear. Suppose it was all a horrible mistake. Suppose she would hate to have him

touch her. Suppose that they could not make marriage go. Divorce! Suppose Dan persisted in his crazy politics and uttered shocking things at dinner parties. Her apprehension increased.

She sank down upon a stool, throwing her bathing suit over her shoulders, shivering, not with cold, but in a kind of delirium of fear.

"Oh!" she groaned.

There now began a battle between her natural desire and her social instinct. Yes, she wanted Dan. But on what terms did she want him? Was he just another want—like an automobile? She could not remember when, as a grown woman, she had not had her wants satisfied. There was her desire for a speed boat. Uncle Matt got that, just as he had got her a Stutz roadster and built her a Little Theatre on his Minnetonka estate. The Little Theatre had not been opened in three years. One tires of that sort of thing so quickly. Could she have Dan and

not have him? Could she forbear not to have him at all, to forego one desire of her lovely body? Could she shut Dan out as she had closed the Little Theatre?

Fear ruled her. She began to be afraid that she would not marry him. And what of him? He would kill himself. She did not doubt that. And the thought pleased her. But she could not follow such gruesome speculations. Oh, what could she do?

"I wonder if I wait until fall I'll never marry him," she commented shrewdly. There was a knock at the door, and a maid appeared.

"Wait a moment, Marie," Agatha requested, reaching for her negligee. "Have you had your plunge, Miss Agatha?" Marie asked, after respectfully withdrawing and re-entering. "No. My head aches, Marie."

"Here's a letter for you, miss."

It was from Dan. She opened it. " . . . when I think about our love at all I cannot understand it. How it could come to me I do not see. All I can do is to accept it as I do the sun and air, and it is as vital to me."

"Marie," Agatha said, after reading to the end. "Will you get Mr. Minturn on the phone for me?"

When she spoke to Dan she said: "Dan, I think it is foolish to wait until autumn. Let's get married at once. Next week—tomorrow."

(To be continued next week)

IGLESIAS, OF SPAIN, LEAVES LIFE'S SAVINGS TO SOCIALIST PARTY

The life-long devotion to the cause of the workers of Pablo Iglesias, the veteran Spanish labor leader and Socialist agitator, whose death last December at the age of 75 was the occasion of an imposing demonstration of affection by the working people of all Spain, was well exemplified by his last will and testament.

El Socialista of Madrid reports that, in looking through his desk some time after his departure, friends of Iglesias found a note attached to a bundle of paper money totaling 1,000 pesetas (about \$150) requesting that this sum, his life savings, be turned over to the Socialist Party of Spain to help carry on its work. Knowing his small income from his writings and his generosity toward needy comrades, Iglesias' friends were surprised to learn that the "grandfather" of the Spanish labor and Socialist movement had been able to save anything at all, even though living very modestly.

Thus the last act of the Socialist veteran was a re-affirmation of his action a few years ago when he turned over to the treasury of the Socialist Party a bequest of 10,000 pesetas left to him by an old friend—Inocente Calleja. El Socialista hopes this example will be followed by enough Spanish Socialists to make it possible soon to launch the intensive campaign of education needed in the land now ruled by Dictator Rivera.

One Way Out

IF my mind is getting soft of late, blame it on soft coal. Anybody thinking seriously about that subject is bound to go bug-house sooner or later. I'm not quite gone yet, but there is no telling how soon the cracks in my brainy will let the rain in and soften the gray matter to plain mush. So let me make one more attempt of thinking about soft coal before my thinker runs off by the nose.

Now to start with, everybody needs coal and everybody wants coal. In fact, our whole blooming civilization would go to the bow wows in three jerks of a lamb's tail if coal should give out today. Every factory, train, waterworks and light plant would stop. Folks would have to scatter from cities or starve or freeze to death. Without coal, New York, Paris and Berlin would resemble deserted prairie dog towns. Farmers would be without tractors, plows, reapers and horsehoes. The housewife wouldn't have a pot to cook in and the preacher wouldn't have a pulpit to pulp from. For in these days, most everything is made with the aid of steel and steel can't be produced without coal. So there you are.

Now, one would think that with such a basic commodity as bituminous coal to deal with, the master minds of the country would set their wheels turning in order to find a solution for the coal problem. The master minds, however, are doing nothing of the kind. They are too busy monkeying with the debt settlement, which is called settled when the debtors finally agree to pay what we think they ought to pay, which, in my opinion, is 100 percent more than they ever will pay. Or, they are pumping hot air into the American farmers, which would be all right if that gent happened to be a balloon instead of a baboon. Or, they are reducing the taxes on swollen fortunes to give us fellows the swell delusion of ourselves as leading taxpayers, which is all right, too, seeing that the leading is done on our noses.

But to come back to what I'm trying to say, the soft coal industry is surely in one helluva fix. There are about 5,000 too many mines and around 200,000 too many coal miners and—well, anyhow, a lot of coal barons are going to the devil directly and a lot of miners are going to the same party the way of moon-shining and bootlegging.

So let's examine some of the remedies that have been proposed for the curing of the coal evil.

First of all, there is our old friend competition. Free and unlimited competition in coal, say the doctors, will weed out the high cost mines and permit the low cost ones to live and prosper ever after.

Well, the Jacksonville agreement gave competition a first rate chance to prove its curing power and, from what I have observed, the patient all but died under the treatment. It weeded out the high cost mines all right enough, but it so happened that these high cost mines were principally located in the organized districts where the high cost of mining is superinduced by high labor and low coal. So the net result was that the union mines closed down while the non-union mines kept going, which is proven by the unpleasant fact that wherever the union miners are still working under union conditions, they are either on strike or idle or are waiting for the whistle to blow.

No, competition won't do. Competition may be the life of every other trade but it surely is death to the coal trade.

Next fellow comes along and says, "What the coal industry needs is better management. If real engineers, technicians and efficiency experts were ramrodding the mining of coal instead of the Henry Dubs who are doing it now, one-third of the mines, operated at full blast could produce all the coal required at half of the present cost."

Well, perhaps they could, and if so, let us praise God for the Dubs who are managing the coal mines now for if those efficiency sharks ever get on the job, about 400,000 miners, instead of only 200,000 miners, will be thrown on the scrap heap.

Better technique, says another doctor. Sure Mike. Get a machine for every task now performed by human hands. Reduce the number of coal diggers by one-half or two-thirds, then reduce the remainder to a given number of jerks, twists and spasms as Tin Henry has done in his Lizzy factory and the trick is done. But how such a policy will put beans in the boilers of our surplus miners is more than I can figure out.

Lower wages for miners is another prescription promising to cure the coal industry and there is really something to that remedy. If union miners, for instance, worked as cheap as non-union miners they undoubtedly would have more work, if work is what they're looking for. And if they worked for even lower wages than non-union men are earning now, it might be even possible to starve the non-union mines and miners out of existence, in which case the union dues could be used to subsidize the membership while it is trying to out-starve starving scabs.

Well, then, why not organize the unorganized miners, advises another one. And so we should, and if anyone feels like hanging the bell on the cat, which in this case is a wildcat at that, there is nothing to prevent him from going down to bloody Kentucky or gory West Virginia to fasten the tinkler on the beast.

It was the men on the job who organized the union field in the days of yore and not paid organizers from afar. One thing is dead sure.

(Continued on page 6)

IRISH LABOR PARTY OPENS DOORS TO NON-UNIONISTS. LARKIN BOOTED AGAIN

The Irish Labor party, through its Executive Council, has decided to throw its ranks open to non-trade union citizens. All those who believe in progressive labor measures, regardless of their economic or social status, will be permitted and encouraged to join the Labor party. Heretofore the Irish Labor party was exclusively a trade union matter and controlled and financed by the union.

A Communist party was organized by Roderick Connolly, son of the late James Connolly; Maud Gonne, Mrs. Despard, P. T. Daly and a number of trade union men and women. Maud Gonne is well known as a revolutionary in Dublin and Paris. Mrs. Despard is a famous suffragist and sister of the late Lord French, the military leader of the British during the war.

The new party is called the Workers Party of Ireland and is affiliated with the Third International. It is reported that James Larkin has been fired by Moscow on the ground of incompetency and for failure to carry out its instructions and for not cooperating with the British Communists in their efforts to spread their propaganda in Ireland and Great Britain.

Patrioteasing the Children

SAMUEL BUTLER, in his effective satire, "Erewhon," pictures under the guise of musical banks, the choral tendency of the collection minutes in the religious houses of today, when the soprano solo or the melodious organ swells across the respectfully silent congregation as the hats are solemnly held out for the silver droppings. This device, which has proven so effective, is, of course, too helpful to be neglected by those who are gathering pennies for less holy purposes—though patriotism is indeed almost as greatly to be revered. In particular, this July 4th being both the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence and the hundredth anniversary of the death of Thomas Jefferson, the committee that usually rises in such events has come forward with a project to have the school children of the country buy Jefferson's old homestead at Monticello as a memento and a monument to the man whose ideas and ideals have been so debauched by the politicians who have through the years interpreted them to their own profit and advantage.

Not content with proposing this collection to the unsuspecting and helpless children of the country, who are as yet unable to appreciate the real theories of Jefferson, and to recognize how far from his principles this country has strayed, the committee arranges the mockery of a sanctimonious ceremony for the occasion. The week between the birthdays of Lincoln and of Washington is "Patriot Week"; on one day thereof all the children of the schools of the country are required to rise in class and solemnly, after their teacher, to repeat the following pledge:

THE PATRIOT'S PLEDGE OF FAITH

I do hereby pledge and declare my sincere belief and devout faith in the fundamental ideals of my country so bravely proclaimed to

the world by the immortal signers of the Declaration of American Independence and in their words and noble spirit.

"We pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor" to the support of these ideals.

And as a token of my sincerity and as evidence of my gratitude for the blessings which that immortal document has assured to all Americans, I do hereby contribute this coin for the preservation of Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, as a national memorial to the author of the Declaration of Independence and as a shrine for the Children of America.

Then each in turn is to deposit the contribution into the envelope on which the pledge is printed, which is ultimately to be stamped by the committee and returned as a memento—emptied of its contents—to the teacher, who then may frame the envelope as a sign and symbol of the class's patriotic effort to forward the cause of liberty.

A further ironic touch to the whole farcical procedure was given in the assembly of one of the largest high schools of this city. The man chosen to speak to the pupils of the school on Jefferson and his ideals was the only one who, a few years ago, had the brazen stupidity or hard-shell intolerance to rise and speak in defence of the Lusk bills in that school. This proper son of the defenders of the Inquisition spoke to the students of the school on the ideals of a man who would have deemed the speaker an abomination, who looked forward to a government in which the people might truly reap the benefits of their control, who, with the more fiery Thomas Paine, had constantly to be held in check by the more conservative fighters in the early days of American independence. So do our present-day patriots weave truth and history to their purposes.

"Here's Howe!"

By McAlister Coleman

FREDERIC C. HOWE, in his much advertised, "The Confessions of a Reformer" (published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 12), has written a disheartened and disheartening book. Incidentally, he throws a strong light on the character of the professional liberal. For here he presents on 352 pages a full-length portrait of himself (at one time an outstanding figure in the liberal movement) as a man without a philosophy, without warm enthusiasms, without the ability to do much about such convictions as he possesses.

For a great part of his book he goes after men and women reformers, a strange amorphous outfit wandering like Kipling's Tomlinson between the heaven of safe conservatism and the hell of dangerous radicalism. He goes in for city planning, election reform and the rest of the harmless diversions of the reformers of the Indian summers before the war. In 1914 he was made United States Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island.

"Then," says he, "something happened." (Which comes as a relief to his readers, even though it does not appear until the 259th page.) "It happened so quickly that I could not understand it. I could not fathom its significance or sense its power. In Cleveland I had been shielded by Tom Johnson's commanding personality. He took the blows; I was one of his seconds, on the edge of the ring. And the fighting had been, for the most part, fair. Now I was to enter the ring myself. It was a new experience to me to be a principal in the fight."

A Bit of Mud
What happened was that Mr. Howe was attacked for his humanitarian administration of Ellis Island, was even called a "Socialist" and a "radical." This is not to say that there was not a fight, for it was quite hot while it lasted, but for the student of the liberal temperament it is interesting to note what a tattle the author makes over an ordinary, mud-slinging political row. For anyone who had kept the "common touch" this whole affair would not be worth working up a healthy sweat. Mr. Howe went into it much as an East Side intellectual might wander into a roisterous speakeasy where the "Hudson Dusters" were engaged in cleaning up on "The White

Or Why Tired Radicals Take Up the Ukelele

Button Boys." It was all very painful and quite common.

During the war Howe did what he could with Wilson to ameliorate the sufferings of those who were persecuted for their opinions. It wasn't much. When the nasty mess was over, he went about confessing to his liberal friends.

"Now that it's over, suppose we all tell the truth. Every one of us has done something he is ashamed of. We have violated our principles, done cruel things. All of us have been lying in some way or other. And many of us have been cowards."

The Light Comes

He says this did him a lot of good, that his fears began to disappear and that he became distrustful of the State. He discovered that the State wanted to "hurt people": "It showed no concern for innocence; it aggrandized itself and protected its power by unscrupulous means." This discovery was made after nearly twenty-five years of public life. Finally:

"At fifty I saw myself as I saw the political state. I had lost the illusions I had spent a lifetime in hoarding. I had lost illusions of myself.

Much of my intellectual capital had flown. Drafts on my mind came back indorsed 'no funds.' But I was still not bankrupt. The new truth that a free world would only come through labor was forced on me. I did not seek it; it did not welcome it. But it crowded into mind and demanded tenancy as the old occupants gave notice to leave."

Deciding that the place of the liberal was in labor's ranks, he helped organize the conference for progressive political action, took an active part in the La Follette campaign and became low in his mind again when La Follette did not sweep the country, and is now busy with the "School for Opinion" at Nantucket. Looking back over his career he says:

"I still believe in liberalism. I believe in keeping the mind open to everything that is moving. To me liberalism is open-mindedness."

No doubt, open-mindedness is desirable. It has the drawback, as this book is witness, to leaving its possessor open to every wind of doctrine. Some folks prefer to have a philosophy over their heads.

An Indispensable Guide Book

AN indispensable requirement of the speaker, writer, organizer, executive and editor in the labor movement today is sound information regarding the problems and questions that confront him from day to day.

There was a time when either the information was not accessible or the official had not the time to digest what was available. We relied on propaganda more than we did on information, not because we preferred propaganda but because the movement was too weak to assemble and classify the information that could be obtained from various departments of the government and private institutions.

Since the trade unions of the United States became stable at the dawn of the present century the sources of information regarding social and economic conditions in this country have increased to such an extent that it is absolutely impossible for the busy official to consult them. Should he attempt to do so in each problem that comes up he would be compelled to explore considerable material before obtaining the desired information and the job of assembling it would take still more time.

Out of this situation arose the necessity of some central bureau that would give all its time to digesting the voluminous material that accumulates each year and making a permanent record of the more essential facts. By classifying the information the busy official could at a moment's notice turn to the volume and obtain what he wanted. The Rand School of Social Science was the first institution in this country to see the need of such an annual. All sorts of annuals had been issued in this country but none for the labor movement and it was sorely needed. The result was the appearance of the first volume of The

American Labor Year Book in 1916. The first volume was a modest yet creditable beginning with 375 pages. The work has expanded each year and the seventh volume which has just appeared carries 560 pages.

The section on trade union organization in the United States has been expanded and is more complete than that carried by any previous volume. More than a hundred national, international, State, departmental and other unions find a place in this section, the more important data regarding their history, problems and struggles being considered under classified heads. One who desires to get a "close-up" view of each organization and the economic movement as a whole will find the information in this section. How the trade union official who takes his position seriously can neglect this book with this data so conveniently placed at his disposal is beyond our comprehension.

There is also the usual wealth of information on labor disputes, labor politics, labor legislation, court decisions affecting labor, civil liberties, workers' education and health, labor banking, investment and insurance, co-operation, public ownership, social and economic conditions affecting the workers, political and economic international organizations of workers, the labor movement abroad, the Socialist, Labor, Farmer-Labor and Communist parties at home and abroad, a death roll of prominent men and women who died in 1925, an international labor directory and a list of important books and pamphlets published in 1925 that have some bearing on the economic, social and political problems that face the working class.

It would be difficult to imagine a volume of this size more compact in its wealth of information. Solon De Leon, director, and Nathan Fine, his associate, have earned the gratitude of their readers for the conscientious labor they have spent on this number of this invaluable labor annual. Considering the marked divisions that still survive in the labor movement, especially the war of the "Rights" and the "Lefts" in some of the trade unions, they have on the whole managed to maintain an objective position in presenting the data on this struggle. This encyclopedia will measure up well with the more ambitious works in a larger field and we would urge all who understand the value of such a publication before the edition is exhausted to order their copy. It is not likely that the school could bear the expense of another edition to satisfy the demand of a few hundred who failed to order on time.

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TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)
strongly behind the Passaic strikers. The parade last Sunday was an impressive demonstration of support. Both the Governor's Committee and the Citizens' Committee put responsibility on the mill owners for failure to negotiate. We must not let the strikers under these circumstances be starved into submission. There is no economic justification for sub-normal wages even in capitalist America. Let the woolen industry pay a normal wage, and the workers will add to the general prosperity by their increased purchasing power. If the industry is overdeveloped, let the weaker mills close down. In that case, it is the business of society to help the workers find other employment and to provide for them during unemployment.

Speaking of strikes, the feeling is growing on me that the leaders or some of them in the British general strike botched things. As yet I have not seen the English labor papers and am guided only by such extracts as are cabled to America. I don't blame the leaders for not deliberately trying to turn the strike into a political revolution. That, given the industrial condition of England, its dependence on foreign trade, and the psychology of the workers themselves, would probably have been a terrible blunder. But even in the economic field it looks as if the magnificent holdiarity of the rank and file had not been used to the full advantage by the leaders. It is reported that three members of the Central Council have publicly stated that they were misled in the matter of Sir Herbert Samuel's proposal. Certainly the miners ought to have been more fully consulted, and emphatically the railway workers ought not to have been put in a position where they had to sign a confession of wrongdoing in coming out on strike. The dispatches that H. N. Brailsford, editor of the English New Leader, hints that most of the responsibility for this general strike falls on the shoulders of J. H. Thomas. Mr. Thomas' past record makes the charge all too likely. From the beginning of the general strike he adopted too fearful and fearful a role. I still believe that the net result of the strike was gain and not loss for British workers. But to achieve a peaceful revolution in England by political or other means will, I suspect, require a higher order of leadership than was found in the general strike.

Meanwhile, don't forget that the miners' strike continues; that their economic condition is desperate, and that the men are entitled to generous help from America.

Managers of radio broadcasting stations must have dreadfully bad consciences to be such cowards. Up to the last moment, some of the officials of WRNY wanted to make the program manager cancel his invitation for me to speak. They did compel him to make some rather absurd suggestions for changes in my speech, with the worst of which I did not agree. Then, without notifying me in advance, the president of the company went on the air to try to answer me. Now WRNY has proposed a formal debate on June 7. I have accepted, but I have insisted that what I say shall be absolutely uncensored. What happens will be worth watching.

Real estate dealers won the second battle of White Plains. They moved the anniversary celebration of it five months forward in time and six miles south in space. How's that for relativity? Now the regular army officers and all sorts of patriots are angry that they should have been used to advertise a really development. Doesn't the army know by this time that it exists to help real estate developments, the acquisition of oil wells, and the like? Real battles have been fought to further precisely the same sort of interests, using the same sort of fake patriotic appeal, as brought about the amusing sham battle of White Plains.

In our judgment, an economic system which fails to provide all the members of society with a fair and reasonable opportunity to secure the material means to live a useful, healthy, social life stands self-condemned. On the other hand, we believe that the resources of the nation, under a proper organized society, and with the elimination of many forms of waste, could give a proper and reasonable standard of life to every citizen.—A. Henderson.

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Civilization's Dawn

By Leonard D. Abbott

THE present and future of the human race are glorified by Joseph McCabe's "1825-1925: A Century of Stupendous Progress" (Putnam's). In this book the most distinguished of living freethinkers, author and translator of more than fifty books, once a Roman Catholic monk, lately a crusader for rationalism in America, pays eloquent tribute to science as the modern redeemer, and more than proves that tremendous progress has been made, during the past hundred years, in the creation and distribution of wealth, the improvement of the lot of the masses, the multiplication of comforts and luxuries and entertainments, the education of the race, the reduction of crime and the production and diversification of food. Mr. McCabe writes with an eye on English conditions and with special reference to such pessimistic post-war literature as Bertrand Russell's "Icarus" and F. C. S. Schiller's "Tantalus." He also takes

A Panegyric on the Progress of the Modern World

occasion to express his disagreement with G. B. Shaw, G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc.

This book is a very able one, and its main positions can not be disputed. The improvement of the life of mankind during the period covering 1825-1925, on the economic side alone, staggers the imagination. A hundred years ago 9,000,000 agricultural and industrial workers in England subsisted on a diet composed largely of bread and potatoes. The average weekly wage was between 10 and 11 shillings (less than \$3) a week. The average hours of adult workers were fourteen a day for six days a week. Many children worked twelve hours a day. There were no legal restrictions either on hours or conditions. Trade unions were not permitted until 1824. A large proportion of workers lived in undrained cellars without windows, for

windows were taxed. Sanitary conditions were abominable, and bath tubs were unknown.

In the year 1825 the railroad was in its infancy, very few streets were paved or lit, and epidemics of disease wiped out whole populations. Anti-septics were unheard of. There were no pensions or sick allowances. Cock-fights, dog fights and prizefights with bare fists were favorite recreations. Gambling, drunkenness and a high percentage of "bastards" were taken for granted. The average laborer's expectation of life in England was not more than thirty years.

With such a record in view, Mr. McCabe finds it easy to expatiate on modern progress. In one place he goes so far as to say that "there has in the last 100 years been more progress in every respect than had ever before been witnessed in 500, if not a 1,000, years." He modifies this statement by the concession that in art we are distinctly inferior to Athens, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and even (considering music and literature) to the Europe of a century ago. But he holds that "the science the vitality of our age finds its supreme expression, and that by our science we must be judged."

The inference should not be drawn that Mr. McCabe is an optimist in a shallow sense. He prefers the word "meliorist," which George Eliot suggested for the man who takes the sober and reasonable view that the world has very decided defects, but is improving. The three great problems that face mankind, according to McCabe, are poverty (for the general question of the distribution of wealth), war (or the wise adjustment of international relations), and the improvement of individual character. While Socialism, as such, does not figure in the argument, Mr. McCabe admits that the present distribution of wealth is unfair, and looks forward to a time when our social system is to be drastically reorganized. His only mention of Karl Marx is a complimentary one.

For religion, in the accepted sense, and for the "new psychology" Mr. McCabe has no use. He does not offer any definite hope that we are to win back into life the intellectual and artistic enthusiasms which, at intervals, have illumined human history. His major sympathy is with scientists of the type of J. E. S. Haldane, author of "Daedalus," and his faith, from beginning to end, is in the power of science. He concludes that man is just beginning to be man, and that civilization is only now commencing. "Behind us, on the estimate of time which is today generally accepted, lie 20,000,000 years of prehistoric savagery. We have to eliminate that heritage from our blood, and the man who expects science to do it in a century is a fool. But we have—on the same new estimate of chronology—200,000,000 years on this planet before us. We are just getting out of infancy. Pessimism is mere ignorance. A future more splendid than any poet can imagine is as certain as tomorrow's sun."

CONNOLLY MEMORIAL ORGANIZATION FORMED

The great work accomplished by James Connolly for the International Socialist movement in the British Isles was fittingly recognized on the tenth anniversary of his murder in Dublin by the imperialist forces.

New York joined with Ireland and Great Britain in recounting the achievements of the Socialist leader in a most encouraging meeting at Bryant Hall last week and followed it up by forming a permanent organization. Headquarters were secured at Laurel Garden, 79 East 116th street, and the first organization meeting will be held on Friday, 8 p.m., May 28. Members of Connolly's old union, the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and the Connolly Literary Society and two speakers recently returned from Ireland will be on hand and tell of the British strike and other new developments across the pond. Secretary P. J. Ennis announced.

Liberty for each, for all, and forever.—William Lloyd Garrison.

BELGIUM SOCIALIST STUDENTS ORGANIZE

Organization of students in Belgium on straight Socialist lines will be made easier in the future by the fact that on March 7 a meeting of students was held in Brussels at which the General Association of Socialist Students was launched. This was quickly followed by the founding of an official organ, L'Eveil, edited by Max Drechsel.

Formerly there existed in Belgium merely an "Independent Federation of Socialist Students," to which Communists also belonged. But the idea of maintaining a students' union without difference of Party, for mere theoretical discussion of social questions, proved a failure. L'Eveil comments in its first number: "We thought we could maintain a joint organization. We were wrong. Experience has proved it to be so. We were the dupes of the Communists—in Liege as well as in Brussels—who under the pretext that scientific Marxism could be a bond between Socialists and Communists, attempted nothing more nor less than to get a united front of political action, which brought us—reformists—into an untenable position with regard to the Labor Party. We have made an end of this ambiguity."

The newly-founded students' organization is working in close understanding with the Belgian Labor Party.

SWISS SOCIALISTS SCORE NEW GAINS

Further big gains for the Swiss Socialists' policy of no compromise with the bourgeois parties were registered in the Spring cantonal elections in several parts of the Confederation.

In Berne, where the fight was particularly hot, the Socialists on May 9 held their 63 seats in the Cantonal Council, against 161 captured by the combined bourgeois group, and polled 363,855 votes, against a bourgeois total of 339,064. The city of Berne went Socialist stronger than ever, the vote being 10,390, against 8,829 for the bourgeois groups. The Socialist gain in four years was 1,200.

In the Zurich elections of April 18 the Socialists increased their members of the Cantonal Assembly from 75 to 84, despite the fact that the total membership had been cut from 257 to 220. The Communists lost six of their ten seats. In the city of Zurich the Socialists increased their seats from 32 to 36, in the face of a reduction of the total from 90 to 78.

In Thurgau on April 11 the Socialists won 25 seats, against 18 in the old council. The total number of seats was raised from 136 to 140. The election in Basle on April 18 brought a slight set-back for the Socialists in that Canton, their seats being reduced from 45 to 39, while the Communists rose from 16 to 22. The total membership of the council is 130.

One Way Out

(Continued from page 5)

if the non-union fields are ever brought into the fold it won't be done by the good fellows who specialize in organization work by means of hotel lobbies and long distance phones.

But even if every coal mine in the United States were 100 percent organized, there still would be a few hundred thousand surplus miners unless complete organization was followed by a drastic reduction in the hours of labor—which is another story.

How about the nationalization of mines? another wants to know. Well, boys, I'm for it. Eventually we will have something like it, but I'm not living eventually but immediately. Nevertheless, I say, go ahead with your campaign of education along these lines. Some day you'll persuade a lower house of Congress to adopt nationalization, and if the Senate is agreeable and the President doesn't veto the bill and the Supreme Court doesn't declare it unconstitutional, you shall have nationalization. But by that time you and I will be so completely and successfully dead as to lose all interest in the matter.

At any rate, cheap and regular supply of coal is about the last thing I'm craving for in

the future world.. And what I say here about the difficulties in the path of nationalization, holds good for such other sensible measures as giant power which undoubtedly would increase the consumption of coal by decreasing the cost of light, heat and power.

Yes, nationalization or giant power, or a cross breed of both, is about my only hope for the soft coal industry and if I didn't know that fish breed faster than philosophers, I'd preach nationalization or giant power till the cows came home to roost.

In the meantime, I got me a piece of good dirt under my feet and cleared it of the rubbish the good Lord raised on it and planted it with self-respecting crops and educated a goat to stand for being milked twice a day. And if the sun keeps shining and the rain falling and somebody don't get my goat, the suspension following April 1, 1927, can keep on suspending until its suspenders are worn out for all that I care. And if you fellows got any sense, you will follow Adam's example before the deluge hits you.

In other words, the shortest and quickest remedy for the over-expansion of the coal industry is to expand yourself to such an extent as to be plumb out of it.

Adam Coal digger.

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The New Leader Mail Bag

Mr. Saposs' Qualifications

Editor The New Leader:

After reading the review of "Left Wing Unionism" by David J. Saposs in the New Leader of May 1, I am impelled to write you this communication. I do not dispute your views on the book, as I have not read it as yet, and it is possible that I, too, may disagree with the author's conclusions. But I do take exception to the following lines:

"This sort of book is likely to come from a patient student of documentary sources, but who has had no personal experience in the movement he considers which would enable him to check the sources and to more intelligently interpret the material."

The above may reflect on David Saposs' qualifications to write on our organized labor movement. I do not know another student of the labor movement who knows it so well from within as David Saposs does. He was always considered on the "inside" of the movement.

Not only has he worked from childhood and joined the brewery workers' union at an early age, but he has never been out of touch with the movement. He knows the leadership as well as the rank and file of the various tendencies of the American labor movement. While he studied at the University of Wisconsin, he was connected with the "Social Democratic Herald" in Milwaukee, of which Victor Berger was the editor, and he assisted the Socialist assemblymen of Wisconsin in the preparation of bills on social and labor legislation. He was research assistant to Prof. R. Commons, and later collaborated with Prof. Commons in writing the "History of the Labor Movement in the United States." He was investigator for the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, and he was an expert of the New York State Department of Labor. He was co-founder and director of the Labor Bureau, Inc., and he is since 1922 a resident member of the faculty of Brookwood Labor College, and an instructor in the Workers University of the I. L. G. W. U.

I could enumerate many other activities which would testify to his knowledge of the labor movement, but I do not think it is necessary. Above all, David Saposs is a scholar and a scientist, and although he has committed himself unqualifiedly to the cause of labor, still his approach to the labor movement is realistic. He knows it too well to do otherwise. He has essentially a historical and analytical mind, and nothing that happens in the labor movement escapes his attention. There can be no doubt that his experience, associations and scholarship qualify him to write on the labor movement as much as any other person in the United States.

I hope that you will find it possible to publish this communication in the next issue of The New Leader.

FANNIA M. COHN.

We cheerfully give space to the above letter and also concede that we

were wrong in assuming that Mr. Saposs has not had that "personal experience" in the movement that would have enabled him to reach more balanced judgments. We would not consciously do him an injustice, and we are glad to print the above correction.

But this modification of our view of Mr. Saposs' experience still leaves one important question unanswered: Why has he in his book practically ignored the most important phase of Communist activities in other organizations? That phase is its conduct and attitude toward those who differ with Communists and which has appeared as "militancy" in the labor movement of this country four times since the seventies. In the case of the Communists it has been worked out as a philosophy. Any impartial and scientific student of the Communist movement would be immediately impressed with this as the most important phase of Communist activities and it would bulk large in any study of the movement that he might write. In "Left Wing Unionism" there is only an incidental reference to it here and there, indicating that the author does not think it of much importance. The Communists think it of vital importance as all their literature proves while the opponents of the Communists in the unions also think it vital because of their continuous opposition to it. Mr. Saposs, however, misses its importance in his book and thus an unbalanced view is presented of American Communism.—Editor The New Leader.

Editor, The New Leader:

Just a few lines to let you know I tuned in and heard Norman Thomas tonight from WRNY. This station is quite hard or difficult to pick up but nevertheless I managed to tune in on the last end. Here's hoping that he and others will broadcast often in the future. I remain as ever, for broadcasting.

Ralph Robbins.

Taunton, Mass.

Laundry Workers Strike Against Erasmus Laundry

The laundry workers employed by the Erasmus Laundry of 916 Franklin Avenue, Brooklyn, have declared a strike because the firm refused to comply with the union conditions. The workers are now on strike for three weeks and although a number of them have been arrested, the strikers are continuing with their picketing. The union urges the public to patronize union laundries.

An organization campaign is being conducted by the union which is Local 810 of the Teamsters International, to organize the laundry drivers in the various parts of the city. A mass meeting will be held this Friday evening at the Bronx Lyceum, at 170th Street and Third Avenue, Bronx. Prominent speakers will address the gathering, and all laundry drivers are requested to attend.

FANNIA M. COHN.

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Amusements

DRAMA

John Galsworthy's Plays

By C. E. M. Joad

CURIOUS minds have wondered from time to time why we obtain such pleasure from being made miserable. That people take a pride in their own misfortune, find satisfaction in their own touchiness and relief in a good cry, are undeniable facts which are too common to excite wonder. Psychologists, indeed, profess to discover profound causes, generally of an unmentionable character, for these manifestations; but sensible people are content to ascribe them to the oldness of human nature.

But that men and women should pay money to witness scenes of horror upon the stage, and should seek their entertainment in the struggles and misfortunes of decent folk, is a circumstance so curious that unless we are to accept the cynics' blunt assertion that all men are cruel at heart and take a simple and unaffected pleasure in suffering as such, we must for the sake of the reputation of the species find some explanation of the popularity of tragedy on the stage. For in all ages men have flocked to see tragedy; the noblest of the arts, and among Shakespeare's plays the tragedies are deservedly accounted the greatest, with Hamlet, containing six murders and one lunatic's suicide, heading the list.

The best and most plausible account of the matter comes from the philosopher Aristotle. Man, he held, is a creature of many emotions of which pity and fear are perhaps the two strongest. The springs of pity and fear are continually welling within him, and unless they are provided with an outlet, they will inundate his whole being. He will grow nervous and fearful; his life will be darkened with baseless apprehensions, and an excess of compassion will cause him to feel everybody's toothaches, as though they were his own. The art of tragedy has the effect of drawing off accumulations of pity and fear, by providing a natural vent for these emotions. In the spectacle of the sufferings of others, it is good for us to fear the ghost of Hamlet's father, and to sympathize with the sufferings of Lear, because we are thereby drained of the moody humors that would otherwise intrude themselves into our own lives; and the pleasure we obtain from the spectacle of tragedy on the stage is akin in character to that which attends the extraction of a thorn in the flesh or an aching tooth.

From this explanation two consequences follow. In the first place, the people presented in the tragedy must be such as we can pity without loss of self-respect; they must, that is to say, be decent people, even noble people. In the greatest tragedies the moral stature of the chief sufferers is something above the ordinary. This rules out villains and scoundrels, who belong to melodrama rather than tragedy.

The chief characters being such as we can respect, it follows that the conflict which is of the essence of tragedy cannot be between good and evil. It must rather be between two sets of obligations, both recognized by the tragic character as binding to some extent, but nevertheless incompatible.

So Hamlet is torn between loyalty to his father's ghost and his natural horror of committing murder. If he murders his uncle he offends against the moral law and strikes at his mother; if he spares his uncle he betrays his father's memory. Thus the noble character, dragged this way and that by conflicting pulls, is the stock figure of tragedy. With whichever course he takes we can feel sympathy; and for the suffering which inevitably ensues we can feel pity.

But mere suffering is not in itself tragic; the sight of torture on the stage is merely repulsive and arouses horror; a man being searled is merely squalid and arouses disgust.

I have devoted this much space to an account of Aristotle's theory because it seems to me to receive its most perfect exemplification in the plays of Galsworthy. All the great Galsworthy plays present conflict, and suffering arises from conflict, in such a way that, although you can understand why the characters acted as they did, sympathize with their motives, and pity their sufferings, only a Pharisee could blame.

In "Justice," so great is the pity aroused by the sight of the clerk Falson sentenced to prison for forgery, pacing his solitary cell like a caged animal, that the spectators are brought to overlook his offense against society; when subsequently he throws himself out of the window rather than return to prison, you feel only a burning indignation against the soulless cruelty of the law. This is the play which is said to have affected a home secretary that on arrival at Whitehall the following morning he immediately set to work to modify the regulations governing solitary confinement.

JOHN COLTON



Is the author of "The Shanghai Gesture" and the co-author of "Rain." The play moves from the Martin Beck to the Shubert Theatre Monday.

Meierhold Theatre, Has 5th Anniversary

THE Meierhold Theatre, of Moscow, celebrated the fifth anniversary of its establishment with a three-day jubilee. Very extensive plans were worked out in connection with this jubilee, and a large committee, including representatives of other theatres, literary publications, trade unions and other public organizations, was organized under the presidency of the veteran German revolutionist, Clara Zetkin, to make all preparations for the occasion. Besides the innumerable speeches in which Russians delight on such occasions, the jubilee involved special productions of individual acts from the various plays in the theatre's repertory. The Meierhold Theatre prides itself on being an organization which has expressed the ideals of the revolution in dramatic art. It has introduced a decidedly novel theatrical technique, doing away with curtain, footlights, elaborate costumes and stage settings. As compensation for these "bourgeois" stage accessories, it lays extraordinary stress on the development of acrobatic powers by its actors; and its plays, which are mostly attempts at revolutionary propaganda and satire, are enlivened by a large amount of tumbling, jumping and general horseplay on the part of the players.

The motion picture, continues the Moscow correspondent of the "Christian Science Monitor," is slowly beginning to penetrate the Russian villages. While only the larger villages can maintain theatres of their own, there are 400 travelling cinemas which go about from village to village with their productions. It is said that the peasants show little liking for foreign pictures, unless they show scenes of farm life. They enjoy pictures illustrating the application of new methods in agriculture, and performances based on events in the Russian civil war are also quite popular. The peasants also show an appreciation for comic films.

Amusement Department Store Open at Coney Island

Coney Island's newest show palace, the "Amusement Department Store," will be officially opened today at Stillwell avenue and the Bowers and running nearly to the boardwalk. This latest seaside playground is the third largest at Coney Island, and represents an investment of \$3,000,000, and the huge building houses all sorts of shows. The shows include "shadow movies," a fun-house, a modern carousel, Dr. Palmer's "Law and Order" wax figure show and a Belgian Congo Village showing, among other freaks, two "Monkey Men" never seen in this country before, according to Prof. Brewer. There is also an attraction known as the Glass House or Crystal Maze. The 1,000 bath houses will be open in June.

Amusement shoppers will find several other good bargains in the Amusement Department Store, while overhead speeds the new "Bobs Coaster" ride, which takes in nearly \$300 an hour. This ride is new in Coney Island this summer.

Theatre Guild School Planning Stock Co. for July

For the month of July a stock company at the Beechwood Theatre, Scarborough, N. Y., will be formed with the twenty-one members of the senior class in the Theatre Guild School of Acting. They are the eleven boys and nine girls who have survived the eliminations of the term which started last October. Winifred Lenihan will be the director.

They will present four plays to be chosen from "Lilium," "Alice Sit by the Fire," "Fanny's First Play," "The Girl With the Green Eyes," "The Country Cousin," "The Playboy of the Western World," "Trelawney of the Wells," "Seventeen" and "The Charm School." Kate Lawson will be scenic designer and general technical director. The scenery will be constructed and painted on the premises. Five performances will be given of each play on Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday. A subscription audience is being gathered from the countryside.

Melodrama with A Punch

"Kongo" at the Biltmore Is a Gripping Play of Wild Life in Africa

A MELODRAMA that hasn't a single merit to it, and yet is one of the most gripping plays of the year is this "Kongo," Chester De Vonde's and Kilbourn Gordon's play of wild life in Central Africa that is being shown in the Messrs. Chanin's beautiful Biltmore Theatre. And in this play Walter Huston, who is worthy of the best dramatic writing in the world, gives a performance that literally lifts you out of your seat and that at the end sends you home wildly cheering.

"Kongo" is a play that cannot help but remind you of "White Cargo," but it has its differences. It is about white men and heat and hate and lust—passions and a beautiful though loose native lady clad tastefully in a couple of breast ties and a breech cloth, all located in the central part of Africa where men are swine and where life is one damn thing after another, the quest for ivory and rubber so that beautiful ladies may wear ornaments and that we poor civilized fish might ride on rubber tires and keep the wet out.

It seems that there were a couple of fellows many years ago and one of them had a wife the other coveted. One got the wife and shortly after she gave birth to a daughter, and to reward him for his kindness, he planted a good swift kick in the lower part of the spine of the other, thereby paralyzing his legs. And he sneered as he did it. Yes, by God, he sneered!

Thereupon the one ran away from the woman and left her with the baby daughter and went in for government work in the Congo, while the other swore a solemn oath that he would revenge himself.

We find ourselves at the opening of the play in the forest kept by Mr. Flint—"Dead Legs" Flint he is called—in the middle of the Congo jungle. Both men have changed their names, of course, and the other fellow, who does work for his government not far away is known as Kregg. Flint is a hard, cruel beast. He has won power over the natives by mastering various voodoo rites and holding them over the savages. He is undisputed master in his sphere. Kregg doesn't know who he is, but he is always playing little pranks on the man who sneered, like poisoning the wells for the benefit of an expedition and arranging it so that it is reported that Kregg did it. Oh, a merry fellow is this Flint!

We have little Annie, of course, sweetheart of a hundred men and forced into prostitution by Flint and pure and clean despite her loathsome calling. There is Doctor Tom Kingsland, wanted in England for murder. Kingsland had been in Kregg's place, where he was brutally beaten, and there he saw how the Man Who Sneered beat and mutilated his Negroes.

Here were a lovely set of characters all set for something to happen. And gosh! what doesn't happen! Tom and Annie gaze into each other's eyes and love, and Tom is the first to defy the terrible Flint. Kregg is lured to Flint's place, and there the two men face each other and Flint tells him who he is.

It's too silly, of course, but even sophisticated audiences hold the sides of their seats and positively gasp for breath as the battle between the two terrible men goes on. Kregg is forced to shoot himself. Flint arranges to allow the two lovers to escape.

It is melodrama of the most obvious kind, but what melodrama! There are scenes when the blacks attack the store and Flint beats them off with his voodooism that fairly take your breath away. And Walter Huston comes through with flying colors—a great actor and a gallant gentleman.

W. M. F.

MADGE KENNEDY



lays the fickle heroine in "Love in a Mist," the Amelia Rives-Gilbert Emery comedy at the Gaiety Theatre.

THEATRES

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"The Black Crook" to Be Revived by Two Groups

There will be two rival revivals of the old extravaganza, "The Black Crook," next season, one of them by the new Art Theatres combine, and the other by James P. Beury, who will open his show at the Walnut, Philadelphia, during the sesqui-centennial. Both have been in negotiation with Joe Smith, son of the late George W. Smith, producer of the original show, to stage their productions. Smith has the original script with all stage directions, costume designs, etc. "The Black Crook" was first presented at Niblo's Garden in 1880. There were still companies touring the country in "The Black Crook" every season thirty years ago.

Broadway Briefs

A revival of Eugene O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones," with Charles Gilpin and the original company, will be presented in June by Paul Kay, English producer.

George Arliss, who has played two seasons in John Galsworthy's "Old English," will use this play again next year. His tour will take him to the Pacific Coast.

Florence Reed in "The Shanghai Gesture" moves from the Martin Beck Theatre to the Shubert Theatre on Monday night.

Two new numbers have been placed in the "Garrick Gaieties," a song of circus life by Larry Hart and Dick Rodgers, "Allez-up," and a sketch entitled "Washington and the Spy," by Newman Levy.

The Greenwich Village Follies will close its engagement at the Shubert this Saturday night. The revue will start its road tour in Philadelphia in September.

Crosby Gaige will try out a new comedy by George S. Kaufman and Herman J. Mankiewicz, "The Good Fellow," at Asbury Park, N. J., on Monday evening, June 21, with Sidney Toler in the leading role.

Dwight Deere Winman has purchased a play by Knowles Entriken, entitled "Seed of the Brute." The play deals with three generations of Middle Westerners. He will produce the play in the fall with Mr. William A. Brady, Jr.

Laurette Taylor signed this week with A. H. Woods, in association with Charles Frohman, Inc., for the stellar role in Jacques Deval's new play "The Cardboard Lover," which is being adapted from the French by Valerie

"Exceedingly cheerful evening in the theatre."
—Woolcott, World.
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POPULAR MATINEE THURSDAY
WINTHROP AMES presents GILBERT & SULLIVAN'S
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"Iolanthe" must be seen—biggest box-office success on Broadway.—Arthur B. Waters, "Phil. Public Ledger."
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Mr. Davis is a writer of fiction living in San Antonio, Texas.

Lucia Corvira, Spanish dancer of "Artists and Models," and Miriam Lax, soprano of "Princess Flavia," have been added to the list of principals of "The Merry World."

"The Patsy," at the Booth, with Claiborne Foster in the leading role, will celebrate its one hundred and seventy-fifth performance Saturday matinee.

Boito's "Nerone" Given in Buenos Aires with Cast of 500

Arrigo Boito's opera, "Nerone," had its new world premiere in the Colon Opera House, Buenos Aires, on Monday night, opening the opera season. It was hailed by critics as the most stupendous ever given in Buenos Aires, having a cast of 500.

All the settings and the stage machinery for the spectacular effects were brought from La Scala Opera House in Milan, Italy, where it was produced for the first time May 1, 1924.

Aureliano Pertile impersonated the Roman emperor, Nero, as he did in Milan. Cesarri Formichi was Simon Magnus, prophet of debased religion, and Claudia Musio, of the Metropolitan Opera Company, sang the part of Asteria, priestess.

"Nerone," which will be seen in New York next fall, was well received by a typical first night audience. The entire performance was broadcast by radio. The municipality of Buenos Aires, after a long controversy recently, authorized the broadcasting of all performances at the Colon Opera House, which is operated by the municipality.

JEAN CADELL



In the Theatre Guild production, "At Mrs. Beam's," Munro's charming comedy, now in its sixth week at the Guild Theatre.

Shaw, Barrie and Milne Plays On College Players' Program

Shaw and Barrie plays will be presented by the Washington Square College Players of New York University in their fifth summer season at the New York University Playhouse, 100 Washington Square. Shaw's "Getting Married," "Candida" and "You Never Can Tell," and Barrie's "Dear Brutus" and "Alice Sit-by-the-Fire" are planned for production by Randolph Somerville, the director, as well as several comedies by A. A. Milne, including "Mr. Pim Passes By," "The Dover Road" and "Belinda." Miriam Steep, Edwinna Volvile, Richard Cough and Olivia Agar will be in the company.

The Strand Theatre at Far Rockaway opened last week under the management of B. S. Moss with a gala performance of vaudeville, motion pictures and music. The theatre, which seats 2,000, has been remodeled, redecorated and refurbished.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"HENRY IV." by William Shakespeare, will be revived by The Players' Club for one week beginning Monday night at the Knickerbocker Theatre. The all-star cast includes, among others, Otis Skinner, John Drew, Basil Sydney, Blanche King, Peggy Wood, Philip Merivale, William Courtleigh, Remond Pincho, James T. Powers, John Cumberland, John Wesley, George Riddell, David Glasford, Gilbert Emery, Eileen Huban, Thomas Chalmers, Jay Fassett, Herbert Ranson, J. M. Kerrigan and Fraser Coulter.

THEATRES

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Music Notes

Dusolina Giannini will be one of the soloists at the Evanston festival next week.

Rafael Diaz will sing the leading tenor role of Lione in the opera "Shanewis" this summer at the Hollywood Bowl in California.

Guy Maier sailed for Europe on May 26, and expects to bring some two-piano novelties for the Maier-Pattison combination.

Gascha Jacobsen will hold summer master classes in New York and West Hartford, Conn., on the principles of the late Franz Kneisel.

DRAMA

Ibsen's Last Play

"When We Dead Awaken,"
Infrequently Revived, Opens
at Central Park Theatre

IN a transformed studio just below Manhattan's largest patch of green, Messrs. Warren and Weir are presenting Henrik Ibsen's "When We Dead Awaken." The cast at the "Central Park Theatre" is competent enough legitimately to throw the burden of responsibility upon the author, so that we may judge fairly why the play is so seldom performed.

The play, written about a year before the aging dramatist's death, was prepared "with such labor and such passionate agitation, so spasmodically and so feverishly, that those around him were almost alarmed." He must get on with it, he must get on! He seems to head the beating of dark pinions over his head. It is this sense of strain, this tumultuous outpouring, that sheds upon the play the eerie glimmer that has led some to suspect that Ibsen's talents had already failed him. The play is subtitled "A Dramatic Epilogue"; it closes the series that had begun with "The Master Builder." But it abandons the principles of dramatic construction to which Ibsen had hitherto rigidly adhered. His symbolism is no longer subordinate to the truths of life, but grows into phantasmagoria beyond reality. In "The Master Builder" and "Little Eyolf," as William Archer has indicated, the treatment even of the supernatural is held within the bounds of the seemingly real; here, there is no suggestion of religious powers we may not comprehend, but supposedly real happenings that are impossible.

Despite its overbalanced symbolism, "When We Dead Awaken" is moving; the conflict in Professor Rubek, centralized in his relations with Maia and Irene, holds the attention; and the philosophy worked out through their lives is profound, and as valid as is in the playwright's earlier and more balanced productions. Maia seeking safety in the valley, Irene and Rubek going to their death upon the heights. But because of the complexities of its thought and the aberrations of its symbols, "When We Dead Awaken," however interesting in performance, will probably continue to be more effective in the reading.

J. T. S.

BLANCHE RING



Will play Mistress Quickly in the all-star cast of the Players' Club, who will revive Shakespeare's "Henry IV" at the Knickerbocker Theatre, beginning Monday night.

RAHMAN BEY



The noted Oriental fakir is giving a series of experiments in mystification and fakirism at the Selwyn Theatre.

MUSIC

"Rigoletto" to Open Opera Season at Starlight Park

THE opera season of fourteen weeks at Starlight Amusement Park in East 177th street will open this Saturday evening with "Rigoletto." Stella Marchetti will appear in the role of Gilda, Julian Oliver will be the Duke, and Giorgio Puliti the jester. Edward Lebegott will direct the orchestra and a chorus largely selected from the Metropolitan and San Carlo opera companies. Sunday afternoon and evening operatic concerts will be given. The repertoire for the week of May 30 will be as follows: Monday matinee, "Faust"; Monday evening, "Lucia"; Tuesday evening, "Traviata"; Wednesday evening, "The Masked Ball"; Thursday evening, "The Barber of Seville"; Friday evening, "Faust"; Saturday matinee, "Rigoletto"; Saturday evening, "Lucia."

The singers include Anne Blum, Violet Horner, Stella Marchetti, Gladys Mathew, Agnes Robinson, Annette Royak, Anna Judson, Giuseppina La Puma, Martha Melis, Bettino Capelli, Charles Hart, Armando Marbini, Vincent Nola, Julian Oliver, Desiderio Pezzetti, A. Calamandrie, L. Gutierrez, Iago Loris, P. Mareo, Giorgio Puliti, Espartero Palazzi, Paolo Quintina and Nino Russa.

Music Notes

The American Union of Swedish Singers will hold two concerts at the Metropolitan Opera House on May 30 and 31. The soloists will be Mme. Julia Claussen and Mme. Marie Sundelius, of the Metropolitan Opera Company, and Folke Anderson, tenor of the Royal Opera of Stockholm. A large orchestra, conducted by Howard Barlow, will play Swedish compositions and the chorus of 500 voices, directed by Ernest Francke of Worcester will sing Swedish songs.

Lulu Vollmer's "Sun Up" is being made into a grand opera and is under consideration by the Metropolitan for next season. Werner Janssen is doing the music for it and Gordon Johnson the lyrics. The original play, with minor changes, will constitute the libretto.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

Tennessee
Knoxville Socialists have organized a husky Local, planned for the distribution of literature and a canvass for more members. They report that the American Appeal is their best bet in promoting organization.

A New Jugo-Slav Branch
Charles Pogorelec, Secretary of the Jugo-Slav Socialist Federation, sends in his second order for dues stamps for the month and includes the following encouraging news: "We have added another new Branch to our Federation. This addition to our forces is a brand new Branch at Braddock, Pa., with 17 charter members. I visited the boys after the adjournment of the convention. I did not have time to remain with them until the date of their meeting, but in accordance with their request I sent them a comrade to help them organize. Comrade Tercey of Trabane, Pa., and on Sunday, May 9, the organization was accomplished."

Montana
James D. Graham, State Secretary of Montana, dropped in the National Office on his way from New York. Comrade Graham will start a tour of his state, beginning June 1, to organize and prepare for the placing of State and County tickets (in several counties).

Graham expects the Montana Legislature to have one or more Socialist members after this fall's election. Tentative plans are being made to tour Mrs. Doris L. Morrow, of Florence, Montana, in Montana, Idaho, and possibly other North West States.

From A Teacher
The National Office has received a letter from a teacher in a prosperous Illinois city and a request for an application card for membership-at-large. This comrade writes: "I have been a close student of Socialism for many years, and I have voted twice for good old 'Gene Debs' and once for Allan Benson. . . . What brought me out of my shell of recent retirement was a copy of the American Appeal."

Lena Morrow Lewis' Dates
Lena Morrow Lewis will soon begin her homebound speaking trip to California. She will speak in Dayton, Ohio, May 29; Chicago, May 30; Cheyenne, Wyoming, June 1; then in Salt Lake City and Ogden, Utah; June 5 in Reno, Nevada. Thence into California where she will resume her work as State Secretary.

Illinois

At their state convention Sunday, May 23, the Socialists nominated the following candidates for the fall election: John T. Whitlock, Chicago, United States Senator; George Koop, Chicago, Congressman at Large; Charles Pogorelec, Chicago, Congressman at Large; Ansel Brooks, Rockford, State Treasurer; Tilden Bozarth, Staunton, Clerk of the Supreme Court; Florence S. Hall, Chicago, Superintendent of Public Instruction.

W. R. Snow, State Executive Secretary, reported that the membership and activities of the Socialist Party has increased considerably as compared with the previous ten months.

The Convention adopted resolutions against military training in the public schools, endorsing the Young People's Socialist League activities; calling for a referendum on light wines and beer, and endorsing the resolutions adopted by the recent National Socialist Convention at Pittsburgh.

William H. Henry, the new National Executive Secretary, told of the increased Socialist activities throughout the country, and urged the Illinois Socialists to make greater use of the American Appeal. A campaign committee of ten was elected to lay plans for carrying out a vigorous campaign.

Pennsylvania

The Socialist vote in the recent primary election in Weaver's old stand, Hempfield Township, Pa., was 17 out of a total of 66 votes cast. The vote by parties was: Socialists, 17; Democrats, 13; Republicans, 35; Prohibitionists, 1, the Socialists beating the Democrats and winning second place.

The most encouraging feature of the election was the complete elimination of Albert H. Bell, a Democrat, attempting to run on the Socialist ticket. Bell ran against Harry Eckard, regular Socialist candidate, for Congress. Eckard received 17 votes; Bell did not get a single vote. On account of the usual lack of interest in primary elections, the full Socialist vote did not turn out.

New England

All arrangements have been completed for the state convention to be held July 18 at the party headquarters, 21 Essex Street, Boston. We are expecting to have a large attendance, not only of elected delegates, but of fraternal delegates, as nominations for a state ticket and congressmen will be taken up, as well as party organization. Luncheon will be served at the convention by the women comrades of Boston.

The District Office is busy making arrangements for open-air meetings. Norman Thomas and Esther Friedman have already been engaged and the District Office is in communication with other available speakers for this summer.

The District Office would like to hear

from readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader who are living in cities and towns where no Socialist local exists, with the object of organizing a local, or if a local is impossible at this time, volunteers to carry on Socialist work are needed.

All expenses to be borne by the District Office where Socialists are unable financially to do this work. We have just received a splendid offer from the American Appeal. All those interested, please write to the District Secretary for information.

Alfred Baker Lewis begins his work in the district on June 1. If you have any plans, mail them to the District Office, so that arrangements may be made to keep Lewis busy. New England is ripe for Socialism. Will you do your bit to bring it over the top?

Connecticut

The regular monthly meeting of the State Executive Committee will be held at the Machinists Hall, 99 Temple Street, New Haven, Sunday, May 30, at 2 p. m. Karl C. Jursek and Martin Plunkett, delegates to the Pittsburgh convention, will make a report of the doings of the convention. Plans for the state convention will be discussed.

New Haven
An important meeting of Local New Haven will be held Wednesday evening, June 2, at the headquarters, 235 Congress Avenue.

New Jersey

Hudson County Attention

The time for the filling of election papers is drawing short and it is absolutely necessary for all those having petitions of nomination for county and congressional candidates to get them filled out and return same to the County Office not later than Thursday, June 3. It is also necessary for candidates who have not signed acceptance of nomination and designation of campaign manager, depository of campaign funds and the announcement of their candidacy, to do so at the County Office no later than Thursday, June 3.

Candidates can call at the County Office on either Tuesday, June 1, Wednesday, June 2, or Thursday, June 3, between the hours of 8 and 10:15 p. m. All petitions for County Office can be signed in any municipality in Hudson County. Signers must sign one of their given or Christian names in full, no married woman can sign her husband's name. It must be her own name. She can use the prefix Mrs. if she so chooses.

Petitions for the Eighth Congressional District must be signed only by those living in the 8th, 11th and 15th wards of Newark, the towns of Belleville, Bloomfield and Nutley, in Essex County, and the towns of Harrison and Kearny, the borough of East Newark, the 7th Ward of Jersey City and the City of Bayonne, in Hudson County.

Petitions for the Eleventh Congressional District must be signed only by those living in the townships of North Bergen, Guttenberg, Weehawken, West

New York, the borough of Secaucus, the cities of Hoboken and Union City, and the 2nd Ward of Jersey City. All in Hudson County.

Petitions for the Twelfth Congressional District must be signed only by those living in the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th and the 12th Wards of Jersey City, in the County of Hudson.

Petitions must be sworn to by five of the petitioners (signers). Although a candidate can sign his own petition he cannot sign the affidavit thereto.

Signers of the petitions must sign one of their given or Christian names in full. Initials or abbreviations for a given or Christian name are not recognized as bona fide signatures. This is a decision of the Supreme Court.

Comrades, when I say that all papers must be in the County Office by Thursday, June 3, I do not mean maybe. This will give me only two days to go over every petition and see that everything is correct and to file same with the County Clerk and the Secretary of State at Trenton. If you do not understand about the affidavits attached to the petitions, call up the County Office, between the hours of 8 and 10 p. m. on Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday and all necessary information will be given you. Phone is 4382 Webster.

Fred'k A. Schwartzing, Secretary.

New York State

Local Niagara Falls has been reorganized by Organizer Emil Herman, under its own charter. Herman was due in Jamestown on May 28 and will spend several days there in reorganization work. Herman not only gets the majority of prospects canvassed to join the local, but he collects back dues, sells Debs' Liberty Bonds, and takes subs for The New Leader and American Appeal. State Secretary Merrill declares that he should like to keep Herman in New York State indefinitely if finances permitted.

The State Secretary announces that he would like to secure a number of reliable comrades to sell Debs' Liberty Bonds on a liberal commission. This is the year of a state election, and the budget of the State Committee for the year is far from complete.

New York City

Street Meetings

MANHATTAN

Friday, May 28
Corner Clinton Street and East Broadway. Speakers, William Karlin and N. A. Weinstein.

Tuesday, June 1
Corner Seventh Street and Ave. B. Speaker, Esther Friedman. Corner 112th Street and Lenox Avenue. Speakers, Tim Murphy and J. G. Friedman. Chairman, Mathilda Tillman.

Wednesday, June 2
Corner 133rd Street and Lenox Avenue. Ethelred Brown, N. A. Weinstein and V. C. Gaspar, Speakers.

Thursday, June 3
Corner Tenth Street and Second

Organizing a Local

IN order to organize a local it is necessary that you and four—more—other comrades realize the pitiable impotence of the politically unorganized, and the meaning and power of organization. You should, for example, realize:

That 2,500 locals, averaging only ten members each, could take 100,000 subscriptions to our party press in one week, and expand the circulation of our press to 5,000,000 circulation in one year.

That 2,500 such locals could distribute 1,000,000 red-hot leaflets or copies of a propaganda newspaper in one hour.

That 2,500 such locals, constituting a magnificent piece of social machinery, called a political party, could grip the nation's attention every week with vitalizing facts and make the workers rapidly realize that something is fundamentally wrong, and just what it is, and just what to do about it; that 2,500 such locals could create a nation-wide consciousness of class and a realization by the workers of their vast class-power in industry, their all-compelling class-power in politics, of class wrongs to be righted and class rights to be seized;

That 2,500 such locals would promptly command the entire nation's respect because of their power, purpose, principles and program.

Suppose we were thus organized. Distinguished crooks would fear our movement; great corporations would hesitate to defy us, dreading our power to carry the burning light of the red-hot facts swiftly to the people; cheap justices would be uneasy; oil-smearers would sleep restlessly. A million Socialists would immediately be happy again and fall in line. Our gay red banner would make many millions respectful—and hopeful, increasingly courageous and clear-minded for the defense and freedom of the workers.

Now, if you and four—or more—other Socialists in your community realize these things, and if you also realize that the only way to begin is to begin, then you are ready to organize a local and become part of a magnificent institution. "An institution is a social mechanism." If you and your several neighbors are thus awake, you are ready to become a co-ordinated part of this true social machinery, eager to work together, eager to perform the functions of a living organ-

ism, as part of the living body and mind of society.

First—Rush off a letter to your district secretary or State secretary, or to the national office, a letter asking for an application-for-charter blank. Then call a meeting. The national office will, without charge, furnish you a letter-form for your use in addressing a special invitation to each of ten to fifty of your comrades to attend this meeting.

Second—Call this meeting in a private home or office or shop or some such place, to keep down the expenses. With the money thus saved you can pay your first party dues or buy some leaflets or a bundle of the American Appeal. Call the meeting and then—

Third—At the meeting have four or more comrades sign the charter application with you: elect a secretary-treasurer; collect dues for one month or more, 50 cents per month. (But read the Special Notice—next paragraph—carefully—and send one-half the dues and the charter application to your State Secretary, or to your District Organization Secretary, or to the National Office, if your State is not organized or is not in an Organized District.)

(Special Notice—The regular dues are 50 cents per month, one-half to be kept by the local. But if the local prefers, it can collect and remit 25 cents dues per month, and, as needed, collect funds whenever and as much as the local wishes. A "dual" stamp is furnished for a husband and wife at the regular charge for one member.)

Fourth—If possible, arrange at the called meeting for the purchase and distribution of at least a small weekly bundle of the American Appeal for use each week in your community; for, believe me, the American Appeal is right now surely producing the splendid rising tide in our American movement.

Fifth—Get busy. You can get four others to join you. Yes, you can. Try. Comrade. Try. That's all. If you want more good news, help produce the news. If you want progress, help get it. If you want the New Day, the New Heart, the New Power, the New Movement, then come across as one of the one thousand hustlers in the big push for party building.

For further information, write the National Office, Socialist Party, 2553 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

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Local New York

The next monthly meeting of Local New York will be held Tuesday, June 1, 8:30 p. m., at the People's House, Room 508, 7 East 15th street. As this will be the last meeting before the consolidation of the locals in the city, the members of Local New York are requested to attend. Among other things on the order of business will be the report of the delegate to the National Convention. Admission by party card only and members must be in good standing.

Bronx

The Bronx membership is urged to make every effort possible towards increasing the good standing roll of members.

During the past three weeks we have been very successful, especially in the territory of the Central Branch, with members who have not been to any activities of the Party for the past two or three years. On being approached they paid all back dues and promised to attend meetings in the future. This looks healthy—"push it along."

On Tuesday, June 1, Branch 7 will meet at the club rooms, 4215 Third Avenue. It is important that every member be present. Delegates to the City Central Committee must be elected at this meeting as well as delegates to the Bronx County Committee. Future instructive Socialist work within the territory of Branch 7 must be mapped out and the energies of the members must be enlisted in an earnest effort to increase the numerical strength of the branch.

Several applications for membership are now in the hands of the financial secretary and must be acted on at this meeting. Therefore, all members should make every effort to be present.

The Central Branch will also meet Tuesday, June 1, at 1167 Boston road. Members are urged to come on time, as much dissatisfaction exists at the late hour these meetings are opened for business. The older members positively insist that the "last methods heretofore prevailing must be changed at once." The Executive Secretary is working on lists of members who have not attended recent meetings. He expects to submit a very encouraging report as to the progress and future prospects for Socialist work, in the districts under the jurisdiction of the Central Branch. "So come early and avoid the rush."

All members of Bronx County are again reminded that a General Party meeting will be held on Friday, June 11, at 1167 Boston road.

Agenda for State Convention must be acted on and future Socialist work in this county must be agreed on and coordinated. Members are therefore urged to remember the date and make no engagement that would prevent their presence at this meeting.

Queens

Action by the coming State Convention to enable the Socialists of New York State to use the housing shortage as a lever for energetic propaganda is demanded by a resolution adopted by Branch Jamaica at a meeting held last Tuesday evening. Upon the suggestion of Barnett Wolf, the Secretary was instructed to ask State Secretary Merrill to place on the agenda a request that a committee be chosen at the State Convention to assemble data on the housing situation and to write

a leaflet to supplement any plank on that subject that may be placed in the State platform. It was emphasized in the discussion that despite the obvious defects of the new housing law it is a semi-Socialist measure and that this fact may be used to great advantage in the campaign.

William Herman was elected to represent Branch Jamaica on the new City Central Committee.

A special order of business for the June meeting will be a debate on the advisability of organizing trade branches of the party as allowed by the rules of the consolidated Local of Greater New York.

Yipseldom

The third meeting of the Dramatic Society will be held last Friday in the Rand School. Many of our flourishing actors and actresses were present. Parts were given to the members and the society expects to present its first play soon. Readings were also assigned. All members who wish to join this group be at the next meeting. All meetings are held on Fridays. No charge and plenty of fun.

The first Yipsel baseball game of the season was played in Central Park last Sunday. The competitors were Circle 6, Manhattan, and Circle 13, Brooklyn. It was the beginning of a series in an elimination contest. The final game will be played at the League's annual field day, Pelham Park, in July. This time Circle 4, Manhattan, took home the bacon. The score was 14 to 10. There is now an opening for the next two circles to try. Who will be next?

This Saturday evening the Senior and Junior sections in New York will gather at the Rand School to celebrate the meeting of Radical Youth in conference at Amsterdam to formulate plans to increase the effectiveness of the youth movement. The International Congress convenes this Saturday.

The Yipsels of the city will hold a general meeting in the school, which prominent men of the party will address. An excellent musical program has been arranged, dancing included. All members kindly take notice of this event. There will be no circle meetings Saturday.

Brooklyn Yipsels

Circle 2 has arranged a hike to Clove Lake, Staten Island, for Sunday, May 30. Members will meet in front of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, at 8 a. m. Any outsiders who may wish to join may meet the group at that address.

The educational program on May 30 consisted of a short summary by Herbert Weisberg of the "Rupert Hughes revelations about Washington and an open discussion by the members, 'Men of England,' by Percy Bysshe Shelley, was rendered by Lester Shulman and Hilda Mintz read a poem entitled "What Is Life?"

A suggestion for the club to give an entertainment, including two short plays, music, singing and dancing, was tabled to a future meeting.

The Circle announces that young men or women from the ages of 17 to 25 who desire to join will find us every Sunday, 8 p. m., at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.

Bronx Yipsels

At a joint meeting of the executive committees of the three Bronx circles it was decided to have an outing to Valhalla, New York, on Sunday, May 30. August Claessens will accompany the circles on the trip. Those who wish to attend should meet in front of 1167 Boston road at 8 a. m. The maximum expense will be one dollar.

Several Manhattan and Brooklyn circles have issued challenges to other circles to beat them at baseball. Several replies will be heard from the Bronx. On Friday, April 23, Abraham V. Brandon will organize baseball teams for the Bronx circles. The place is 1167 Boston road at 8 p. m. All those with and without ability are invited. Comrade Brandon will act as coach, and his brother, who is a physical training instructor in one of the New York City schools, will assist.

The circle in the Seventh Assembly District, under the directorship of William Babbitt and heretofore known as Circle 4 of the Junior Y. P. S. L., has applied for a charter in the Senior Y. P. S. L. Comrade Babbitt will continue as director. The following officers were elected: Milton Lechner, Organizer; Dorothy Steinberg, Secretary; Herbert Smith, Financial Secretary; and James Shenul, Athletic and Social Director. Ben Goodman explained the purpose of the Y. P. S. L.

To Organize an English Circle in Jersey City

The Workmen's Circle is an international fraternal body with nearly 90,000 members helping to elevate the standard of living of the working class in America and Canada by assisting them in their distress, and by taking part in labor's fight for better conditions.

This work was until recently confined to Jewish workers and it was always felt to be a handicap that language used at the meetings was Yiddish. To eliminate this handicap, the last convention decided to organize English-speaking branches.

An English-speaking branch will be organized on Thursday, June 2, at Fraternity Hall, 255 Central Avenue, Jersey City. This meeting starts at 8:30 p. m. The initiation fee is small and the dues are very low for the various forms of benefits. All who are interested are invited to attend.

MODERN MARRIAGE PROBLEMS

SEX TALKS
For Women Only, Tuesday Evenings.
For Men and Women, Thursday Evenings.
By Dr. Cecile L. Greil
at the
"CULTURE CLUB"
433 Lafayette St., at Astor Pl., New York

THE NEW LEADER

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the oppressed working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes the variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, MAY 29, 1926

REALTY AND PATRIOTISM

SIX THOUSAND people trekked to Scarsdale, N. Y., last week to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of White Plains in the War of the American Revolution. Seven hundred troops of the regular army participated. So did the Moorland Development Corporation, which turned the celebration into a real estate selling scheme. Its agents went through the crowd. "Buy now; you can't lose," urged the salesmen as they distributed their literature.

Naturally, there was much indignation expressed. "What will they use army troops for next?" asked an army officer, who objected to making the soldiers a "side show" to a real estate selling scheme. Others denounced it as a "disgraceful affair."

However, we are inclined to think that the realtors need make no apology. One of the causes of the American Revolution was the order of the British authorities restricting settlement in the West. There were land speculators in those days and quite a number of godly colonials were interested in land ventures in the West. This British order converted them to the "inalienable rights of man," one of these rights being to acquire land and hold it so as to cash in later. Other speculators owning land in the settled East favored the British order and became Tories. So land speculation had much to do with the American Revolution.

When we consider the contemporary period we also see no objection to the action of the realtors at Scarsdale. The army has been used to acquire not only real estate in the Philippines, but all sorts of property in Latin America. Certainly, the Moorland Development Corporation is as much entitled to use the army as our oil owners in Mexico. There is nothing to become indignant about at Scarsdale. What happened was perfectly fitting.

A UNIQUE EMPLOYER

ONE of the most remarkable addresses ever delivered to a trade union convention was that made by Mr. Arthur Nash of Cincinnati to the Montreal convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Mr. Nash is a large manufacturer and had for years been experimenting with a number of plans in the hope of finding a rational expression of his idealism. He never found a satisfactory solution and eventually reached what is practically a Socialist conclusion.

"My friends," he said, "you notice that I talked about classes and class consciousness back there in 1920. As I went along studying this question I found out one thing, and that is that the avareicious class consciousness on the side of the capitalistic employer make it impossible for anybody to stand for the liberty and the rights of the laboring man, unless he is class conscious." Referring to the Socialist preamble of the Amalgamated he said that he is ready "to turn over the property interests of the A. Nash Co. to the Amalgamated" when the masses are ready for this program.

This recalls the fact that occasionally a slave owner in the South sold his land and emancipated his slaves because of his conviction that chattel servitude was fundamentally wrong. James G. Birney, who was the anti-slavery candidate for President in 1840 and 1844 was a man of this type. He gave his life and money to fighting the social system of the South.

Men of the type of Nash are rare. Members of a ruling class have all the urge of interest to remain with their class and when one goes over to support of a new social order he becomes unique. Mr. Nash is not likely to be followed by others of his class, but he at least can enjoy a distinction that comes to few members of upper classdom.

EQUITY IN BROADCASTING

NORMAN THOMAS succeeded in broadcasting over Station WRNY Monday night, but under circumstances that show that a subtle censorship over broadcasting exists even in the case of one station that became accessible to him. Mr. Thomas was not informed that Hugo Gernsback, editor of Radio News, would speak after Thomas, so that the answer made by Gernsback really constituted a debate without the equitable arrangements for division of time, rejoinder and rebuttal that accompany a debate.

Why was it considered necessary that an answer should be made to Thomas? It was an unusual procedure. If it be said that the theme of Thomas's speech was controversial the same is true of every address urging a larger army, a larger navy and universal mil-

itary service. Would Station WRNY have considered it necessary to answer an address favoring such "preparedness"? If so, it would do what no other station has done. A greater militarism is often urged over the radio. On the other hand, anti-militarism is not heard.

The action of those in charge of WRNY can only be explained on the ground that while they are willing to broadcast an occasional minority opinion, they believe that they are under obligation to take the curse off their action by having an answer to this opinion immediately broadcast. Conservative opinions go into the air without being followed by an answer from the other side. Certain opinions are to be judged on their merits and other opinions are to be judged by an answer which immediately follows.

While the broadcasting of minority opinions is to be preferred to the exclusion of minority opinions from the radio, the fact remains that the concession is one-sided, inequitable, and reveals a fear of unfettered airing of all opinions. It is still a subtle censorship, although modified. It certainly is not satisfactory. There must be either complete freedom of presentation of all views over the radio or conservative opinions must also be followed by an answer. If this is not equity and democracy we do not know what is.

SACCO AND VANZETTI

MASSACHUSETTS appears to be envious of the shameful record set by California in the Mooney and Billings cases. The Supreme Court of the former State has denied the appeal of Sacco and Vanzetti, and these two men now stand in the shadow of the electric chair. They appear to be nearer death than Tom Mooney was following his farce of a trial.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case is in many respects like the case of Mooney. Doctored evidence and perjured testimony figured in both and every fair-minded person that has followed the history of the case is convinced that two innocent men have been doomed to death.

The large alien population of Massachusetts has brought a general prejudice against aliens in general in that State. Sacco and Vanzetti are two obscure Italian workers and the accumulated prejudice of a generation piled on the "Bolshevik" hysteria of a few years ago, fell upon these two victims. It would be impossible to conceive of an American banker convicted upon the testimony which has condemned Sacco and Vanzetti to die.

It appears that only one resource is left to the friends of the condemned men, and this is an appeal to the Governor for clemency. If the lives of the men can be saved the work of obtaining their release can go on. The New Leader therefore urges all organizations of the workers to immediately adopt resolutions and send them to Governor Alvan T. Fuller requesting him to commute the sentences of Sacco and Vanzetti. No time should be lost. Two human lives are at stake, and if they are saved swift action alone will accomplish it.

THE BRITISH MINERS

IT IS not surprising that the aftermath of the British general strike is a muddle of misunderstanding, as The New Leader story in this issue shows. Short of a complete victory, this misunderstanding was likely to occur. The British Labor movement has had its first experience with a general strike and as such a struggle involves so many factors unknown to a struggle on a smaller scale, any failure of negotiations is bound to invoke a variety of opinions regarding responsibility. It reminds us of the World War, which was so general over the world that many students are still engaged in a debate regarding "responsibility."

But out of the discussion going on in England it appears fairly clear that the trade union leaders placed too much reliance upon the agreement for ending the strike, which was negotiated with Sir Herbert Samuel. Premier Baldwin was fully informed of what was going on and he was indirectly pledged to carry out the terms of the agreement. It now appears that he has no intention of doing so. For the moment Baldwin hopes to help his class in defeating the miners, but his shady conduct will not be lost upon the voters. We predict that his action in this affair will cause his party big losses in every by-election and if a general election comes in the next few months his Government will be swept out of office. The Labor Party will be strengthened thereby.

Another mistake of the trade union leaders was committed in not taking the miners into their confidence when negotiating the agreement. They should have been represented and their consent should have been obtained before calling off the strike. Whatever may be the result of the present discussion we may be sure that the British working class will come out of it stronger than ever. The working class learns by experience and the knowledge which they have gained in their recent struggle will be of immense service in any other struggle that may face them in the future.

Evidently the chief editorial writer of The World, who, according to The World itself, is "a close student of international politics," still has considerable to learn about European affairs, or else his job doesn't include reading copy on the editorials written by his fellow workers. For instance, the other day, a World editorial, in commenting upon Leon Blum's challenge to Premier Briand, referred to the "failure of the capital levy in half a dozen other European countries" and also to the French Socialist leaders as seeing a "chance for their own return to power." It would be interesting to know just when the French Socialists were running the Government, and it may not be amiss to note that the capital levy was a main factor in enabling Czechoslovakia to stabilize its currency and to put through a number of progressive social and industrial measures.

The News of the Week

Coolidge Order Stirs Brokers

The Coolidge nouncement to the effect that "public firm of property, stocks, bonds and securities, officially known as the Republican Party, is drifting on the rocks. Three members of the firm in the Senate have taken the count in the primaries. Stanford of Oregon, McKinley of Illinois, and Pepper of Pennsylvania, and the drift indicates the slow return of the Democratic firm to power. John Barleycorn is playing havoc with the Coolidge Administration. The Coolidge order of May 8 permitting the appointment of state, county and municipal officers as Federal prohibition officers has brought a revolt in the name of "state rights." Five governors have expressed their opposition and fifteen are non-committal, according to a survey made by the Times. The Democrats, scenting a return to the pie counter, are no more united than the Republicans. Senator Robinson of Arkansas, Democrat, declares for a referendum but adds that he believes a big majority is dry. That will satisfy his southern constituents. Governor Smith is wet and also wants a referendum. Brennan of Illinois, Democrat and exponent of culture and "honest graft," also wants a referendum and is as wet as Smith. Meantime the sentiment is growing for a general referendum to determine whether we shall make and consume the oil of joy in the open or in the cellar. If one half of the interest taken in this question could be concentrated on the economic problems of capitalism we would be far on the road to industrial freedom.

With the more reactionary Polish elements opposed to the temporary regime set up by Marshal Pilsudski clamoring for a drive on Warsaw by General Haller in Posen and announcing that they will not recognize the president to be elected at a special session of Parliament next Monday, there seems to be more likelihood of a Pilsudski dictatorship than there was after the coup d'etat of May 11. Some foreign correspondents have estimated the number slain in Warsaw at more than 600, emphasizing the fact that the one-time Socialist leader is not as popular with all classes as he was directly after the creation of the Polish Republic. Pilsudski himself insists that he merely wants to "clean house" and put the Government in good running order, without resorting to more violence, but an official pro-

Dictatorship Talk in Poland

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Situation in France Mixed

French politics are still muddled with Premier Briand denying that he intends to resign regardless of the decision of the National Socialist Convention in Clermont-Ferrand. Meantime, the war in Morocco appears to be ended, with the surrender of Abdel-Krim. He and his forces have been worn out so that Morocco is again made safe for capitalist imperialism. The French Socialists have been meeting in national convention to consider their attitude to the present mixed government of Radicals and reactionaries or to a more liberal cabinet that may be headed by ex-Premier Herriot. The Socialists have over 100 deputies in the chamber and have power to force concessions from their enemies. On Wednesday the Socialist convention voted not to support the present coalition government, but will support a government which will agree to a capital levy. This decision was reached by a vote of 2,249 to 166 with 685 abstentions.

The Federal Trade Commission reports that the "national wealth" is now about 550 billion dollars. This estimate is based upon a study of 43,000 probate records in 24 typical counties from 1912 to 1922. The "national income" in 1923 is placed at 70 billions and the "national wealth" is increasing at the rate of 50 billions a year. The figures show that American capitalism is the most fertile in the world. When we consider the distribution of the "national wealth" there is plenty of joy for a few. It is estimated that 1 per cent of the decedents reported in the probate records owned 59 per cent. of the wealth

Ownership of U. S. Resources

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and 13 per cent. owned 90 per cent. How many of our readers are included in these two classes of owners? Other items in the report are just as illuminating. In 1922 six companies controlled about one-third of the developed water power, eight corporations own three-fourths of the unmined anthracite coal, thirty companies over a third of the bituminous reserves, two companies over one-half of the iron ore reserves, four companies nearly one-half of the copper reserves and thirty companies about one-eighth of the petroleum reserves. The voters have certainly been very kind to our capitalist nobility. When it is remembered that this concentration is bulwarked in laws and that the masses can revoke their consent to this concentrated ownership when they wish to, their patience in voting for the parties of capitalism is pathetic.

Economics of Race Prejudice

A decision of the United States Supreme Court affirms the right of white men to enter into agreements against the sale or conveyance of property to persons of Negro blood. The decision gives sanction to a practice in Washington which has become common and which is designed to exclude Negroes from certain residential sections. We presume that the decision is good law considering that contracts are involved. Contracts are considered "sacred" under bourgeois law. At the same time it is evident that these agreements are a part of that general tendency of our noble "democracy" to consign the Negro to the bottom of society. It was the late President Harding who, in his Birmingham speech, gave his blessing to this policy. The economics of the movement are also interesting. The Negro is blamed for the decline in the value of property in the neighborhood where he settles. As a matter of fact, property values in such sections have already fallen before the Negro moves in. Were it not for this decay of values in white sections the Negro would be unable to move in. After values have fallen and he moves in, the decay is attributed solely to him with the result that agreements of the kind mentioned above are written to keep him in the poor section even if he has become able to afford a residence in a better section. The economics of capitalist society are at the basis of this social discrimination and color prejudice.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

Dell's Dilemma

FLOYD DELL'S career is the ineluctable tale—the man grew older! He is a dreamer turned realist. Circumstances have driven him from vagabondage to virtue. With heart singing of the road and sea, taverns lit with the memory of gay romance, rivers radiant with madness, lust and love, his head has reverted to realities rational if not rigorous, practical if not unpoetic. In simple, he has already begun to succumb to the tedious task of adjustment, already begun to marry reality instead of dream—already begun to rationalize realities that once would have been repulsive.

Nevertheless, Floyd Dell is a signal figure in his generation. He represents with reminiscent richness the spirit of moral and poetic revolt of the youth of yesterday, the Greenwich Village that a little more than a decade ago was green with the exuberance of life, love and spontaneity. There was in the attitude of those now vanished Villagers something of a "miraculous naivete, a late-Victorian credulity, a faith, happy and absurd, in the goodness and beauty of this chaotic universe." And it is because in Love in Greenwich Village (George H. Doran Co., \$2.50) Dell has captured this spirit of abandon, this adoration for beauty as a way of life, that the book has an arresting appeal. The stories in the volume that tell of the Rise and Fall of Greenwich Village, The Gifts of the Fourth Goddess, and the Kitten and the Masterpiece are all delicate, fragmentary things, without crudity and without power. They are exquisitely chiseled vignettes. They reflect the precious indolence, the charming lightness and inconsequentiality of that life which now has garmented itself within shadow and pall.

Free Love

Judge Lindsey tells us of The Revolt of Modern Youth (Bonl & Liverlight, \$3.00)—that youth loves with a new spirit, mates with a new hope, lives with a new desire. Here in Dell's Village this love was loved before courts sensationalized it and moralists attempted to ferret out its retreats. "Love," they knew, "is sweet while it lasts"—it was this attitude that became famous, that "quickly became the social norm in Greenwich Village." They were "reasonable, intellectual, modern young people."

The End of the Villagers

Greenwich Village, which Dell has tried to immortalize in this book, "represented the revolt of modern youth against tribal custom." But where are the Villagers of yesterday? Into what are the dreams of this wonderful youth transformed? Dell's confession is so strikingly honest but so tragically pathetic.

"And gradually one discovered in oneself certain bourgeois traits—the desire for, say, a house in the country, and children, and settled life—for one becomes tired even of freedom! Then let the bourgeois take Greenwich Village, by all means! We would move to the country and be respectable."

Art and Society

These joyous vagabonds, as Dell admits in Intellectual Vagabondage (George H. Doran Co., \$1.25) were "unenterprising children." They did not, and today they still do not see that their only escape is a social one. The bourgeoisie cannot be defied by a phrase, ignored by a gesture. The freedom of any Greenwich Village is, after all, a spurious freedom. The very source of its capital is from the bourgeoisie. The existence of its world in any bourgeois society is always exceedingly precarious and dubious. It can always be "bought out" or "bought up" as in its latest evolution in New York City, always mutilated, always dispersed. Their only hope is the annihilation of the bourgeoisie. This involves social action, connection with the social world, the struggles of classes, the issues of State, not isolation from them. Even sexual freedom is impossible, in any important fashion, without economic freedom.

The artist's dream, then, is not to be found in Greenwich Villages, however, enchanting their color and promise, but in a new society that will make love as free as fancy and as intelligent as reason. This new society can only be part of a new social world.

Ah, I see it clearly before my eyes, the city of justice and happiness. . . . No more idlers of any kind, and hence no more landlords supported by rent, no more men of fortune kept like mistresses by fortune—in short, no more luxury, and no more misery—Zola.

THE CHATTER BOX

THE temptation to become tired, particularly in these summering days, is overpowering. If winter be the season of mere discontent, surely the late spring brings the hour of utter despair. We mean a despair for humanity. The kingdom of tree and flower and brook and bird, the realm of bee and cricket and butterfly, the empire of opales sky, symphonic storms and beryl seas—are all atune to an anthem of hope and joy in life, and the meaneast blade of grass dances a quiver to the ballet muses of May. Only we, the elect, the self-ordained monarchs of the earth, are a pitiful sight in the eyes of a disinterested reason.

True, there are hundreds of souls who march on like children crusaders against the infidels of injustice, darkness and beastliness. They see a vision of a Holy City of a New Order to be rescued for the hordes of their faithful. As earnestly and as impotently as inspired babes they trudge on, only to be beaten back, starved, broken and lost, long before they have even crossed their own frontiers.

Sometimes, when a case like the Passaic strike brutality of the police comes to note, or a free speech matter like the WMCA case of Norman Thomas's, or the recent High School episode and its stupid censorship—we pause to wonder whether all the money and energy and indignation that is spent to try and protest for justice is worth while. Whether it wouldn't be a great deal more effective toward our common end of a new world or a new order, to just allow stupid brutality to go its full string of intolerance and blind brutality. There is such a thing as the beast bursting from its own gluttony. Sometimes, we wonder if all our radical movements are worth the tremendous toil and sacrifice that the comparatively few Children Crusaders so believably expend.

Nothing has been more disheartening to us in our own young experience than the utter neglect and inattention of organized labor here in America to Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. These men were railroaded to life imprisonment, if ever innocent men were condemned to living death. They gave their talents and lives to a cause and a class without stint and without thought of personal aggrandizement. Their efforts were fruitful. They were dangerous to the enemies of the ones they sought to lead and help to higher and finer living. The enemies were powerful. They controlled law, order and "justice." The two leaders were framed and railroaded. Almost ten years have passed, and Mooney and Billings are still paying for their loyalty to the workers of America. What has labor done to date to release their Christs from Golgotha? Save for sporadic protests from the Crusading few of the Socialist and some liberal quarters, nothing much has been said or done. The great labor leaders, the great labor organizations, the great this and that of the workers, have gone on their sweet and dainty ways of internal bickering and innocuous wage gerrymandering. Mooney and Billings are faint echoes of a popular song now forgotten—sung many, many years ago. And this Sacco and Vanzetti matter promises to go the same harmless way of oblivion.

So we keep wondering, and with us, too, we are sure, other young men and women whose ideals and dreams have not been touched by the blight of material power and money-making are wondering, too, if all this we are doing is worth while. There is something in the capitalist plague that accorns the immunity under which labor has felt secure. The desire for money-making and the love for power, that are the two dominant urges of the capitalist classes, have affected most of our once idealistic working-class institutions. Perhaps Russia is the best example of how those influences work, even against the legendary magic of their dead Merlin. Love of power and personal ambition have done more to prevent the rehabilitation of that long-suffering nation than even the blockades of their inimical neighbors.

And any close study of the American labor movement clearly reveals how, with very few most honorable exceptions, the love of position and financial reward has broken down every barrier of ideal and ethic, and left the entire field a mere smudged-up melee of political maneuvering and wire pulling among a coterie of select supermen.

We hold no blame or shame or condemnation on anyone for this condition. We believe it is all a natural sequence in the course of human development. The blight of greed and the low ideals that have risen out

of the capitalist trenches like a poison gas, have drifted and are slowly enveloping the embattled legions of the workers. Communists are all wrong about labor leaders. Communists are particularly all wrong about the right elements in unions. They are as steeped in desire for power and pecuniary reward as are the ones they seek to depose. Their play at a pretense of ideals is just a case of mental auto-intoxication. The lure that has debased the idealism of the incumbent rights is all the more alluring to the lefts, since they have not enjoyed its promise.

That is why, when we sit here at our removed judgment-seat and view the chaos about us, we begin to get tired. Especially in May. Especially when the season holds forth all the glory of how a world could be if men and women were kin with nature and her forces. That is why we think of Christ, Gue Debs, Mooney, Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti; that is why we think of the Socialist Party, to which we have given so much of our lives; that is why we wonder, is it all worth while, this eternal Child Crusading against the infidel?

BUT WHEN WE THINK AGAIN OF CHRIST, DEBS, MOONEY, BILLINGS, SACCO AND VANZETTI, WE FORGET THE UNION MICHAELLEIS, THE LABOR BORGES, THE COMMUNIST AL-CHEMISTS, AND OUR SPINE STIFFENS. We remember that we must settle up our bill for due stamps and that tomorrow night Gus Claessens is lecturing at the headquarters—and we must be there. And WE WILL BE THERE.

Inscription

Fair Helen's searing beauty has been sung
By nobler bards, with lyres nobler strung
Than mine;
But by their dulcet numbers I can prove
That ancient heroes sang of warmer love
Than thine!

Nirvana

The feeble sounds of Earth come stealing here
Like faint, stray music through the veils of sleep,
Bringing me strange, forgotten dreams
Of men that pray and laugh and weep.

I have forgotten life and all its wasted will,
Forgotten pride, desire and pain,
Wan, ghostly moons and flaming suns,
Bleak, wintry winds and summer rain.

And yet, sometimes into this drowsy void
There steals some voice I dimly know
Of one I loved in some far world
And have forgotten long ago.

—Max Press.

At Grubb Street Club

Confusion and chaos
And clatter immense,
Of authors and poets
Dramatically tense.

Such squeaking of tables,
Adjusting of chairs,
Then silence, as poets
Dole out their wares.

—Kate Herman.

First of all, let us say that Comrade Esther Freedman did not ask us to spend so much of our valuable space about the Unity House (the camp maintained by the workers of the International Union for Workers), although she is doing its publicity work. Then, also, let us say here quite definitely, as you remark for yourselves, that we will not spend too much of our valuable space this week about that rather important subject, since our aforementioned remarks on labor in general are in no way apropos to such a pleasant subject as the Unity House. Next week we promise to write a dignified article on the camp for the inside columns of the Leader. So, may we not ask that you defer signing up for your vacations until you have heard what we have to say about Unity? Really, what we may have to say will be so different. Thank you.

S. A. de Witt.