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500,000 Pay Tribute to Meyer London

New York Workers Mourn Their Dead Socialist Leader

THRONGS WEEP IN STREETS FOR SOCIALIST

East Side Is Brought to a Standstill While Gigantic Cortège Passes

By Edward Levinson

HALF a million workers stood in tearful tribute as the New York East Side buried its greatest citizen, the American Socialist pioneer, Meyer London.

For six hours the East Side put aside all its duties, pressing or trivial, to do honor to its dead prophet. Every man, woman and child who could manage, jammed their way to the choked sidewalks to view the funeral procession. Thousands upon thousands hung from windows, roofs and overcrowded fire-escapes. For blocks before and after the hearse that bore London to his grave there were numberless multitudes who taxed the efforts of 725 police to keep the great outpouring in orderly formations.

The demonstration was not limited to the East Side. Scores upon scores of men and women who have stood by London's side in the Socialist and labor movement, came from Chicago, from Cleveland, from Philadelphia, Boston and up-state New York.

At Forward Hall, where eulogies had been delivered by representatives of the working-class movement, the procession started its way shortly before 12 o'clock. It was not until near 3 o'clock that the short distance to London's home had been traversed, so great was the throng that lined both sides of the parade in which more than 50,000 joined.

Then for an hour the district for several blocks around London's home was tied into a traffic snarl as the mourners boarded more than 300 automobiles to escort the body to the grave in the Queens county cemetery. At the cemetery was another huge throng. More than 5,000 men and women had made the trip, eager to be with their comrade to the last possible minute.

A few minutes after 4 o'clock the last eulogy had been delivered and the huge walnut coffin with the remains of Meyer London had been lowered to the grave.

Sorrowfully the throng dispersed to retire to their homes. A pall hung over the East Side. The Second avenue radios gave up their shrieking music. The cafes and restaurants where the people would gather to enthuse over the courage and brilliance of Meyer London were silent.

In hundreds of thousands of tenement homes the evening meal was eaten in silence and sadness. Meyer London, the people's great tribune; Meyer London, the comfort of the bewildered and friendless immigrant; Meyer London, the scourge of the landlords and oppressive bosses; Meyer London, who had sounded a death-knell to Tammany's crooked domination of the East Side in 1914; Meyer London, who gave to all America its greatest industrial peace document, the Garment Workers' protocol of 1910—Meyer London, the great heart and brains of the East Side, was gone forever.

From the minute London's body had arrived at the Forward Building, 115 East Broadway, at 2 o'clock Tuesday afternoon, until midnight that day, a continuous stream of men, women and children streamed past the coffin in reverent silence. Women came with their little children and lifted them for a last look at the man who had left them so great a heritage. Men in their working clothes, coming direct from their shops, predominated in the crowd. The police estimated that 25,000 viewed the body on Tuesday.

Shortly after three o'clock a group of boys and girls arrived and requested to be admitted to view the body. Taking their place in line with the grown-ups, they explained that they had been sent by their school teachers to honor Meyer London.

"Our teachers spoke about Meyer London's great work for the East Side and told us to come here and see him before he was buried," they said.

Though the funeral was not scheduled to begin until 10:30 o'clock the East Side began to gather in front of the Forward building as early as 6 o'clock. A guard of honor composed of Socialist Party members had re-

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As the Meyer London Funeral Procession Started Up East Broadway. A Tiny Portion of the Half Million Mourners. Inset Is Meyer London

(Graphic Photo)

Entire Labor World Hails Work of Meyer London

THE death of Meyer London brought scores of statements from Socialist and labor leaders all over the country expressing their sorrow at his untimely end.

Morris Hillquit said: "When the ill-fated car struck the frail body of Meyer London, it cut a deep gash in the hearts of thousands of men and women all over the country who loved him and who grieve over his tragic and untimely death."

"For more than a quarter of a century Meyer London held a unique position in the Socialist and labor movements of America. He did not excel in practical organization work or political leadership. His great influence was due entirely to the moral grandeur of his personality. Endowed with a rare idealism and a deep love of his kind, he gave himself with his whole heart and soul to the defense of the disinherited and oppressed. He gave himself simply, quietly and naturally—gave himself because he could not do otherwise."

"A man of rare and noble parts has gone from amongst us, a faithful champion of the workers, a loyal comrade in the Socialist movement, a warm-hearted friend of all suffering humanity. The terrible void which his sudden death has left in our ranks will never be filled. His loss is irretrievable. Only the imperishable memory of his inspiring life and work is left to console his grieving family, friends and comrades."

Eugene V. Debs said: "The tragic and premature death of Meyer London is a heavy blow to his family and to the great many comrades throughout the land, and is a great loss to the Socialist and labor movement. The horrible news came to me as a flash of lightning out of a clear sky. I feel so shocked that I cannot imagine that such a catastrophe has struck us, robbing us forever of one of the most brilliant minds, one of the truest hearts, and one of the finest and noblest souls that have ever devoted themselves to the cause of the poor and needy, the oppressed and exploited, in their struggles to climb out of darkness into daylight."

"More than thirty years have I known, highly regarded and respected, and deeply loved this brave and noble

comrade, who has fallen in the very midst of his noble life, and who now lies shrouded in these black clothes of death."

"Meyer London was in the truest sense of the term a man, possessed of self respect. He was endowed with all the qualities which make for a noble and worthy character, and at the same time he has as soft a heart as ever, devoted sympathy, and the loving tenderness of a mother."

"With the utmost courage, with the most absolute devotion and loyalty, he has carried out all his duties to the Socialist Party, and to the labor movement. In the history of the labor movement, London's name will be written in letters of gold, and will be read many, many years after."

"To his widow and family, I extend the deepest sympathy in this hour of bereavement. Let them find consolation in the lofty example set by this noble man, this dear comrade, this true friend. Let them find consolation in the beautiful and lofty memory which he has left as a heritage for the coming generations."

"EUGENE V. DEBS."

Morris Sigman, president of the I. L. W. U., said: "A great misfortune has struck the labor movement by the death of Meyer London. The labor movement has lost in him one of its very best sons. London was loved amongst all parts of the labor movement and in the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union he was regarded as 'one of our members.' Many of our local unions have made him a member. London has stood by the cradle of the labor movement and has helped to make the life of the worker a lighter and happier one. We cannot conceive of the growth and success of our International without Meyer London. I have no words to express the deep sorrow over his death."

Harry W. Laidler, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, said: "In the death of Meyer London the Socialist and labor movement of the United States loses one of its most effective political leaders and one of its greatest idealists. For over a generation Meyer London was in the midst of the political and industrial struggle

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ACCIDENT KILLED LONDON

MYER LONDON died Sunday from injuries he sustained that morning when he was struck by an automobile at 18th street and First avenue, about a hundred yards from his home.

The traffic on First Avenue at this point is always confusing, elevated pillars in the middle of the thoroughfare making passage for pedestrians and vehicles often a very difficult task.

London was crossing from the east side of First Avenue and apparently became confused by the swiftly moving traffic as he stood in the center of the street. An automobile, driven by Louis Greenspan of Newark, New Jersey, approaching from the south, struck him as he halted and threw him to the ground. Suffering from the left in an attempt to avoid striking London, Greenspan's car crashed into another going in an opposite direction. The driver of the second car suffered slight injuries.

Regarding consciousness, despite severe internal pains and a big wound in his forehead, London was rushed to Bellevue Hospital in a taxicab, where he was treated by Dr. Ames.

From the time he was removed to Bellevue at 12:20 o'clock his condition was known to be serious. Members of the family, including his brothers, Louis and Horace, remained with him to the end.

During the afternoon London regained consciousness and pleaded that no action be taken against Greenspan by the police.

Late in the afternoon it became evident that there was little chance of London surviving. At about 6 o'clock G. August Gerber, active member of the New York Socialist party, arrived at the bedside. He was followed a few minutes later by his father, Julius Gerber, London's lifelong associate in the Socialist movement. The Gerbers were at London's side until 10:05 o'clock, when the great Socialist leader breathed his last. He was unconscious at the end. Monday his body was removed to his home at 308 East 18th Street; Tuesday at one o'clock the body was taken to the Forward Building, 115 East Broadway, from which point the funeral was held.

Dr. Charles Norris, Chief Medical Examiner of New York city, said that London's death was due to an internal hemorrhage induced by multiple fracture of the ribs and by punctures of the lungs. He also sustained abrasions of the nose and forehead. No autopsy was performed.

Despite London's request, Greenspan, the driver, was arrested after his death and is being held on a technical charge of homicide under \$2,500 bail.

Meyer London's Story; "Child of the Workers"

By Wm. F. Feigenbaum

ONCE in a while it happens that there is a public man who loses nothing in your eyes when you know him personally. Once in a while there is a man who not only does not diminish in stature the closer one gets to him, but who increases in bigness with familiarity.

Meyer London was such a man. He was a big man, a very great man in his public life; a labor leader, a political sage and a statesman—but today, wherever Comrades gather and talk in whispers with choking voices of the dear departed the emphasis is upon Meyer London the man, the friend, the comrade rather than London, the public man.

Meyer London, whose terrible death in an automobile accident last Sunday came as such a terrific shock to the whole Socialist and labor movement of America, was a real man. He was a prince, a human being with a heart and a soul as big as his intellect. He was one of the noblest men I have been my proud privilege to know in all the years I have been active in the Socialist movement. His life was an inspiration and he will never be forgotten.

Struck down on the street by an automobile, taken to the hospital torn and bleeding, his last words were an earnest request that the driver of the car should not be arrested. There spoke the Meyer London that we knew and honored and loved—a human being with a human soul!

It was only a few weeks ago that London was persuaded to make a speech at a Socialist banquet, and there he bared his heart to the men and women with whom he had been working for the better part of thirty-nine

years. "I have about ten or fifteen years to live," he said. "I wish it were possible for me to shut down my law factory and devote what there is left of my life to going up and down the country preaching our ideals." A year or two ago, at the opening of the Socialist Center on the East Side of New York, London hinted that he would like to drop his law work and devote his time exclusively to educational and propaganda work.

Meyer London was a true child of the working class. He was born a worker and he began life as a worker. Unlike some other men, when he became a lawyer he did not utilize his talents and his education to advance and enrich himself while forgetting his class and his former associates. He gave himself entirely to the labor movement, becoming a trusted and honored adviser and acting not so much as an attorney for those unions that retained him, but rather as a member of the movement itself.

Our late Comrade was born in 1871. He came to the United States in 1891. His father came here several years before him. Meyer London came from a Socialist home, his father having been active with J. Netter and other old time East Side Socialists in the '80s and early '90s. The young man worked as a cigar maker while studying law, and in 1896 he was admitted to the bar and to United States citizenship at almost the same time. By that time he had a considerable reputation as a stump speaker and as an ardent Socialist party worker. He was earnest, sincere, magnetic and lovable. And in that year he was first nominated to run on the Socialist ticket.

It was in 1896 that I first met him; he was but a boy, a fiery youth full of zeal—and I don't think he changed much in thirty years that followed. Daniel De Leon was the great Socialist leader at that time and he was named to run for Congress in the old Ninth Congressional district. The old 16th Assembly District was the heart of the Congressional district and Meyer London, the fiery youth, the ardent soul, the magnetic speaker, was named to make the race in that

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Workers Pay Last Honors to Great Socialist Leader

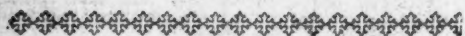
New York's Biggest Funeral

Never within the memory of the oldest East Side resident was there such a funeral as that which bore Meyer London to his last resting place.

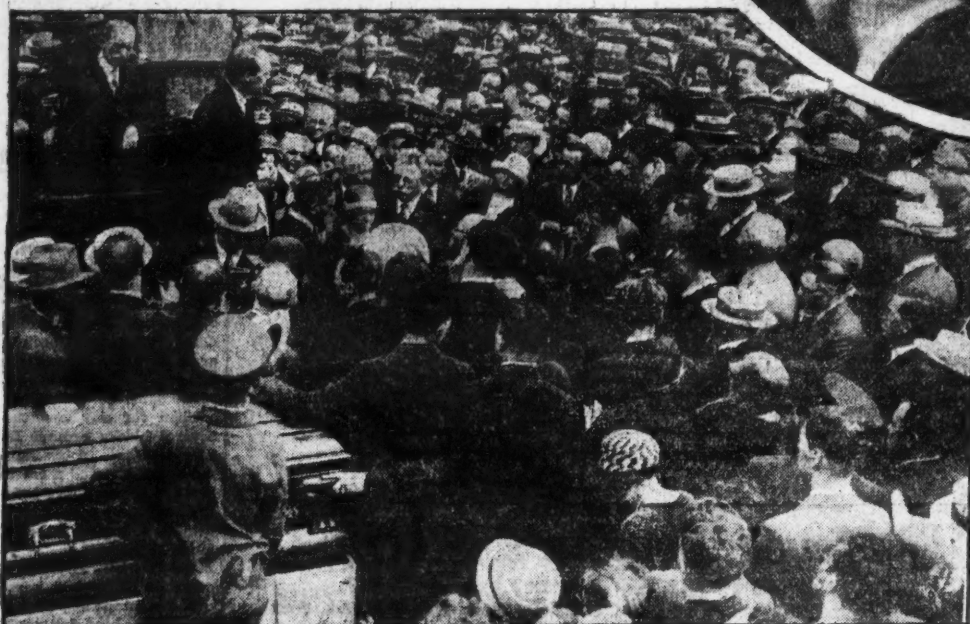
The camera has caught the crowds as they converged in numberless thousands to do honor to London.

But the real sorrow of the people can only be hinted at, locked up as it is within their saddened hearts.

The East Side workers will never forget London. Already there is a move under foot to erect a public monument to him, suitable to the man who showed the East Side the path from squalid poverty to self-respecting manhood.

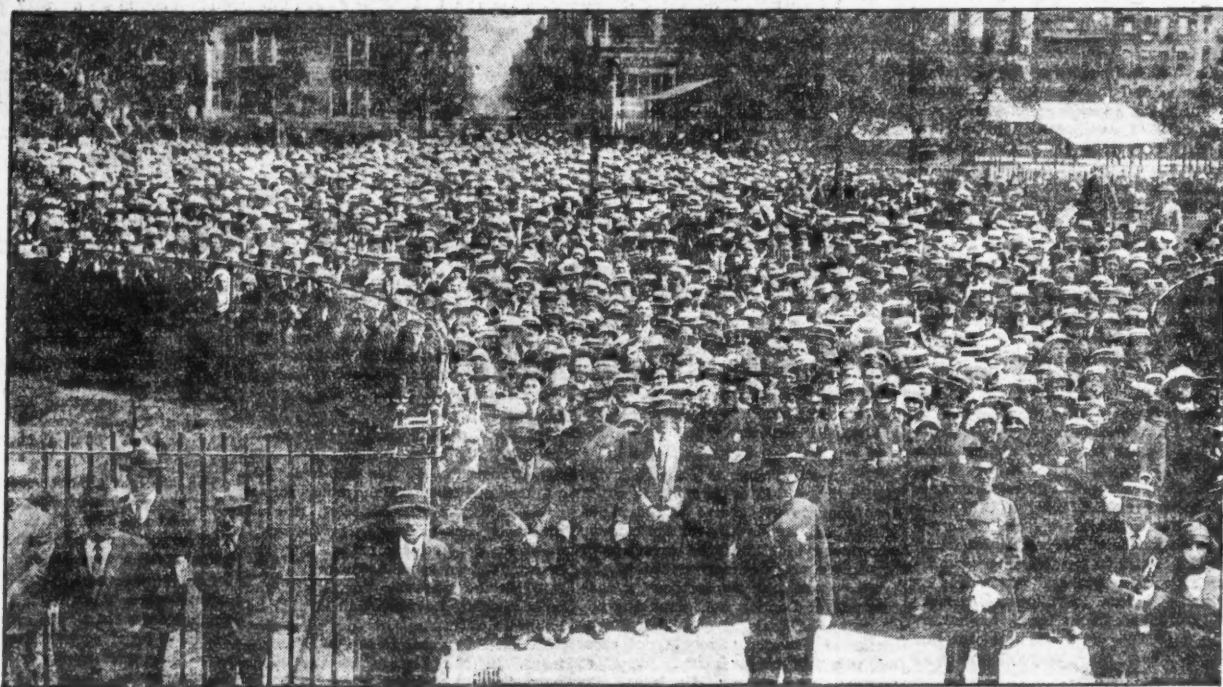


(Below) AT THE GRAVE Comrades spoke their last eulogies. Algenon Lee and Alexander Kahn are shown on the crepe-draped platform by the side of the coffin.

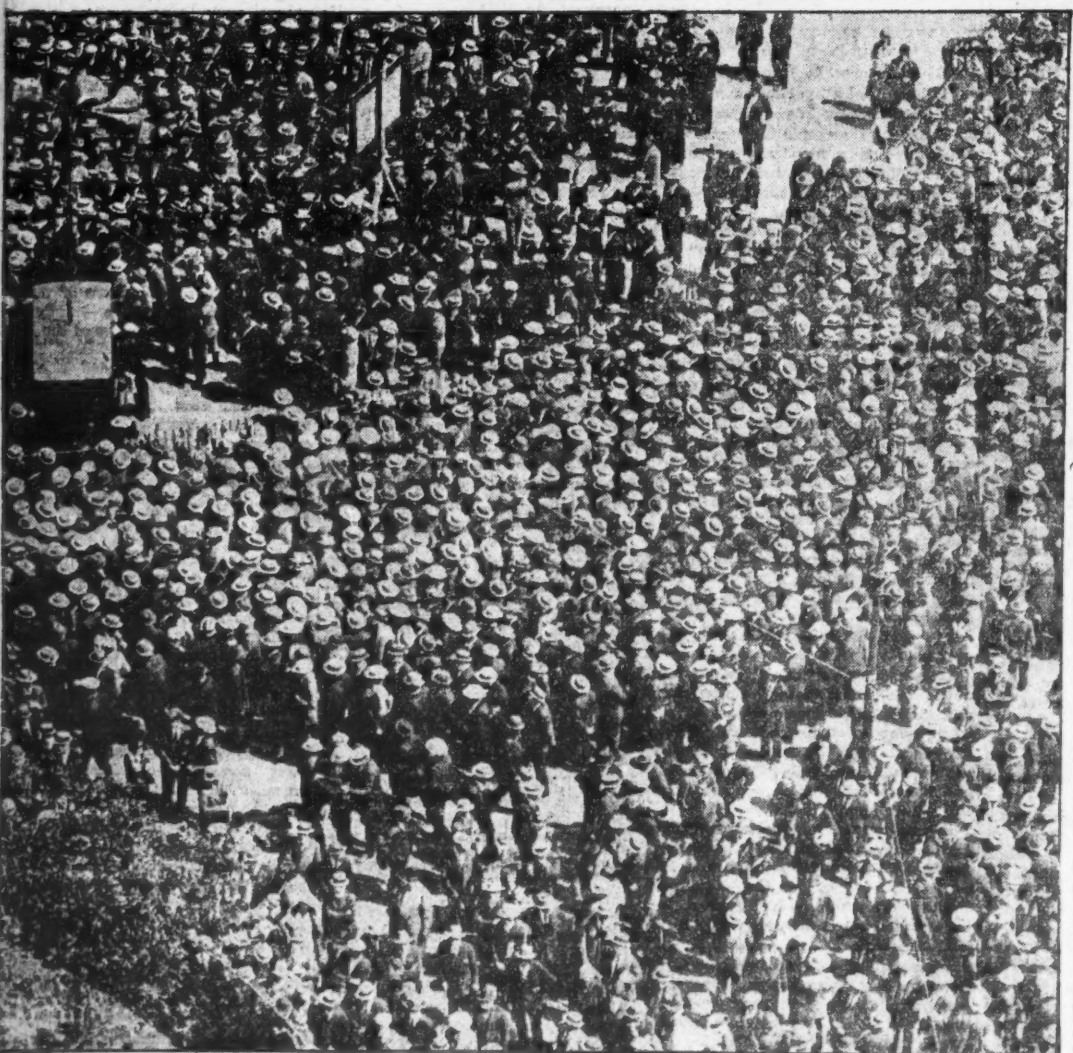


SADLY AND SORROWFULLY they bore the casket from the Forward Building, while 100,000 outside bowed their heads in tribute. William Karlin (right) and J. Weinberg (left) were among the pallbearers.

THROUGH LONDON'S GREAT EAST SIDE the funeral procession wended its way, banked on both sides for two miles by 500,000 persons.



A PART OF THE THRONG that waited in Seward Park and listened to the funeral orations carried to them by radio from Forward Hall.



SEWARD PARK. Another section of throng that waited for the funeral to begin, listening in the meantime to the radio funeral orations.

GOODBYE FOREVER, DEAR COMRADE! The coffin being lowered into the grave.

500,000 JOIN IN TRIBUTE TO GREAT SOCIALIST LEADER

(Continued from page 1)

mailed with the body all through the night.

Two thousand people managed to jam their way into Forward Hall to hear and see the speakers as they delivered their tributes to London's work. Amplifiers carried the speeches to 25,000 people assembled in Seward Park just opposite the Forward building. All the surrounding streets were black with humanity, held in line by the police.

The coffin was placed at the rear of the auditorium. Upon it lay a floral piece the card of which read:

"With heartfelt sorrow and deep sympathy. Mary E. Dreier."

Floral pieces lay on the floor beneath the coffin. Behind, floral pieces, banked against the black-draped wall, rose almost to the ceiling. Sunlight poured through the rear and front windows and mingled with the flow of electric light from bulbs, many of which were red colored. Hundreds sat in the draped balconies and in the mezzanine in front. Hundreds more were in chairs around the coffin or stood as near as possible.

The services consisted simply of the eulogies delivered by the speakers, all of whom had been prominent for years in the labor and Socialist cause, and some of whom had been lifelong friends of London.

A guard of honor stood at the coffin as each speaker in turn walked to a position behind it and delivered his message. B. C. Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, acted in an officiating capacity, speaking in Yiddish.

Men and Women Weep

As he uttered the lament, "The most beautiful flower in our house has died," his voice faltered and men and women cried openly. Sobs broke out in all parts of the auditorium. A woman seated in a front row leaned upon a crutch, tears rolling down her cheeks.

Abraham Cahan, editor of the Forward, was the next speaker. He also talked in Yiddish.

"Not in all America was there a man so well loved by Jewish workers," he exclaimed.

Sobs broke out again when Cahan revealed a strange coincidence. He stated that when Mr. London was brought to the Bellevue Hospital, after being struck by an automobile last Sunday night, the first nurse to see him was his own daughter, Isabella London, who is a nurse in the hospital. She was on duty Sunday night and was sent out by the physician in charge of the emergency ward to see how seriously was the "case" just brought in. She unexpectedly gazed upon the face of her father and remained with him to the end.

Justice Jacob Panken of the Municipal Court was the next speaker. He and London had been comrades for thirty-one years.

As he spoke Morris Hilquitt appeared at the door and was escorted to a position near the coffin. He was called upon next.

"As our movement grows older, our casualty list grows longer," he said. "Some have died of age and some have died of illness, while others have died on the field of battle fighting for our glorious cause."

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate last year for Mayor, walked in at this point and became a member of the guard of honor, his tall figure making him conspicuous.

"A great life has been ended a voice ever eloquent against oppression has been stilled, a warm heart has ceased to beat," Mr. Hilquitt said. "Meyer London's life was comparatively short. He was snatched from us in the prime of life, yet his life was full of events and achievements. It was a full and a beautiful life."

Mr. Vladeck called upon Abram I. Shipiloff to deliver an address. But Shipiloff was overcome by emotion and silently shook his head. As Nathan Chavin delivered a peroration, his voice broke and he walked away in tears. Norman Thomas then declared that a true tribute to London would be greater devotion to the cause for which he had labored throughout his life.

Miss Lillian D. Wald, head of the Henry Street Settlement, was the last speaker.

"It is a privilege for me to be here to testify to the great service he performed for us who are outside the definite labor movement," she said.

Press Forward to See Coffin

Mr. Vladeck then requested all to leave the auditorium, according to the announced plan. Some congestion followed, as hundreds desired to gain another glimpse of the coffin around which the guard of honor stood.

"Form in line, please!" cried the

ushers time and time again. Finally the auditorium became less crowded. A hundred or more friends gathered up the floral pieces and carried them to the street. Then the task of taking the coffin down the narrow winding stairs to the street was begun, a dozen acting as pallbearers.

Finally, the task was accomplished, the procession was formed in the street and the march along East Broadway was begun.

It would be impossible to list the well known leaders of labor who fell in behind the coffin and marched behind it to East Eighteenth street where London had lived. All labor organizations were represented, most of them with large mass delegations.

The procession started up East Broadway preceded by a special escort of mounted police. On both sides of the procession were police who, with difficulty, kept the lane cleared. On two occasions the police lines were broken through as the people rushed in their eagerness to fall in behind the procession. Like wildfire the news spread through every dirty and crooked side street of the East Side, "London's funeral is coming."

Soon these side streets were deserted. From the time the procession left the Forward building until it had completed its course, the line of march was crowded and jammed with waiting throngs. Women, openly wept, as the hearse approached, beating their chests and wailing their sorrow at London's passing.

At East Broadway and Gouverneur street the front lines of the embanked onlookers were held by the pupils and teachers of Public School 147. The school house stood empty while all joined to honor London. As one of the seven automobiles loaded with floral wreaths turned the corner, a little boy of about ten staggered out of the crowd loaded down with a huge wreath. With some aid he finally had it pitched onto the top of the pile of flowers in the moving car. His parents had given him the money to buy the flowers for London, he said.

From Gouverneur street the procession turned into Pitt street. Passing under the Williamsburg Bridge, the funeral was viewed by several thousand and who had crowded the walk of the bridge to obtain a panoramic view of what the attending police called the biggest funeral in the history of the city.

London was not an orthodox Jew, yet so united was the East Side in honoring its great son that no class of people, not even the old generation of orthodox Hebrews withheld their tribute. As the funeral passed under the bridge the synagogue of the Congregation Stars of Israel came into view. The usual crowds thronged the sidewalks on both sides of the street. But there was something else.

On the large steps of the synagogue was grouped the congregation. In its center was Rabbi Morris Siegel. As the hearse approached and passed, Rabbi Siegel chanted the Jewish hymn for the dead, "El Mohl Rachmin." His piercing wail of sorrow, so unexpected and so intense swept the throngs into loud weeping.

MEYER LONDON'S STORY

(Continued from page 1)

district. And what a campaign he made that year! He laid the foundation for the great Socialist strength that developed in that section later.

And here is a fact that is so significant of Meyer London: from the first year of his law practice to the very end he put his ideals first. He might have dropped out for a year or two without much discredit to himself in order to earn a little money, to make a position for himself in the legal world. He was a remarkably fine lawyer, and he might easily have become wealthy and a leader at the bar had he cared for such things. He might easily have made much money had he cared for money. But he didn't.

For the 35 years of his active and useful life he placed his ideals first, service to his cause first, Socialism and the labor movement first—his own living came next. Fortunate for him and for our cause that his wife was so noble a comrade, so understanding.

In Memoriam: Meyer London

THESE hours have reared a wall of lamentation;
And we who loved you like a faith,
As only we can love,
As you have always loved
Stand in our praying shawls
And pour our grief
Against the senseless stones.

Like an Elijah, or a grim Isaiah,
You might have left us with the echo
Of your thunder still reverberating:
You might have gone and left us wonder
To ornament with legend and dull tale.

You went before the devastating years
Had thinned your vaulting epic
To a soft memory.
You went before our ingrate recollecting
Could dispel your living glory
And hide it under the insincerity
Of chiseled granite.

You went in the full flood tide
Of all you really were—
Lover of man, tall among men who love
Despite man's low ingratiations.

If they who saw and knew and build
Forget your love, and all it gave them,
Now that you are gone . . . theirs be the loss . . .

If they who bearded and the pagan ones
Who danced on Rutgers Square, the night of nights
When bonds seemed loosened and the darkness done—
And you the Moses leading them
From brutal bondage to a honeyed land . . .

If they forget, they have forgotten much
Of godliness.

And even now, as we stand by the wall
These hours have reared for lamentation,
Even now we hear your fine voice call

"Weep not for clay, weep not for me,
Tears will not usher in the world to be . . .
Weep for yourselves, yourselves alone
If you cannot see the way
My short day of light has shown . . ."

Thank God then, for you having seen
Elijah go, like any simple man
Might pass to sainthood, his task half-done . . .

And we who loved you like a faith,
As you have always loved
Stand in our praying shawls
And turn our grief-dried vision
Toward the East . . .

S. A. de Witt.

standing a woman, so fine a Socialist as to encourage him in such a course rather than of the type of nagging woman who might have driven him mad by demands for furs and jewels and cars!

In all the years I knew London (and admired him and loved him) I never knew him to refuse a request to do something for our movement for a selfish reason. He was one of the most highly individualized men I ever knew. "I am essentially an anarchist," he used to say. He hated the routine of organization work. He knew the necessity of committee work, and he was the first to honor such men as Julius Gerber, who did the behind-the-scenes work of securing signatures and getting the ticket on the ballot and the thousand and one other necessary routine things. He did not scorn such work—but he hated it. He could not sit still. When he spoke he needed a whole stage to pace up and down—and at the dinner I refer to he used the whole floor of a large hall as his platform.

Who can forget the glorious year 1914! That campaign that swept the whole East Side and broke the grip of a crooked Tammany machine upon the Jewish people will ever be memorable. London spoke night after night, on street corners and in halls, until his voice gave way, and his mind reeled, and his body almost broke. But every speech was a lecture. Every speech was worth going to hear, and the weary party workers would never go home if they knew that Comrade Meyer was speaking somewhere and they could go to hear him again. Earnestness, scorn for the enemy, bitter satire, and a passionate love for mankind and for justice illumined his speeches.

When he was elected the whole East Side went wild. It was not the victory of Meyer London the man; it was the triumph of those masses that he typified, the disinherited, the doomed and the damned. It was the triumph of those workers whom he had led in the glorious cloakmakers' strike of 1910, and for whom he had won recognition of their union and humane living conditions.

London entered Congress in December, 1915, the peculiar Constitutional provision for the meeting of Congress 13 months after its election having kept him out for over a year. Europe was so noble a comrade, so understanding.

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LONDON'S LIFE PRAISED

(Continued from page 1)

of the workers and devoted his rare talents as lawyer, as orator, as legislator, as diplomat, as humanist, to the cause of human emancipation.

"How many movements he assisted vitally during his years of effort! To trade unionism, to labor legislation, to socialism, to international peace, he contributed profoundly.

"Able, lovable, prophetic Meyer London. Your life, so suddenly and tragically snuffed out, has been to us an inspiration and a joy. We rejoice that you have been among us. We will miss you sorely in the days ahead. And over your bier, we pledge anew the continuance of the battle for liberty you held so dear—the continuance of the struggle onward, with all the life and spirit that is ours."

The Rand School of Social Science sent Mrs. London the following telegram:

"With heavy heart we join you in our irreparable loss of Meyer London, our beloved friend and comrade.

"It seems as though this burden were too much to carry. Yet we must carry on in the work he loved so well—because he would have it so."

Norman Thomas said:

"The tragic death of Meyer London means a very great loss to the Socialist and labor movements, which he had served with unusual sincerity and disinterested devotion. He combined to a quite unusual degree enthusiasm with good judgment. For him public life was an opportunity for service. There is no doubt that he would have died a rich man had he devoted to his legal practice the time and energy which he unselfishly gave to the unions of the needle trades in the days of their weakness and to the Socialist Party."

The Gulf Sailors' Union sent the following wire:

"The men of the Eastern and Gulf Sailors' Association in New York city feel sadly the loss of one of their best friends."

Congressman Victor L. Berger wired Mrs. London:

"Permit me to express my heartfelt sympathy in this hour of your bereavement. The Socialist movement loses an unselfish and tireless worker and the country a useful citizen."

Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, said: "I am deeply shocked and grieved at the sudden death of Meyer London. His passing marks a distinct loss to the labor movement and to the country."

The New York Joint Council of Capmakers wired Mrs. London:

"The New York capmakers deeply grieve over the untimely death of their devoted friend, Meyer London."

Alfred Baker Lewis, on behalf of the New England Socialist Party, wired: "We are all deeply shocked to hear of the death of our beloved comrade."

The Millinery Workers, Local, 24, wired:

"With great sorrow we learned of the tragic loss of Meyer London. It is a misfortune to the entire labor movement."

The Boston Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers wired:

"It is a sorrow to us all to hear of Meyer London's death."

Max Zuckerman, for the International Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, wired:

"Our International Union was profoundly shocked by the tragic and untimely death of Meyer London, who for many years faithfully served our organization."

Lillian D. Wald, head of the Henry Street Settlement, wired Mrs. London:

"Upon my return to town I learned the tragic news. He will be a great loss to us all."

Joseph D. Barondess wired:

"I am at a loss to find words of consolation and comfort. Meyer London's life was long and rich in service to humanity. All who knew him share in the irreparable loss of his spotless and unblemished life."

Gilbert W. Roe said:

"Meyer London was the unfaltering champion of the cause he believed to be right. The country has sustained a great loss and worthy causes have lost one of their ablest and most devoted champions."

Judge Jacob Panken, Socialist, of the Second District Municipal Court, said in opening court:

"It is with heart full of sadness that I arise to announce that Meyer London, who represented you in Congress, and who, in my judgment, was one of the ablest men in our city and one of the most charming and lovable characters, has been taken from us by death."

"I think it fitting that a record be made on the minutes of the court of the great loss the City of New York has sustained, and the greater loss the people of this district have sustained in the death of my friend and your friend."

Judge Panken then asked that those present rise and stand in silence for a moment "in reverence and sorrow."

NEGROES HONOR LONDON

At a meeting of Negro workers held at St. Luke's Hall, 125 West 130th street, an audience estimated at 700 or 800 gathered. The speakers were A. Philip Randolph, Algernon Lee and Ashley L. Totten. Frank R. Crossworth presided. After a few musical numbers had been rendered, Chairman Crossworth called the attention of the audience to Meyer London's death in the following remarks:

"I am sure you have all read in the daily papers of the untimely death of ex-Congressman Meyer London. I am sure, too, that few of you knew this great warrior of labor during the day when he lived and wrought to the end that a little more sunshine may creep into the homes of the hard-pressed workers of America and the world."

"Meyer London was a Socialist; so am I. It was my good fortune to have known this great oak of the working class movement, and to have worked side by side with him in the Socialist movement. His political philosophy is today an anathema to those who sit snugly in the seats of the mighty, while exploiting the class to which Meyer London belongs, and to which he gave his life, and, as is so old as the story of man. The ruling class being in solid control of the instruments for moulding public opinion succeeded in poisoning the minds of the workers against their benefactors, so that the exploitation of the many by the few may continue. But Meyer London goes to his final resting place with the assurance that time is on his side, and that the day is bound to come when the enlightened workers of the world will rise in their collective might and take control of the world, and transform it into a decent place for those who do society's useful work."

"Let us rise and remain standing with heads bowed for two minutes in memory of our fallen comrade."

Whereupon the audience rose until the Chairman motioned them to resume their seats.

According to a telegram to Mr. A. Philip Randolph, general organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Mr. Donald Richberg, noted labor attorney who represented the 20 transportation unions in framing the new Railroad Labor Act, has joined with Frank P. Walsh as associate attorney in representing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which will file the case of the 12,000 Pullman porters and maids for more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions with the new Railroad Labor Board as soon as President Coolidge appoints it.

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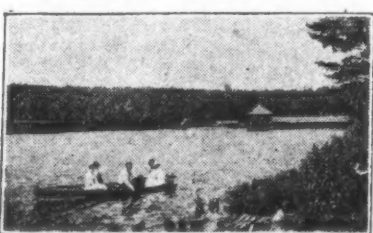
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Capitalism's Coming of Age

FOR decades the rising bourgeois class of the North fought a political duel with the slave owning oligarchy for control of the government. Compromise after compromise had established an ill-balanced equilibrium of power between the two classes until the southern gentry attempted to go into business for themselves by setting up a separate government. In this they failed and northern capitalism became victorious throughout the republic.

Then followed the Golden Age of American capitalism with its promise of a nation made "safe for democracy." Ellis Paxson Oberholzer is surveying the promise in a history which is to include five volumes. The third volume (A History of the United States Since the Civil War, 1872-1878, Macmillan, \$4), is before us. In the second volume he considered the forces that spawned the new rich, that brought the Ku Kluxers, reconstruction, Grant, the Tweed Ring, Jay Gould, James Fisk, Daniel Drew and Jay Cooke; that debauched the bench and bar, made journalism the kept woman of the bourgeoisie, made Congress a compound of auction and stock exchange, and the beginnings of the movement to make "higher education" the handmaid of the vulgar gamblers who swined their way to enormous riches.

In the third volume, Oberholzer continues the narrative, pausing now and then to assess the contributions to civilization made by this new ruling class. As in the two preceding volumes, the author does not hesitate to use the words "thieves" and "scoundrels" when the evidence justifies it. There is a notable chapter on the presidential campaign of 1872 with the tragic part played in it by that erratic genius, Horace Greeley, while the "salary steal" is reviewed with the candor and honesty that is typical of all Oberholzer's work. The revolt of the Granger movement against the new capitalism and its limitations are suggestive of the larger revolt that followed later and which will be considered in another volume.

When the author comes to survey the work of the triumphant bourgeois class in politics, industry, education, art, journalism and literature he is especially interesting. The shameless nepotism of Grant and his shielding of low scoundrels and grafters in office bulks large in the narrative. Ethics and personal honor were con-

Six Black Years When "The New Capitalism Befouled Everything It Touched"—An Explanation of Coolidge, Fundamentalism and Babbitt

By James Oneal

signed to the garbage can while swarms of crafters looted the public service. The plundering by the notorious Whiskey Ring is told with some detail that leaves little more to be said. A private secretary of Grant is involved in the thieving, gets a trial before a jury packed in his favor, is acquitted, and Grant in St. Louis receives a pair of horses from the thieves, one of whom later goes to prison. The private secretary is even implicated in the blowing up of a safe to destroy some incriminating evidence. Honest men who revolted against the low scoundrels which the new regime had tossed into office were spied upon and there is one case of a "frame-up" of an upright man with the view of warning others to let the thieves alone.

The looting of the western domain by these founders of modern capitalism is an old story. The Indians were also mercilessly plundered and they in turn sought vengeance in the murder of whites. Navy politics felt the impress of the dirty regime. "The Washington yard repaired a yacht for a club of politicians; the Boston yard remodeled a yacht for Ben Butler; the Brooklyn yard built a conservatory for a brother of the chief naval constructor. At Norfolk cannon were cast for free salutes at political meetings." The Freedman's Bank, ostensibly organized to help the Negro, was looted by grafters and Negroes suffered thereby. Did anybody object? If so, the gang waved the bloody shirt, became "patriotic," chanted the virtues of Lincoln, and swept the dissenters aside with the branding reproach that they sympathized with the "rebels."

And what of the arts at the hands of the vandals? They withered and died. In Architecture bulk replaced beauty. "Commercial buildings were mere walls with openings at definitely assigned places for doors and windows." What was noble in ornamentation gave way to physical bulk. Interior decoration also suffered. "Mahogany was painted over, fireplaces were blocked up, lovely mantels

were put under the axe, handsome pieces of furniture were discarded for some of the ugliest which have ever appeared in the history of cabinet making as a craft." The new capitalism was all stomach and no brains, vulgarity that smothered ideals. The nervous rich gawped in this period purchased paintings and sculptures in bulk without any appreciation of esthetic values. Dealers made bargains for the capitalist pigs as they would for scrap iron.

If art became a matter of exchange and bulk, literature descended to the mire and journalism became the kept woman of the new upstarts. Robert Bonner founded the New York Ledger, served trashy and sensational garbage to hundreds of thousands, and out of his big profits established a famous racing stable. James Gordon Bennett started the New York Herald and began that descent in journalism which has culminated in the "yellow" sheets and the modern tabloid monstrosities with their "sexy" lures for the young. For a generation the work of foreign authors were pirated until this form of thievery became an international scandal.

The new capitalism befouled everything it touched. The promise of the old anti-slavery crusaders had turned to dead sea fruit. The period is a black epic in the history of American capitalism and those who seek an explanation of why is Coolidge, Fundamentalism, Babbitt, machine education, standardized opinions, National Security Leagues, American Defense Societies, piety and profits, will find some interesting origins in this period.

Before the Civil War there was a promising intellectual awakening represented by men like Emerson, Channing, Thoreau, Whitier and their kind. The new capitalism smothered it in the fat of egotistical boasting, the flowering of political charlatans, and the noble ethics of skin or be skinned. Thanks to such historians as Oberholzer, we are able to better understand what afflicts these United States.

QUICK ACTION IS NEEDED TO AID SACCO

Labor Must Work Fast to Save Radicals from Death in Massachusetts

By Art Shields

ORGANIZED labor has to work fast in the rescue of Sacco and Vanzetti. The stage is set for early sentence of execution. The Supreme Court of the State has twice in the last month denied new trial motions. And, though a final motion is now pending for trial, Judge Thayer of the Superior Court, on the basis of newly discovered evidence of a sensational nature, the danger to the defendants is immediate. State police, the district attorney, and the newspapers are conducting a campaign of vilification against Sacco and Vanzetti that is timed with the new trial motion and tends to have a most prejudiced effect.

The exact nature of the new evidence is a secret until further investigations are made. But it is already common property that Celestino Madeiros, awaiting the death sentence for the slaying of a Wrentham bank cashier, has signed a confession that he and a gang of professional holdup men committed the 1920 South Braintree payroll murder, for which Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted, and that the two Italian labor men had nothing to do with it.

District Attorney Wilbur, announcing that the Madeiros sentence was set for June 12, said that the disposal of Madeiros would make it easier to dispose of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, too. His idea evidently is to get the admitted South Braintree murderer out of the way so that the frameup of the two innocent working men could be consummated.

Wilbur and the State police are taking advantage of a mysterious explosion that wrecked a house of a man named Samuel Johnson in West Bridgewater, an hour's ride from Boston. They are slanderously saying that the friends of Sacco and Vanzetti did it, though not a shadow of evidence is brought forward to sustain the charge, and in four days no move has been made to arrest anyone connected with the case. Samuel Johnson was a brother-in-law of Mrs. Simon Johnson, who lives several miles away and who was a minor witness for the State in the Sacco-Vanzetti trial. The authorities argue that "defense agitators" made a mistake in the house.

The Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee vehemently repudiated the libel and struck back at the police for exciting prejudice so basely at such a critical moment. But Wilbur repeats: "I believe that the sooner the death penalty is exacted in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the sooner the agitation we have seen will be abandoned. If the electrocution took place before, as it should have, we could have escaped such outrages as this West Bridge-water occurrence."

Whether the explosion in the Johnson home was the act of an agent provocateur or was caused by a private enemy is a mystery. But the accusation that the friends of Sacco and Vanzetti were responsible was taken out of thin air. It was made the morning of the explosion before any investigation. A discharged employee of Johnson was questioned by police because of alleged threatening remarks and because he was supposed to have kept dynamite in his shack, but the man was released on an alibi.

A farm boy who gave the writer a ride in his flivver to the scene of the explosion said: "Yes, they say Sacco did it; this woman was against him, and he lived next door." All of which was utterly wrong, but the boy had been reading newspaper headlines. Even the "greatest editor," Arthur Brisbane, in commenting in his column said definitely that friends of Sacco and Vanzetti had planted the bomb and in the home of a witness.

Federal Council of Churches has followed suit. This is to the good. Some of our labor organizations ought to go and do likewise. Jim Maurer showed them the way and told them plainly what was at stake in his speech which led the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor to forget caution, indifference and the propaganda of the militarists and speak out plainly against this attempt to militarize American youth under guise of teaching them to walk straight or of giving them a good time in summer camps.

"Red Special to be run to Chicago." Imagine how my heart fluttered when I read that headline. Were the Soviet commissars coming over en masse to the windy city? Where was the National Security League, the Allied Patriotic Societies, the Daughters of the American Revolution? Where, oh where, was Fred Marvin that this affront to the flag, the Constitution and the pocketbook should be permitted? But then I read farther. The Red Special, it appears, is to carry Cardinals and not Communists and red isn't red when a Cardinal wears it.

I hope to have a theatre party for readers of this column. They say I'll have another chance to act in Jersey Justice. When? Saturday night, June 26. Where? At the L. I. D. Conference at Camp Paimont. Come without cabbage. (Write the L. I. D., 76 5th avenue, New York City, for particulars).

Teapot Dome Explained

ADD oil to the things men fight for. Men, women and children were butchered and starved to death in 1918 and after because England, and others, wanted the Russian, Persian and Mesopotamian fields. They will be butchered and starved and sweated again, if necessary.

Louis Fischer's "Oil Imperialism" (N. Y. International, \$2.00) tells why. It is a fascinating story of international intrigue, the chess-play of billion dollar corporations, the unquenchable thirst of the world for oil and always in the wings armies of young men ready to fight and die gloriously because an electric spark will explode a drop of gasoline in a steel cylinder and drive motors for the profit, pleasure and enslavement of mankind.

Russian Oil Wanted As far back as 1922 the public knew vaguely that oil drives State Departments and Foreign Offices as surely as it drives a Ford car. The Genoa Conference was then shown to be a circle of politicians and their bosses thirsting for Russian oil, talking about property rights in public and taking business with the Russian Soviet agents in private hotel rooms.

The Allies had failed to take the oil-seeked Caucasus from the Bolsheviks by the force of White Armies sent against the "Red Terror" in the name of Civilization, Womanhood, or what have you.

In 1922 the Allies were still proud. They would hang on for concessions. After all, the victors in the World War were entitled to some spoils. Russia must recognize her debts, her obligations, her pre-war concessions to foreign capital. Besides, famine was sweeping Russia. Food was scarce and money was scarce in Russia. Titcher must crack. The Russian must be human.

The two big oil powers of the world, Standard Oil of America and the Royal Dutch Shell of Great Britain, were fighting each other and Russia for concessions. Standard talked

Was Sinclair Smashed Because He Had Beaten Standard Oil to Concessions from Soviet Russia?—Why Ivy Lee Now Wants Russia Recognized

By Zed

through France and Belgium. Lloyd George, speaking for Royal Dutch, suggested that the Allies accept Bolshevik confiscation, on condition that concessions be re-granted on a 99 year lease. France, Belgium and the American Ambassador to Italy, Richard Washburn Child, stood stalwart and unflinching for the rights of private property. Why? Because, in 1920, Standard had gained control of the Nobel concessions in Baku, despite the Bolshevik nationalization of the property in 1917. Royal Dutch came close to getting a Russian permit to exploit most of the holdings with a bar against Standard participation. France and Belgium, backed by the American State Department, vetoed the British scheme.

Futility at Genoa The Genoa conference broke up, to reconvene again at the Hague. Again, frustration. The Allies were incapable of measuring the unbelievable strength of Bolshevik idealism—the mad insistence that foreign capital must bend the knee to the proletarian dictatorship.

So the book opens, after setting the stage with a few necessary statistics. America is estimated by the United States officials to have less oil in reserve than Russia. The American supply may be exhausted within ten years. The thirst of business men, statesmen and patriots runs fifty years ahead.

Fischer does not take oil, statesmen or statistics too seriously. He sympathizes with the Russian Soviet, it would seem, and can afford a sardonic chuckle at the spectacle of the British Foreign Office and the American

State Department under Colby, Hughes and Kellogg fighting the battle of their respective oil trusts in Turkey, Russia, Persia and Asia. For example, he says that President Walter C. Teague of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey may be right in siding with the statisticians who estimate the American oil reserves at more than four times the figure set by the pessimists.

Hands Under the Table "It is quite as hazardous to estimate the oil reserves of a given patch of oleous territory as it is to guess the quantity of gin a child in swaddling clothes will swallow by the time it is gray and rheumatic."

Particularly humorous is the account of the "oil blockade," with Sir Terri Deterding, head of Royal Dutch, sneaking out from the chairmanship of the blockading oil companies to buy "stolen oil" from the Soviet Naphtha Syndicate. He had solemnly promised to have no dealings with the naughty Bolsheviks who would not give Standard back the property it had bought from the Nobels after nationalization. One after the other, the oil magnates violated their pledge by trying to dicker with the Soviet. Some time later, after Royal Dutch had purchased oil in quantities from the Naphtha Syndicate, Sir Henri Deterding wrote indignantly to the London papers when a Russian company invaded the British field and started cutting prices with "stolen oil."

The tangle of negotiations involved almost every capital in Europe. In 1923 Harry F. Sinclair, Albert B. Fall, Archibald Roosevelt and others, set

(Continued on page 5)

Socialism on Vital Issues

ON Friday, April 16, I introduced a bill to make participation in lynchings a Federal offense and to punish both individuals who join such mobs and officials who fail to take proper precautions to prevent lynchings.

The failure of the Republican Party to carry out its platform pledge of 1924 for the enactment "at the earliest possible date of a Federal anti-lynching law, so that the full influence of the Federal Government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime," is one of the major crimes of omission on the part of the Coolidge administration.

With a majority in both Houses of Congress powerful enough to carry out every other policy of the administration, including a tax bill that enables wealth to escape its share of the burdens of taxation, the administration could bring sufficient pressure to bear to have the promise made to the people in 1924 kept. The anti-lynching plank, like so many others, helped to keep the negro vote in line long enough to enable the Republicans to ride into office. To that extent that plank has served its purpose.

I hope Congress will not adjourn until a genuine effort is made to enact a Federal anti-lynching law. While thousands of people are being paid to spy on those of their fellow citizens who may be taking an occasional drink in violation of the Eighteenth Amendment, and while the Federal Government is spending many millions of dollars each year to deal with the petty lawlessness involved in this sort of violations, not an effort is made to punish acts which bring injury and death to people, many of whom are innocent, and all of whom are entitled to protection under our Constitution.

It is not only the duty but it is clearly within the power of Congress to enact legislation which will make enforceable the rights guaranteed to the people under the Constitution. In the fifth section of the Fourteenth Amendment Congress is given the right to enforce constitutional guarantees,

A Speech in Congress

By Victor L. Berger

and that constitutional provision is broad enough to authorize the enforcement of the law I propose.

My bill goes a step further than the anti-lynching bills that have been considered in the past. There are teeth in this bill. A man who joins a mob and proceeds to kill another is a murderer and ought to be punished in such a way that he will learn to respect the rights of others, and his friends and neighbors may be deterred from ever committing a similar offense.

I have introduced a bill providing for Federal aid in States in a drive to combat illiteracy. Under its terms the Federal Government will appropriate \$2,000,000 each year for the next six years, that appropriation to be apportioned among the various States in proportion to their percentage of illiteracy, and subject to the requirement that each State match the amount appropriated by the Federal Government.

It is surprising that the United States, which was one of the first nations to make elaborate plans to furnish an elementary school education to all those within its borders, should now compare so unfavorably with other countries in the percentage of illiteracy. In England the percentage of illiteracy is about 1.8, while in the United States for the same class it is in excess of 7 per cent.

In a democracy, where much depends upon the people's ability to read and write, the presence of millions of illiterates is a danger.

Illiteracy is greatest in the South. That explains in a large measure why the Ku-Klux Klan got its start and was able to make such headway in the South. On the other hand, the Klan has made little or no headway in, for example, Wisconsin, where the percentage of illiteracy was almost negligible until the recent immigration from eastern and southern Europe.

My bill does not remove the problem

of education from the State to the Federal Government. Under it education remains a State matter. All the Federal Government would undertake to do would be to encourage the States to increase and improve their educational facilities and thereby reduce illiteracy. The Federal Government, however, has a vital interest in the subject—surely as much as it has in good roads.

My bill does not deprive the States of any rights they now have. They retain full control of their educational facilities. Their only obligation, which they voluntarily assume before acquiring any of the benefits of the Federal appropriation, is to pay an equal sum and to co-operate with the Federal Government in abolishing illiteracy. The States will benefit; the nation will benefit. The cost to neither will be prohibitive.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

ate. It's a big job, isn't it? But it is one which labor cannot ignore. We can't for any long time have industrial prosperity and agricultural depression. Maybe the road out will begin in a plain recognition for the farmer that he is primarily a worker and not a land owner or small capitalist. What can labor do to make that recognition easier?

Last week I wrote somewhat pessimistically about disarmament in general, and in particular I attacked the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church for tabling a resolution denouncing compulsory military training in the colleges and adopting a resolution endorsing military training camps. Well, the church partially redeemed its record. On the last day of the Assembly the motion condemning compulsory military training was taken off the table, revised and passed. The original action of the Assembly apparently was taken when nobody was looking by one of those snap votes to which overgrown deliberative bodies are inclined. When the anti-militarists woke up they got action a little more in line with Christian principles. The Baptists had previously condemned compulsory military training. Now the

Federal Council of Churches has followed suit. This is to the good. Some of our labor organizations ought to go and do likewise. Jim Maurer showed them the way and told them plainly what was at stake in his speech which led the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor to forget caution, indifference and the propaganda of the militarists and speak out plainly against this attempt to militarize American youth under guise of teaching them to walk straight or of giving them a good time in summer camps.

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The Early Days of Labor

III—From 1827 to 1840
By Sam Fisher

DURING the opening of the nineteenth century several things occurred that drew labor into political activities. In the first place the right to vote was being granted to increasing numbers of working men. Secondly, as the unions grew stronger, the masters organized and prosecuted the labor unions. In the third place, the industrial revolution made headway in creating big cities. In the fourth place, the idea was advanced that hours of labor should be fixed universally at ten hours per day by legislation rather than by the painful method of strikes.

The movement for independent political action started in Philadelphia in 1827. In that year the carpenters struck for the ten-hour day. All organized workers in the city came together in support of the movement. Out of this strike was formed a city central union of unions, called the "Mechanics Union of Trade Associations." Unorganized workers were urged to unite along craft lines and join the central body.

The example set by the Philadelphia workmen was soon followed in other leading industrial centers such as New York, Boston, Albany, etc. A labor press of weekly and daily papers, and trade journals, was founded to voice the aims and demands of labor. Committees were organized, conventions were held, the radicals demanded revolutionary action. The tactics of the political movement in this period were propaganda through a vast mass of newspapers, pamphlets and political platforms. Thus we see for the first time in the history of American labor a philosophy which "betrayed a distrust and contempt for the rich."

The demands of the labor parties were the ten-hour day, restriction of child labor, abolition of hired convict labor, free and equal public education, abolition of imprisonment for debt, the right of mechanics to file liens on property to secure payment of wages. To this demand a number of additional reforms were added, including the abolition of capital punishment, abolition of monopolies, prohibition of private banks to issue paper money currency, abolition of compulsory military service, woman's suffrage and the adoption of free trade as a national policy in place of protection.

The ten-hour day was the most prominent of all the issues in this early political movement on the part of labor. The unions argued on economic and moral grounds that long hours reduce the workmen to the status of slaves; with neither time to improve their minds nor leisure to enjoy the privileges of citizens. The master carpenters of Boston, in opposition, said that this movement for the shorter day was foreign in origin. In spite of keen opposition, the ten-hour day made headway. In 1840 President Van Buren ordered the establishment of the ten-hour day for government employees. The other employers were forced to grant the same conditions.

The slogan for education was the next reform the workers tried to fight for. In 1834 the trade unions of the country called a convention in New York to consider the professional monopoly of education. The next year the convention demanded the establishment of free libraries, schools in towns and cities, for the use and benefit of mechanics and workers. As a result of the agitation of labor leaders in the twenties and thirties we have

the public school system and the libraries of today.

In this period radicals and revolutionary agitators such as Thomas Skidmore were attached to the labor movement who declared in favor of selling all private property at public auction and dividing it among the people. George Henry Evans supported Skidmore in his agrarian policy; Frances Wright, of Great Britain, one of the first advocates of woman's suffrage in the new world, opened her campaign on the labor question in this period, arousing both intense opposition and warm support. A storm of abuse followed by the so-called friends of labor, against the labor leaders; they were called "Snob," "Dirty Shirt Party," "Anarchist," "Communist," etc. The success of the labor party at the polls forced the other parties to nominate candidates acceptable to the labor party. They adopted some demands of the labor party, and the latter forced the politicians to pay more attention to labor legislation. This mistaken policy brought defeat to the labor candidates. Within five years this political movement died and labor again turned to the economic field.

With the failure of political action and the coming of prosperity labor turned to trade unionism. The Mechanics' Union of Philadelphia, which in 1827 had fifteen trade societies in its organization, had shrunk to four societies.

While labor was busy in political agitation the growth of manufacturers had filled industry with young apprentices who undermined wages. Women also came into industry. In 1837 there were about one hundred occupations in which women were engaged, working usually for low wages and long hours. "The economist, Mahew Carey, estimated that a woman without children could earn \$58.50 a year, and a woman with children no more than \$36.40 a year. About the same time it was shown that fifteen thousand women were employed in the shoe industry of Massachusetts, hundreds of them earning only from eighteen cents a day to forty or fifty cents. In 1831 in six of the New England states and New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, 88.1 percent of all employees, including hand weavers in cotton mills, were women, and 7 percent children under 12 years of age."

Apprentices were taken from the poorhouses into the factories. In addition to that there was the invasion of the emigrants. In 1832, Seth Luther of Providence, R. I. one of the first to advocate legislation for the benefit of labor, charged the manufacturers with sending agents to Europe to encourage foreigners to come here in order to reduce the wages of the American workers. The reaction against prison labor competition, wholesale buying and selling, division of work, machine inventions—all these played their part in building up the trade union movement.

From 1833 during the rise of prosperity the trade union movement began to increase in numbers. From 1835-38 local craft unions were formed in many cities. The men and women in the needle trades of Baltimore formed a joint society. The same year the Female Improvement Society of the city and county of Philadelphia was formed, including seamstresses.

tailors, binders, milliners, and other trades. In each trade a committee was formed which drew up a wage scale and enforced its acceptance by the manufacturers.

As organization advanced in the individual trades there developed a labor movement of wider significance. Trade unions of a single city organized into city central bodies. The central labor unions were centralized; they negotiated with the masters, called strikes, paid benefits; they introduced the boycott of goods as well as the boycott of the scab. They organized the unorganized, they called general strikes that spread to mass movements for the enforcement of the ten hour day and won.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Hail the Bridegroom, Hail the Bride!

THIS being the month of wedding veils and orange blossoms and we being a trifle stunned by reading of the great uprising of the common people that signalled the wedding of Governor Al Smith's daughter, we have decided to print the following excerpt from the Scioto Gazette of Scioto, Ohio, which appeared in 1860.

"What a Perfectly Turned-out Bridegroom Should Possess"

One black cloth suit.....	\$70.00
One pocket handkerchief.....	.50
Two shirts, plain bosoms.....	5.00
One night-shirt, embroidered.....	4.00
Two paper collars.....	.05
One pair drawers, plain.....	1.75
One pair drawers, ruffled.....	2.50
One bottle whisky.....	2.00
One corkscrew.....	.25
One bottle bitters.....	1.50
One copy of cloves.....	.20
One copy, Baxter's "Saint's Rest".....	.20
One cake of honey soap.....	.20
One ivory toothpick.....	.25

We advise all our friends who are contemplating matrimony to cut this out and paste it in their hats when they go shopping. If they will write to us in care of the Fashion Department of the New Leader we will inform them where some perfectly adorable groom's embroidered night gowns may be obtained. We regret that we cannot offer similar service for the purchase of everything else on the list but there are certain legal restrictions which prohibit this. As to the ruffled undershirts, however, our fashion scouts report that they are in great vogue among the coal-diggers of Herrin, Illinois and that they will be glad to put any inquirer in touch with sources where they may be had.

While on the subject of weddings, controversial as it may be, we have discovered from reading the accounts of the Governor's daughter's nuptials just what the New York State Police are for. Hitherto that had been more or less of a mystery both to us and, we suspect, to the majority of the citizenry of this fair State. Recently, however, they have supplied a perfectly good Major to act as bridegroom and background at Albany, a troop or two to hold awards over the heads of the newly-weds for the benefit of the photographers and a wedding present of a highly original character. According to the papers this consisted of "a silver dining service on which was engraved a representation of 'The Last Supper,' done in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century."

What carping soul could object to paying taxes for the support of so worthy and useful a body of guardians of the commonwealth as the New York State Police? We understand that in Illinois and other benighted sections of these United States certain skeptics object to the introduction of the State Police on the ground that the only time they are of any use is during strikes. And that at such times they are used principally to beat the daylight out of the strikers. Fie upon such destructive criticism. Let our Illinois neighbors and others look to New York where all the fine traditions of chivalry including swords and engraved dining sets are maintained by this gallant band.

Put on your eye-shades, boys and girls, we are about to get literary. First off we want to say that the most exciting book that has come our way of late is "The Story of Philosophy," by Will Durant, (Simon and Schuster, Publishers. Price \$5). If you have five bucks to shed, prepare to shed them now for here is a book that makes philosophy and philosophers come alive. It fairly reeks with human intellect. Will Durant, who is, as most of you know, Educational Director of the New York Labor Temple has done a grand, good job in bringing to us in the most readable manner the lives and opinions of the great philosophers from Plato to Dewey. The latter by the way calls the book as "an admirable piece of intellectual work, as to its substance and its literary form."

And in parting we would like to take a good-natured fling at our columnar colleague, V. F. Calverton, who roasted Sinclair Lewis's new book, "Mantrap" so severely. In our opinion, "Mantrap" is a thrilling tale, the better for having no particular moral. Comrade Calverton, when he insists that every novel by a serious author which does not deal with the class struggle or some sort of social criticism is just so much blah, is as dogmatic and unreasonable as the wildest of the wild men. In "Mantrap," Lewis writes for much of the way with his tongue very much in his cheek. Someone has evidently told him that he has lost the knack of writing an out and out novel of exciting incident and here he shows that he can outdo Zane Grey and James Oliver Curwood and the rest of the he-men, red-blooded school. Not only outdo them but write rings all around them. Take "Mantrap" for what it is, evidently intended to be, an out and out adventure story of the Canadian woods and I'll guarantee that you'll stay with it to the end. Look in it for a thesis on the break down of an acquisitive society and you'll be disappointed. But between us girls, don't you think that the man who could write such satire on the boobs as "Main Street" and "Babbitt," such an arraignment of medical professionalism as "Arrowsmith," deserves a holiday? Besides we understand that Mr. Lewis is now looking into the state of the clergy in this country and we are willing to guarantee that the novel which comes from this research will please even the intransigent soul of Comrade Calverton.

McAlister Coleman.

The Inevitability of Progress

There must be refuge! Men
Perished in winter winds till one smote fire
From flint stones coldly hiding what they held,
The red spark treasured from the kindling sun;
They gorged on flesh like wolves, till one sowed corn,
Which grew a weed, yet makes the life of man;
They mowed and babbled till some tongue struck
speech.

And patient fingers framed the lettered sound.
What good gift have my brothers but it came
From search and strife and loving sacrifice?

—Edwin Arnold.

That venerable collection of organized money bags, the National Security League, cabled Premier Baldwin their support of the British Government and the mine owners. They assured Baldwin that they "believe in democratic constitutional government." Now of course the British miners out of pure cussedness struck for no other reason than that they are opposed to "democratic constitutional government." You can't fool these money bags. They know what nobody else knows and in this respect they are direct descendants of Josh Billings' mule.

Bernstein on Wealth Concentration

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

Bernstein on Wealth Concentration

COMING to the distribution of wealth in the modern community, Bernstein asks whether Marx was right in describing the trend of capitalist production as leading to greater centralization of capital, greater concentration of enterprises, an increased rate of exploitation. He answers, Yes and no. It is true as a tendency. The forces are at work in a given direction. "The fall of the profit rate is a fact, the advent of overproduction and crises is a fact, periodic diminution of capital is a fact, the concentration and centralization of industrial capital is a fact, the increase of the rate of surplus value is a fact."

But a number of countervailing tendencies, he declares, are ignored in the Marxian analysis. Unfortunately complete statistics are not available regarding concentration of ownership. But analysis will show that the most modern and crass form of capitalist concentration—the trust—has in fact quite a different effect on the distribution of wealth from what it seems to outsiders to possess.

The average trust is not owned by a few, but by thousands of stockholders. Not all shareholders deserve the name capitalists and often one and the same great capitalist appears in all possible companies as a moderate shareholder. But with all this, the number of shareholders and the average amount of their stockholdings have been of rapid growth. If we analyze the trend in income distribution in Great Britain from 1851 to 1911, for instance, we will discover, if the British Review is correct, that while the population increased by 36%, the number of families in receipt of incomes ranging from 150 pounds to 1,000 pounds increased 233%.

After analyzing such income figures as were available in France and Germany, Bernstein concludes:

"It is thus quite wrong to assume

that the present development of society shows a relative or indeed absolute diminution of the number of the members of the possessing classes. Their number increases both relatively and absolutely."

Actual Changes Not Deterrent to Socialist Progress

This failure of the middle class to disappear, however, according to the Revisionist, does not have a deterrent effect on the movement toward socialism. "If the activity and the prospects of social democracy were dependent on the decrease of the wealthy, then it might indeed lie down to sleep. But the contrary is the case. The prospects of socialism depend not on the decrease but on the increase of social wealth."

"Socialism, or the social movement of modern times, has already survived many a superstition, it will survive this, that its future depends on the concentration of wealth or, if one will put it thus, on the absorption of surplus value by a diminishing group of capitalist mammoths."

"Whether the social surplus produces is accumulated in the shape of monopoly by 10,000 persons or is shared up in gradual amounts among half a million men makes no difference in principle to the nine or ten million heads of families who are worsted by this transaction. Their struggle for a more just distribution or for an organization which would include a more just distribution is not on that account less justifiable and necessary. On the contrary, it might cost less surplus labor to keep a few thousand privileged persons in sumptuousness than half a million or more in wealth."

Engels next takes up the question as to what group absorbs the surplus product. Modern industry, he contends, is characterized by a great increase in the productive power of labor. Where have these riches gone? Not primarily to the capitalist class.

Even though this class could consume ten times as many commodities than they do, "their consumption would only be a feather in the scale against the mass of yearly national product—for one must realize that the capitalist great industry means, above all, production in large quantities."

The argument may be advanced that these goods are exported. This, however, is no answer, for other capitalist countries must pay, in general, for the goods received not in money but in the form of other commodities. We must thus look to some other avenue for the consumption of surplus goods. Who consumes them? Through a process of elimination, they must either go to the proletarians, or they must be taken up by other classes.

"Crisis and unproductive expenses for armies, etc., devour much, but still only a small part of the surplus product. If the working class waits till capital has put the middle classes out of the world it might really have a long nap. Capital would appropriate these classes in one form and then bring them to life in another. It is not capital but the working class itself that has the task of absorbing the parasitic elements of the social body."

In defending the thesis that the middle class increases, he maintains that he nowhere states that the proletarians decrease. However, if one follows the Marxian thesis that constant capital in industry tends to increase and variable capital, to decrease, one must conclude that in the businesses concerned the absolute increase in capital means the relative decrease in the proletariat.

Industrial combinations not uniform. After dealing with the distribution of wealth, Bernstein considers the problem of centralization of industrial establishments. While large industrial establishments have grown to even greater proportions, he points out the fact that thousands of small and medium sized establishments still survive; that the greatest diversity in

size exists and that no class of any size disappears from the scale. After reviewing the situation in Great Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland and the United States, he concludes:

"If the continual improvement of technical methods and centralization of businesses in an increasing number of branches of industry is a fact whose significance scarcely any crazy reactionaries can hide from themselves, it is a no less established fact that in the whole series of branches of industry small and medium sized undertakings appear quite capable of existing beside the large industries. In industry there is no development according to a pattern that applies equally to one and all its branches."

The smaller industrial units, he asserts, are particularly persistent in wood, leather and metal works, etc., where the home industry offers distinct advantages; in the bakery, the shoe shop, the tailor shop, etc.; where the customer demands a certain accessibility to his home and in the production of novelties which have not become popular as yet with the masses. As in industry, so in commerce and agriculture. In fact, in farming there is a distinct standing still or a direct retrogression in regard to the size of holdings. "There can then, be no doubt that in the whole of Western Europe, as also in the Eastern States of the United States, the small and medium agricultural holdings are increasing everywhere, and the large and very large holding is decreasing. There can be no doubt that the medium holdings are often of a pronounced capitalist type. The concentration of enterprises is not accomplished here in the form of annexing an ever greater portion of land to the farm, as Marx saw in his time, but actually in the form of intensification of the cultivation, changes in cultivation that need more labor in a given area, or in the rearing, etc., of superior cattle."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

(Continued from last week)

DAN did feel that Agatha was doing "lots of mangling" and having made her understand that this was his wedding journey, too, she withdrew from so obvious participation in the details of the arrangements. When they arrived at Duluth, after a tete-a-tete on the train, they found that a convention of Elks had invaded the town and had pretty successfully occupied every decent room in the place. Dan had neglected telegraphing for reservations. He had planned to get a room at one of the better second-class hotels, but these were all taken. He inquired at the premier establishment and found that a bridal suite was available, but it seemed extravagant to lay down \$25 for one night's entertainment, and so he looked for and found a room at a respectable third-rate hotel.

When Agatha saw the room, as she afterwards told Maggie Toller, she "wanted to scream."

"My wedding journey, like my wedding, was rapidly taking on the aspects of a burlesque show or an Elks' convention," she described it.

But Agatha said nothing. They had dinner in the dining room of the best hotel, and afterwards went for a walk—at her suggestion. Dan was for going to their room at once.

They escaped from the congested streets, and soon had passed out of the zone of convention festivity into the dark upper avenues that encircle the cliffs which mark the city's boundaries. As they turned to look back from that height, Agatha gave a gasp of delight. A panorama of swinging street lights, factory glare, furnace glow, cars and trains against the blue void of the lake, where the breakwater burned like a fiery necklace. Round them trembled the faint reverberations of the busy world; before them lay the hush of the inland sea, which was as much sky as sea. Husband and wife sat down in the stillness feeling as one throbbing mind. They sat down together, conscious of the eternal ache of love, its permanency above the clangor and fluctuation of the world. Agatha sat on the lower step in the ascending walk, between Dan's outspread knees; his arms were about her shoulders.

"You make a nest for me, love," she whispered.

"Always."

"Tomorrow we shall be way over yonder in that blue nothingness," she continued.

"Together."

"To think," she went on, "that we can have all this together. Oh, Dan, I feel that we are going to have a perfectly adorable wedding journey."

They watched the skies above them, and marvelled at the black jagged cliff cut deeply against the brilliant sky. The sat for an hour waiting, and murmuring quaint fancies, and kissing. They seemed very near to each other. They seemed very far from the world which rolled and gesticulated at their feet.

"Dan," Agatha at length whispered, "will you let me make just one little suggestion?"

"A dozen."

"Please change our room. We don't want anything to mar the beauty of

all this, and somehow I just can't go back to that noisy, dingy old place. And get two rooms, dear. You won't mind tonight, I'm tired."

Dan consented. Long afterwards he realized that it represented a futile little crisis in their relationship which was of big import. He never blamed her, but he secretly concluded that she had quite unconsciously taken advantage of a beautiful moment to gain the upper hand in their strife over physical things.

"But what's the difference," he always concluded. "We lived while we were sitting there. That hour above the glare and stir of Duluth was our marriage."

3

Dan did not sleep well. The strange room, the noise of the street, the switching engines in the train shed across the thoroughfare, the deep, hoarse barking of freighters from the lake, above all else, his restless heart, without Agatha in his bed, kept his mind disturbed. At the first light of

day, he was up and standing at the window.

Nature was in a festive mood. The great, blue, white-stained sea was leaping and laughing in the sunshine; gulls careened in the wide reaches of the upper air; and there towering above the warehouses was the beautiful white ship that was to take them on the journey. Dan thought that he had never seen a sight more exhilarating and harmonious.

He dressed quickly, and without going to Agatha's room, went down to the street. Something impelled him toward the steamship. He must see it, he resolved, as it lay smoking at the pier, so tireless from its long night-flight over the waters. He walked toward it, his heart laughing. The sun was in his face. How strangely and quietly the big boat had nosed its way into the wharf. The spell of seeing things was on him. He thought: "I have never had such a good time in my life."

He went toward it. On the long, wooden bridge leading to the pier, a

man accosted him, a foul person, with grease and dirt on his worn clothes, and a crumpled hat over his eyes.

"Say, Mister, can you give a pal the price of a breakfast?"

Already Dan's hand was covering the loose change in his pocket.

He felt his heart contract, and a flush of guilt and shame flooded his body.

"Isn't there plenty of work, partner?" he asked.

"No, been walkin' the streets for days. They say it's this way everywhere, even in the country." The man's voice was sullen and old.

Before Dan's eyes the dazzling beauty of lake and ship faded, and he saw the dreary disorder of the bread line, and the inchoate mass of jobless workers.

He gave the man a handful of silver, and stood watching him as he slouched up the bridge, and shuffled into a cheap eating house. Then he turned and went slowly back to the hotel.

(To be continued next week)

Teapot Dome Explained

(Continued from page 4)

out for Russia—and concessions. Sinclair modestly proposed to take over all the oil fields in Russia. A more modest agreement was signed. According to Fischer, Sinclair, in addition to investing \$115,000,000 in equipment, was to float a Russian loan in New York and was to deliver American recognition of the Soviet Government. It looked as if he could do it. President Warren Harding was his friend. Fall was on his payroll, and so on.

The Teapot Boils Over

But Standard was still doing business and looking for more. Sinclair had run away with a concession in Persia, secured on a tip given by Secretary of Commerce Hoover, Fischer says. Standard got busy. I quote:

"Sinclair . . . told one of his representatives in Moscow that he feared a 'nemesis would pursue him' on account of his activities in Russia. When the Sinclair Oil company entered a bid for a field which the Standard Oil considered its own, it was indeed on dangerous ground; it was like stepping in where angels feared to tread. And woe to the man who offends the mighty Standard."

"Only a few months after Sinclair's Russian trip, the Teapot Dome scandal came to light. Senator Walsh's committee, which undertook to investigate it, unearthed facts that not only disgraced United States officialdom in the eyes of the world, revealing its venality and corruption, it not merely disclosed the unscrupulousness of oil companies, but was the direct cause of the removal from the President's cabinet of Secretaries Denby and Daugherty. Sinclair's 'best pals' Moreover, the investigation seriously damaged his credit on the open market. He could no more float a \$250,000,000 loan than he could compete for the grand prize for honesty."

The Standard Is Pleased

"These developments were the end

of a series of disasters the first of which was the unexpected demise of President Harding. With Harding dead, and Denby and Daugherty disgraced, Sinclair was as little able to deliver United States recognition of Russia as he was of getting the Bolsheviks a quarter of a billion dollars in Wall Street. . . . The Standard Oil was undoubtedly pleased, and the busy directors must have heaved a sigh of relief. If they themselves staged the scandal, or if they themselves had obligingly suggested the investigation to some friend of a secretary of a Senator—and there are suspicions that this was the case—the results achieved could not have been more favorable for them."

Persons who were in touch with the Teapot Dome affair months before it broke say that Fischer is making the most of a coincidence, that, so far as they know, Standard did not uncoil the scandal.

Not the least entertaining chapter of the book is devoted to the explanation of Ivy Lee's sudden rash of letter-writing last winter. He urged all and sundry to admit Russia to the family of nations, "so that her full contribution may be made to the welfare of the world." Mr. Lee is, during business hours, speaking and letter-writing, the press agent for Standard Oil. He once straightened out Mussolini with the public by persuading Il Duce to tell the world what all the castor oil was about. Fischer deals deftly with Lee's comical pooh-poohing of the danger of Communist propaganda and the Soviet contempt for private property. "I am afraid, if it (the Russian problem) is to be dealt with purely on a plane of higher morality, we are not going to get very far."

Moscow Is Informed

This letter-writing campaign, Fischer says, "has even been brought directly to the attention of Moscow as though the accomplished scribe did not wish

his friendly efforts to pass unnoticed in that quarter, where the knowledge of such activities might promote the interests of his clients."

Sure enough, last March the Vacuum Oil Company signed an agreement with the Russian Naphtha Syndicate for the purchase of 800,000 tons of Russian crude oil and approximately 100,000 tons of kerosene. In addition, Fischer reports that the Syndicate agrees not to compete with the Vacuum in Egypt where the oil will be marketed. More contracts are in prospect, he adds. Truly, Russian recognition may be nearer than we think!

For Americans, the most important chapter of the book details the negotiations for the Sakhalin oil concession to Japan and the establishment of an entente cordiale among Russia, China and Japan.

As Calvin Coolidge is quoted on the book's jacket: "The supremacy of nations may be determined by the possession of available petroleum."

At present it is a three-cornered battle among Standard, Royal Dutch (England) and Russia. Fischer concludes, with Russia top dog.

As story, history or forecast, Oil Imperialism is one book the well-informed American must read.

The starving man may be free by the law of the land, but he is not free by the economic law that you must have something to sell if you want to live. If you have no goods to sell, you must sell yourself—that is, your labor power, and if you cannot find a buyer for it you are doomed.

However beneficent, legitimate, and natural may be the instinct which invites men to exchange wealth, the practice of it has been pushed into cruelties, subtleties, falsehoods, and idiosyncrasies which are defeating the very purposes of the tendency.—Henry Demarest Lloyd.

Mexico Again

MEXICO again. Well, why not? If things keep drifting as they are now we shortly shall have war with Mexico and that means your money and your sons. Besides, some of our European friends, who are also interested in oil, may not sit idly by and see us walk away with the swag. This complication may follow.

When our grievances against Mexico are boiled down, there remains one simple outstanding fact, and that is that the predatory interests which have turned this republic into their game preserve are trying to do the same with the republic across the Rio Grande.

Of course, these interests cannot come to the sovereign game in their native reserve and say, "Here, you go down to Mexico and fetch in that loot we want." Predatory expeditions require moral sanction. Cannon fodder and those who feed the cannon fodder cannot be put in motion unless they are furnished with some sort of an excuse, and having nothing to fight for, that is, of a material character, the excuse naturally becomes a moral—that is, an emotional issue.

Thus the Honorable John J. Boylan of New York rises in Congress and demands that: "Until Mexico revises her present constitution in vital respects, establishes a government of law and order and ceases to offend against everyday considerations of decency, the United States should withdraw the recognition extended prematurely."

Mr. Boylan is a Democrat. If he had been a member of Congress ten years ago, his moral indignation would have been marshaled behind self-determination, that is, the sacred, inalienable, God-given rights of every people, big or little, to determine their own affairs. But let Mr. Boylan proceed.

"In my opinion, this is the only course open to us, not only for our own honor and protection, but also for the best interests of Mexico. Such an act on our part may bring the present insolent government to its senses, and cause revision of a document which, as it stands, is a challenge to American traditions and institutions."

Oh! what a beautiful package of wind for the rabble to swallow, "our own honor and protection," "best interests of Mexico also," "challenge to American traditions and institutions," but not a word about the hard material interests of Mr. Doheny & Co. Not a word about the solid dollars which the Mexican government is extracting from the steel boxes of the above patriot and associates in the form of taxation.

And here comes the selective draft of religion, poetry, and the beauty of the sunset in behalf of Doheny:

"The church, the school, the meeting place—those three institutions upon which our own government was founded—have been taken over by the government and made subordinate to the state."

"If a crimson sunset seen from a lonely hill brought an involuntary breath of adoration for the Creator from a Christian, he would be guilty of violating the constitution, for it provides that all acts of worship must be performed within bounds and under government supervision."

Now, boys, shoulder your guns; the church, the school, the meeting place and the crimson sunset are calling for your blood and gore. You don't go to school, church and meeting place in Mexico. Perhaps you couldn't scrape the price of an excursion ticket together to enjoy one of the crimson sunsets of Mexico. You don't own a drop of oil, an inch of pipeline, the rivet in an oil tank or a brick or a mouse trap in Mexico. And, nine chances out of ten, you possess nothing more valuable at home than a bundle of notions, emotions and prejudices, including an artistically overdeveloped sense of national prestige.

However, the bulk of men are not what they are, but what they think they are, and nothing is easier in the world than to rile up the man whose stake in the country consists in choice selections of wrong thinks. So keep your eyes on the Boylans in Congress, press and pulpit. They are not exactly the cause of war, but they surely are the wind which fans the ever-present embers of predatory interest into the conflagration of war.

When the revolution came in Germany, royalty, the defenders of faith and fatherland, took to their heels, leaving faith and fatherland in the soup. Now that order is established, the royal nincompoops are coming back with bills in hand. Among other trifles, they are demanding some 500,000 hectares of land, 100 castles and palaces worth at least 500,000,000 gold marks; another 500,000,000 in art treasures and a long list of annual incomes, pensions and indemnities, totaling in all about 2,600,000,000 gold marks.

The Hohenzollerns have already received from their grateful ex-subjects eight palaces, eighty-three houses, and Rittergueter, the domain of Schwedt, Oels, Cadinen, Rominten and Umweiler, to say nothing about 175,000,000 gold marks in stocks and bonds. Now they have filed additional claims for several dozen pensions for poor but deserving members of the family, three additional palaces in Berlin, the palace and park at Hamburg and a long list of smaller properties.

The German Michel has my permission to spend his hunger pennies in any way he sees fit. He even may, as far as I am concerned, tax the marrow out of the bones of his stunted children and the knots in the wooden legs of his crippled warriors in order that justice (?) may be done to the serene unworthies who have feasted on his body for all these many centuries. But if he does, Michel will have to do without my support, for while I am the unfettered champion of the underdog, I'll be damned if I help a pup who sacrifices his young ones to fatten lapdogs.

Adam Coaldigger.

Victory of Howard In Typo Union Swung On Issue of Finance

The Field of Labor

IF unofficial reports prove substantially correct, the Progressive Party in the International Typographical Union has defeated the Administration forces. James M. Lynch, the present incumbent of the presidency, received 27,145 votes, and Charles P. Howard of Chicago, his opponent, 29,351, a majority of about 2,000. All in all the "Progs," as they are called, captured eight positions, and the Administration six. One office, the second vice-presidency, is still in doubt.

The issue at stake was not ideological. It centered around a question of finance. In accordance with the action of the Toronto convention of the I. T. U. in August, 1924, a proposition was submitted to a referendum vote of the membership to require every member to pay a minimum of \$1 per month to the pension and mortuary assessments, in addition to the per capita tax of 60 cents. Ordinarily 1 per cent. of the union scale of wages must be paid by each member to the pension and mortuary fund. The proposal was defeated by a majority of 7,000. Nevertheless, in March, 1925, the Executive Council ruled that members had to pay not less than \$1.50 per month, 50 cents more than the amount voted down in the referendum. The constitution provided that taxation could only be increased by referendum vote. Typographical Union No. 6, of New York, led by Leon H. House, its president, took up the gauntlet. This union was already taxing its members an additional portion of their earnings to give them larger pension benefits. At the last convention, held at Kalamazoo, Mich., the delegates refused to reverse the council's action by a vote of 179 to 102. Feeling that an injustice had been done by this machine-controlled convention, "Six Six" decided by a vote of its members to go into the courts to obtain an injunction restraining President Lynch and Secretary-Treasurer John W. Hays from collecting the increased assessment. Papers were served on these officials on March 28 of this year. The elections took place two months later.

The campaign was exceedingly vituperative on the part of the Administration. Much money was spent, particularly by the Wahnetas, the political organization of those then in office and their friends. Also considerable discontent had been aroused in many quarters because of the lack of aggressiveness of the Administration. It is for this reason that progressive utterances were voiced by the International President in his writings just preceding the election. In addition, many had never forgiven him for resigning the presidency in 1914 in order to accept a political office in New York, and then returning two years ago, upon losing his position, to defend Howard, who had succeeded the Progressive president, John MacFarland, upon the death of the latter. While it is unfortunate that the whole matter should have been carried into the courts, the election of Howard is a vindication of the Progressives' position.

EXCLUDING THE PRESS

We noted in these columns two weeks ago that a conference for the amalgamation of the textile unions was to take place in New York City June

5 and 6, 1926. Unfortunately, we are unable to report fully on this meeting or to evaluate its accomplishments for the very good reason that we, along with other press representatives, were "thrown out." The conference decided to exclude the newspapermen on the ground that they were inaccurate, irresponsible, and of the capitalistic press. Instead, a press committee was set up to release publicity. Little thought was taken of the fact that the reporters present were all of the labor press—and those most active in expelling them knew this. Also, little realization seemed to be had that official publicity was not always unbiased or reliable. The action taken was a survival of the prejudices current up to a generation ago, which many of the old-timers cannot overcome. Paradoxically enough, visitors were permitted to remain if vouched for by one of the delegates. That would, presumably, make them responsible persons. Reporters, however, were not permitted to become visitors. Under the rules, J. O. Bental, correspondent of the Daily Worker, was vouched for as a visitor, which he also was. At the same time Clarence Miller, another correspondent, was seated as a delegate from the United Front Committee of Passaic. Then, too, all members of the Workers' Party present, who were vouched for, were potential worker correspondents, according to Communist practice. Our readers will, therefore, have to be content with the observations of the following paragraphs.

THE SPECTRE OF DUAL UNIONISM

No sooner had the Amalgamation Conference of Textile Workers' Organizations been called to order than Albert Weisbord, of the United Front Committee of Passaic, asked that the meeting proceed in proper parliamentary order by electing its officers. The representatives of the Federated Textile Unions of America immediately objected. They were jealous of their prerogatives. They had called the conference and they were to run it. In the ensuing discussion the chairman even ruled that this gathering was merely an extension of the sessions of the Executive Committee of the Federated Textile Unions of America. Weisbord's motion was not entertained. A credential committee, consisting of five delegates from the F. T. U. of A., two from the Associated Silk Workers' Union and two from other organizations, was appointed by the chairman. It looked very much as if this conference was called to ask independent textile unions to affiliate with the Federated Textile Unions. This is a federation consisting of the American Federation of Textile Operatives, the International Mule Spinners' Association, the Amalgamated Lace Operatives, the Tapestry and Carpet Workers' Union and the Knit Goods Workers' Union of Philadelphia. Each of these organizations pays to the parent body a per capita tax of one cent per member per month. According to press reports, the Amalgamation Conference decided to appoint a joint committee, upon which Weisbord is represented, to meet on June 19 to arrange for a second conference. The Passaic United Front Committee will have to choose between entering a dual organization, with the possibility of increasing the difficulties of affiliating with the A. F. of L., or waiting until it can join the United Textile Workers, the bona fide A. F. of L. union.

LITHOGRAPHIC FRONTIERS

How industrial progress may play havoc with the crafts recognized within the American Federation of Labor is well illustrated in the current controversy between the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the Amalgamated Association of Litho-

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The Story of the Painters Union

I.—The Great Split

By Louis Silverstein

A STATE of agitation characterized the American labor movement in the eighties of the last century. The belief in the necessity for national unions drawing into their fold local bodies of the same craft grew apace. The painters were swept along on the wave of the new enthusiasm, and in 1887 organized what was then known as the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America. (In 1894 the word "Paperhangers" was inserted in the title.)

The leader behind this move was a painter in New York City by the name of John T. Elliott. He had been active in advocating the formation of a national body of his craft, the first local union of which dated back to 1815. In 1871 he was instrumental in founding the Grand Lodge of Painters of America. In spite of its grandiloquent title, it consisted of but six unions—four in New York, one in Brooklyn and another in Paterson, N. J. But it lasted only five years. The New York unions would not permit the Patterson workers to operate in New York without paying a fee, and the New Jerseyites would not agree to that brand of unionism. Another attempt immediately afterward at forming a national organization also failed on account of the position taken by the New Yorkers. But the agitation did not subside either among the independent unions or within the Knights of Labor, where it was carried on under cover on account of the opposition of the latter to the principle of national craft unions. As a result of correspondence among organizations in various parts of the country Union No. 1 was formed in Baltimore in 1887. It was granted the authority to issue charters and call together an initial meeting to take place in Baltimore on March 15 of the same year. John T. Elliott was most energetic in bringing this about. Samuel Gompers, as president of the American Federation of Labor, and P. J. McGuire, as secretary of the Carpenters' Union, lent a helping hand.

The inaugural conference took place as planned. Thirteen organizations, representing about six hundred members, had delegates there. But the real strength of the movement was even greater than might be inferred from these figures. Many friends could not yet ally themselves openly because of the antagonism of the Knights of Labor. Joseph Harold of Newark was made General President, and John T. Elliott, who had gone to Baltimore, General Secretary. An executive board of five was chosen from among the members of the Baltimore local as the most convenient method of selection.

It was this arrangement that was the immediate cause for the split in the union ranks. In the Pittsburgh convention of 1890 much discontent had come to the fore because the executive board members were not selected from different portions of the country. The administration machine, however, won the day. Two years later at the General Assembly in St. Louis the tables were turned. The opposition succeeded in gaining a majority vote for the removal of the general office to St. Louis and the establishment of a scattered board system. But Elliott and his friends found this unpalatable, for they had begun to look upon the union as a vested interest of theirs. They approached the newly elected president, J. W. McKinney, of Chicago, to help them in retaining headquarters at Baltimore. Upon his refusal to join their conspiracy they opened a venomous attack upon him and the St. Louis locals. The offices and the funds remained in their control, and, therefore, members who did not wish to sacrifice the death, disability and wife funeral benefits, which the Brotherhood had adopted at the very beginning of its existence, had to fall in line. It was, therefore, with much anxiety

that the delegates came to the Fourth General Assembly in Buffalo, August, 1894. Elliott opened by bitterly assailing McKinney in his report. The former then declined to stand for election as secretary-treasurer, since he did not desire to leave his home in Baltimore. McKinney was chosen in his place. Two factions thus cropped up within the union.

At the close of this Buffalo convention, Elliott and his followers caucused and decided not to relinquish their control over the general office. In vain did McKinney try to negotiate a settlement and failing, set up his headquarters at La Fayette, Indiana, in accordance with a referendum vote of the members. The battle was now on in earnest. The Baltimore clique had the advantage in that they controlled the funds. They, therefore, proceeded—and it appears illegally—to call a special convention to meet in Cleveland in December, 1894. Here McKinney was expelled from the Brotherhood and the Buffalo General Assembly was declared illegal. For the next few years the matter was bandied back and forth between sessions of the annual convention and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. In all cases Elliott, who was friendly with the Federation officials, was sustained. Still, efforts to work out a practical rather than a legalistic solution of the difficulties were never let up. McKinney and the other officials of the La Fayette group constantly maintained that they were willing to give up office if Elliott and his group did likewise. The latter, however, were irreconcilable.

In the end the split became unbearable. The Painters became disorganized, their economic position suffered as a consequence and the number of members declined. Even court proceedings were shamelessly instituted by each side. As the factions fought for representation in city central bodies, labor organizations began to divide on the question. It became a perennial topic at A. F. of L. conventions.

The high handedness of Elliott had its reaction, however. From the first McKinney was supported by his own local in Chicago, which granted him funds. Little by little other unions joined him. Then a split occurred within the ranks of the Baltimore

faction. There were accusations of irregularities in office. The officials refused to call a special convention in accordance with the constitution in order to air the charges. Thirty-five locals in different parts of the country, led by John St. Leger of Cleveland, decided to meet anyway and called a special general assembly to convene in Cleveland, December 6, 1897. The McKinneyites, declaring that they were ready to give up office, agreed to meet at the same time and place. The upshot was that the two groups united, McKinney and his fellow-officers resigned and a new set of officials was elected, giving each side equal representation.

Even then the dispute would not have been settled, for Elliott was just as resolute as ever, and he was skillful enough a politician to continue his hold on a sufficient number of the members to make the position of the La Fayette group insecure. But he had become a very sick man and at the special convention which he had called at Buffalo in March, 1898, he insisted upon withdrawing from office. There was no one who was willing to replace him, and so he was once more re-elected. In January, 1900, ill health forced him to retire permanently. Two years later death removed him as a disturbing factor.

With Elliott out of the way, the road was open to unity. The new administration with headquarters at Syracuse, N. Y., was conciliatory. By the terms of a referendum submitted to the general membership of both factions a peace conference was held at Washington, D. C. in June, 1900. Representatives of each side and of the A. F. of L. were present. The members affiliated with each "brotherhood" were to vote upon a slate of officers named by each side, the place for headquarters and the constitution the brotherhood was to follow. The ballots were to be counted at the offices of the A. F. of L. in Washington. In the referendum that followed the La Fayette faction won on every count. W. S. De Vaux of St. Louis became General President, and Frank Heenan of Chicago, Secretary-Treasurer. The first united convention took place at Detroit in 1901. The work of reconstruction had now to begin.

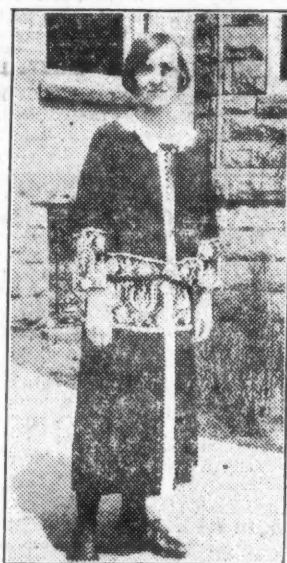
(To be continued next week)

Margery Swett Mansfield Is Winner Of New Leader \$100 Poetry Prize

THE annual New Leader-Chatterbox Poetry Contest has been won by Margery Swett Mansfield. The three judges, Joseph T. Shipley, Floyd Dell and E. Ralph Cheney, awarded Miss Mansfield the \$100 prize this week for her poem, "The Mountain Dwellers," which appears in the Chatterbox column on page 10 of this issue.

More than seven hundred poets from all over the country and a number abroad entered poems in the competition, which was made possible through a donation by Samuel A. DeWitt, conductor of the Chatterbox. The three judges were so enthusiastic over the results of the competition and the fine poems it brought forth that DeWitt has decided to continue the poetry competition as an annual feature of The New Leader.

Miss Mansfield was born in Chicago. She has engaged in newspaper work for about seven years, coming to New York city to live last July. For three years she was business manager of "Poetry," a magazine of verse. She has contributed poems to Atlantic, Poetry, The New Republic, Bookman,



Margery Swett Mansfield

the Saturday Literary Review and other periodicals.

"The fusion in my mind of the two environments, New York and the Rockies, produced the idea of 'The Mountain Dwellers,'" Miss Mansfield says.

Finn Unions Reject Political Domination; Communists Losers

Labor Doings Abroad

AGITATION by the Socialist elements in the Finnish Federation of Labor bore good fruit at the national convention held in Helsinki, May 3 to 8. Although only seventeen of the seventy-five delegates were avowed Socialists, they presented their arguments so forcefully that many of the nominal Communists and some non-partisans voted for several of their proposals and put them across. Among these was a resolution that the national Federation and the local unions must remain independent from all political parties, must not give them financial support and must not undertake any work properly belonging to a political group. In view of the former Communist domination of the Federation, this is counted as a Socialist victory.

The Socialists succeeded in having the 1922 resolution in favor of affiliation with the Red Trade Union International (which had never been put into effect) rescinded, but the vote for affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions was only 15 against 52. Then the convention declared itself to be in principle in favor of an international conference to discuss the question of a single unified trade union international. The leaders of the national center were charged to continue the negotiations inaugurated by the Anglo-Russian Committee. For the present, the center decided not to affiliate with any trade union international, but it called upon the constituent unions to affiliate with their competent international trade secretariats.

The relations already existing between the Finnish and the Scandinavian trade union organizations are to be fostered and extended.

The General Council was empowered to appoint representatives of the national center to attend the International Labor Conference at Geneva. (Representatives had been appointed in previous years, but always with violent protests on the part of the extreme Communist elements.)

Matti Paasivuori, president of the Social Democratic Party, who was expelled from the General Council when Communist influence was at its height, was elected chairman of that body.

Much attention was devoted by the Congress to future propaganda work, which is to be done in the local branches with the assistance of the national leaders. The National Center will co-operate with the Workers' Educational Union to make the educational work more intensive.

SWEDISH UNIONS CONTINUE TO GROW

Reports from the Swedish Federation of Labor show that the unions in Sweden continued to grow rapidly last year, the total membership on Dec. 31, 1925, being 334,617, a gain of 24,289 over the same date of 1924.

The largest union is the Metal Workers, with 70,998 members. Then come the Factory Workers with 43,352; the Railwaymen with 34,872; the Sawmillworkers with 33,354 and the Paperworkers with 21,135 members.

As the trade union headquarters in Stockholm had long been too small for the needs of the organization, the National Center has purchased a palatial building near the old headquarters and had it reconstructed.

DANISH GENERAL COUNCIL IN SESSION

Reports presented to the 165 members of the General Council of the Danish Federation of Labor at their

annual meeting in Copenhagen on May 10 and 11 showed that there had been a gain of 2,681 by the fifty unions in the Federation last year, making a total membership of 229,704 on December 31, 1925.

A resolution was passed deploring the decision last September of the General Unskilled Workers' Association, numbering 85,000 members, to leave the Federation of Labor on Nov. 1, this year and urging the Association to reconsider its action. Unions still outside the Federation were invited to affiliate without delay.

As reported at the time by cable, the General Council voted 50,000 crowns (at 26 cents apiece) weekly for the assistance of the British strikers. The General Council passed a resolution approving the activities of the Socialist Government headed by Premier Stauning.

AUSTRIAN LABOR BANK MAKES GREAT PROGRESS

The Austrian Labor Bank is making good at just as rapid a pace as its sister institution in Germany.

When Dr. Karl Renner, its president, reported to a general meeting of the delegates of the co-operatives controlling it on April 28, in Vienna, he was able to tell of an increase in deposits during 1925 of 8,000,000 schillings (at 14c. each), bringing the total on Dec. 31 last up to about 22,000,000. Savings deposits rose from 350,000 schillings to 1,050,000 in spite of the difficult financial situation of the great mass of Austrian workers. The bank's capitalization has been increased from 500,000 to 1,000,000 schillings and it is a partner in a number of the productive and credit enterprises of the Austrian co-operatives. The Labor Bank was established three years ago.

FIMMEN INVESTIGATES BALKAN CONDITIONS

Directly after attending the Balkan Trade Union Conference in Sofia in April as a representative of the International Transport Workers Federation, Edg. Fimmen, General Secretary of that organization, had an interview with representatives of the railwaymen's unions of Bulgaria and Greece and the Dockers' Union of Rumania.

Full reports on the situation of the transport workers in the Balkan countries were given and with a view to furthering the activities of the unions in these countries, it was decided to associate the unions affiliated with the I. T. F. in a Balkan Conference. Issy, Secretary of the Bulgarian Railwaymen's Union, was appointed secretary. The task of the new organization will be to give mutual support to affiliated organizations, to carry on propaganda for the affiliation of unions not yet belonging to the I. T. F. and to organize transport workers' unions where there are none.

The Yugoslav Railwaymen's Union, which is also affiliated with the I. T. F., had appointed a delegate to attend the meeting, but he was not allowed by the Yugoslav Government to leave the country.

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Amusements

DRAMA

EVELYN HERBERT



Prima donna of the latest and newest revue on Broadway, which opened at the Imperial Theatre Tuesday night.

"The Merry World" Is Indeed Merry

Fun, Frolic and Comedy Pre-dominate in New Revue at the Imperial Theatre

WITH much flavor from the English music-halls and a goodly sprinkling of talented players well known in London, the newest of the Broadway revues was ushered in Tuesday night by the Messrs. Shubert this time in association with the London producer, Albert de Courville.

This new production at the Imperial Theatre, although intended as a summer entertainment, contains many amusing features, good humor, a number of talented comedians who can make you laugh, some good hoovers, a regiment of good looking girls and, above all, many principals who can be termed artists in the line of good entertainers.

Four people are credited with the music: Maurie Rubens, J. Fred Coots, Herman Hupfeld and Sam Timberg. Many of the numbers have melody and show originality. A catchy number is the finale of the first act, and another, a beautiful and catchy song titled "The Gates of Paradise," a gorgeous number in gold latticework representing the gates to married bliss, well sung by Dorothy Whitmore and Alexander Gray.

Though the production is massive and pretentious an intimate touch is added through the excellent work of Grace Glover, an English artist of talent, who has the role of confidante. Of the comedians who bear the brunt of laughs there is Emil Boree, who has several numbers that bring well deserved applause. Deszo Retter, who brings down the house with his one-man wrestling match, and his tumbling and clowning.

Evelyn Herbert and Grace Hayes carry away the honors with their gracious and spirited singing. Morris Harvey, another artist from abroad, gives many and diverse characterizations in the numerous skits—and does these as only an artist can. Lola Raine has many of the feminine roles in the same sketches to her credit. Then there is Lily Long, Donald Cathop, Edwin Lawrence and Bernard Dudley, who deserve much credit for the success of many numbers.

Watson Barratt has designed some gorgeous settings. The finale, a masterpiece of color, based on the garden and fountain scene in the park at Versailles easily carried away the honors. And there are seven or eight scenes that are lavish and colorful.

Altogether there is a fully three hours of crowded entertainment, some of it fast and furious. And if the theatregoer can use his mind to receive his fun and entertainment, this revue should not be missed. It is not only good summer relaxation, but much of the pleasure in the many skits and situations are stimulating to the mind, and relaxing to the vision—for the producers have crowded the show with a large company of good-looking girls. And a merry time was had by all.

The Labor Plays of Sean O'Casey

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE plays of Sean O'Casey have stirred more than the casual interest of the theatre; the riots that greeted "The Playboy of the Western World" were renewed for these tense tragedies of Irish life today. It is evident, therefore, that the plays touch the people closely and reflect the conditions of Irish life with fidelity. True to the essential mysticism of the Irish spirit, they excite vehement partisanship not merely by their portrayal of the political quarrels of the land—"The Plough and the Stars" is set during the 1916 uprising, "Juno and the Paycock" during the 1922 strike; they are provocative by virtue of that seeking for the soul which so exasperates the debate, yet that is essential to their exaltation.

The negro of the United States, cowed into continuing ignorance by frightened bullies and ignorant provincials, has preserved his soul through what E. Ralph Cheyney so well calls "the lance of laughter and the shield of song." The racial consciousness of the negro has been spiritual rather than political; the recent negro renaissance in this country has therefore produced many artists, but few leaders or statesmen, and little united activity toward the assumption of due place in our "democracy."

The Irish are the negroes of the British Isles; but their race-consciousness takes the form of a sense of national need, an attempt at political solidarity. Therefore the revival of the Celtic language, and the recent flowering of Irish literature, have not captured the imagination of all those who have fared to arms for Ireland. As a consequence, the Irish are less ready to admit that they are perhaps not wholly fit to assume the responsibility of self-government (a burden no nation is wholly fit to bear; see what a mess we've made!); they are right in pointing out that to give a land self-government when it has learned to rule itself (as we so piously intend with the Philippines) is as wise as not letting a child go into the water until it has learned to swim; but they will not always recognize that one can learn to swim in better ways than the dog-paddle-and-splash. Thus the remark that "Ireland sober is Ireland free" is a sad commentary on a condition that Ireland must face.

The plays of Sean O'Casey look straight and clearly at the facts of Irish life. All of them are profound and deeply tragic studies of the poorer Irish home, and its impending dissolution, but in this respect "Juno and the Paycock" is especially powerful, with Boyle staggering in dead drunk after the complete collapse of his family, the son shot for having betrayed a comrade, the daughter pregnant and deserted, the mother staunch but helpless—and "The Paycock" Boyle immunized by alcoholic poisoning from all serious concerns.

There are, interspersed in the stories, many vivid pictures of the upheavals of the times. The spirit behind the strike gleams in Mary's chat with her mother, Juno:

MRS. BOYLE—Ah, wear whatever ribbon you like, girl, only don't be botherin' me. I don't know what a girl on strike wants to be wearin' a ribbon round her head for or silk stockin's on her legs either; it's wearin' them things that make the employers think they're givin' you too much money.

MARY—The hour is past now when we'll ask the employers' permission to wear what we like.

MRS. BOYLE—I don't know why you wanted to walk out for Jennie Claffey; up to this you never had a good word for her.

MARY—What's the use of belonging to a Trades Union if you won't stand up for your principles? Why did they sack her? It was a clear case of vic-

"Two Plays," "The Plough and the Stars," by Sean O'Casey. Includes "Juno and the Paycock" and "The Shadow of a Gunman." Macmillan: \$2.00 each.

SEAN O'CASEY



Author of the much-discussed Labor and Socialist plays recently produced here and abroad.

"Grand Street Follies" Tuesday at Neighborhood Playhouse

"The Grand Street Follies of 1926," the fourth of the annuals, will open next Tuesday evening at the Neighborhood Playhouse.

The book and lyrics are by Agnes Morgan, the music by Lily Hyland, Arthur Schwartz, Randall Thompson, and Walter Haenschel; settings and costumes by Aline Bernstein; music directed by Harold Barlow; dances directed by Irene Lewisohn.

The cast includes the permanent company of the Playhouse: Albert Carroll, Otto Hullebusch, Marc Loebl, Lily Lubell, Ian MacLaren, Harold Miner, John F. Roche, Dorothy Sands, Blanche Talmud and Paula Trueman, and the following players: Vera Allen, Helen Arthur, William Beyer, Wesley Boynton, Grover Burgess, Frances Cowles, Jessica Dragonette, Edla Frankau, Juliette Gauthier, George Heller, George Hoag, George Knisely, Irene Lewisohn, Junius Matthews, Lewis McMichael, Tom Morgan, Mae Noble, Lois Shore and Sadie Sussman.

Universal to Build Up Chain of 1,000 Theatres

Universal, which has been busy this spring acquiring theatres, is striving for a chain of 1,000 houses, 750 more than it now has as an outlet for its pictures, according to Al Fair, Universal chain-theatre head.

"The theatres to be built or acquired by the Carl Laemmle organization will be of the ultra-modern type, located in key cities and towns," he announces.

"It is not Mr. Laemmle's policy to build in communities that already have sufficient theatres, however. We now have a corps of experts operating throughout the country negotiating for new theatres or the purchase of property to build on. It is of special interest to note that we are planning extensive operations in factory and industrial centers where we plan theatres to be run for the working people."

Bertha Kalich Plans Extensive Tour for Next Season

Bertha Kalich will wind up her tour in Sudermann's "Magda" this week. She will rest for the summer, and early in the fall she will work her way to the Pacific Coast in a repertoire which will include "Magda," "The Riddle Woman," "Marta of the Lowlands," and "Monna Vanna." From California, Mme. Kalich plans to sail for Australia. When she returns to New York she expects to appear in a new play, "The Diversions of an Empress," by Louis N. Parker.

Marie Chambers, who has played the leading feminine role in "Is Zat So?" since it opened, sails on the Savile for Paris, where, it is reported, she will make a French version of "Is Zat So?" for Georges Carpentier. Ann Winston will play Miss Chambers' role in "Is Zat So?"

ALBERT CARROLL



A member of the permanent company of the Neighborhood Playhouse, who will be seen and heard in the new "Grand Street Follies" which opens Tuesday night.

THEATRES

WINTER GARDEN'S

NEWEST AND
GREATEST REVUE

THE GREAT TEMPTATIONS

With a Star Cast of International Favorites including Sensations from Paris
Company of 200
Evenings at 8:30
Matinee Tues., Thurs. & Sat.

WINTER GARDEN

SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT
Always the Best Sunday Entertainment in Town
STARS from the LEADING BROADWAY MUSICAL SUCCESSSES and OTHER HEADLINE ACTS
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CASINO DE PARIS
52nd & Central Park West, Century Bldg.
Phone Col. 8800. Evs. 8:30. Smoking Permitted
MATS. THURSDAY & SATURDAY, 2:30
THE SENSATIONAL REVUE HIT!
"If you're not a good sailor, see



at home! If you are a good sailor, you'll be a better one for seeing it!"

590 TIMES

IN NEW YORK

The Comedy Knockout

IS ZAT SO?
by James Gleason and Richard Taylor
Chanin's 46th St. Theatre
Evenings Only at 8:15

McEvoy's "Americana" with Wm. Collier at Belmont June 28

Richard Herndon has decided to present J. E. McEvoy's "Americana," an intimate revue, of which his satirical sketches would form the nucleus. Mr. Herndon's little Belmont Theatre in 48th street will house the production opening on June 28.

The satirical tomfoolery of Mr. McEvoy will furnish the backbone of the revue with William Collier as master of ceremonies. A swank and intimate entertainment is promised, with comedy, music and dancing in abundance. Georgia Ingram, who was the premier danseuse of Alexandre Gavrilov's Ballet Revue, recently produced here, will be one of the highlights of the terpsichorean side of "Americana," and composers who will be represented with musical numbers are George Gershwin, Con Conrad, Henry Souvain, Walter Donaldson, James Hanley and Isham Jones. The costumes and scenery are being designed by John Held, Jr., and promise to be the last word in originality and charm.

Broadway Briefs

"The French Mot" will be reopened by Alessandro Bacchi Monday at the Grove Street Theatre, with twenty-five models as a background.

Basil Rathbone Monday night entered the cast of "The Importance of Being Earnest" at the Ritz Theatre. He succeeded Vernon Steele.

The Guy Sisters and J. C. Flippen of "The Great Temptations" and thirty-six Gertrude Hoffmann Girls from "A Night in Paris" are featured at the Cafe de Paris in the Century Theatre Building.

A. H. Woods denies the announcement that Russell Mack has purchased the rights to "Lonely Wives." Mr. Woods says that the piece still is to him.

The Playshop, sponsor of "Not Herbert," has bought "The White Collie," by David Sturges, and will present it for the first production of its new season in August. Jane Cowl was at one time interested in playing the leading role in this piece.

IMPERIAL Theatre, 46th St. West of E'way. EVENINGS 8:30. Matinee Wed. and Sat.

"The Revue the Merry World Has Been Waiting For"
THE NEW INTERNATIONAL REVUE

MERRY WORLD

Cast of American and European Stars and Ensemble of Supreme Beauties



SELWYN THEATRE
ALWOODS and ARCH SELWYN present
THE ORIENTAL FAKIR
RAHMAN BEY
in a demonstration of
THE MIRACLES of FAKIRISM
A series of astounding experiments that have baffled and amazed scientists and thrilled thousands in Paris and London.

"Exceedingly cheerful evening in the theatre."
—Woolcott, World.

OSCAR WILDE'S GAYEST COMEDY

The IMPORTANCE of BEING EARNEST

WITH BRILLIANT ACTORS' THEATRE CAST

RITZ THEATRE WEST 48TH STREET EVENINGS 8:40
MATINEES WED. AND SAT., 2:40

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

"AS GOOD AS THOSE OF 1925—AND THEN SOME!"
—E. V. Osborn, Eve. World.

THE GARRICK GAITIES of 1926

"MOST INTELLIGENT REVUE IN TOWN."
—J. Brooks Atkinson, Times.
GARRICK THEA. 65 West 55th St. Evs. 8:30
Mats. THURS. & SAT., 2:40

AT MRS. BEAM'S

A Comedy by C. K. MUNRO
GUILD THEA. West 52nd St. Evenings 8:40
Matinee THURS. & SAT., 2:40

Plymouth Theatre

West 45th St. Evs. 8:30 Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

POPULAR MATINEE THURSDAY

WINTHROP AMES presents GILBERT & SULLIVAN'S

IOLANTHE

"I have yet to see an opera cast so perfectly—don't miss 'Iolanthe'!"—Samuel Chotzinoff in "N.Y. World."

THE PATSY

Barry Connors' Delightful Comedy with CLAIBORNE FOSTER
Now in its Seventh Month
BOOTH TH. 45th W. Evs. 8:20. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

The Workers' Theatre will hold its second public meeting this Friday night in its studio, 54 Washington Square South. Mossaye Olgin, editor of the Jewish Hammer, and John Howard Lawson will speak on "The Function of the Workers' Theatre in America." Afterward the topic will be discussed by Rose Pastor Stokes, Helen Black, Lewis Browne, John Dos Passos and William Gropper.

GRANT MITCHELL



Gives a delightful and amusing performance in "One of the Family," the Kenneth Webb comedy now current at the Eltinge Theatre.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"SCANDALS," George White's annual revue, will open at the Apollo Theatre Monday night. The cast includes Ann Pennington, Willie and Eugene Howard, Tom Patricola, Harry Richmond, Buster West, Frances Williams, the McCarthy Sisters, the Fairbanks Twins, Fowler and Tamar, Lloyd Garrett, Arthur Gordon, Rose Perfect, John Wells, Bernardo De Pace, Jane Sells, James Carty, the Scott Sisters, Flo Brooks, James Miller and George White's ballet.

TUESDAY

"THE GRAND STREET FOLLIES OF 1926" will open Tuesday evening at the Neighborhood Playhouse. The book and lyrics are by Agnes Morgan, the music by Lily Hyland, Arthur Schwartz, Randall Thompson, and Walter Haenschel; settings and costumes by Aline Bernstein.

WEDNESDAY

"PRUNELLA," by Granville Barker and Lawrence Housman, will be presented by the Theatre Guild School for special matinees at the Garrick Theatre beginning Wednesday afternoon. Winthrop Ames directed the production and Kate Lawson designed the costumes and scenery. In the cast are Sylvia Sidney, Ben Lockland, Ellen Dorr, John Byrne, Mary Virginia Heinlein and Earl McDonald.

THURSDAY

"THE MAN FROM TORONTO" will be presented by Bannister and Powell in association with Miller and Goldreyer at the Selwyn Theatre Thursday evening, June 17. This is a comedy by Douglas Murray which enjoyed a London success. The players include Beatrice Hendricks, Curtis Cooksey, Gavin Muir, George Graham, Lois Sanders, Ethel Martin, Marion Stephenson, Marion Hungerford and Peg Entwistle.

THEATRES

THE NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE

400 GRAND STREET. Telephone DRY DOCK 7914.

OPENING TUESDAY EVENING

AT 8.30

THE GRAND STREET FOLLIES

Every Evening (except Monday). Matinees, Saturday, June 19 and 26, and Friday, July 2 and 10

SHUBERT THEATRE, WEST 44TH STREET

MATS. WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY

FLORENCE REED IN
"THE SHANGHAI GESTURE"

400 GOOD SEATS AT \$1.00 ORCHESTRA, \$2.50 BALCONY, \$1.50, \$2.00, \$2.50, \$3.00

DRAMA

Truth All Revealed

"The Half-Naked Truth" Is Typically Broadway at the Mayfair Theatre

IN "The Half-Naked Truth," a comedy by N. Brewster Morse, which Mabel Ryan is presenting at the Mayfair, a good title and a good idea go Broadway. The situation gives promise of genuine comedy, and indeed is throughout amusing and entertaining, but it wins its points by catering to the cheaper feelings, through the cheaper devices.

Out of the funeral that opens the play, the mood rises rather naturally to the comic level, and the chance for a good character study presents itself, when the "loafer and bum" Charlie Smith finds himself the sole support of his east side New York family. The possibilities are more truly tragic, but the author turns instantly toward comedy by introducing another unrelated Smith into the household, for the redemption of Charlie, and for the ultimate clutch. From this point the persons of the play are caricatures: the neighbor, the artist—such pretensions are perhaps possible, but this one is both a fake and a real artist; did she not create "Civic Virtue"? ... beg pardon, "Ascending Hercules," and it's in Central Park, too, not City Hall—but James Stephens himself would have to be quite drunk to produce such a park policeman, and the newspaper reporters are either written by one who never saw a reporter, or one who thinks his audiences probably never saw a reporter at work. These elements add a measure of unconscious humor to the sev-

JUDITH ANDERSON



Is appearing at the Palace this week in a playlet titled "Thieves," from the pen of Vincent Lawrence

eral effective moments in the play, and the evening passes pleasantly enough. Though the shrewd playgoer can guess the device by which the hero proves himself free from the taint his sweet-heart suspects, and re-establishes himself as a hundred per cent. he-man, it would be cruel to deprive any who may wish to see the play of that measure of surprise. The last lines of the acts are well chosen, and leave a good taste in the mouth, four times at scene-ends. So the departure is tinged only with the regret that the author changed what might have been a sober and sombre study of the defeat of a weak character in the family struggle, into a frail slip of a comedy.

W. L.

MUSIC

Salzburg Festival This Summer to Be Gala Event

FROM Vienna comes the complete details of this summer's Salzburg Festival. It opens with a historical church concert at the cathedral on August 7, and ends on August 29. Bruno Walter will conduct "Entführung" on August 9 and 29 and Schalk "Don Giovanni" on August 10 and 22. Alois Mira, from the Dresden Opera, will sing the leading roles in "Aida," "Cavalleria Rusticana," "La Juive" and "Madame Butterfly" in Berlin, Hamburg and other cities of the Continent.

Dusolina Giannini, during her visit to Europe, will sing the leading roles in "Aida," "Cavalleria Rusticana," "La Juive" and "Madame Butterfly" in Berlin, Hamburg and other cities of the Continent.

Grand opera is to be given in Starlight Park, the Bronx, on Saturday and Sunday nights for the time being, with the next performances by the Popular Grand Opera Company, conducted by Edward Lebegott, set for the week end of June 12 and 13.

Music Notes

The ninth season of the Goldman band concerts, under the direction of Edwin Franko Goldman, will begin Monday evening at 8.15 at New York University grounds and continue for a period of ten weeks, until August 20. The concerts will take place on Monday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday evenings.

Dusolina Giannini, during her visit to Europe, will sing the leading roles in "Aida," "Cavalleria Rusticana," "La Juive" and "Madame Butterfly" in Berlin, Hamburg and other cities of the Continent.

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RICHARD BARTHELMLESS



Featured player in a new film "Ransom's Folly," coming to Moss Broadway Theatre next Monday.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Ohio

Comrade John G. Willert, State Secretary, reports the organization of a new Lithuanian Branch at Akron, Ohio, with 14 members, and orders a big batch of dues stamps and urges readers of the American Appeal to get busy and co-operate fully with him.

Wyoming

Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis organized a local with 11 members at Cheyenne on her way back to the Sunny West from the National Convention.

Utah

Comrade O. A. Kennedy, Secretary of Rocky Mountain District, has taken hold of the work again and is putting in his time building the Party and increasing the number of readers of the American Appeal in the States of Arizona, New Mexico, Wyoming and Utah. Readers of the American Appeal should get in touch with him and help. Write O. A. Kennedy, 2422 Kiesel avenue, Ogden, Utah.

Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis held a good meeting in Ogden.

Indiana

After the most successful State Convention Indiana has held for several years, the comrades are back to their homes again, ready for an extensive campaign during the summer and fall months. Reports are beginning to arrive already with subscriptions to the American Appeal. The Indiana Socialists, having lost the official standing of the Party in the last general election, are determined to win it back by rolling up a big vote in that State in this fall's election.

Wisconsin

The Socialists of Wisconsin, under the leadership of State Secretary William Coleman, are making big plans at their headquarters in Brisbane Hall for their State Convention, which will be held June 12 and 13. An important program included the nomination of State candidates for the next election.

Illinois

Comrade Wm. R. Snow has reported arrangements for the Press Picnic Sunday afternoon, June 20, at River View Park. Comrade William Coleman of Wisconsin will speak. Other speakers will be the well-known Oscar Ameringer, editor of the Illinois Miner. These two comrades will be ably assisted by Leo Kryszak, Organizer and National Board Member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union and formerly Under-Sheriff of Milwaukee County.

Pennsylvania

The Philadelphia comrades are doing fine work, according to recent reports. They issue a monthly bulletin that gives all news of party activities during the past month. Readers of the American Appeal in that city should get in touch with headquarters, located at 303 Labor Institute, third floor.

Meadville, Pa.—Comrade M. M. Bartholomew writes that while he is only 82 years young, he is ready to help organize a Socialist local there. He thinks the time is ripe. Just to show he is getting younger every day, he sends in some new subscribers to the American Appeal.

Daleyton, Pa.—The Finnish Branch at Daleyton informs the National Headquarters that they have appointed two agents to gather subs for the American Appeal, and requests official blanks to be used in their work.

Texas

Comrade Walter M. Kennedy, of Brady, Texas, writes us for information on party work. He is ready to assist in the reorganization of the party in Texas. Readers of the American Appeal in that State should all help the State Secretary, Comrade M. A. Smith, 3016 Pennsylvania avenue, Dallas.

Missouri

Comrade Garver, State Secretary of Missouri, informs the National Office that they have filed a complete State ticket for the fall election. For United States Senator, R. D. Morrison, of Milan; Superintendent of Public Schools, H. C. Harrison, Warrensburg; Judge of Supreme Court, John Gardner, Nixa; and Congressional nominees in nearly all the Congressional districts of the State.

Oklahoma

Ben F. Pardue, of Willis, Okla., informs the National Office that he is ready and willing to help build the party movement in Oklahoma and put a complete State ticket in the field for the fall election. He sends in some new readers for the American Appeal.

New Mexico

W. F. Richardson, of Roswell, New Mexico, orders a large bundle of Socialist books, 100 Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam, and a bundle of American Appeals. This comrade is proof of perpetual motion. He never stops. Watch New Mexico come to the front.

Kentucky

John L. Wrather, of Mayfield, Ky., sends in three yearly and six half-yearly subscriptions to the American Appeal, and asks for data covering the western half of his State, with the hope that he may visit that section and do party work and gather subs for the American Appeal.

New England

The New England District Executive Committee, at its last meeting on Sunday, June 6, adopted a resolution of thanks to S. P. Levenberg for his vigorous and self-sacrificing management of the District Office as voluntary secretary. When Comrade Levenberg became secretary, the finances were the lowest yet in the history of the district, but during his tenure of office he not merely paid all bills, but increased the amount of money in the bank by nearly \$200.

His resignation was only accepted with regret, owing to the fact that Alfred Baker Lewis has returned to the district to take up the work of district secretary on full time.

Maryland

A state convention of the Socialist Party was held Thursday, June 3, at Baltimore and the following were nominated for a state ticket: Governor, Dr. P. G. Dill, of Baltimore; U. S. Senate, William A. Toole; Comptroller, Dr. James L. Smiley, Annapolis; Attorney-General, John A. Orman, Baltimore; Clerk of Court of Appeals, John A. Baker, Baltimore.

The convention also adopted a state platform, resolutions protesting against the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti, and urging party members to subscribe to The New Leader and the American Appeal.

The state secretary reports a Local reorganized in Cumberland, and very good prospects for organization work in the state. We expect to have a full Congressional ticket this fall.

New Jersey

State Committee meeting Sunday, June 13, at 2 p. m.

Hudson County Committee meeting, Monday, June 14, at 8 p. m.

State Secretary Leemann has called our attention to an error in our announcement of the New Jersey State Convention. This is intended as a convention of the entire Party membership of the state. Although official delegates will be elected by every branch, all other Party members in good standing may attend the convention and will have a voice AND VOTE. However, this will put the locals in distant parts of the state somewhat at a disadvantage in the voting, as not so many of their members will be able to attend the convention. It was, therefore, provided that whenever a total of five official delegates representing three different counties demand it, any question must be decided by the official delegates only, thus equalizing the voting power of the nearby and distant locals.

New York State

Organizer Emil Herman will spend the month of June working under the joint auspices of Local Buffalo and the State Committee. Herman effected the reorganization of Local Jamestown on June 1. The difficulty, Herman finds, is getting members to agree to attend meetings. This reluctance to attend meetings, however, is not peculiar to Socialists, but is found among trade unionists and the members of fraternal organizations throughout the country.

Some upstate Locals have already filed the names of their delegates and alternates to the state convention. Albany will be represented by James C. Sheehan as delegate and Harry Gilliland as alternate. Glens Falls by Benjamin Leon Burke, delegate; David Linehan, alternate. Schenectady by Chas. W. Noonan, Theresa B. Wiley and Sanni Tuori Robinson, delegates; Karl Auteré, Hawley B. Van Vechten and DeLacy Duke, alternates. Buffalo by James Battistoni and Martin E. Heiler, delegates; Robert A. Hoffman and Herman Hahn, alternates. Syracuse by Fred and Eima Sander, delegates; Henry Hotze and Frank Babcock, alternates. Poughkeepsie by Edward H. MacDonald and Claude Cumber, delegate and alternate, respectively. Kingston-Sheriff (Oneida) by Chas. H. Rich and Edith N. Ingles, as delegate and alternate. The only Greater New York county to file is Queens, which will be represented by Harry T. Smith and Ernest Welsh as delegates and James Oneal and Israel Goldin as alternates.

All locals are expected to file their selections by June 15.

STREET MEETINGS

Manhattan
Friday, June 11—Corner Clinton Street and East Broadway. Speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley and Abraham Scall.
Monday, June 14—Corner 109th Street

and Broadway. Speaker: Esther Friedman. Ben Goodman, chairman.

Tuesday, June 15—Corner Seventh Street and Avenue B. Speakers: Tim Murphy and August Claessens. Corner 112th Street and Lenox Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and Jacob Bernstein.

Wednesday, June 16—Corner 133rd Street and Lenox Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and V. C. Gaspar.
Thursday, June 17—Corner 10th Street and Second Avenue. Speaker: Esther Friedman. Ben Goodman, chairman.

Friday, June 18—Corner Clifton Street and East Broadway. Speakers: Tim Murphy and I. Korn.

Bronx
Monday, June 14—Corner 141st Street and St. Ann's Avenue. Speakers: Tim Murphy and Ethelred Brown.

Brooklyn
Friday, June 11—Corner Pitkin Avenue and Bristol Street. Speakers: Tim Murphy and William Karlin. Corner Dumont and Thatford Avenues. Sacco and Vanzetti protest meeting. Speakers: Jerome Valenti, Dominick Ruggero, Joseph Cannon, August Claessens and Max Rosen.

Saturday, June 12—Corner Havermeier and South Fourth Streets. Speakers: Tim Murphy and A. N. Weinberg.

Wednesday, June 16—Corner Knickerbocker Avenue and Stockholm Street. Speakers: Esther Friedman and J. A. Well. Corner Broadway and Monroe Street. Speakers: Tim Murphy and A. N. Weinberg.

Thursday, June 17—Corner Pulaski Street and Tompkins Avenue. Speakers: Tim Murphy and Ethelred Brown.

Friday, June 18—Corner Pitkin Avenue and Bristol Street. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and others. Corner Central Avenue and Starr Street, Sacco and Vanzetti protest meeting. Italian speakers and August Claessens.

Saturday, June 19—Corner Havermeier and South Fourth Streets. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and Tim Murphy.

Bronx

Bronx members of the Party and Verand Branches are urged to be present at a general Party meeting Friday, June 11, 1936, 8:30 p. m., at 1107 Boston Road.

Business of utmost importance to the Party in this county will be taken up. The membership drive among members in arrears is still progressing and several members have already settled all dues and are now taking active interest in Party work. This work must be continued and the Party meeting on Friday must emphasize its importance by electing other committees to forward the work along the lines already outlined.

Yipseldom

Circle 2
Circle 2 will hold an entertainment to consist of a playlet, music and dancing, on June 27. At their meeting, June 6, Sydney Rothenberg read a play, "The Beggar and the King," as his contribution to the educational program. Comrade Turgill spoke on "The Survival of the Fittest," following a discussion of whether "slaves" is too harsh a term to apply to free laborers.

Circle 2's first ambitious undertaking will be a dance on Saturday, June 12, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, at 8:30 p. m. Admission is 35 cents. A seven-piece band will furnish music. All are invited to attend.

Circle 1, Brooklyn
The Young People's Socialist League, and non-members are welcome.

"Jersey Justice" to Be L. I. D. Play

"JERSEY JUSTICE" will be the title of the L. I. D. play to be produced at Camp Tamiment, Pennsylvania, on Saturday evening, June 26, during the latter part of the June conference of the L. I. D. The play is largely the work of Solon DeLeon, assisted by Clement Wood, Samuel Friedman and others. Although the cast has not been completed, it will include the foregoing authors of the play, together with Norman Thomas, McAllister Coleman, Harry W. Laidler, Gertrude Kiell and others. The L. I. D. plays have proved during the last few years to be among the fascinating features of the L. I. D. conferences. The plan this year promises to be better than ever.

Great interest is being shown in the conference, which will be devoted primarily to "Newer Defenses of Modern Capitalism in America." The conference will be opened with a round-table discussion on Coal and Giant Power on Thursday evening, June 24. H. S. Raushenbush, author of "The Anthracite Question," and secretary of the Committee on Coal and Power, has been devoting the major part of the last year to the problem of a national program for the development of these industries in behalf of the users. He has a mass of valuable material on the subject and the Thursday evening and Friday morning sessions which he conducts are likely to be a real contribution to the subject. He will discuss the development of these industries as related both to labor and the consumer. The other sessions of the conference will be as follows:

Friday afternoon, June 25—"The Year in American Colleges." Reports will be given by Paul Blanshard regarding the work of the L. I. D. during the year. Alice Hall, of Vassar, will preside.

Friday evening, June 25—"Changing Relationships Between Property Ownership and Control." Speaker, George Soule, an editor, The New Republic; director, Labor Bureau, Inc.

Circle 1, Brooklyn, will meet Friday, June 11, at 8 p. m., at 217 Van Stieken Avenue. A very interesting program will be given and ice cream and cake will be served. Everyone is invited to attend this enjoyable meeting.

Critical Cruisings

(Continued from page 10)

and seek to replace sexual love by the pure relationship of brother and sister.

And so in this story, The Devil is the woman who is the agent of the evil powers in luring man to spiritual bankruptcy. If one considers the sexual relation, in the words of Tolstoy, "as being an animal condition, degrading to man," then it follows that woman, attracting man and filling him with such desire, is evil. Hence, the catastrophic climax of the story is but an inevitable result of the evil of uncontrolled appetite, the finality of all things motivated by sin. The cry of the hero, Eugene Intenev:

Really she is—a devil. Simply a devil. She has possessed herself of me against my own will. It is the cry of ancient morals and decadent conceptions.

Autobiographical

The Devil takes on an additional interest in view of the fact that it has autobiographical validity. The story of Eugene Intenev's struggle against Stepanida, the woman, The Devil, who drove him to distraction and eventually to despair and disaster is a description of an actual experience in the life of the author. Like his hero, Tolstoy, to destroy temptation, bared his soul to a tutor:

Save me, I am falling. I am overcome by sexual desire and feel a complete lack of power to restrain myself. I am in danger of yielding to the temptation. Help me!

Tolstoy was fifty-two at the time, but he did not pen the story until a decade later.

Despite the moral viewpoint of the narrative, and the ancestry of its attitude toward woman, the story is told in a vivid, vigorous style that gallops without halt. The short, staccato sentences lend distinctiveness to the description and swiftness to the action. The characterization—however absurd the attitude of the main character—is excellent. The episodes are free of the flaccid of the fortuitous, and the plot is without the sentimentality of the melodramatic. Altogether it is a striking fiction built about a ridiculous superstitious.

Although we are living in a day when the struggle of groups is more important than the conflicts of the individual, and when more and more fiction is turning toward social instead of individual interpretations, a novellette such as The Devil is worth more than all of Tolstoy's moral and esthetic reflections gathered through years of twisting asceticisms and superannuated resignations.

Tourist Club Hike

Sunday, June 13, we hike to Woodlands Lake, Westchester County. Meeting place, 243d Street and Van Cortlandt Park Subway station (downstairs); time, 7:30 a. m.; fare, 25 cents; walking time, about four hours; leader, Louis Braun. All nature-loving working men and women are welcome to participate. Thursday, June 17, lecture on China at our headquarters Labor Temple, 243 East 54th Street, Room 18, at 8:15 p. m. Lectures are free.

Miss Preston's committee, the British Miners Relief Committee, has opened offices at 799 Broadway, where contributions will be received. The committee is working under direction of the Emergency Strike Relief Committee, formed by the League for Industrial Democracy and other organizations.

FUNDS ARE ASKED FOR BRITISH MINERS

Committee Begins Collection of Money for Strikers from N. Y. Office

MISS EVELYN PRESTON, of New York, a student of industrial conditions and writer for the labor press, has returned from England with a commission from British labor to raise funds for the relief of the striking British coal-miners and their families.

Miss Preston went to England at the outset of the miners' strike and helped in relief work while she was there. She reports that the conditions in the coalfields are desperate and that some four million men, women and children are in pressing need of food.

"Whether the strike is soon over or settles down into a prolonged struggle, the workers of the coalfields will still need every cent we can send them," said Miss Preston yesterday.

"We must not forget that the lock-out came at the end of a long period of depression during which earnings in some instances were as low as \$11 per week and were never much higher than fifteen dollars. Under these circumstances it was impossible for the men to save anything. In only a few areas have any strike benefits been paid. There are three hundred thousand miners whose average weekly earnings for this year have been but \$7.30. Now they are fighting against a proposed 10 per cent. wage cut to apply to 88 per cent. of the coal-diggers.

"The suffering among the women and children is especially acute. In wretched hovels around the pit-heads children are being born in homes which have been stripped of every saleable article. The mothers have been ill-nourished and are living in constant anxiety. Other children are being brought up under deplorable conditions. These children cannot go hungry today without feeling the effects for the rest of their lives. Men and women in Great Britain in all walks of life, irrespective of their social or political views, have given to the relief of the miners. But the need is great and the miners look to America to help them. It is a matter of simple humanity to do all we can and do it quickly. We appeal especially on behalf of the women and children who are the innocent victims of an industrial tragedy."

Miss Preston has been in communication with labor leaders in this city and throughout the country, all of whom have promised their support in her campaign. The United Mine Workers of America are contributing to the relief of their British cousins and workers in other trades are voting relief.

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Editor-in-Chief

EUGENE V. DEBS

Managing Editor

MURRAY E. KING

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MODERN MARRIAGE PROBLEMS

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For Women Only, Tuesday Evenings.
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By Dr. Cecil L. Grail
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Editor.....JAMES ONEAL
Assistant Editor.....EDWARD LEVINSON
Manager.....U. SOLOMON

Contributing Editors:

Eugene V. Debs
Victor L. Berger
Abraham Cahan
Harry W. Laidler
Joseph E. Cohen
Clement Wood
John M. Work
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SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1926

MEYER LONDON

SHOCKED as we have been upon receipt of the news of the passing of some devoted soldier in the army of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the news of the death of Meyer London came as a staggering blow. Friends and comrades in the trade unions and the Socialist Party were dazed, stricken with grief. They could find no words to express their emotion. Meyer London had passed on. No warning. In a flash he was gone. Impossible!

It is no exaggeration to say that Meyer London was one of the finest type flowered by the proletariat. Reared among the working class, he never forgot his origin, his ideals, his fellows. He lived intensely, lived and served as all really great men live and serve a great cause. He never forgot the sufferings, the wrongs, the economic tyrannies and the maladjustments of the social order in which he lived. The distress of the workers hurt him. He keenly felt our social and economic wrongs and instinctively recoiled from the suffering they imposed.

Meyer London was one of the most deadly earnest men that ever lived. Those who observed him on the platform in a strike, a political campaign, or protesting against some injustice, marveled at his tremendous earnestness. His soul was on his lips, his eyes afire, his body aquiver with anger that such things could be among civilized beings. He gave generously of himself and his income to the Great Cause. No man could give more.

Meyer London was a thinker, a doer of deeds that leave a mellow memory of the man as lasting as life itself. Men, women and children grieve that he no longer is here to console, to advise, to cheer and to work. He passes to a rest well earned amid the tears and the flowers of hosts of men and women who loved him and who in turn were loved by him. His was a glorious life and we are happy that such a man as Meyer London has lived.

"CELLS" IN THE UNIONS

AS a contribution towards an understanding of what some of the trade unions have been facing for a number of years The New Leader, beginning next week, will place before its readers the minutes of meetings of a Communist "cell" in one of the trade unions in New York City. We have been fortunate in getting a copy of this record of a local unit of the Trade Union Educational League. How it functions in a trade union, its covert plans for control, the maneuvers of its "steering committee," are revealed in this record taken by its recording officer. We shall see the "militants" meeting in the home of one of the members or at a Communist headquarters and attempting to transact the business and frame the policies of the union behind the backs of the members. Names of members are given, the order of business is presented, and an insight into the troubles that have afflicted some unions is revealed through Communist records.

The New Leader will perform a distinct service to the economic organization of the workers by thus penetrating the secrecy of one of these New York "cells." What is revealed in this record is typical of what has occurred in every trade union where the Trade Union Educational League has organized its "militants." One may not have a strong case against these "cells" if he relies on indirect evidence, but when Communist documents are presented which record the work of a "cell" no stronger evidence is needed. The documents tell their own story.

There will be several articles in this series and we urge our friends in the trade unions to bring them to the attention of the members. They are enlightening and will clarify the situation as nothing else can.

SOBBING FOR US

MODERN capitalism not only sweats surplus values out of wage labor for further investment and exploitation of wage labor, but it long ago learned the secret of gathering a part of the savings of the workers for the same purpose. These savings go into financial institutions and insurance companies. They in turn are invested in industry and yield large returns, often in the form of enormous salaries, to officials of the corporations. A few bones are thrown to the laborers in the form of interest or death premiums.

A recent circular of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is addressed to the millions who provide these savings. It bears the caption "Your Rights as a Capitalist." This is intended to make the masses feel good. They have "rights" as capitalists in preserving

the arrangement. Calvin Coolidge supplies an endorsement in terms of religious piety. "The salesman of such insurance," he is quoted as saying, "is an evangelist of thrift and proper ways of living." Capitalism, piety and the go-getter are partners in an "evangelist" crusade.

The company itself warns its policyholders that they are capitalists and that "an attack upon capital investments is an attack upon the wage earners of the country." Not on the big salaries and juicy melons enjoyed by the big sharks, mark you. Not at all. Forget these nice things as the company does in the circular. There is further warning against municipal, State or Federal ownership of any public utilities the exploitation of which these big chaps now enjoy. The company is solely concerned for the wage-earning "capitalists."

Wasn't it Marx who once said that the capitalist is a capitalist for the sole benefit of the laborer? Marx said it as satire while our bumptious Babbitts say it in terms of religious fervor. Really, their concern for our interests and neglect of their own is pathetic.

RADIO CENSORSHIP

THOSE who listened to the debate over Station WRNY Monday night between Norman Thomas and Hugo Gernsback, editor of Radio News, enjoyed the presentation of an issue that will continue until some equitable arrangement is made by which radio broadcasting will cease to be a monopoly of conservative opinions. Mr. Gernsback's insistence that the radio does not have the character of a public utility reminds us of the same view many had of railroads in their period of chaos, competition, overbuilding and wildcat finance. The very fact that there are only about 95 channels for broadcasting and that radio will practically become universal in the next few years gives it a public character.

Curiously enough, Mr. Gernsback himself demonstrated the subtle conservative censorship which is maintained over radio by his address delivered before the debate began. In this address he forecast the possible revolutionary development of the radio in the next decade, stating that modern science justifies such careful forecasts that are based upon evidence of current trends. All of which is sound.

But we observe that many who accept this scientific attitude in the domain of the physical sciences, in the technical organization of industry and in the general field of mechanical inventions, reject it completely in the field of social science. Here it is taboo, and it is essentially the method of Socialist analysis and prediction of social change. One may indulge in the most revolutionary scientific forecasts in the physical sciences, but the moment he attempts to carry the scientific method into social science and tries to broadcast his views a medieval wall is erected to prevent him doing so. In the debate Mr. Gernsback frankly said that radical opinions are not broadcast because they are not "acceptable to the majority of persons."

Precisely. But note that his own revolutionary predictions of radio development were broadcast despite the fact that he cannot say that they are "acceptable to the majority of persons." One field is open to new ideas and another field is closed. If Norman Thomas were to suggest that he be permitted to broadcast a scientific address forecasting profound changes in the present social system he could not be heard, yet this address would be of the same character in the field of social science that Mr. Gernsback delivered in another domain of science.

A subtle, unwritten, yet effective, censorship prevails in the interest of those who have large stakes in the present social system. No amount of casuistry can obscure this fact.

SYRIA IN REVOLT

WHILE French statesmen are still trying to stabilize the franc they are still carrying on the holy war abroad for French finance and capital. In co-operation with doddering Spain they have recently "pacified" Morocco, but meanwhile the massacre at Damascus last year has not brought a similar result. The Druses have carried on a continuous war against the alien usurpers. It is reported that the French High Commissioner will ask for some 20,000 more troops for service in Syria.

A dispatch to the Times says that "Damascus has virtually been in a state of siege for the past two months . . . with daily loss of life." Moreover, from Aleppo in the north to Solida in the south, "the entire territory is seething with revolution and is unsafe except for armored cars and trains conveyed by armed forces." This is followed by the cynical information that the French military command have come to the conclusion that the rebel natives will have to be either driven into the desert "or exterminated."

We fear that the Druses are going to be thoroughly "civilized" and made to understand that the "moral forces of the world," as the late Woodrow Wilson would say, are not to be trifled with. However, we have exported some "moral forces" to Haiti and other outlying provinces of American banks and if there is a butchery in Syria our capitalist press will have to restrain any desire to "shudder." French imperialism will simply be following an example followed by our own advance agents of "civilization."

The General Strike

By Mario Bravo, of Argentina

(Translated from the Spanish by Alice Stone Blackwell)

The crowd advances like a sounding sea,
The multitude ablaze with banners bright;
In the great chorus that invokes a hope
All earth's revolts seem throbbing full of might.
Like a huge cloud forestalling cyclones dread
The multitude all powerful marches past.
Today they rest; their clamor, all as one,
Spread fear of revolutions dark and vast.
Energy that creates and that destroys,
Perpetual energy, the crowd goes by—
Men with their faith, their strength, their song, their flag—
And as they pass, the streets thrill silently:
A hush falls; here and where the pampas ope,
And life itself stands still and waits in hope!

The Fires of Labor Hatred



The News of the Week

Coolidge Gets Slapped in Iowa

The Iowa Republican primary administrators another slap at Calvin Coolidge, and is further evidence that Coolidge will be dumped by the party brokers two years hence. Smith W. Brookhart has been chosen over Senator Cummins. Back in the days of the "New Freedom" and the "New Nationalism" Senator Cummins was known as a "moderate progressive," and later became a "moderate conservative." Brookhart's strength lies not so much in any definite program of his own, but in his general criticism of the Coolidge Administration. He is chosen for what he opposes and not for what he favors, which runs true to traditional American politics. The voters generally vote against candidates, not for them. They are always kicking politicians out of office, but have not learned how to send satisfactory men into office and keep them there. Brookhart himself, when his seat in the Senate was being contested, showed a tendency to be "good" to the administration in the hope of not being counted out. Upon being ousted he again turned "radical," for there was no hope of beating Cummins in any other way. This primary, like others that have administered a slap to Coolidge, is not significant of any important change to come in Washington except that the party brokers will have to agree on some other candidate than Coolidge in 1928.

Advancing to a New Revolution

We are not so skeptical as we once were over discoveries in the physical sciences. The needs of modern capitalism have banished spooks from this field so that the specialists are free to carry on their experiments, no matter how revolutionary, without being banished from bourgeois circles. Thus Professor Charles Henry, a French scientist, announces the possibility of producing a new energy that will revolutionize economic production throughout the world. Catalysis is the technical term for the decomposition of bodies by extreme cold. The Frenchman claims that it is now a mere matter of time when he will be able to catalyze water and build a water-driven internal combustion engine that will be adapted for power in industry. If this prediction is verified it certainly will revolutionize capitalist production, but it may also have other unforeseen results. Our ruling classes think that by smothering the capitalist system, but they leave the field absolutely free for wonderful technical changes in economic life. They are too stupid to understand that in following this course they encourage the real revolutionary forces in modern society, forces that undermine the basis of their supremacy and that mean the ultimate passing of their rule. We welcome this silent revolutionist also. What is more, we welcome its ultimate achievement—the abolition of capitalism itself.

Sweden Gets Dry Premier

C. G. Ekman, leader of the prohibitionist section of the old Liberal Party, has been chosen by King Gustave to head a new government, following the resignation of the Socialist Cabinet when the anti-Socialist majority in the Riksdag insisted upon wiping strikers and victims of lock-

outs from the unemployment benefit. Premier Ekman's Cabinet is made up of four other "dry" and four regular Liberals. In view of the fact that the Swedish commission that had been investigating the prohibition question for twelve years has just reported against abolishing the present State dispensary system in favor of a bone-dry regime, it is not likely that the new Premier will be able to do much toward realizing his ideal. Representing parties with only 33 of the 230 members of the Lower House, M. Ekman will have to tread very carefully to keep his balance for the brief period before new elections will be held. That any of the good legislative work done under the Socialist Cabinet will be nullified is not probable, and it seems likely that the country will soon be called to the polls to pass judgment upon the question at issue.

Socialist Gain in Germany

The favorable results of the election of the Diet of the little State of Mecklenburg-Schwerin last

Sunday are being hailed by the Socialists of Germany as a good omen for the outcome of the referendum on the confiscation of the ex-royal estates to be held June 20. The Socialist popular vote increased about 31,000 over that of 1924, while the Nationalists lost about 35,000. According to the latest reports, there will be 20 Socialists in the new Diet, against 15 in the one elected in February, 1924. The Nationalists have fallen from 19 to 12, and the Communists from 9 to 3. The German Reactionaries (extreme reactionaries) lost 7 seats, falling to 5. The remaining 10 seats are scattered among several small groups. The relative strength of the Socialists has increased faster than their actual numerical gains, as the new Diet will have only some 50 members, against a total membership of 64 in the old one. During the campaign the Socialists laid great stress upon the necessity of the voters also coming out on June 20 and making the referendum a victory for the people.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

The Good Devil

LEO TOLSTOI is a tragic-comic example of the Solomons who seed their passion indiscriminately in youth and sell their memories in senility. It is not a unique reaction. Change in physiology, the coming of a masculine menopause, is the psychological determinant; change in economic relations, the coming of a new status in life with new responsibilities and an inertia deepened by repetition of experience, is the social. When the violence of sexual impulse withers into the diffuse indifference of the hexagenarian, ideas and actions once so free and dynamic become fixed, static and repressive. Effervescence of sexual activity is followed by a frowning quietude of sexual behavior. In society we all know how the plunging passionate youth is followed by the repressing, fearless old man.

In youth they do—in age they preach not to do. Solomon could afford to write his Proverbs after he had enjoyed being unproverbial. Whitman in his old age could afford not to see his illegitimate son because the event might cause a scandal. And so, too, Tolstoi, could afford to preach resignation and repression after he had snugged and debauched his younger years.

The same spirit that mutilated the motif of eighteenth and nineteenth century English literature marred the aging Tolstoi's productions. The moralistic obsessed him. Art should become instruction. In War and Peace Tolstoi had written the greatest historical and mass novel in the world; in Anna Karenina, one of the subtleties in the psychological genre; in Ivan Ilyich, one of the finest in the short-story or novella style. These works, in comparison with his others, were singularly unencumbered with moralistic impediments. War and Peace, of all the novels the most comprehensive in design, confined itself neither to the rules later set down in the Kreutzer Sonata nor to the mild-moralities of the soft-hearted bourgeois.

Sexless Literature

The Devil (Harpers, \$2.00), the latest hitherto unpublished story of Tolstoi's, falls within the moral category. Like the Kreutzer Sonata it is devoted to the problem of sexual sin. Sin is an antiquated concept, moldy with the mildew of medievalism. Yet to a mystical mind such as that of Tolstoi, sin was a peculiar obsession. Sexual sin became abhorrent. Sexual intercourse should never occur except for the purpose of procreation, and that any thought of indulging in the act for the sheer ecstasy of its realization was a thing repulsive to the rapidly shriveling imagination of this once free and fearless mind. In the sequel to the Kreutzer Sonata, Tolstoi had declared, following the garbled Gospels:

It is sinful for anyone (consequently for a married as well as for an unmarried man) to look on a woman as an object of pleasure, and that it is better for the unmarried not to marry at all, i. e., to be perfectly chaste. Neither did the married escape. To them his order was:

Together strive to be free from temptation. Try to cleanse (your-selves) from the sin of mutual relation, which hinders general and individual service of God and man;

(Continued on page 9)

THE CHATTER BOX

The Mountain Dwellers

(Prize-Winning Poem in the Annual New Leader Chatterbox Poetry Contest)

OCITY of a thousand Matterhorns,
Serene, your towers in the rosy light,
Are mountain cliffs again, are stratified canyon walls!
There is no peace like that which falls
In light against upright stone in dizzy air,
Save in mountain light.
Here buildings meditate, are peaks, are prayer;
Long quarried, lorted, split by steel and men,
Rock achieves itself and rears on high,
Recapture peace and might, is rock again.
I said I could not live down on the plain,
Nor where the land is fettered by men's streets,
I said I could not bear a neighbor's din
Nor breathe where village houses hemmed me in.
I said, "The soul's a plant that lives on air,
Drawing nurture from majestic light."
I said, "Look to the hills to find your strength,
The body draws its puny might from might."
But what new day and miracle is this,
The city swinging in the morning sky
While far below the cataracts of men rush by?
—These man-amazing men who harness Nature to their will
To make again
Something as potent as a plain,
Majestic as a hill.
Before they fenced and marred it, plowed and scarred
It with their hopes,
No longer will they litter flowering slopes
With ugliness alone. For intricate with beauty
Of story set on story
The new city rises like a saint in glory.

The cliffs of windows rise, but at their feet
We, the blood of peasants, beat;
We, who barter, love and eat.
Too recently we came away
From our fields of simple hay,
The high walls rise, the great wheels whirl,
The sun swings up, the white smoke curl,
—Below, like packs of wolves we swirl,
Rush like waters from reserve,
Flood the streets, sweep round the curve,
Eddy, rush and wave and surge,
Sing and die, not knowing why.
I said, "The mind of man is armed with bright
Machinery for throwing catapults of light."

I said, "Man hurls his lasso round the air,
And loads the veldt with thoughts iron could not bear."
I said, "Mind is a comet that will race
Into the five dimensions of all space
And find a grandeur to compare
With megal lifting shining flares in air."

But we, so newly from the wood,
To deal with catapults of light,
So bent on shelter, love and food,
Not majesty, not might,
We ferret in these cliffs of stone,
Bewildered, lost, and toil
Ergotant now, now dumb.
How can we live here who have come
So shortly from the soil?

Little towns, little cities,
Farms flourishing like daisies on the plain.
You can scorn the vain
Provincially of big cities.
Like flowers you grow,
Dotting our maps,
You are the nation and perhaps
You always will be flowers, nestling so.
And yet there is a whisper on the air
Of change, relentless, coming everywhere,
And terraces flung half way to the sky
Are symbols to be read by any eye.
Oh city of a thousand streaming lights,
Oh city of a million blinking nights,
Oh city ever new,
We ask you what you are. You answer, "You."
Unspun an ancient question if you can,
What is it that man seeks to make of man?

On a dump heap—I remember yet—
Was a cracked, discarded statuette,
Where stone had been induced to hold
Some little time the restless mold
Of Dance and Laughter,
Pleasing a brief fashion; but soon after
Crumbling to stone again.
A thousand centuries have men
Visited the Cats of the long Nile,
Timeless in stone, inscrutable, and still,
Spirit of stone.

(Materials will
Be what they are,
Return to their own
After a passing sham and a jest,
—Ebony, ivory, men or stone—
The sculptor who knows this
Fashions them best,
How else could office buildings challenge men,
Recapture calm and might, turn rock again?
—Margery Sweett Mansfield.